

VOLUME 1

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BULLYING (7 VOLUME SET)

SILJE C. VESTERGAARD
EDITOR

Bullying and
Victimization

NOVA



BULLYING AND VICTIMIZATION

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BULLYING

VOLUME 7

(7 VOLUME SET)

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BULLYING AND VICTIMIZATION

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PREFACE

This 7 volume set is a compilation of important research on bullying. Some of the topics addressed include:

- cyberbullying, a form of bullying carried out using electronic communication
- violent behavior
- homophobia and its role in bullying
- bullying prevention programs
- predictors of school bullying
- coping strategies and efforts to counter bullying behavior

Chapter 1

A SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING CYBERBULLYING INVOLVEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, children and adolescents are enmeshed in an increasingly digitally connected global community. Many scarcely remember a time in which their lives were not in some way connected to information and communication technologies (ICTs). Their usage of ICTs has led to many conveniences in their lives, such as the ability to rapidly communicate with friends and families and having access to almost an infinite amount of information at their fingertips. A dark side to children's and adolescents' ICT usage is cyberbullying. Defined as an extension of traditional face-to-face bullying, cyberbullying involves bullying behaviors utilizing ICTs, including email, instant messaging, social networking sites, and text messages, to intentionally harm a target or targets (Grigg 2010; Grigg 2012; Nocentini et al., 2010). This chapter reviews the social-ecological approach, discusses the theory in relation to traditional face-to-face bullying, and applies the theory to the study of cyberbullying.

THE SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL APPROACH

Bronfenbrenner's (1977; 1979) ecological theory of development conceptualizes of various overlapping systems which directly and indirectly impact human behaviors. The theory was developed in response to Bronfenbrenner's criticism that theories at the time (1970s) were restricted. His theory included two propositions that define various properties of the model. For Proposition 1, Bronfenbrenner explained that human development takes place through

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reciprocal and frequent interactions between a human and his or her immediate environment, referred to as proximal processes. Proposition 2 suggests that “the form, power, content, and direction of the proximal processes effecting development vary systematically as a joint function of the characteristics of the developing person; of the environment – both immediate and most remote – in which the processes are taking place; and the nature of the developmental outcomes under consideration” (Bronfenbrenner 1994 p. 38). To illustrate Propositions 1 and 2, Bronfenbrenner gives an example from Drillien’s (1963) longitudinal study on the factors influencing the development of children who were born with low birth weight and those of normal birth weight. Finding revealed that mother-child interactions over the course of 4 years was the strongest predictor of developmental outcomes as it reduced behavioral disturbances (Proposition 1). This relationship varied as a function of the environmental context, specifically social class in this study, and birth weight (an individual characteristic) (Proposition 2).

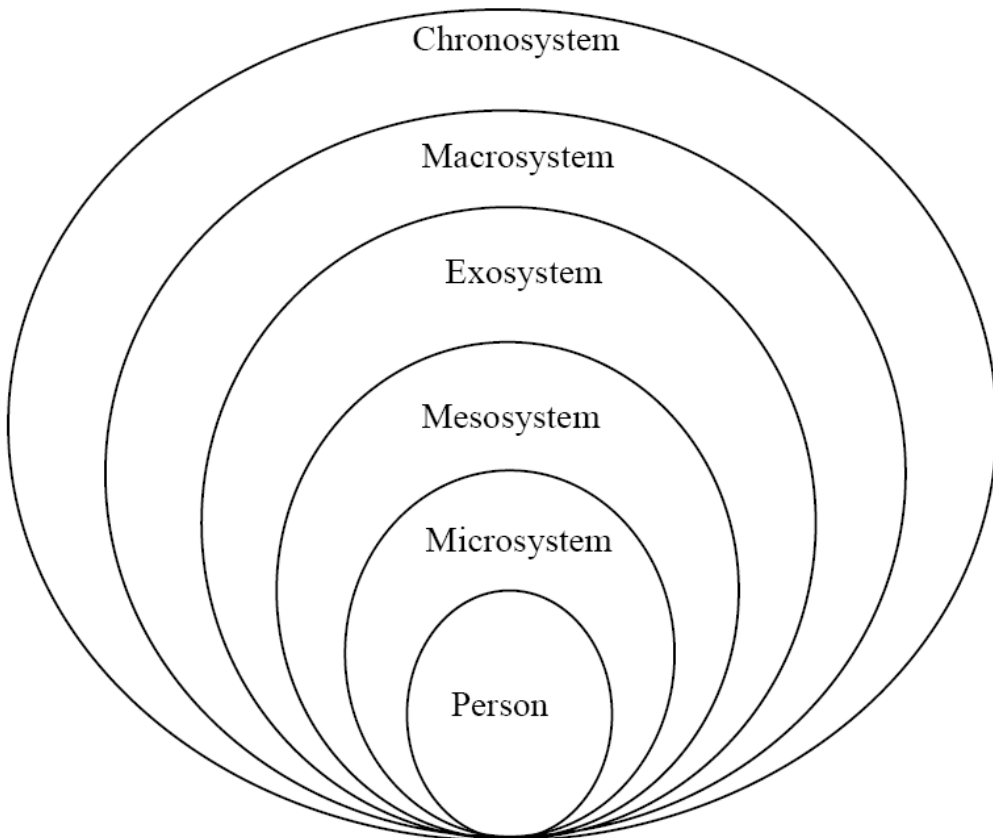


Figure 1. Bronfenbrenner’s Social-Ecological Theory.

Utilizing Lewin’s theory of psychology fields (1935), Bronfenbrenner (1977) proposed that the ecological environment includes nested structures, each within each other, moving from the innermost level (i.e., the individual) to the outside (see Figure 1 for a visual conceptualization of the Bronfenbrenner’s social-ecological theory). The first level is the microsystem. The microsystem is defined as the activities, social roles, and interpersonal

relationships of a person. Examples of microsystems include family, school, peer group, and workplace. The next level is the mesosystem which includes the linkages and interactions among two or more settings in a person's life. In particular, the mesosystem is the interaction across various systems, such as the effects of the relationships between home and school. The exosystem includes the linkages and processes that occur between two or more settings that do not directly involve the person. Instead, the relationship between these settings has an indirect influence, such as the relationship between the home and the parent's workplace. Consisting of the microsystem, mesosystem, and exosystem, the macrosystem represents the characteristics of a given culture or subculture. Bronfenbrenner conceptualizes of the macrosystem as a "societal blueprint" (p. 40). The final system is the chronosystem. This system includes change or consistency over time in a person's life. An example of the chronosystem might include changes over time in the family structure or socioeconomic status.

APPLICATION OF THE SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL THEORY TO TRADITIONAL FACE-TO-FACE BULLYING

Researchers (e.g., Barbarino & deLara 2002; Swearer & Espelage 2004) have written extensively on the application of Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological theory to traditional face-to-face bullying. They argue that bullying does not occur in isolation and that instead these behaviors are promoted or inhibited through a complex interaction among the person, family, peer group, school, community, and culture. The person is at the center of the systems, and he or she is affected by each system, which thereby impacts the person's behavior.

Ample research has documented the individual influences on bullying perpetration and victimization. This literature has identified psychopathic tendencies, the endorsement of masculine traits, conduct problems, callous-unemotional traits, the hostile attribution bias, antisocial personality traits, susceptibility to peer pressure, depression, and social status as individual-level predictors of bullying (Fanti & Kimonis 2012; Ferguson, San Miguel & Hartley 2009; Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpela, Rantanen & Rimpela 2000; Li & Wright 2014).

Different microsystems also have a role in bullying. For instance, various family characteristics, such as family members' involvement in gangs, poor parental supervision, negative family environment, parental conflict, low parental communication, parental abuse, and authoritarian parenting are linked to bullying (Baldry 2003; Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon 2000; Espelage & Swearer 2010; Pepler, Jiang, Craig & Connolly 2009). Peers also influence children's and adolescents' involvement in bullying. Higher levels of peer conflicts, peer norms that support bullying, and affiliation with aggressive peers have roles in bullying involvement (Craig & Pepler 1997; Espelage, Holt & Henkel 2003; Pepler et al., 2010). The school context also impacts bullying and victimization such that negative school climate, inappropriate teacher responses to bullying, poor teacher-student relationships, and low levels of teacher support promote bullying among children and adolescents (Bauman & Del Rio 2006; Gendron, Williams & Guerra 2011; Richard, Schneider & Mallett 2011). Communities and cultural factors also influence bullying, including living in unsafe neighborhoods, poverty, and exposure to violent TV and video games (Bradshaw, Sawyer, & O'Brennan 2009; Chaux, Molano & Podlesky 2009; Janssen, Boyce & Picket 2012; White & Mason 2012). Swearer and

Hymel (2015) also suggested that bullying and victimization occur more often in communities in which violence is modeled.

EXPANSION OF THE SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL THEORY TO INCLUDE ICTs AND THE CYBER CONTEXT

With the increasing prominence of ICTs and the internet in children's and adolescents' lives, cyberbullying has become a growing concern. Theoretical conceptualizations of cyberbullying have been slow to develop. In this book, Barlett (Chapter 2) reviews various theoretical frameworks used to understand cyberbullying. Some of these include the General Strain Theory and the General Aggression Model. Similarly, den Hamer and Konijn (Chapter 13) created their own theory, the Cyclic Process Model, to explain cyberbullying perpetration. Each of these theories are great for explaining individual-level predictors of cyberbullying involvement, although den Hamer and Konijn incorporate exposure to risky media content in their model, which is considered an exosystem level predictor. Much of the research on cyberbullying involves the role of individual-level predictors, despite some attention having been given to the microsystem (i.e., schools, peers, parents), the mesosystem (i.e., school and peer interactions), and the exosystem (i.e., exposure to violent media content). In this book, many of the chapters are focused on individual-level predictors (see Chapters 5 through 9), with Chapter 10 describing the family context, Chapter 11 the peer context, Chapter 12 the school context, and Chapter 13 risky media content. Therefore, the social-ecological perspective might provide a framework for understanding children's and adolescents' involvement in cyberbullying. Below is a hypothesized revision to Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological theory (see Figure 2). It is important to note that this model involves cyberbullying specifically. However, the model should be expanded to include other risks and opportunities associated with ICT and internet usage among children and adolescents.

Like Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological theory, the version applied to cyberbullying also includes individual-level predictors, the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macrosystem, and the chronosystem. These systems are discussed below with literature supporting the role of a particular system in cyberbullying.

Person Level

Researchers have focused a lot of their attention on the characteristics and risk factors associated with children's and adolescents' involvement in cyberbullying. Age and gender have been frequently examined, with inconsistent findings (e.g., Boulton, Lloyd, Down & Marx 2012; Li 2007; Wade & Beran 2011; Ybarra, Diener-West & Leaf 2007). These findings are further discussed in Chapters 5 through 7. Various studies have revealed that cyberbullying perpetration is related to traditional face-to-face bullying perpetration, that cyber victimization is associated with traditional face-to-face victimization, and that traditional face-to-face victimization is linked to cyberbullying perpetration (Barlett & Gentile 2012; Cappadocia, Craig & Pepler 2013; Corcoran, Connolly & O'Moore 2012; Heirman & Walrave 2012; Mitchell, Ybarra & Finkelhor 2007; Steffgen, Konig, Pfetsch & Melzer 2011). Higher levels of

electronic technology usage is related to cyberbullying perpetration and victimization (Aricak, Siyahhan, Uzunhasanoglu, Saribeyoglu, Ciplak, Yilmaz & Memmedov 2008; Ybarra et al., 2007). Furthermore, internalizing difficulties, like depression and loneliness, and externalizing difficulties, like alcohol and drug use and violence, are risk factors for cyberbullying involvement (Cappadocia et al., 2013; Mitchell et al., 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell 2004). Greater levels of normative beliefs concerning face-to-face bullying and cyberbullying predict cyberbullying perpetration (Ang, Tan, & Mansor 2010; Burton, Florell & Wygant 2013; Wright & Li 2013a). Lower levels of provictim attitudes, less self-control and empathy, callous-unemotional traits, and greater moral disengagement are also related to cyberbullying (Fanti et al., 2012; Steffgen et al., 2011; Wright, Kamble, Lei, Li, Aoyama & Shruti 2015). Peer rejection and perceived popularity also relate positively to cyberbullying perpetration and cyber victimization (Sevcikova, Machackova, Wright, Dedkova & Cerna 2015; Wright & Li 2013b; Wright 2014).

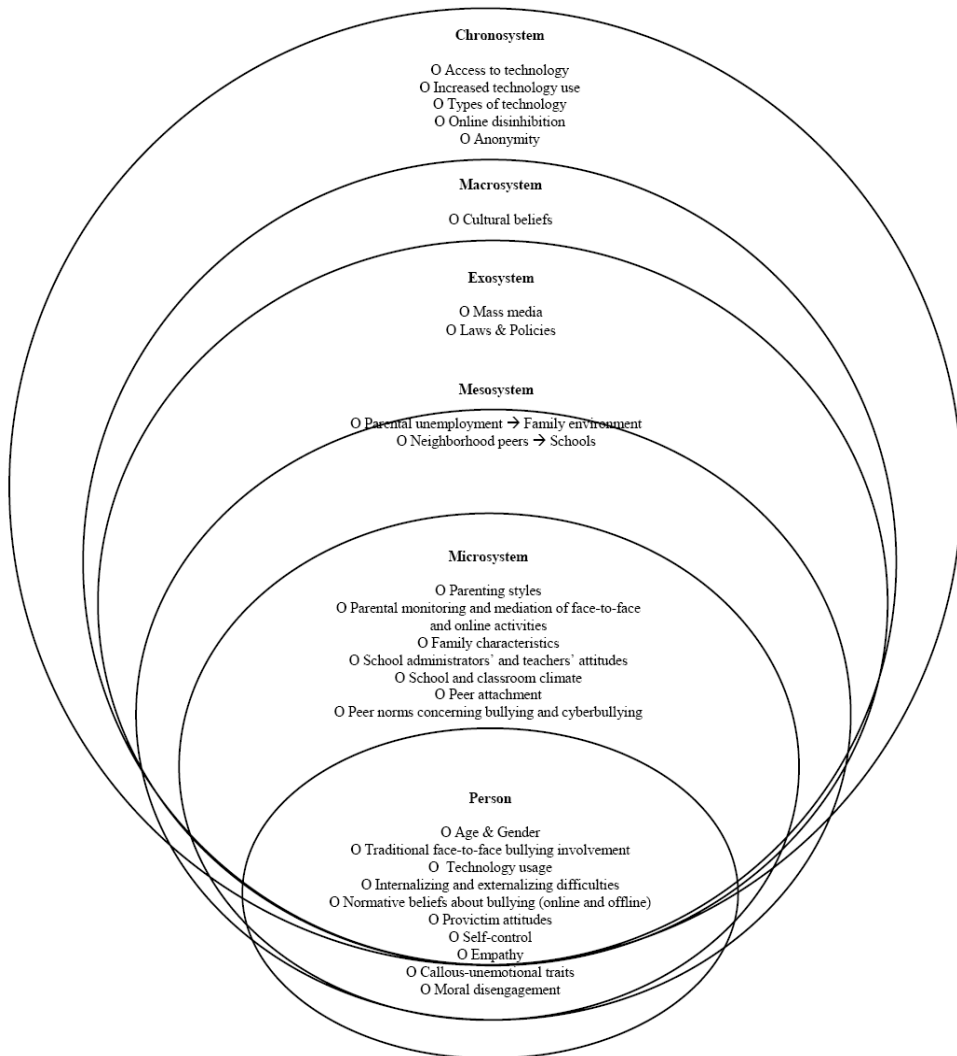


Figure 2. Conceptualization of Bronfenbrenner's Social-Ecological Theory.

Microsystem

Like traditional face-to-face bullying, the microsystem includes family, parents, and peers. Indifferent-uninvolved parenting styles and inconsistent monitoring of face-to-face and online activities increases children's and adolescents' risk of cyberbullying involvement (Aoyama, Utsumi & Hasegawa 2011; Dehue, Bolman, Vollink & Pouwelse 2012; Mesch 2009; Navarro, Serna, Martinez & Ruiz-Oliva 2013; Wright 2015). In addition, cyberbullying involvement was associated with family characteristics, such as poor caregiver monitoring, and poor emotional bonds with caregivers (Ybarra & Mitchell 2004). Many school administrators and teachers do not perceive cyberbullying as problematic, which increases the likelihood of cyberbullying involvement among children and adolescents (Sahin 2010). Similarly, teachers' unfamiliarity with cyberbullying increases cyberbullying involvement (Cassidy, Brown & Jackson 2012). Students who perceive their school and teachers less positively are more likely to be perpetrators and victims of cyberbullying (Bayar & Ucanok 2012). Cyberbullying involvement inhibits children's and adolescents' academic attainment and performance (Eden, Heirman & Olenik-Shemesh 2013; Wright in press). Lower school commitment and perceptions of a negative school climate increase children's and adolescents' cyberbullying perpetration as they feel less connected to their school (Williams & Guerra 2007). In one study, the best predictor of cyberbullying involvement was the level of cyberbullying perpetration and victimization in students' classrooms (Festl, Schwarkow & Quandt 2013). Lower levels of peer attachment and high peer norms for bullying also predict cyberbullying perpetration (Hinduja & Patchin 2013; Wright et al., 2015). Additional details regarding microsystems applied to cyberbullying are provided in Chapter 10 concerning the family context, Chapter 11 for the peer context, and Chapter 12 for the school context.

Mesosystem

The Meosystem includes interactions among various systems. Little attention has been given to the connection between the systems and how they influence children's and adolescents' cyberbullying. In one study, Arslan et al. (2012) found that parental unemployment predicted cyberbullying perpetration. Although Arslan and colleagues did not specifically connect parental unemployment to the mesosystem, it might be likely that conflict from the parent's workplace impact the family environment, which thereby contributes to cyberbullying. Another possible link between two systems that impact cyberbullying might be the interaction between neighborhood peers and schools. In particular, Pendergrass and Wright (Chapter 23) describe various case studies of cyberbullying victims, and they outlined how the cases connect to various systems in the Social-Ecological Theory. One such connection they made was between peers outside of one's school and peers within one's school. They found that many cyberbullying incidences occurred outside of school, involving peers in victims' immediate surrounding. However, these peers did not necessarily attend the same school as the victims. After the cyberbullying experience, the knowledge of the event and further perpetration of the cyberbullying incident occurred in the school environment, suggesting a connection between neighborhood level variables and the school context. Such a proposal is concerning as it suggests a "spillover" effect of out-of-school cyberbullying to in-school bullying and cyberbullying.

Exosystem

In Chapter 13, den Hamer and Konijn discuss the role of adolescents' exposure to risky behavior through media in cyberbullying perpetration. Their empirical research indicated a relationship among this exposure and cyberbullying perpetration among adolescents (den Hamer, Konijn & Keijer 2014; den Hamer & Konijn 2015). Other research by Fanti and colleagues (2012) also suggested that children's and adolescents' exposure to violent media content longitudinally predicted cyberbullying involvement one year later. Pendergrass and Wright (Chapter 23) explained that many cyberbullying laws were initiated by parents who had a child who was affected by cyberbullying victimization. They indicated that such laws represent an exosystem as the expectation is that these laws will deter children and adolescents from perpetrating cyberbullying.

Macrosystem

Although the literature on the association between the beliefs of different cultural groups and cyberbullying involvement is scarce, there is research which reveals that cyberbullying occurs among multiple countries. This literature is reviewed in this book and includes research in the Mediterranean region (Chapter 15), Asian countries (Chapter 16), various European countries (Chapter 17), and ethnic groups in the United States (Chapter 18). Cross-cultural examinations are still developing in the area of cyberbullying. For instance, children and adolescents in the United States self-reported higher levels of cyberbullying perpetration and cyber victimization when compared to Japanese children and adolescents (Aoyama et al., 2011; Barlett, Gentile, Anderson, Suzuki, Sakamoto, Yamaoka & Katsura 2013). Similar patterns were found when Japanese children and adolescents were compared to Austrian children and adolescents (Strohmeier, Aoyama, Gradinger & Toda 2013). In addition, Li (2008) found that Chinese children and adolescents engaged in less cyberbullying perpetration when compared to Canadian children and adolescents. Such findings might indicate that individualism and collectivism have a role in cyberbullying involvement. However, caution should be given to this proposal as Li (2006) found in another study that Chinese adolescents were more often the victims of cyberbullying and Shapka and Law (2013) found that East Asians adolescents perpetrated higher levels of proactive cyberbullying when compared to Canadian adolescents.

Chronosystem

Research on the chronosystem has been slow to develop. However, this is a ripe area for investigation. There have been rapid changes in the access to and frequency of technology use over the last decades. Children and adolescents have access to technology at home, at their school, and with their peers. They have many opportunities to connect and interact online and through technologies. Technology is rapidly evolving and consequently so are the tools used to cyberbully others. Ten years ago, textual forms of cyberbullying, like through email and chatrooms, were frequently utilized. Nowadays, video forms of cyberbullying are becoming more common than they were years ago. In addition, mobile phones have a variety of functionality when it comes to technology usage in which children and adolescents can view

videos, check social networking sites, send text messages, and access the internet. The multifunctionality of these devices might make it easier for children and adolescents to cyberbully their peers. Another component of the online environment is the potential for disinhibited behaviors. When interacting with others online, people are removed from each other and receive limited feedback. The potential for anonymity allows individuals to say things and behave in different ways in the online environment than they would offline, which can increase the likelihood of cyberbullying (Suler 2005). There is literature linking greater beliefs in the potential to remain anonymous online to cyberbullying behaviors (Wright 2014).

CONCLUSION

Taken together, research has focused on some components of the social-ecological theory as applied to cyberbullying. The proposed theoretical model in Figure 2 suggests that various contexts exist that affect children's and adolescents' cyberbullying involvement. It is clear that the family, school, and peer contexts have a role in online behaviors. The roles of the mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and exosystem are less understood in the cyberbullying literature. The proposed reconceptualization of the social-ecological approach suggests that there are complex interactions among various factors which contribute to cyberbullying. A discussion of future research and prevention and intervention programs was neglected from this particular chapter as these will be discussed later in this book.

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Chapter 2

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PREDICTING CYBERBULLYING BEHAVIOR

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INTRODUCTION

Theory is an integral part of the scientific method that allows researchers to make informed hypotheses while delineating the mediating and moderating mechanisms to describe why, when, and for whom a relationship is likely to occur. Collected data are the means by which theoretical arguments are supported or refuted. Overall, in order to advance our understanding of scientific effects, theory must be utilized, tested, re-tested, and reformed (if necessary); however, the literature examining cyberbullying perpetration (defined as "...any behavior performed through electronic or digital media by individuals or groups that repeatedly communicates hostile or aggressive messages intended to inflict harm or discomfort on others" [Tokunga 2010, pg. 278]) is only just beginning to appropriately apply theory. To aid researchers in this endeavor, the current chapter will attempt to summarize several prominent theories that have been recently applied to predicting cyberbullying behavior. This chapter will only focus on theory as applied to cyberbullying perpetration. There have been myriad theoretical advances in our understanding of the predictors and consequences of cyber-victimization. First, I will present some early cyberbullying work that laid the groundwork for our current understanding of cyberbullying behavior. Then, I will describe several theories and research that has been recently applied to cyberbullying perpetration effects (including strengths and limitations). Finally, I will conclude with future directions and applied extensions.

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PAST: THE GROUNDWORK

When cyberbullying research was in its infancy, the majority of research focused on determining (a) the psychological and behavioral consequences to the victim, (b) establishing the relative frequencies that various samples engage in cyberbullying behavior (e.g., cyberbullying only, cyber-victimization only, cyberbullying-victimization, or not involved), and (c) testing gender and age (grade) effects in these frequencies. Such research is incredibly important for establishing the scope of a new burgeoning societal issue and these results are often needed prior to delving into the theoretical landscapes that may offer explanations about why individuals engage in cyberbullying behaviors.

The research questions and data were helpful in studying cyberbullying perpetration scientifically. General trends and frequencies suggested that the majority of participants report not engaging in cyberbullying behaviors. For instance, Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) sampled 1,498 youth and found that 11.73% were classified as cyberbullies only, 3.66% were cybervictims only, 2.86% were cyberbully-victims, and 81.55% were uninvolved; trends found in similar studies (e.g., Bauman 2010; Aricak et al., 2009). Additional descriptive studies found evidence to suggest that cyberbullying was less prevalent than cyber-victimization. Indeed, DeHue, Bolman, and Vollink (2008) found that 16% of youth reported engaging in cyberbullying and 22% reported cybervictimization, a finding that was generally reliable among other studies (e.g., Hinduja & Patchin 2008; Li 2007). Although non-theoretical, these findings showed the scientific community and general population that cyberbullying was a societal issue that necessitated additional study. Moreover, despite the overwhelming finding that youth tend to be uninvolved, the percentage of individuals who engaged in cyberbullying and/or were cybervictimized was not trivial. One limitation of studying prevalence rates is that the frequencies that youth report being cyberbullied, cybervictimized, or both largely depend on several methodological differences making comparisons across studies unwarranted. Rivers and Noret (2009) argued that definitional, measurement, age, gender proportion, and sampling differences may account for such variation.

In addition to testing the relative frequencies of involvement, other research tested gender and age effects in cyberbullying frequency. In my opinion, this was an incredibly important research endeavor that aimed to identify variables that increased the likelihood of cyberbullying perpetration. Although this research did not typically assess mediating mechanisms, identifying the risk factors of cyberbullying perpetration was paramount of understanding this form of aggression. Regarding gender effects, results tended to show negligible differences between males and females in cyberbullying (e.g., Beran & Li 2007; Bauman 2010; Hinduja & Patchin 2008). However, in a recent meta-analysis, Barlett and Coyne (2014) found this effect to be moderated by age: males tended to cyberbully more than females at older ages (e.g., during emerging adulthood), whereas females were more likely to cyberbully compared to males at younger ages (late childhood), while no gender differences occurred during middle adolescence. Regarding age effects, Kowalski and Limber (2007) revealed that younger kids (6th graders) were less likely to be involved in cyberbullying compared to their 7th or 8th grade peers. Similar age effects were found by Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) who showed that youth between 15-17 years old were more likely to cyberbully relative to their younger peers (aged 10-14).

Overall, the nature of the early cyberbullying research was insightful and answered important research questions while also propelling the issues regarding cyberbullying to the general public. Please note that I consider such studies important for our current understanding of cyberbullying perpetration and current research is still interested in age and sex effects while also examining the frequencies by which youth cyberbully. I classified the cited work as “early” because of the lack of emphasis on theory development not because of the quality of the work itself.

PRESENT: THE USE OF THEORY

While the early research laid the groundwork for quantifying cyberbullying perpetration and testing simple relationships, the field slowly started to shift to applying and developing theoretical arguments regarding the psychological processes to explain cyberbullying behavior. I do not present an exhaustive list of all possible theories that have been used to explain cyberbullying perpetration behavior. Rather, I will discuss several theories that have clear application to the cyberbullying literature and discuss the strengths and limitations of each while delving into the research testing several important theoretical postulates.

Theory of Reasoned Action

Derived from social psychological theory, the Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen & Fishbein 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen 1975) detailed the psychological processes used to predict human behavior while focusing on the literature showing how attitudes can predict behavior. Briefly, the Theory of Reasoned Action predicts that attitudes and subjective norms indirectly predict behavior through behavioral intent (defined as the motivations behind a given behavior; see Hale, Householder, & Greene 2002). This theory has received a wealth of research support by predicting myriad health behaviors including mammography participation (e.g., Montano & Taplin 1991), AIDS-preventive behavior (e.g., Fisher, Fisher, & Rye 1995), and mother’s choice to breast feed (e.g., Manstead, Proffitt, & Smart 1983) amongst others. Beyond health behaviors, the Theory of Reasoned Action has also been applied to social behaviors, such as traditional bullying. Rigby (2005) sampled 400 Australian youth and found that bullying behavior was positively related to unsympathetic attitudes towards the victim (attitudes) and the belief that their friends were supportive of their bullying behaviors (subjective norms). Other researchers have found similar effects in the traditional bullying domain (e.g., Salmivalli & Voeten 2004), suggesting that attitudes and subjective norms for behavior are important predictors of bullying behavior.

The application of the Theory of Reasoned Action to cyberbullying is intuitive. Doane, Pearson, and Kelley (2014) measured three types of cyberbullying behavior (online deception, online malice, and online public humiliation), cyberbullying attitudes, norms for cyberbullying, and cyberbullying intention in a sample of US college students. Using path modeling procedures, results showed strong relations between the measured variables. For instance, results showed that cyberbullying attitudes predicted cyberbullying intentions, which predicted all three types of subsequent cyberbullying behavior. Further, depending on the type of

cyberbullying measured, the Theory of Reasoned Action predicted between 54%-63% of the variance in cyberbullying behaviors. In support of the relation between subjective norms, Barlett and Gentile (2012; Study 2) found that positive reinforcement from family and friends regarding cyberbullying tactics positively predicted cyberbullying behavior.

There are numerous strengths to applying the Theory of Reasoned Action to cyberbullying effects. First, there is a strong psychological history utilizing this theory, allowing for researchers to draw on an abundance of literature and theoretical trial and error to make empirical hypotheses. Second, Theory of Reasoned Action has strong face validity in the cyberbullying world. The extent to which cyberbullying intent predicts cyberbullying behavior and how both cyberbullying attitudes and norms are indirectly related to cyberbullying perpetration through intent has received research support (e.g., Doane et al., 2014; Barlett & Gentile 2012).

However, there are some limitations that warrant consideration and future work. First, Olweus (2012) argued that cyberbullying is another form of traditional bullying and supported his claim by showing that the frequencies of cyber-victimization are lower than that of traditional bullying victimization. Findings from Olweus (2012) suggest a very important theoretical question: What does applying Theory of Reasoned Action to cyberbullying offer beyond what we already know from the traditional bullying domain? In other words, would the correlations between attitudes, norms, intent, and behavior be the same for either type of bullying? These are important questions, and, unfortunately, this is an empirical question that has yet to be answered. It is important that a theoretical model that is supposed to uniquely predict cyberbullying behavior to either show incremental validity beyond the traditional bullying world or statistically control for the correlation between cyber and traditional bullying behaviors in their analyses. Indeed, Barlett and Gentile (2012) found that traditional and cyberbullying frequency correlate significantly with each other, but also both correlate to positive attitudes specific to cyberbullying. Therefore, one must question whether the model and results shown by Doane et al. (2014) would have been similar if the cyberbullying measures were replaced with traditional bullying measures. If the model has incremental validity then it should predict (i.e., fit better) cyberbullying better than traditional bullying, but such evidence has eluded researchers.

Second, longitudinal research testing the variables included in the Theory of Reasoned Action is needed in order to make causal claims. An ideal longitudinal study would involve testing cyberbullying attitudes and norms at Wave 1, intent at Wave 2, and cyberbullying behavior at Wave 3 in order to show the predicted mediated effect. Barlett, Gentile, and Chew (in press) used a four wave longitudinal study and found evidence to suggest that cyberbullying attitudes and cyberbullying behavior were fairly stable over time and were correlated. However, intent, norms, and face-to-face bullying were never measured.

General Strain Theory

General Strain Theory (Agnew 1992; 2009) posits that stressors (strains) in one's life will increase negative affect, and in order to emotionally regulate the negative affect and psychologically overcome the negative influence of the strains, one will often rely on aggressive and criminological behaviors. General Strain Theory has received strong empirical support in both the traditional (Hay & Meldrum 2010) and cyberbullying domains (Patchin &

Hinduja 2011). Applying General Strain Theory to predicting cyberbullying necessitates first asking what strains exist that can push youth to engage in cyberbullying behavior in order to feel better. One possible strain that has received empirical attention is being victimized. According to General Strain Theory, being cyber-victimized is a strain that will increase negative feelings, such as anger (e.g., Beran & Li 2005), depression (e.g., Patchin & Hinduja 2006), suicide ideation (e.g., Hinduja & Patchin 2010), and anxiety (e.g., Beran & Li 2005). Support for this theory would also show that cyber-victimization and traditional victimization predict cyberbullying behavior. Bonanno and Hymel (2013) found significant correlations between cyberbullying perpetration and traditional victimization ($r = .12$), verbal victimization ($r = .15$), social victimization ($r = .14$), and cyber-victimization ($r = .39$), supporting General Strain Theory.

The General Strain Theory offers a complete theoretical explanation regarding the complex relations between cyberbullying, traditional bullying, victimization, and cyber-victimization frequencies. Further, this parsimonious model also elucidates the mediating principles that govern these relations. Recall that General Strain Theory predicts that if one is victimized (or possibly other strains) that should predict negative affect and emotions (Agnew 2001), which may cause an increase in cyberbullying behaviors. Therefore, being initially victimized can explain future cyberbullying behavior due to the retaliatory nature of feeling psychologically hurt.

Additionally, research in the cyberbullying world often shows these aforementioned relations while controlling for other possible strains. For instance, Hay, Meldrum, and Mann (2010) found that cyberbullying victimization was significantly correlated with negative psychological outcomes (e.g., delinquency and suicide ideation) while controlling for other possible strains and variables predictive of strain, such as gender, parental control, ethnicity, poor school grades, and time with peers. Additionally, Jang, Song, and Kim (2014) replicated this finding while controlling for additional strains, such as financial strain, parental strain, and others.

However, limitations exist when applying this model to the cyberbullying world that necessitates future work. The first is that the research applying General Strain Theory to cyberbullying effects only controls for additional strains, but perhaps the interactive effect of cyber-victimization and another strain should be tested. For instance, Fanti, Demetriou, and Hawa (2012) found that negative family and friend social support at Wave 1 significantly predicted cyberbullying frequency at Wave 2 (one year later). General Strain Theory would posit that such negative family and friend support are two strains that may interactively predict cyberbullying behavior; however, such interactions were not reported.

A second limitation mirrors that of the discussion of The Theory of Reasoned Action in the inability to theoretically separate cyber from traditional bullying frequencies. For instance, Hay et al. (2010) did not test a model in which the effect of strains on cyberbullying (see previous paragraphs) remained while controlling for traditional bullying. Further, if the research that distinguishes bullies, victims, and bully-victims is valid, then this latter group (those who are both bullied and bully others) should experience the most strain, thereby, experiencing the most negative affective consequences. Finally, work is needed to further test the General Strain Theory that assesses negative emotions longitudinally in order to test for mediation.

Barlett and Gentile Cyberbullying Model

The Barlett and Gentile Cyberbullying Model (BGCM; Barlett & Gentile 2012) was derived from the research detailing the differences in cyber vs. traditional bullying perpetration. Namely, Vanderbosh and Van Cleemput (2008) argued that due to the online nature of cyberbullying, cyberbullies likely feel more anonymous online, should have less concern about the power differential prominent in the traditional bullying world, and cannot use physical methods to cause harm online. Drawing upon broader learning theories, such as the General Learning Model (Gentile et al., 2009), Barlett and Gentile (2012) posited that after a cyber-attack, the aggressor is likely to learn that they are anonymous (and likely not going to get caught) and that the concern over the traditional strength differential is removed. Barlett et al. (in press) clearly point out that anonymity and lack of concern about the strength differential are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions for cyberbullying behavior. One can spread rumors, for example, about another in the real world (i.e., not online) in an anonymous way. Further, an individual may know their cyber-aggressor. However, Barlett and colleagues have suggested that it is the *perceived* anonymity that can influence cyberbullying behavior. Once learned and automatized with subsequent cyber-aggressive acts, these constructs are likely to lead to the development of positive attitudes toward cyberbullying, which will predict subsequent cyberbullying behavior. This model is cyclical in the sense that continued cyberbullying behaviors will further reinforce the anonymity and lack of concern about the strength differential constructs to predict the frequency of later cyberbullying behavior through the aforementioned mediated processes via positive attitudes toward cyberbullying.

In their initial paper, Barlett and Gentile (2012) used a correlational research design sampling US college students and found (a) the correlation between cyberbullying attitudes and behavior was positive and significant, (b) perceived anonymity and lack of concern about strength differential were positively correlated with cyberbullying behavior and attitudes, and (c) positive attitudes toward cyberbullying mediated the relation between lack of concern about the strength differential cyberbullying behavior and the between anonymity and cyberbullying behavior. Since these initial findings, the BGCM has received additional empirical support using longitudinal designs while sampling myriad populations. For instance, Barlett (2015) used a four-wave longitudinal design with US adolescents and found that anonymity and cyberbullying attitudes at Wave 1 accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in cyberbullying frequency at Wave 4, approximately seven months later. This finding was further replicated by Barlett, Gentile, and Chew (in press) with a college-aged US sample. Furthermore, Barlett, Gentile, Anderson, Suzuki, Sakamoto, Yamaoka, and Katsura (2014) used a two-wave longitudinal design and found that Wave 1 cyberbullying attitudes significantly predicted Wave 2 cyberbullying behavior in both US and Japanese emerging adults approximately two months later.

One strength of the BGCM is the original derivation that clearly separated the traditional from the online bullying literature. As I have previously argued, this is a key limitation both Theory of Reasoned Action and General Strain Theory. Indeed, Barlett and Gentile (2012) showed that the relation between cyberbullying attitudes and cyberbullying behavior was stronger than the relation between cyberbullying attitudes and traditional bullying frequency, despite the strong relation between both types of bullying behaviors. Even though this directly addresses the Olweus (2012) argument and suggests that although cyber and traditional bullying behaviors are correlated, they are psychologically different that can influence the

correlations between predictor variables and these antisocial outcomes, future work is still needed. None of the Barlett work has tested face-to-face bullying attitudes to see how such evaluations influence cyberbullying.

Second, the BGCM has been tested using both correlational (Barlett, in press) and longitudinal research designs (Barlett et al., in press). The longitudinal evidence is especially important for showing causal relations between the variables in the model, while the correlational findings offer support for the simple relations that have theoretical importance. If the same effect using different research designs and paradigms is found, that suggests that relations between the variables and the underlying theory are robust (Gentile et al., 2009).

However, limitations exist that necessitate future work when using the BGCM to predict cyberbullying perpetration. First, the measures used to assess anonymity, lack of concern about the strength differential, and cyberbullying attitudes have not shown consistent reliability across differing studies. For instance, Barlett and Gentile (2012) found that the anonymity scale to have an adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = .62$), whereas the same scale has had less than optimal internal consistency in other studies ($\alpha < .60$; Barlett et al., in press). These differences may be attributed to artifacts of data collection, such as differences in populations, but it could also represent the inherent issues in trying to capture attitudes towards antisocial behaviors that are constantly shifting with changes in technology. Another limitation is that the postulates of BGCM have only been tested using several short-term longitudinal studies or correlational research designs. A multi-wave longitudinal study utilizing long periods of time between data collection is desperately needed. In a related vein, not much research has focused on the lack of concern about strength differential postulate of the BGCM outside of the original Barlett and Gentile (2012) findings. Future work is needed to further test this tenant of the model. Finally, it is not likely that anonymity and lack of concern about the traditional strength differential are the only two learned exogenous variables that predict cyberbullying attitudes. For instance, Werner, Bumpus, and Rock (2010) found that time spent online predicted cyberbullying behaviors, which may be another exogenous variable in the BGCM. Overall, much more work is needed to continue to validate and test this model.

General Aggression Model

The General Aggression Model (GAM; Anderson & Bushman 2002) is a dynamic social-cognitive theory of aggression derived from myriad domain specific aggression theories (see Barlett & Anderson 2013; Anderson & Carnagey 2004; DeWall, Anderson & Bushman 2011 for extensive reviews). Briefly, GAM elucidates the psychological mechanisms related to the short-term predictors and long-term learning of aggressive behaviors. The proximate portion of GAM posits that two types of input factors, the situation (e.g., a provocation) and one's personality (e.g., trait aggression) will likely interact to influence the present internal state (consisting of inter-related aggressive affect, aggressive cognitions, and physiological arousal). Increases in any combination of the internal state variables will influence appraisal and decision making processes that predict an impulsive or premeditated aggressive or non-aggressive behavior.

Each successful cycle through the proximate GAM is one learning trial with an aggression related stimulus. With continued experiences and practice with aggression-related factors and processes, individuals are likely to learn about such relations. This continued reinforced

learning will lead to the development of various aggression-related knowledge structures, such as aggressive attitudes, aggressive scripts, desensitization, and others, which form one's aggressive personality. Additionally, extended learning and practice with aggression stimuli and the aggressive knowledge structures leads to the automatization of the activation of these knowledge structures that predict behavior (Anderson & Bushman 2002).

In perhaps the largest meta-analysis to date on cyberbullying predictors, Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, and Lattanner (in press) applied the GAM to theoretically understand the myriad psychological, sociological, and personality variables that predict cyberbullying perpetration. In a creative application, Kowalski et al. (in press) argued that gender differences (Barlett & Coyne 2014), age differences (Kowalski et al., 2007), and technology use (Werner, Bumpus & Rock 2010) were personality factors that interacted with situational factors (e.g., perceived anonymity [Barlett 2015]) to influence one's internal state and subsequent appraisal and decision making processes to predict a cyberbullying encounter. In support of this theoretical application, the results from the Kowalski et al. (in press) meta-analysis of 1,365 studies (sampling over 400,000 participants) found that cyberbullying perpetration was significantly correlated with traditional bullying ($r = .45$), age ($r = .05$), frequency of Internet usage ($r = .20$), narcissism ($r = .22$), anger ($r = .20$), normative aggressive beliefs ($r = .37$), and moral disengagement ($r = .27$). According to GAM, these variables represent a wide array of learned personality input factors that positively predict a cyberbullying encounter.

The GAM has several strengths in regard to its theoretical power in predicting cyberbullying perpetration. First, unlike the previous theories discussed in this chapter, GAM is broad and has the ability to integrate several specific findings from the primary research into a cohesive theoretical umbrella. Second, GAM relies on learning postulates to delineate the psychological processes engaged in predicting why cyberbullies continue to harm others online. Indeed, if an individual attacks another online (and are positively reinforced for it), that is one learning trial that will likely get automatized if subsequent cyber-attacks occur. This alone can help explain the strong stability coefficients observed in longitudinal studies of cyberbullying behaviors (Fanti et al., 2012). Finally, GAM can take into account the combination of variables that are positively and negatively correlated with cyberbullying behavior, termed the risk and resiliency approach (see Barlett 2015). Indeed, Kowalski et al. (in press) also found that empathy ($r = -.12$), parental monitoring ($r = -.07$), and school safety ($r = -.13$) were negatively correlated with cyberbullying perpetration. The GAM would posit that cyberbullying is less likely to occur if an individual has more protective than risk factors related to cyberbullying perpetration.

However, despite these strengths, there are methodological issues that need to be taken into consideration for future work regarding the use of GAM. First, the distal portion of GAM has been applied to cyberbullying with studies that have predominately used correlational designs. To be adequately tested the distal GAM needs longitudinal evidence to show the learning mechanisms that are engaged in predicting cyberbullying behavior. Correlational research is paramount for advancing theory, but longitudinal work is desperately needed to show causal connections between variables as a function of extended cyberbullying practices. Second, at the time this chapter is written, I am unaware of any published study that appropriately tests the proximate GAM processes. The proximate processes detail the how situational input factors predict cyberbullying behavior. One approach would be to randomly assign participants to be provoked (or not) and then measure aggressive responding via cyber-attacks. However, in order for this to be a valid paradigm, this necessitates that the two parties involved in the study (the

provocateur and the participant) have some online relationship or online method of causing harm. Further, since cyberbullying would be the outcome in this hypothetical study, quantifying this behavior would be difficult. Finally, since the participant would be in this study, they may not feel as anonymous.

FUTURE: THE NEXT STEP

The psychological literature that has tested the theoretical predictors of cyberbullying behavior is still relatively new compared to the research on (a) the psychological and behavioral consequences of cyber-victimization, (b) the broader traditional bullying literature, and (c) the descriptive predictors of cyberbullying perpetration. Fortunately, there has been much theoretical growth in our understanding of the variables and psychological processes involved in cyberbullying frequency, as the previous section emphasizes. Much empirical work is still needed to further our understanding of the theoretical predictors of cyberbullying behavior. Although this section is speculative, I will offer some ideas for future work to consider.

First, researchers need to carefully consider what measures to use when assessing cyberbullying frequency. Kowalski et al. (in press) found evidence to suggest that the effect sizes between certain cyberbullying related predictors and cyberbullying behavior were higher when the measures did not incorporate a definition of cyberbullying to participants, for example. These effects are important as Rivers and Noret (2009) caution about interpreting frequency rates of cyberbullying frequency in part due to the sheer variety of cyberbullying measures that exist (see Ybarra, Boyd, Korchmaros & Oppenheim 2012 for a recent review of cyberbullying measures). Related, cyberbullying techniques are constantly waxing and waning that corresponds directly with the types of online media that is available. Therefore, researchers need to continuously be changing and altering their questionnaires to attempt to stay current with tools of cyberbullying others. This also corresponds to measurement of cyberbullying attitudes, perceived anonymity, and other possible theoretical mediating variables.

Second, showing incremental validity between the cyber and traditional types of bullying is important. As previously noted, the correlation between both types of bullying is highly significant (e.g., Barlett & Gentile 2012). Thus, any model that claims to predict cyberbullying needs to empirically show that the strength of the relations between the cyberbullying predictors and behavior remains after taking traditional bullying frequency into account. Indeed, this will directly address the criticism levied by Olweus (2012) by showing that cyberbullying is unique, albeit, related type of bullying behavior. Models that fail to statistically control for traditional bullying or show incremental validity beyond traditional bullying effects are still useful; however, conclusions drawn regarding any effects need to be interpreted with a certain degree of caution.

Third, longitudinal work is desperately needed to further test the postulates of some of these theoretical models as they pertain to cyberbullying frequency. Of the four theories discussed, only the BGCM has received replicated longitudinal support. However, even the longitudinal work of Barlett and colleagues (Barlett et al., in press; Barlett 2015) suffers from employing short time frames between data administration times. If such longitudinal work can be conducted, then at least three waves of data collection need to be utilized in order to appropriately test for mediating mechanisms while adhere to strict definitions of temporal

precedence that is a necessary requirement for mediation (Baron & Kenny 1986). Related, the use of certain models that take advantage of proximate (or short-term) predictions can utilize controlled experimental research. For instance, researchers using the General Strain Theory can randomly assign participants to be provoked online (e.g., a cyber-victimization strain) that should be related to subsequent negative emotions (assessed using a state-based affective measure, for example) and cyber-aggressive behavior. Researchers need to carefully validate and select the provocation and measures; however, such a study would be theoretically important and show causal relations between variables.

APPLIED EXTENSIONS

Understanding how several variables can theoretically predict cyberbullying perpetration is not only important to advancing our understanding of the psychological processes involved in elucidating cyberbullying frequency, but also has applied implications. Indeed, if theory can be tested, re-tested, re-formulated or changed (if necessary), and replicated across various populations while utilizing various measures, then intervention efforts can be developed to, hopefully, reduce cyberbullying perpetration. For instance, if anonymity perceptions are integral at predicting cyberbullying attitudes and behaviors (see Barlett et al., 2014; Barlett & Gentile 2012; Barlett et al., in press; Barlett, 2015), then designing an intervention aimed at informing youth that they are not as anonymous as they think they are online and how tracking IP addresses can help to uncover how a seemingly anonymous mean technological correspondence can be traced back to the original sender, should reduce cyberbullying behavior through the reduction of cyberbullying attitudes.

Currently, there are few published cyberbullying intervention techniques that have shown success. Indeed, Ahlfors (2010) conducted a descriptive study of cyberbullying prevention websites and concluded that the majority of these websites provided information helpful for parents of cyber-victims, which may be problematic considering often parents are unaware of their children's online behaviors. This suggests that more traditional intervention methods may be required (see Snakenborg, Van Acker & Gable 2011 for an interesting review). Kowalski and Agatston (2008; 2009) have outlined an 8-session school-based curriculum for various school-aged youth aimed at reducing cyberbullying behavior. Upon examination of the curriculum for these interventions, it is clear that the purpose of the intervention is to cognitively shift one's beliefs towards reducing positive attitudes towards cyberbullying. For instance, session 3 of the Kowalski and Agatston (2009) intervention has youth identify how to use technology in a positive way, while session 4 has participants state why cyberbullying is unacceptable. This would conform with the Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen & Fishbein 1991), the General Aggression Model (Anderson & Bushman 2002), and the BGCM (Barlett & Gentile 2012) by suggesting that if the intervention is successful, the youth (after session 4) should understand and begin to internalize that cyberbullying behavior is unacceptable, which should reduce positive attitudes towards cyberbullying, a key variable in these models. However, more can be done in this regard to incorporate theory into these intervention strategies. For example, Barlett et al. (in press) and Wright (2013) found longitudinal evidence to suggest that anonymity is an important predictor of cyberbullying behavior. Thus, if kids can be taught that they are not as anonymous online as they perceive themselves to be, then that

should also aid in reducing cyberbullying attitudes and could accompany these already existing interventions.

Salmivalli, Karna, and Poskiparta (2011) validated an anti-bullying program, termed KiVa, in Finland (see also Karna, Voeten, Little, Poskiparta, Kaljonen & Salmivalli 2011). They sampled 78 schools including 5,651 fourth to sixth graders and randomly assigned them to a control or KiVa program. The KiVa program is a 9-month intervention that includes presenting participating kids with lectures, videos, group activities, and student exercises. Additionally, self-reported victims and bullies are included in these discussions along with having these students lead certain groups through the KiVa program. Although this program does not focus solely on cyberbullying, the curriculum matches what Olweus (2012) discussed in terms of housing cyberbullying intervention programs within larger bullying interventions. Results showed that, relative to control schools, those schools that engaged in the KiVa program had a reduction in their cyberbullying behavior (36% decrease from pre- to post-test); whereas the control schools had an increase in cyberbullying (14% increase from pre- to post-test). According to Karna et al. (2011), the KiVa program focuses on "...positive change in the behaviors of classmates can reduce the rewards gained by bullies and consequently their motivation to bully in the first place" (pg. 313) while focusing on enhancing empathy and anti-bullying attitudes. Again, more work can be done to add to this program based on the theoretical rationale detailed earlier in this paper.

Additionally, if broader psychological theory can be validly applied to cyberbullying behavior, as suggested in the extension of the General Aggression Model, then already established interventions aimed at reducing aggressive behavior (more generally) or bullying should also reduce cyberbullying behavior. Although speculative, if research has found that empathy is negatively related to cyberbullying behavior (e.g., Ang & Goh 2010) and interventions have already been validated and shown to increase empathy (e.g., Feshbach & Feshbach 1982), then similar interventions should help reduce cyberbullying behavior. Indeed, Karna et al. (2011) already integrated this into their KiVa anti-bullying program. However, other untested psychological variables can be examined. For instance, research has shown that narcissism is positively related to cyberbullying (Ang, Tan & Mansor 2010), which is predicted from GAM (see Kowalski et al., in press for this extension). In a field study, Thomaes, Bushman, De Castro, Cohen, and Denissen (2009) found that having youth engage in positive self-esteem training via self-affirmation techniques can prevent narcissistic youth from engaging in aggressive behaviors after an ego threat. It stands to reason that teaching self-affirmation practices may reduce cyberbullying perpetration; however, this is speculative.

One issue that I believe warrants explicit attention is that researchers, psychologists, educators, parents, and others who are interested in the reducing cyberbullying should heed the data and conclusions from Olweus (2012) who argued that since cyber-victimization frequency tends to be lower than traditional bullying victimization, anti-bullying interventions should not shift to cyberbullying while ignoring traditional bullying frequency. I agree with this statement and urge researchers to incorporate cyberbullying into an already existing anti-bullying campaign. The KiVa anti-bullying program along with the work by Kowalski and Aganton (2008; 2009) adhere to this suggestion, but I think it would be a mistake to only focus on cyberbullying prevention and ignore traditional bullying. However, I do think that these anti-bullying interventions do need to pay attention to the theoretical advances made in the cyberbullying field to inform interventions appropriately. Due to the definitional, measurement, and psychological differences between both cyber and traditional bullying frequency (see

Vanderbossch & Van Cleemput 2008), there may be reason to include cyberbullying effects into an already existing bullying or aggression-reducing intervention program. Science has gone great lengths to show under what conditions such interventions work. For instance, a meta-analysis of aggression-reducing interventions showed that anti-aggression interventions were most successful for high risk youth in an “intense” program delivered by a trained professional (compared to a layperson) using a one-group design (Wilson, Lipsey & Derzon 2003). Additionally, meta-analysis focusing on traditional bullying intervention programs found that youth in the bullying prevention group reported being bullied less, witnessing less bullying, bullied others less, and had higher self-esteem relative to youth in control conditions (Merrell, Gueldner, Ross & Isava 2008). Looking at moderators, another meta-analysis found that intervention programs aimed at reducing bullying were especially successful when the intervention had a long duration, was intense, included school conferences, teacher training, and classroom-rules, and if the entire school participated (Ttofi & Farrington 2011). Researchers interested in drawing on these literatures for cyberbullying reduction should adhere to some of these recommendations.

CONCLUSION

It is an exciting time to investigate the predictors of cyberbullying behavior. The field has entered a phase where enough theory is out there to be applied reliably, but many questions still remain. I believe that if theory can be appropriately validated, then interventions can be created (or refined) to incorporate reducing the correlations between cyberbullying predictors and behaviors.

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Chapter 3

MEASURING CYBERBULLYING: TOWARDS AN INTEGRATIVE APPROACH TO ASSESSMENT

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INTRODUCTION

Cyberbullying is still a rather new phenomenon and therefore it has only been in the focus of researchers for around a decade. It was not the scientific community, but the media, who first brought this phenomenon to the awareness of the public. Newspapers and bloggers wrote about spectacular cases, where victims attempted or even committed suicide after being harassed online. It was only after that, that researchers in different parts of Europe, Canada, Australia, and the United States began to take an interest in this new kind of violence as well. However, as Menesini & Nocentini (2009) put it: "...there has been little focus on the measurement issue of cyberbullying. Indeed in bullying research generally, some scholars have claimed that insufficient concern is paid to psychometric issues in bullying research as well as to the need for more detailed comparison between different methods" (p. 230).

Addressing this criticism, this chapter focuses on aspects of measuring cyberbullying. In the following sections, the most prominent problems in cyberbullying research will be discussed, several possible measurement strategies will be presented and described, and a conclusion will be given with the proposition of an integrative model that combines the advantages of the discussed approaches. The remarks in this chapter all relate to self-assessment, to methods where the bullies and the victims themselves provide information on the bullying. Peer-assessment has also been used in cyberbullying research, advantages and problematic aspects of this approach go beyond the scope of this chapter, for a discussion see Espinoza & Juvonen (2013) or Card (2013).

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Methodological Problems in Cyberbullying Research

The most common questions in the earliest studies on cyberbullying were often the same:

- Does cyberbullying exist in our country (e.g., Riebel, Jäger & Fischer 2009)?
- Are the bullies and the victims of cyberbullying the same children and adolescents who are involved in traditional bullying as well (e.g., Raukaskas & Stoltz 2007)?
- How can we describe cyberbullies and cybervictims? Are girls more often involved than boys, because cyberbullying is an indirect form of bullying? Or are boys using the internet as a new tool for an old behavior? At what age do children begin to cyberbully and what is the most “dangerous” age to become a victim? (e.g., Kowalski & Limber 2008)

The first question concerns the prevalence of cyberbullying and is almost impossible to answer without representative random samples, clear definitions of the construct, and cross-culturally validated questionnaires. For example, the first two German studies both came to the conclusion that cyberbullying exists and is a problem in the country. A lot more than that cannot be drawn from the results, at least not on the question of prevalence. Jaeger, Fischer, Riebel, and Fluck (2007) used an online study, which is not representative of the German population of students. Katzer (e.g., 2009) focused on bullying in chat-rooms only, leaving out cyberbullying via text message, email, instant messenger, and social networking sites. Depending on the study one consults, prevalence rates for cyberbullying vary between six and seventy-two percent (Ybarra 2013) – apparently, there must be something wrong with the measurement!

The second question concerns the overlap with real-life or, as it is often called, traditional bullying. Not surprisingly, most studies come to the conclusion that there is a substantial overlap between being a bully online and offline, being a victim online and offline, and between being a victim offline and a bully online. However, the overlap is far from perfect: Riebel et al. (2009) reported a correlation of $\phi = .586$ between being a cyberbully and being a real-life bully, and a correlation of $\phi = .324$ between being a cybervictim and a real-life victim. As these correlations are far from perfect, they tell us not much more than: Cyberbullying has something to do with traditional bullying, it is not a completely distinct phenomenon, but neither is it the same as (or just another sub-type of) traditional bullying. This is, like the findings on prevalence rates of cyberbullying, not exactly a ground-breaking scientific discovery.

The third question concerns the socio-demographic and personality features of bullies and victims. This question is rather interesting and if the results were valid in a psychometric sense, they would surely be of great value for the public, parents, teachers, and students. The only problem is: in order to answer the question about the relationship between cyberbullying and other variables (e.g., age, gender, personality traits, empathy) we have to measure both constructs and correlate them. But how can we measure cyberbullying? The truth is: We do not know.

The three major questions from the early years were actually asked too soon. We should have put them secondly, and started by asking what cyberbullying is (i.e., “How do we define it?”), what behaviors are a part of it, and how we can measure it. In other words: “Cyberbullying research has addressed substantive problems and between-construct issues before within-

construct issues such as definition, structure, and measurement have been resolved” (Craven, Marsh & Parada 2013, p. 68). In his review, Tokunaga (2010) listed the most pressing problems of current cyberbullying research, such as inconsistent definitions, lack of psychometrically sound questionnaires, absence of theory, simplistic correlations, and the lack of longitudinal studies. These points will now be discussed in and it will be evaluated if, to what extent, and how these problems could be solved in the nearer future.

1) Different research teams use different definitions of cyberbullying, which can have severe consequences especially when using single, one-dimensional questions. Imagine the following scenario.

In study A, the researchers define cyberbullying as “bullying via electronic devices,” and therefore use the defining criteria for traditional bullying (imbalance of power, repetition, intent to hurt). In study A, incidents are only labeled as “cyberbullying” when they occur more than three times and with an explicit intention to hurt the victim.

The researchers who carry out study B use a broader definition and consider all acts of “hurting someone online” as cyberbullying.

Both studies investigated prevalence, and the overlap with traditional bullying and empathy. Study A will probably yield a lower prevalence than study B, a greater overlap with traditional bullying, and a lower value for empathy in the bully. Now, readers who only interpret the findings of one study, but not the other, might draw oversimplified conclusions on the nature of cyberbullying.

In order to address this problem, the gold standard solution would be to establish defining criteria that are accepted and used as a basis for cyberbullying assessment by all researchers. This could be done by developing standardized questionnaires, which are then validated in different countries and languages. However, this solution is too utopic, at least for the nearer future. An interim solution might include a minimum standard of describing – in detail – how cyberbullying was defined and how (with what questions, what scaling) it was measured. Also, conclusions about the nature of cyberbullying should not be drawn from single studies. Reviews (e.g., Dooley, Pyżalski & Cross 2009; Tokunaga 2010) and meta-analyses (e.g., Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder & Lattanner 2014) can help classify and understand results from studies.

2) Until now, there are no questionnaires that are widely accepted as a standard assessment instrument. Early in cyberbullying research, every researcher interested in the phenomenon developed their own way of assessing it, which leads to a now vast amount of instruments (for an overview see Kowalski et al., 2014) and hundreds of study results that are – strictly speaking – not comparable to each other. Lately, there have been endeavors to develop, validate, and publish standard instruments (for an overview and an evaluation of instruments see Berne et al., 2013), so the future might bring improvements in this area.

3) The most prominent problem in cyberbullying research is the almost complete absence of theory in the early studies. This is not surprising since cyberbullying is still a new phenomenon, which did not exist before the new millennium. When the media started to report on it, researchers took an interest in it as well and started to conduct the first studies in order to find out if the problem existed in their countries and how big a problem it was. Especially due to the multiple disciplines that take an interest in cyberbullying – psychologists, sociologists, media and communication scientists as well as educational scientists ({Smith #365}) – in the

first years no one bothered to try and integrate the phenomenon into existing theories of human behavior.

Lately, there has been a change in this practice, with attempts to understand cyberbullying within the frameworks of general strain theory (Patchin & Hinduja 2011) or the theory of planned behavior (Pabian & Vandebosch 2013).

4) This trend might help to tackle another problem: The fact that most studies only investigate simplistic correlations between cyberbullying on the one hand and some other construct on the other. The experts coming together at the XIII. Workshop Aggression in Berlin (2014) agreed that cyberbullying research needs complex models.

5) The last problem was mentioned by Tokunaga (2010). He explained that the majority of studies are cross-sectional in nature. More longitudinal studies are needed to detect causal dependencies between the correlating constructs.

All of these problems, and the unfortunate situation concerning their solution, makes it most pressing to address within-construct issues. What we need is a universally accepted definition of cyberbullying and methods for reliable and valid measurement. In the remainder of this chapter, the different ways in which cyberbullying can be measured and advantages and disadvantages of this measurement as well as recommendations on future practice will be discussed.

Possible Ways to Measure Cyberbullying

Measuring intergroup phenomena like (cyber)bullying is a difficult endeavor. Asking about the specifics of who did what to whom and with whose help can only be applied to very specific situations. One specific situation, however, does not constitute bullying (which, per definition, requires the aspect of repetition). So in order to assess victim-status, we automatically have to ask about a variety of situations which requires longitudinal designs.

Many researchers ask for the cyberbullies' - as well as the cybervictims' perspective. While a victim's answers might be more truthful and less affected by social desirability, some questions (e.g., about motives) can only be assumed by the victim and probably be better answered by the bully (Tremblay & Edward 2005). It is advisable to always consider both perspectives in order not to overlook the considerable number of bully-victims (e.g., Riebel 2008 reports 32% for a German sample).

While some authors work with qualitative data, like interviews (Ševčíková & Šmahel 2009), most cyberbullying research uses questionnaires, leading to quantitative data. Therefore, cyberbullying might be measured "on the base of a global definition" or with "a multiple-item-scale or description of specific acts" (Menesini, Nocentini & Calussi 2011, p. 267). On the other hand, the answer format can vary from dichotomous (yes-or-no) questions to rating scales with several (usually four to six) options, such as ranging from "never" to "often." Table 1 provides an overview of the four combinations of questions and answer format.

Dichotomous Questions versus Rating Scales

Table 1 shows that while dichotomous questions only allow participants to answer an item with yes or no, rating scales have more options. In current cyberbullying research, we can find

examples of both approaches: Patchin and Hinduja (2011) use a multiple-item-scale that lists several cyberbullying behaviors with a dichotomous answer format, while Smith and colleagues (Smith et al., 2008) use a rating scale for multiple-item-scale of different media, where the participants have to choose between having experienced bullying never, once or twice, 2-3 times a month, about once a week or several times a week within the last two months.

Both approaches have advantages and disadvantages (Underwood & Card 2013): Dichotomous items might add to the impression that the world can be strictly divided into victims and non-victims (the same is true for bullies), with nothing in between. With rating scales, we get continuous variables that allow the view of bullying and victimization as a continuum. Here, someone who suffers from daily bullying that hurts him or her badly is not put in the same category as someone who gets attacked once, reacts sad and hurt at first, but can shrug off the experience after a while.

Table 1. Overview on measuring approaches

	dichotomous question	rating scale
singular global question	Approach A Cyberbullying is defined as [...]. Are you a victim of cyberbullying? ↪ yes ↪ no	Approach B Cyberbullying is defined as [...]. How often have you experienced such behaviors? ↪ never ↪ once or twice ↪ several times per month ↪ daily
multiple- item-scale	Approach C Have you experienced any of the following behaviors? bullying with text messages ↪ yes ↪ no bullying in chatrooms ↪ yes ↪ no exclusion from online games ↪ yes ↪ no	Approach D How often have you experienced the following behaviors? bullying with text messages ↪ never ↪ once or twice ↪ several times per month ↪ daily bullying in chatrooms ↪ never ↪ once or twice ↪ several times per month ↪ daily exclusion from online games [...]

On the other hand, ratings scale usually yield rather skewed distributions. Figure 1 shows an example from a 2013 study on German middle-school student (Fluck 2014).

The variable “cybervictim” does not follow a normal distributions. Most participants report never having experienced cyberbullying, some claim to have experienced cyberbullying a few times, and only 2.7% are victims of cyberbullying in a strict sense of the definition (with experiences once a week or more often). As distributions often look that way with cyberbullying data, one might argue that a rating scale does not make a lot of sense. However, as Underwood and Card (2013) state, data can always be dichotomized during the statistical

analysis. This is better than limiting oneself and participants' choices to only two answering options.

Usually, rating scales use the following rationale: asking for the number of incidents within a certain time frame. Strictly speaking being a victim of cyberbullying "once or twice" does not make any sense, since bullying requires the defining criterion of repetition. However, children and adolescents are often unaware of this. By asking a singular global question, some participants (who only have experienced virtual violence once) might declare themselves as cybervictims, which will distort the data by yielding too high a prevalence rate. Because of this, it is better to give participants more alternatives for answering and then divide the scale afterwards (for an example see Menesini, Nocentini, & Camodeca 2013). Therefore, using rating scales with at least one middle category between being a victim and not being a victim (respectively being or not being a bully) to allow a distinction between light and severe cases.

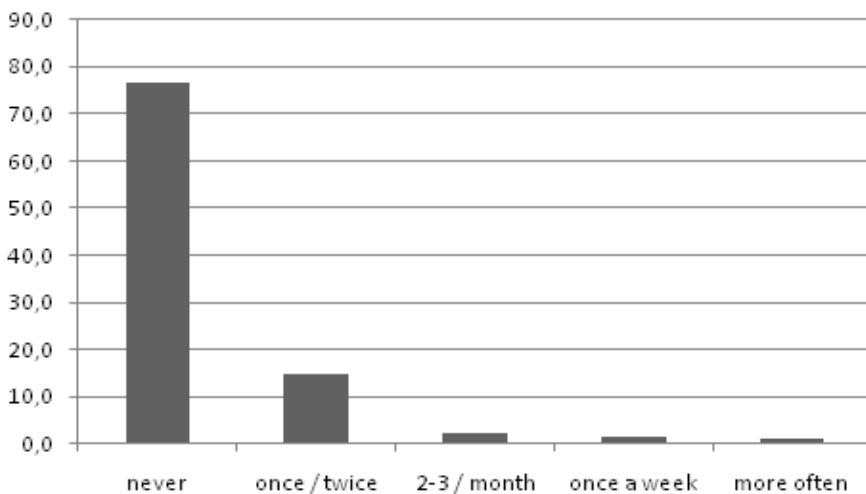


Figure 1. Answers to the question "During the last year, how often has it happened, that you were harassed, threatened, offended or excluded by internet or cell phone?" in percents.

One Global Questions versus Multiple-Item-Scales

When assessing cyberbullying with a singular, global question, participants must understand what cyberbullying is by being presented with a definition. By thoroughly reading it, the participants get a mental representation of the cyberbullying construct. In the next step of the questionnaire, they can compare this representation with their individual experiences and decide if they are or are not a victim of cyberbullying.

Using dichotomous questions (approach A, table 1), they are forced to choose between being a victim or not being a victim, while with rating scales (approach B, table 1) they also make the decision if the construct "cybervictim" applies to them, but with the difference, that they have to answer how often they have been affected by cyberbullying. In both cases, the global question forces them to make the decision themselves: "(How often) am I a victim of this construct that is being described here?"

Multi-item-scales (Approach C and D, table 1) do not use the global construct but specific behaviors instead. Before constructing the scale, researchers have to know about the range of possible cyberbullying behaviors and formulate them as items for the scale. As the range of possible behaviors is more or less infinite, the researcher has to categorize them. Common categorization systems are taxonomies by type of action (Willard 2007) or by type of medium (Smith et al., 2008), which are discussed in more detail in section 3.1.

In the current cyberbullying research literature, we find examples for both approaches: for singular global questions (e.g., Ybarra & Mitchell 2004) and for multiple-item-scales (e.g., Smith et al., 2008), as well as a combination of both types. For example, Beran and Li (2005) presented a list of cyberbullying behaviors to their participants and then asked a singular global question (are you a victim?).

Interestingly, some studies with multiple-item-scales report the results (prevalence rates) for each specific item, but do not compute a sum-score of the items in order to get a global value as an indicator of cyberbullying experience. This is a bit surprising, since the advantage of a multiple-item-scale is the fact, that it yields a more reliable measure than a singular global question, when the data from several items are aggregated into a new variable (Murphy & Davidshofer 2005).

Several studies showed that the way of measuring by singular global question versus multiple-item-scale can lead to big differences in results. This, of course, becomes evident only when a study uses both types of assessment and compares the results. Vandebosch and van Cleemput (2010) state that the discrepancies they discovered in their data might be explained by participants not considering all the actions listed in the multiple-item-scale as bullying, probably because some of those actions lack the aspects of “intent to hurt” or “repetition.” Menesini and Nocentini (2009) have another explanation for discrepancies found between the global key questions and the other statements of involvement in harassing acts. In two studies conducted by members of their research group (Menesini, Modena & Tani 2009; Menesini, Nocentini & Fonzi 2007), they explained that: “We might speculate that some adolescents hesitate to label themselves as bullies or as victims, while they could claim to have been involved in one or more bullying episodes as actors or victims (p. 231).” This argument can be supported by data from one of our own studies, where we also used two different approaches and compared the resulting data. Approximately 549 middle school students answered a questionnaire that contained the following questions: (a) Are you a victim of cyberbullying? (Approach A) and (b) During the last year, how often has it happened, that you were harassed, threatened, offended or excluded by internet or cell phone? (Approach B). The difference here was not only the usage of a rating scale in the second question, but also the fact that we avoided the word “victim,” which was used in the first question. Afterwards, we recoded the data from question B into three categories: no experience with violence (code = 0), some experience with violence (code = 1), and regular experience with violence (i.e., fitting the definition of “bullying”) (code = 2). If the participants had the same mental representation of bullying and violence as we do, we should expect the following pattern in the data: (a) Those who have experienced violence on a regular basis (category “2” on the second item) should have labeled themselves as victims on the first item, and (b) Those who have not experienced any kind of violence (category “0” on the second item) should not have labeled themselves as victims in the first item. Table 2 shows, that whilst the second hypothesis holds true in 98 percent of cases (only 5 people who have not experienced any violence labeled themselves as victims), the first hypothesis has to be rejected. Out of 45 students who claim to have

experienced violence on a regular (sometimes daily basis), only 53 percent labeled themselves as victims!

Table 2. Comparison of assessment approaches

		answer on item II			
		no violence (0)	Some violence (1)	regular violence (2)	sum
answer on item I	not a victim	271	200	21	492
	victim	5	28	24	57
	sum	276	228	45	549

Obviously, people hesitate to use the term “victim” for themselves, even if the situation indicates they *are* a victim. Inspecting the middle column of table 1, we can also see that from the 228 persons who experienced some violence, a minority of the 28 (12%) labeled themselves as victims. It would be interesting to know which personality traits are responsible for a person to apply the victim label to him or herself. The following recommendation can be drawn from this example: As participants seem to try and avoid the label “victim”, one should probably avoid this word, even when using global singular questions. (In Germany, “you victim” has become a derogatory term among teens, which is used in order to mark someone as not brave or not assertive). When using the term “victim,” researchers should at the least add a second approach of assessing victim status in order to validate the findings.

Or should we avoid singular global questions completely, when the sum score of a multiple item scale is more reliable? Not necessarily. Menesini & Nocentini (2009) discuss the advantages of the approach: “Arguments in favor of a single-item measure are practical reasons related to quicker administration of the measure and lower cost of data processing. From a theoretical perspective, Rossiter (2002) argues that a single-item measure is sufficient if the construct consists of one concrete object that is easily and uniformly imagined [...]”

Some limitations should be taken into account when using multiple-item scales. First, not all possible bullying acts are necessarily included in that list. This problem is related to the theoretical definition of the phenomenon. Second, not all items are necessarily of equal severity. While some of them may occur more regularly without being perceived as bullying, others may have very long-lasting effects even though they occur only occasionally (p. 231).”

While the arguments of economy might be true, there might be some doubt that cyberbullying is a construct that “consists of one concrete object that is easily and uniformly imagined.” Therefore, in spite of the disadvantages inherent to multiple-item-scales, it might still be recommended as the best way to measure cyberbullying, ideally combined with a rating scale as answer format. However, the question remains which multiple-item-scale should be used? In the following section, we will present and discuss some existing scales.

Multiple-Item-Scales in Current Cyberbullying Research

The construction of multiple-item-scales is not trivial. It is impossible to list all possible acts of cyberbullying behavior. Therefore, the vast amount of possible incidents must be

classified into types of cyberbullying, resulting in a taxonomy that describes clusters of behavior.

This has been done for traditional bullying as well, where behaviors are distinguished into physical, verbal or relational bullying (or sometimes between direct and indirect forms) (Smith & Brain 2000). Physical bullying does not describe a specific act, but is a generic term for all kinds of behavior that include an attack on the body (or the belongings) of a person, such as kicking, punching, hitting, pushing. The classification into physical, verbal, and relational bullying classifies behavior by the type of action the bully uses. Willard (2007) has also proposed a classification by type of action, when it comes to cyberbullying (see below). But beside the very broadly used classification by type of media (Smith et al., 2008), there are many other types of classification that can be found in cyberbullying research (Nocentini et al., 2010). Spears, Slee, Owens, and Johnson (2009) distinguished between overt and covert types of cyberbullying, Vandebosch and van Cleemput (2010) conceptualized cyberbullying as a form of traditional bullying in a new context, and the Berlin Cyberbullying-Cybervictimisation Questionnaire (Schultze-Krumbholz & Scheithauer 2009) distinguishes between relational and technically sophisticated cyberbullying.

In the following section, two approaches (the taxonomy of actions and the taxonomy of media) are described, which often build the basis for multiple-item-scales, and their advantages are also discussed. Later in this chapter, the criteria for a good taxonomy and the question where the clusters should come from is further explained. In the last section of this chapter, we present the taxonomy of reasons and discuss its value in cyberbullying research.

The Taxonomy of Actions versus the Taxonomy of Media

In 2006, Nancy Willard published the first book on cyberbullying. In this volume, she describes what cyberbullying can look like and lists eight possible forms of “online social cruelty.” She uses this term, because not all of the forms make sense in the context of bullying, since they lack aspects of repetition and / or imbalance of power (e.g., flaming = “a heated, short-lived argument” [p. 1]). The forms which can be applied to cyberbullying are:

Harassment (“repeated, ongoing sending of offensive messages;” Willard, 2006 p. 2) can also contain threats toward the victim and is a direct form of contact, where the perpetrator sends a message directly to the victim. That way, it is somehow similar to direct verbal bullying in real life, where someone is being called names, threatened or ridiculed. It is private, because when the harassment happens in a public forum, it becomes denigration.

Denigration is “speech about a target that is harmful, untrue and/or cruel” (Willard 2006 p. 3). Although the victim might be present (in a chatroom or other online environment) or read a denigrating text on a website at the same time as others, the recipient of a denigrating message is not (in contrast to harassment) the victim, but other people. The aim of denigration is to ridicule the victim and to destroy his or her reputation, so it is always a public act. It can be considered a parallel to relational bullying in real life, so it is an indirect form of violence. Denigration can mean spreading rumors or personal information about a victim (text based) but also the unwanted sharing of intimate or manipulated pictures or videos.

“Impersonation occurs when the cyberbully gains the ability to impersonate the target and post material that reflects badly on the target or interferes with the target’s friendships” (Willard 2006 p. 3). Impersonation can be considered a more severe form of denigration. It is also indirect, public, text, or picture/video based and aims to destroy the victim’s reputation. The difference is that the messages seem to come from the victims themselves, which gives the rumor or false information more credibility.

Outing & Trickery: “Outing is publicly posting, sending, or forwarding personal communications or images, especially communications or images that contain intimate personal information or are potentially embarrassing. A common form of outing is when a cyberbully receives an email message from a target that contains intimate personal information and then forwards the message to others” (Willard 2006 p. 4). Trickery is a special type of outing where “an innocent target can be tricked into thinking that a communication or sending of images is private” (p. 4), when in fact, it is immediately presented to a larger audience. It shares the features of denigration and impersonation, with one important distinction: The information is not a rumor, lie or fake picture, but it is most often real and therefore even more embarrassing for the victim.

Exclusion is analogous to exclusion in real life. The internet and new media in general offer many ways to interact not only in pairs of two, but in larger groups. Examples are online games (where multiple players form alliances), chatrooms with text and/or video chats, forums, Facebook groups, and many others. Not including a classmate in a group he or she desires to join is a form of relational aggression. It is an indirect form of bullying and it is always public, because there is always at least one third person who knows about the exclusion.

When using the taxonomy of actions in a multiple-item-questionnaire, I propose combining the four actions with one more dimension, texts versus pictures/videos. Table 3 shows that some of the actions can take more than one form and there is a major difference for a victim between a Facebook post, “Kevin wears pink underwear on his fat ass,” and the posting of a picture that proves this.

Table 3. The taxonomy of actions and the properties of its categories

	direct	indirect	private	public	text	picture
Harassment	x	-	x		x	x
Denigration Impersonation	-	x	-	x	x	x
Outing / Trickery	-	x	-	x	x	x
Exclusion	-	x	-	x	-	-

The taxonomy of media, as proposed by Smith and colleagues (2008) is easy to understand without any explanation. Smith et al. list the following six forms of communications and use them as categories for cyberbullying incidents: phone calls, text messages, chats, instant messengers, email, and websites. Both approaches have advantages and disadvantages. The taxonomy of media can be used to identify the most dangerous media, which can help teachers, counselors and parents decide where they must pay specific attention to. On the other hand, the media are not only merging (e.g., Facebook combines the features of websites, chats, and bulletin boards; smartphones include cameras and email-clients), but new types of communication arise every year, which are not always easy to integrate in the existing

taxonomy. The taxonomy of actions is not so prone to merging and arising of new technologies and covers many different forms of cyberbullying, but it lacks empirical examinations on the dimensional structure of the categories. As mentioned above, questionnaires should distinguish between text-based and picture/video-based bullying, which adds an important aspect to both approaches.

Probably because both approaches have their advantages, both can be found in current studies: Some use action scales (Ang & Goh 2010; Erdur-Baker 2010) and others use media scales (Beran & Li 2005; Ortega, Calmaestra & Mora Merchán, 2008; Slonje & Smith 2008). The action scales are not necessarily based on Willard's (2006) taxonomy. For example, Katzer, Fetchenhauer, and Belschak (2009) used their own list of actions, specified for chat room bullying) and the media scales do not always include the six media Smith and colleagues (2008) used in the original taxonomy. Furthermore, Slonje and Smith (2008) use four types of medium instead of the original six, due to the rather low incidence of the other categories. Similarly, Ortega et al. (2008) only differentiate between internet and phone bullying in their study.

Properties of Good Scales

Which taxonomy of cyberbullying should researchers use? A classification by type of action, a classification by type of medium, or a combination of both? Or should they develop one of their own? In order to compare results, it is often better to use existing assessment practices than to reinvent the wheel with every single study. The approaches proposed by Willard (2006) and by Smith and colleagues (2008) are useful and valid, and I suggest only a few variations when using them in a study. But until now, both taxonomies are only lists of items, many standardized and validated questionnaires do not exist at this point in time. It is hence understandable, when researchers prefer to construct their own multiple-item-scales. But when they do, they should be aware of two major problems associated with scale construction, which will be discussed in the following sections.

Basing the Items on a Theory?

When using multiple-item scales, researchers often do not have a specific theory behind the lists they present to their subjects. The taxonomy of media is a list of the communication tools that were broadly used by internet users at the time of the scale's construction. The taxonomy of actions is based on a practitioner's experience of what virtual attacks included around the year of 2006 (Willard 2006). Both taxonomies are constructed inductively by listing real-life experiences and subsuming them under headlines.

Another approach – generally more common in the social sciences – is to develop the items of the scale deductively, based on a scientific theory. Since cyberbullying is such a new phenomenon, hardly any theories exist. In order to base their questionnaire on a theoretical framework, Vandebosch and van Cleemput (2010) made use of the relationship between cyberbullying and traditional bullying (see table 4), and constructed their items based on the types of cyberbullying they defined as analogous to real-life bullying.

Table 4. Types of cyberbullying (Vandebosch & van Cleemput 2010)

traditional bullying	cyberbullying
direct bullying	direct bullying
physical (e.g., hitting)	
property (e.g., damaging someone's belongings)	property (e.g., purposely sending a virus-infected file)
verbal (e.g., calling someone names)	verbal (e.g., using the internet or mobile phone to insult or threaten)
non-verbal (e.g., making obscene gestures)	non-verbal (e.g., sending threatening or obscene pictures or illustrations)
social (e.g., excluding someone from a group)	social (e.g., excluding someone from an online group)
indirect bullying (e.g., spreading rumours)	indirect bullying
	"outing" of email entrusted information
	masquerading, e.g., deceiving someone by pretending to be someone else
	spreading gossip by mobile phone, email or chat
	taking part in voting on a defamatory polling website

Example items included "Sending excessively large or numerous emails to someone so as to overload their system" or "Breaking into someone else's email or IM program and sending messages in their name." While basing items on a theoretical framework is certainly a good approach, the step from operationalizing the "types of bullying" into specific items is still not trivial. The scale by Vandebosch and van Cleemput (2010), for example, is a mixture of very specific and rather non-specific behaviors and does not cover every possible act of cyberbullying. So, even though it is ideal to have a theory behind a scale, the usability of the scale in practice is also an important point to look after.

What Makes a Good Taxonomy?

A good taxonomy should fulfill two requirements (Jäger 1995). It is supposed to be as disjunctive and exhaustive as possible. Disjunction means that each element can be placed in only one category. An example for a disjunctive taxonomy is categorizing your family tree into members who still live and those who have already died. Great-aunt Hildegard cannot be alive and dead at the same time (always assuming she is not a ghost). In contrast, classifying the weather into just two categories (sunshine versus rain) does not make a disjunctive taxonomy, because it might be the case that it rains and the sun shines. Exhaustion means that there is a category for each element. In practice, this often does not work, and there has to be a last category named "other" for the few cases that fit neither category. Online dating websites ask their clients to give a marital status and let them choose between single, separated, divorced, and widowed. This taxonomy is not exhaustive, because married people do not have a correct option to choose. (In an ideal world, married people would probably not register on a dating platform and this is why the provider doesn't include this category). This taxonomy is, by the way, not disjunctive either, because a person could be widowed and divorced, for instance if they were married twice. An example for an exhaustive (and disjunctive!) taxonomy are the

various blood types. You can either be type A, B, AB or O. To every person, one (and only one) of those four blood groups can be assigned.

Applying this standard to the classification of cyberbullying, multiple-item-lists should at least be exhaustive. Every case of cyberbullying someone experiences should fall under some category in the list. If this is not the case, then some cybervictims, for whose experience there is no category, remain undetected. This does not only affect prevalence rates but other analyses, too. A lack of disjunction is not so serious, as long as specific, singular incidents are not asked about. As cyberbullying is - per definition – happening repeatedly, in many cases, victims experience more than one form of online aggression. Therefore, questionnaires will allow for participants to tick more than one item. When classifying single incidents, however, it is useful when the taxonomy is disjunctive, so the questionnaire yields a clear picture of what happened.

Smith et al.'s (2008) taxonomy of media might not always be disjunctive (e.g., when a private chat message gets copied by the bully and spread via email), but when all currently used forms of communication are listed, it is bound to be exhaustive. Willard's (2006) taxonomy of actions has been proven to be disjunctive as well as exhaustive for singular case descriptions (Riebel & Jäger 2009).

The Taxonomy of Reasons

In addition to the already discussed taxonomies of action and media, another alternative needs to be discussed - the categorization by type of reason (Fluck 2014). The question *why* children and adolescents engage in aggressive behavior is just as important as the exact kind of behavior and what media they use. Of course, this is not a taxonomy that can replace other multiple-item-scales, but should be used to complement them. For researchers, it is interesting to study the motives behind aggressive behavior and how they correlate with other constructs. For practitioners (e.g., school psychologists who carry out a questionnaire study in their school) it is important to know *why* (cyber)bullying happens, because the underlying motives have immediate consequences on the intervention that is needed. For example, when a study shows that the most common motive for bullying is boredom and the least common motive is xenophobia, then it does not make sense to use intercultural training as an intervention.

Literature has recognized a lot of motives for cyberbullying, including striving for resources and material gains, anger, jealousy, boredom, entertainment, dominance, self-worth defense, power, acting out aggressive phantasies online, retaliating, and gaining attention (Walker, Craven & Tokunaga 2013). The taxonomy of reasons tries to order those motives along the “roots of evil,” (Baumeister 2001; Pinker 2011), such as instrumental violence, the need to feel powerful, revenge, ideology, and sadism. Those categories were used by Baumeister (2001) to classify severe aggressive acts of adults, like war crimes, homicide, rape, and serial killing. Still, literature on bullying and cyberbullying suggests that the categories could be applied to life at school as well:

- Instrumental aggression (using violent means in order to achieve an aim that could not be achieved with peaceful methods) can happen in the context of blackmailing (Olweus 1993).
- The need to feel powerful is a universal human motive (McClelland 1987). Aggression is sometimes used to secure or enhance one's rank within the group. Being popular

within the peer group is linked to self-worth and a very important motive for adolescents (Patchin 2006).

- Revenge is discussed in the context of cyberbullying, because computers and the new media can be used to retaliate against an opponent who is stronger in real life, but is just as vulnerable as everybody else in cyberspace (König, Gollwitzer, & Steffgen 2010).
- Ideology can be the motivator for discrimination and bullying of minorities. Although it is usually more the psychological variables that distinguish victims from non-victims, superficial attributes can at least be used as justifications for aggressive behavior (Siann, Callaghan, Glissov, Lockhart & Rawson 1994).
- A form of sadism is the joy of hurting others for fun or out of boredom. Boredom has been identified as one of the main reasons why girls bully their classmates (Owens, Shute & Slee 2000).

Fluck (2014) conducted a study with middle-school students, and the results show that for adolescents in a school setting, all these categories of motives play a role, but that the taxonomy is not exhaustive. Qualitative data analyses show, that in students' everyday lives the following motives for aggression also play a role:

- Relationships: Especially for girls, popularity is dependent on how many friends a person has (Coyne, Archer & Eslea 2006). Conflicts arise when girls fight about who is whose best friend, when students help defend their weaker friends or when issues of jealousy or rejection arise in romantic relationships among young people.
- Group pressure: Bullying (and cyberbullying) is not a dyadic process between bully and victim, but a complex system that includes active and passive supporters of the bully as well as neutral bystanders (Olweus 2003). When a child or a teen is being bullied by a whole group, only a few might have a real motive for hating the victim, and others can go along with the bullying because of group pressure.
- Coping: Bullying is usually seen as a condition that leads to frustration. But aggressive behavior can also *arise* from frustration (Patchin & Hinduja 2011), when the perpetrator does not have constructive ways of coping with negative emotions.

A taxonomy by type of reasons can be useful in order to understand the underlying motives of aggressive behavior among students. Since the categories give no information beyond the motive, it should be combined with other multiple-item-scales instead of being used as standalone. In the following section, the combination of different taxonomies and the advantages of these combinations are described.

AN INTEGRATIVE ASSESSMENT APPROACH

How does the ideal cyberbullying questionnaire look like? In this last section, an exemplary solution to questionnaire construction is presented. Since ideally, more than one multiple-item-scale should be used, a three-dimensional model is suggested as a future direction for

questionnaire construction. The section concludes with a call for questionnaires to include open questions for qualitative data analysis.

The Cube Model of Cyberbullying Assessment

It has become evident from the discussion above, that multiple-item scales should be preferred over singular global questions and that rating scales are in most cases better than a dichotomous answer format. Since the different classification approaches (type of action versus type of medium) all have their advantages and problems, we suggest not to use either one or the other, but to combine them into a multidimensional assessment approach.

Questionnaires should include a scale for type of action as well as one for type of medium, in order to combine the advantages of both approaches. A third scale could ask for the reasons behind an attack. This approach cannot only be used for the assessment of prevalence (by asking “how frequently did you do this / did this happen to you”), but also for correlational studies. We can ask students for what they did (action), how they did it (medium), and why (reason). With this approach we can look deeper into the motivational structure behind cyberbullying and we can find out if the choice of actions and of media depend on the perpetrator’s motive. Figure 2 depicts a cube model of cyberbullying classification with the combination of action, medium, and reason.

Psychometrically, the advantage of a multiple item scale over a singular global question is the fact, that the items can be added up into a sum score (or a mean). This increases reliability and, as a consequence, validity of the test. Building a sum score, however, is of course not possible, when the items come from three different dimensions. A sum score over type of reason does not make a lot of sense, but a sum score could be computed over the type of action and the type of media items.

The cube model cannot only be used as a rationale for test construction, but also as a classification system for single events of cyberbullying. This can help teachers and other educational professionals to classify, order, and document cyberbullying cases. Also, practitioners can develop intervention strategies that apply to the certain types of cyberbullying. After having classified the incident, they can choose the corresponding strategy from the repertoire and act more quickly. Imagine the following scenario: Oliver complains to his teacher about getting hateful texts from Cindy ever since she got hold of his new phone number. Cindy sends him at least twenty messages a day, containing offenses and threats. When the teacher asks what Cindy’s problem might be, Oliver confesses that they used to be friends and Cindy has never forgiven him for ending the friendship. The teacher can easily classify this episode as harassment via text and out of revenge. As harassment is a problem between victim and perpetrator only, the teacher needs to address the problem only with Cindy and Oliver and not with the whole class. The revenge issue tells the teacher to speak to Cindy about forgiveness. As the problem is only based on text messages, the teacher can suggest Oliver gets a new number, among other suggestions.

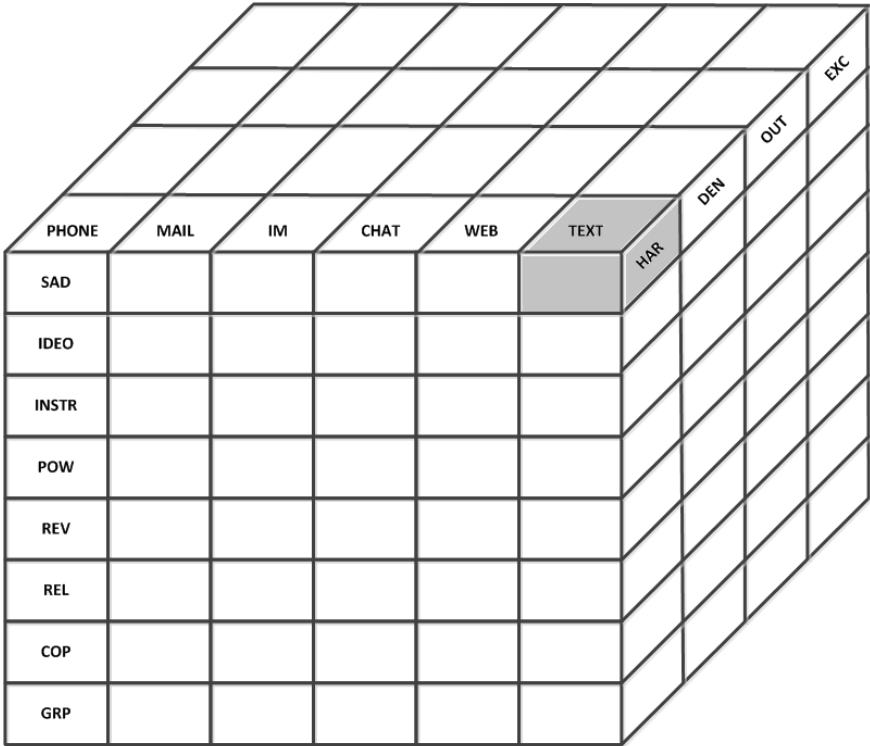


Figure 2. The cube model of cyberbullying assessment. It combines scales for media (phone, mail, instant messenger, chat, web, text), actions (harassment, denigration and impersonation, outing and trickery, exclusion) and reasons (sadism, ideology, instrumentality, power, revenge, relationships, coping, group pressure). Single acts of cyberbullying can be categorized along the three dimensions. The little cube coloured in grey would be used for an example of sadistic harassment by text message. Abbreviations: SAD = sadism, IDEO = ideology, INSTR = instrumental, POW = power, REV = revenge, REL = relationship, COP = coping, GRP = group processes, HAR = harassment, DEN = denigration, OUT = outing and trickery, EXC = exclusion.

A Plea Mixed Methods

Quantitative data are easy to handle and allow us to get a clear picture of cyberbullying prevalence rates, on its distribution over age, gender, school type, and other variables as well as on the correlation with other constructs. However, the world of new media is changing fast and a questionnaire that includes all common forms of online communication today might be missing out on the latest technology tomorrow. As researchers, we have to stay up to date with what teenagers do, when they go online, how they do it, and with which tools. By including open-ended questions in questionnaires, we can give participants a platform to share their everyday world with us. It helps us stay in touch with the most recent developments and can show us aspects we might not have thought of. Ideally, researchers should use a mixture of both methods, thus combining the advantages of both approaches (Mishna & van Wert 2013). For an example of how the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used to investigate motives see Fluck (2014). Also, depending on the research question, a questionnaire is not always the gold standard, especially when it comes to investigating new and fast-

changing phenomena. Interviews or focus groups can give insights where standardized questionnaires cannot.

CONCLUSION

The measurement of cyberbullying is a complex task that leaves the researcher with many possible approaches. After reviewing the literature, the following recommendations can be drawn for the assessment of the construct: The usage of rating scales, which can later be dichotomized should be preferred over the usage of dichotomous items. Multiple-item-scales might prove more reliable and valid than singular global questions. The term “victim” should be avoided when formulating item text. When choosing from existing multiple-item-scales, it is best to use a categorization by type of action combined with one by type of medium while also taking into the account the difference between text-based and picture/video-based bullying. When constructing new scales (inductively or deductively), it is important to investigate if the categories are exhaustive (and disjunctive when for the classification of singular events). Questionnaires should contain items for the bullies’ as well as for the victims’ perspectives in order not to overlook bully-victims’ perspectives. Additional, open-ended questions can yield useful answers for qualitative data analysis, especially when items have been constructed based on theory.

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Chapter 4

ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SUFFERED AND COMMITTED CYBER-AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR

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INTRODUCTION

The mode in which people communicate and socialization patterns among adolescents have changed during the last decades. These modes are in constant evolution as a result of the development and proliferation of electronic communication devices. Technological growth and easy access to Internet enables the creation of new cyber scenarios that foster novel forms of communication and interpersonal relationships. These technological advances allow people to exchange information in easier, more entertaining, and faster ways. Internet and smartphones have become an essential part of daily life and social interaction for today's youth. Adolescents spend more time online than ever before. However, despite the prevalent use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in the lives of adolescents, we are only beginning to understand how these tools are influencing adolescents' communication skills and their social relationships. Internet provides innumerable possibilities for growth among youth, including benefits, such as social support, overcoming shyness, identity exploration, and the development of strategies for learning, and improvements in interpersonal and critical thinking skills, as well as educational benefits generated from expansive access to knowledge, academic support, and worldwide cross-cultural interactions. Although most interactions are considered positive or neutral, at times, conflict and violence impose themselves upon balance and harmony.

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CYBERBULLYING: A COMPLEX MULTIDIMENSIONAL AND EMERGENT CONSTRUCT

Aggression that occurs using ICTs have generally been grouped under the term cyberbullying, an emergent concept that researchers are still debating (Pieschl, Porsch, Kahl & Klockenbusch 2013). Some authors consider cyberbullying to be an indirect form of bullying that needs technological resources to be carried out (Law, Shapka, Hymel, Olson & Waterhouse 2012). Thus, the two phenomena, bullying and cyberbullying, share the same defining criteria: intent to hurt, imbalance of power, and repetition (Pieschl et al., 2013). Other authors argue that they are two different concepts, each with its own characteristics that define and differentiate it (Casas, Del Rey & Ortega 2013). Although cyberbullying is defined as an aggressive, intentional, and repeated act or behavior carried out using ICTs against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself, cyberbullying has its own identifying characteristics. These include anonymity of the bully, the ability of the act to reach a larger potential audience (publicity), the difficulty of disconnecting oneself from the cyber environment, lower levels of supervision, decreased time and space limits, decreased level of direct feedback between the bully and the victim, and certain emotional considerations stemming from the absence of the direct face-to-face contact which is present in many types of traditional bullying.

In relation to the aggressor's intent to hurt – to inflict pain, fear, or harm on the victim, in the cyber context, the detection and application of this criterion involves certain difficulties related to the nature of communication in this context. In a virtual environment communication it is difficult to understand a person's emotions or really understand the consequences of one adolescent's behavior (Naruskov, Luik, Nocentini, & Menesini 2012). On the other hand, Shariff (2015) states that cyberbullying can also be unintentional for digital natives, or children growing up immersed in digital media, because they often fail to appreciate the difference between jokes and intentional harm.

Another criterion identifying cyberbullying is also from the classical bullying phenomenon – the repetition of the aggression. Nevertheless, in the case of cyberbullying, repetition does not necessarily imply a succession of violent acts from the same attacker. Slonje, Smith, and Frisén (2013) proposed that the victim can experience a single aggression on numerous occasions due to the permanent and public nature of virtual communication. Even though private and compromising material owned by the victim may be sent only once, it may be seen and then broadcast by several people, causing the victim more pain and lasting a longer time (Dooley, Pyzalski, & Cross 2009). If something is posted on the internet by the perpetrator only once, it can be seen by multiple people and it becomes extremely difficult to control or remove it because the information may have been downloaded, saved, and/or forwarded to a large audience. Moreover, Langos (2012) relates repetition to intent in cases of direct cyberbullying, understanding that when abuse occurs again and again it is clearly shown not to be an isolated or inadvertent act, but an intentional one. Without the presence of this factor, conduct may arguable be described as cyberjoking or playful cyberteasing in the cyber space. In sum, according to Nocentini et al. (2010), repetition is firmly established as being a key criterion in cyberbullying.

A third criterion attributed to the definition of cyberbullying is the existence of an imbalance of power between the aggressor and victim. According to Grigg (2010), in the cyber context the imbalance is materialized in situations where victims cannot easily defend

themselves. This asymmetry of power between the aggressor and the victim does not refer to the physical, emotional, or psychological superiority of the aggressor, but to an asymmetry in the ICT domain (Slonje et al., 2013). Knowledge of and competence in using ICT tools provides access to victims' private virtual spaces in order to disseminate information or materials stored there, steal their identity, and create obstacles against identifying the aggressor (Casas et al., 2013). Grigg (2010) also alludes to a social imbalance caused by the difference in status in favor of the aggressor, which is augmented by the support of the group or social network in which the aggressor may be very popular. Other authors interpret the imbalance of power as a symbiotic relationship with other criteria, such as the intent to hurt (Nocentini et al., 2010) or the anonymous or public nature of the aggressor (Dooley et al., 2009; Slonje & Smith 2008). Naruskov et al. (2012) indicated that intentionality is important but it cannot be viewed independently from the imbalance of power because the effect on the victim and his/her perception of the acts can also be more relevant than the intentions behind the aggressor's behavior. Similarly, the anonymous and public nature of the attack and the continuous availability of the victim may create an imbalance in power relations (Moore, Nakano, Enomoto, & Suda 2012).

A fourth criterion distinguishing cyberbullying is the anonymity which protects the aggressor. The possibilities of concealment offered by technological and cyber media without the need for any very advanced technical knowledge can significantly influence the way people resolve their conflicts. Specifically, Kowalski, Limber, and Agatston (2008) argue that anonymity may encourage some people to act in a way that they never would in real life. This effect might help to disinhibit cyberbullies, making it easier to say, write, or send things they normally would not in physical contexts. Anonymity protects perpetrators and presents them with an opportunity to act covertly and make it more difficult for the victim to tolerate. Nevertheless, while anonymity is considered a specific criterion of cyberbullying, there are studies that show that most of the victims recognize their cyberaggressors and identify them as peers belonging to their school or to their closest social environment (e.g., Mishna, Saini & Solomon 2009; Slonje et al., 2013).

The final defining criterion of cyberbullying corresponds to the open and uncontrolled dissemination of the aggressive behavior, i.e., advertising it. Despite this being one of the most widely occurring criteria in acts of cyberbullying (Patchin & Hinduja 2010), some researchers caution that it should not be considered an essential characteristic defining and delimiting an act of cyberbullying, although they do recognize its relevance in reflecting the seriousness of the aggressive act (Nocentini et al., 2010).

DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN RESEARCHERS' AND ADOLESCENTS' CONCERNING THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CYBERBULLYING

The study of the dimensions and characteristics specific to cyberbullying allows one to redefine this construct so as to design tighter and more effective prevention and intervention programs. The numerous controversies and contradictions that still exist about the boundary defining this phenomenon show the need to undertake further research focused on the perception that parents, educators, and adolescents have of cyberbullying. If the perception of those involved in this type of cyberaggression is very different from how researchers

conceptualize it, this will not only mean that we are faced with the description of quite different realities, but also that the effectiveness of prevention and intervention programs will be undermined.

Previous studies have shown that the interpretations that researchers and adolescents make of both the bullying phenomenon and the ways in which it is manifested are very different, and that sometimes adolescents define some behaviors as bullying that researchers would classify as occasional aggressions and that adolescents might consider behaviors as social interaction behaviors while researchers would classify these behaviors as bullying (Cuadrado 2011). Our review of the scientific literature on the perception that adolescents have of cyberbullying found only a sparse occurrence of publications, and the existing studies present results that can only be considered exploratory. Some researchers warn of the difficulty that adolescents (Mishna et al., 2009) and adults (Grigg 2010) have in differentiating cyberaggression from an episode of cyberbullying. In a study of 38 pupils of US grades 5-8, Mishna et al. (2009) conclude that the type of involvement in cases of cyberbullying significantly influence the defining criteria considered for this construct. They also note that, as the age of the pupil increases, the anonymity criterion becomes more relative and loses importance. Similarly, Dredge, Gleeson, and de la Piedad (2014), in considering the role of victim, argue that experiences of victimization shape the perceptions that adolescents have of cyberbullying.

Other studies have addressed the establishment of first- and second-order criteria by analyzing whether the combination and interaction of some of them could be key indicators to differentiate cyberbullying from cyberaggression. Thus, Bass, de Jong, and Drossaert (2013) focus on the intent and repetition criteria, analyzing their use by 287 children aged 11-12. Their results showed that the perception of these criteria in the cyber context is ambiguous and arbitrary, and it is therefore impossible to determine whether the relationship between the two is the criterion most often used to define cyberbullying. Nevertheless, Menesini et al. (2012) find that European adolescents tend to believe that if the behaviors is repeated then it cannot be classified as unintentional.

The greater relevance of certain criteria over others is also studied by Nocentini et al. (2010), with samples from different European countries. Their results show that there are two criteria that adolescents attach particular importance to in differentiating a cyberaggression act from an episode of cyberbullying: intent and imbalance. Dredge et al. (2014), however, find that there are few young Australians who take the intent to hurt and imbalance of power as essential components in the definition of cyberbullying. Instead, they emphasize the importance of other possible components, such as the impact that the aggression has on the victim. Nocentini et al. (2010) and Menesini et al. (2012) indicate that, although adolescents consider anonymity in determining the impact that cyberaggression has on the victim, they do not see it as a defining characteristic of cyberbullying. These authors also suggest that adolescents do not consider 'advertising' the abuse to be a criterion classifying a cyberaggressive act as cyberbullying. Sticca and Perren (2013), however, indicate that Swiss adolescents attach particular importance to the public dimension of cyberaggression, and consider it to be a defining characteristic of cyberbullying that determines the severity of the harm caused. In the same line as the previous studies, Naruskov et al. (2012) analyzed the perceptions that 20 Estonian secondary education pupils aged 9-15 have about cyberbullying. They also investigate the application of defining criteria to the different forms in which this phenomenon is manifested. Their results showed that adolescents consider five criteria to define cyberbullying: intent to hurt, imbalance of power, repeated aggressive behavior, anonymity, and advertising.

These authors warn, however, that adolescents do not simultaneously apply these criteria to the variations of cyberbullying that researchers have defined. Only visual abuse (characterized mostly by the dissemination of photos and videoclips) and impersonation are, in the opinion of the pupils, what best represent the construct of cyberbullying, as opposed to exclusion and written or spoken aggression.

Another interesting contribution to the study of perceptions about cyberbullying is that of Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2008). In addition to analyzing the importance that 279 Belgian adolescents aged 10 to 19 attributed to each of the cyberbullying identifying criteria, they established a differentiation of perceptions according to the role played either as a cyberaggressor or as a cybervictim. Their results indicate that, regardless of their type of involvement in cases of cyberbullying, adolescents considered the repetition criterion to be a key feature with which to distinguish this phenomenon from cyberaggression. In contrast, they downplayed intent to hurt, understanding that sometimes the behavior does not intend to cause harm. In these cases, intent is subject to personal interpretations and sensitivities. Considering the role played, Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2008) noted that the intent criterion is very clearly present in aggressors' descriptions of cyberbullying, whereas for the victims whether or not they attribute intent to cyberbullying depends on the type of behavior they have suffered and their relationship with the aggressor. If they know the aggressor's identity, and it is a friend, the behavior will be interpreted as fun. However, if the identity is unknown or it is a person whom they find unpleasant or whom they receive threats from prior, the intent to hurt is attributed immediately. Another perceptual difference recorded that depended on the role played referred to the relationship that aggressors and victims established between imbalances of power and anonymity. The aggressors believed that they operated anonymously or camouflaged against people they know in the real world and whom they perceive to be weaker. The victims do not know their aggressors, and this increases their sense of helplessness and insecurity.

HOW THE EXPERIENCES OF AGGRESSION AND VICTIMIZATION AFFECT ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS

Although previous research studies have addressed the perceptions adolescents have about cyberbullying, their results are very different. The explanation of the discrepancies in the results may be the use of different questionnaires and the small size of some of the samples. Moreover, the contributions of previous studies on this topic have focused primarily on the perception of cyberbullying construct without considering the interpretation that adolescents make of the different modes in which this phenomenon can manifest. This present work provides an instrument that, first, permits identification of the adolescents who play the roles of cyberaggressor and cybervictim. And second, it allows one to determine the criteria that adolescents use to differentiate a cyberaggression episode from a cyberbullying episode, and to identify what types of cyber abuse they consider to be cyberbullying. In this way, one has access to both the adolescents' perceptions of the phenomenon of cyberbullying and its manifestations, and to the specific perceptions presented by those who are or have been cybervictims or cyberaggressors. The objectives pursued in this study were: (a) to determine the perceptions adolescents have about cyberbullying and cyber abuse; and (b) to analyse the influence of

experiences of cybervictimization and cyberaggression on the perception of cyberbullying and its various forms.

METHOD

Participants

In the present work, we try to answer these questions by presenting the results of research carried out in Extremadura (Spain), involving 1,753 adolescents (50.9% male and 49.1% female) with ages between 12 and 16 years ($M = 13.9$, $SD = 1.2$). With respect to the demographic and socioeconomic variables of the sample, it should be mentioned that the geographical area from which the participants were drawn has a very small number of immigrant families or families with racial and cultural characteristics significantly different from those of the autochthonous population. For this reason, there is only a minimal representation in this sample of secondary school pupils with a different cultural, racial, or ethnic profile. Of the total study sample, only 28 had racial or ethnic profiles different from their peers. Such a small, and barely significant, group does not allow any comparative analysis to be made with the rest of the sample population. Also, in composing the sample, it was decided to exclude pupils with some kind of disability so as to avoid the inclusion of other variables that might have had a marked influence on the overall results. The definition of the strata by geographical zones encompassed both central urban populations whose families are of a relatively higher socio-cultural and economic level, and peri-urban and rural populations whose families are of a relatively lower socioeconomic level. The final sample selection had a balance of the two types of profile, with analogous representations. We opted for overall analyses of the entire participant population, excluding any comparative analyses based on differential socioeconomic profiles. The reason for this decision was that all of these teenagers, including those from socially, culturally, or economically disadvantaged backgrounds, have easy access to Internet technologies. They can use these tools in their schools, in their town libraries, or through their friends, when they do not actually have them in their own home. They all, therefore, have the sufficient means to commit or suffer episodes of cyberbullying. In addition, 98% of the teenagers surveyed stated on the questionnaire that they had a smartphone with Internet access. This datum implies that all of the subjects, regardless of their socioeconomic status, are susceptible to being subjected to or committing cyberbullying attacks.

Measurement

The instrument used for data acquisition was a revised version of the questionnaire used by Cuadrado (2012) for the identification of adolescents' criteria identifying bullying. The modifications made were to replace the concept of bullying by that of cyberbullying, and in incorporating new response options to consider other possible defining criteria such as publicity/privacy, anonymity/familiarity, among others. The final version consisted of 43 questions. The first three allow identification of the aggressors, victims, and witnesses of

cyberbullying. These three questions ask about the variations of cyberbullying the adolescents suffer, commit, or observe. The classification criterion of these variations is “type of behaviour.” Drawing on studies by Huang and Chou (2010), Kowalski, Limber, and Agatston (2012), Rivers and Noret (2010), and Willard (2006), we considered a total of eight categories: insults (including homophobia), threats (including blackmail), spreading false rumors (in order to harm the reputation, damage friendships, or to humiliate), exclusion (from contact lists, social networking, etc.), impersonation (another's identity is used to send or post material of insulting, inappropriate, or embarrassing content in order to damage the reputation or the friendships of the victim), sexting, publication of denigrating images or videoclips, and recording and disseminating physical aggressions. For the study of each of these categories, questions were included relating to the use of different technological resources (i.e., chats, e-mails, forum, smartphones, social networking) through which these abuses were carried out. The adolescents answered these questions indicating how often they committed, suffered, or observed each type of abuse during the past two months. The scale used is composed of four values: never, once or twice, once a week, and several times a week.

The remaining 40 questions that make up the questionnaire are oriented toward the analysis of the perceptions that adolescents have about cyberbullying and the various forms in which it is manifested. Each of these questions contained different, not exclusive, response options in which we introduced references to the repetition of abuse perpetrated, the aggressor's intent to hurt, the imbalance of power between the aggressor and victim, the anonymity behind which those who abuse others hide, the advertising made of the aggression, the revenge the victims resorted to in order to compensate for their pain, the forms of communication and social interactions adolescents employ in the cyber world, and the ways adolescents had fun with technology or cyber media, among others. To respond to each of the situations presented in the questionnaire, we opted to use a numerical scale with which one can easily establish distances or differences among participants. This scale consists of 5 values from 1 to 5 representing the respondent's degree of agreement with the responses to the items of the questionnaire: (1) *strongly agree*, (2) *agree*, (3) *neither agree nor disagree*, (4) *agree a bit*, (5) *disagree*. It was necessary to make an initial factor analysis to reduce the number of variables to consider, reflecting the main factors explaining the variability, with the relative importance of each and the relationships between them. In the second phase, it was necessary to identify the adolescents who defined themselves as aggressor or victim, and perform a new exploratory factor analysis to determine whether their definitions of cyberbullying varied according to their role in the different cyberbullying situations they experience.

RESULTS

Adolescents' Perceptions of Cyberbullying

The approach to the perceptions that adolescents have of this phenomenon requires knowledge of both factors or criteria that shape their definitions of this concept and of what they think are the possible behaviors in which cyberbullying may be manifested. For adolescents, the definition of this construct may be complex. However, the detailed description

of its application was expected to be simpler for them, and would thus facilitate our acquisition of a more global and comprehensive vision of the bases of their perceptions of cyberbullying.

The diversity of the responses required the application of a first exploratory factor analysis to group the responses depending on their interrelationships, and thus delimit more generic criteria. The resulting KMO index of .84 and a significance level in the Bartlett sphericity test of .001, provided the sufficient guarantee of reliability of the results.

The principal component analysis showed that, although in principle up to seven factors were detected as present in the concept adolescents have of cyberbullying, only four explained the variability of the responses and provided a closer approximation to the general perception that more than 86% of the participants has (Table 1).

Table 1. Total Variance Explained by the Components

Component	Initialeigenvalues			Extraction sums of squared loadings		
	Total	% of variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of variance	Cumulative %
1	4.82	38.57	38.57	4.82	38.57	38.57
2	2.65	19.24	57.81	2.65	19.24	57.81
3	2.04	16.73	74.54	2.04	16.73	74.54
4	1.40	11.61	86.15	1.40	11.61	86.15
5	0.74	5.92	92.07			
6	0.58	4.85	96.92			
7	0.46	3.08	100			

Extraction method: Principal component analysis.

Factor 1. Intent to Hurt

This factor included those responses in which adolescents considered the intent of causing social or psychological injury to others to be a necessary condition to classify cyberaggression as cyberbullying. This factor accounts for 38.57% of the variance (Table 1), it has an internal reliability of .72, and a mean factor loading of .51.

Factor 2. Imbalance of Power

This factor included behavior that the pupils classified as cyberbullying and in which they perceived the existence of an asymmetry between the aggressor and victim, not just social or psychological, but also regarding the mastery of technological media. This factor accounts for 19.24% of the variance (Table 1), has high internal reliability ($\alpha=.74$), and a mean factor loading of .53.

Factor 3. Advertising

This factor includes the situations in which adolescents indicated that there has to be dissemination of cyberaggression, through either the Internet or cellular telephony, as a necessary condition for it to be classified as cyberbullying. This factor accounts for 16.73% of the variance (Table 1), has a moderate internal reliability ($\alpha=.67$), and a mean factor loading of .47.

Factor 4. Form of Social Relationship

This factor includes cyberbullying situations that adolescents interpreted as a form of fun and relationship among peers. This factor accounts for 11.61% of the variance (Table 1), has a moderate internal reliability ($\alpha=.81$), and a mean factor loading of .50.

The factor extraction indicated that there are three key criteria that adolescents used to define cyberbullying: intent to hurt, imbalance of power, and advertising. Nevertheless, they attributed all three criteria simultaneously to impersonation (Table 2).

Table 2. Perception of cyberbullying. Rotated Component Matrix

	Components			
	1	2	3	4
Definition of cyberbullying	.649	.612	.476	
Threats	.388	.519		
Spreading false rumors			.520	.415
Insults			.401	.524
Exclusion	.479			
Impersonation	.506	.634	.307	
Sexting	.568	.337		
Physical attacks	.442		.519	
Videoclip			.604	.570

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax. The rotation converged in 9 iterations.

The results also show that adolescents established a link between the intent and imbalance criteria to define threats and harassment as cyberbullying. But in neither of these modes of abuse is advertising a relevant criterion. Abuse associated with spreading rumors and insults is perceived simply as behavior that facilitates interaction and communication among peers. The content of the messages, as well as the consequences that they may have for others, are relativized and justified as part of adolescents' social dynamics, and seen as not necessarily going to harm others. Exclusion is interpreted as behavior aimed at inflicting harm on victims in which they feel rejected from groups (.479). The intent criterion is also present in the perception adolescents have of recording and disseminating acts of physical aggression (.442). Unlike exclusion, in physical aggression there is also a factor loading (.570) for the criterion of advertising. Therefore, this type of cyber abuse is described as cyberaggression that seeks to cause harm to others, and that this harm is intensified by the publication and dissemination of those recordings.

Identifying Cyberaggressors and Cybervictims

A total of 211 adolescents declared themselves to be victims of cyberbullying, and 245 claimed to be cyberaggressors. Table 3 presents the distribution of cyberaggressors and cybervictims by gender and education level (Table 3).

Table 3. Number of cyberaggressors and cybervictims by gender and education level

	Cybervictims					Cyberaggressors				
	1st ESO	2nd ESO	3rd ESO	4th ESO	Total	1st ESO	2nd ESO	3rd ESO	4th ESO	Total
Boys	18	16	27	22	83	50	44	27	29	150
Girls	23	27	35	43	128	19	38	17	21	95
Total	41	43	62	65	211	69	82	44	50	245

With respect to the variable corresponding to the type of aggressive behavior, the descriptive results show that cybervictims are subject to more than one form of cyberbullying, and aggressors do not use a specific type of cyber abuse to cause harm, but indicate a wide range of abusive behaviors, thus having a greater likelihood of causing the harm intended (Table 4).

Table 4. Number of cyberaggressors and cybervictims in the different modes of cyberbullying

	Cybervictims	Cyberaggressors
Threats	115	128
Spreading false rumors	151	102
Insults	110	94
Exclusion	73	52
Impersonation	71	83
Sexting	26	19
Physical attacks	30	16
Videoclip	139	157

The cyber abuses with the greatest prevalence of victims and aggressors were those related to the publication of humiliating images and videoclips, threats, insults, and spreading false rumors. The prevalence drops markedly when cyberaggression involves sexual harassment (sexting), recording and publishing physical aggression, and exclusion.

Similarities and Differences in the Perceptions of Cyberbullying among Cybervictims and Cyberaggressors

The analysis of the perceptions of cyberaggressors ($KMO=.76$, $Bartlett=.001$) and cybervictims ($KMO=.83$, $Bartlett=.001$) showed there to be four common factors regardless of the role that the adolescent plays: intent to hurt, imbalance of power, advertising, and forms of social interaction and relationships. Nevertheless, there were significant differences in the importance that the two groups attributed to each of those factors. For the aggressors, the primary factor is the imbalance of power, accounting for 30.32% of the variance of their responses. The second is advertising cyberaggression (variance=24.16%). The third is the factor corresponding to forms of social relationship (variance=20.84%), and the fourth is the intent to hurt (variance=10.73%). The pupils' responses yielded seven factors, four of which were significant (Table 5).

Table 5. Total variance explained by the four principal components: Cyberaggressors

Component	Initial eigen values			Extraction sums of squared loadings		
	Total	% of variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of variance	Cumulative %
1	3.27	30.32	30.32	3.27	30.32	30.32
2	2.81	24.16	54.48	2.81	24.16	54.48
3	2.16	20.84	75.32	2.16	20.84	75.32
4	1.34	10.73	86.05	1.34	10.73	86.05
5	0.89	7.68	93.73			
6	0.45	4.21	97.94			
7	0.22	2.03	100			

Extraction method: Principal component analysis.

For victims' responses, six factors explained the variability of their perceptions about cyberbullying and its various modes. Of these factors, four were significant. The primary factor is the intent to hurt, accounting for 41.16% of the variance. The second is advertising the aggression (variance=22.68%), the third is the imbalance of power (variance=13.80%), and the fourth is the factor corresponding to forms of social relationship (variance=9.37%) (Table 6).

Table 6. Total variance explained by the four principal components: Cybervictims

Component	Initial eigen values			Extraction sums of squared loadings		
	Total	% of variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of variance	Cumulative %
1	5.47	41.16	41.16	5.47	41.16	41.16
2	3.04	22.68	63.84	3.04	22.68	63.84
3	1.91	13.80	77.64	1.91	13.80	77.64
4	1.26	9.37	87.01	1.26	9.37	87.01
5	0.92	7.03	94.04			
6	0.74	5.96	100			

Extraction method: Principal component analysis.

These results showed that, while the intent to hurt is, for victims, the primary factor behind most of the cyberaggression analyzed, it is a factor of less importance for aggressors. Similarly, while the imbalance of power is a key component in the perceptions of aggressors, it is secondary in the case of victims. Other differences that stand out are how aggressors and victims apply these criteria to both the definition of cyberbullying and the determination of its various manifestations.

In cyberaggressors' perceptions, there are three identifying criteria they use to differentiate cyberaggression from an episode of cyberbullying: advertising (.431), intent to hurt (.534), and imbalance of power (.721), with most importance being given to this last criteria. Given this conceptualization, cyberaggressors only classified impersonation as cyberbullying as the only form of aggression that they simultaneously perceived as meeting the above three criteria (Table 7).

A detailed analysis of the factor loadings showed that aggressors believed that for five of the eight modes of cyberaggression analyzed to be manifested there must be an imbalance of

power between aggressor and victim (Table 7). Similarly, verbal abuse (rumors and insults), video-recorded abuse (physical aggression and videoclips), and impersonation are interpreted by aggressors as behaviors that promote communication and interaction among peers (Table 7). They see these behaviors as mechanisms of social interaction in which the game-playing component is clearly present, and the desire to cause harm is absent.

Table 7. The aggressors' perceptions of cyberbullying: Rotated Component Matrix

	Components			
	1	2	3	4
Definition of cyberbullying	.721	.431		.534
Threats	.573			
Spreading false rumors		3.89	.482	
Insults		.508	.456	
Exclusion	.321			
Impersonation	.670	.301	.316	.337
Sexting	.492			.340
Physical attacks	.405	.498	.357	
Videoclip		.525	.512	

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax. The rotation converged in 10 iterations.

The advertising criterion is also one of the principal axes structuring aggressors' perceptions of the various modes of cyberbullying. The coincidence between the manifestations that these adolescents understand as being forms of social interaction and those which receive high factor loadings on the advertising criterion suggested that there is possibly a relationship of interdependence between the two attributes – in particular, that making certain behaviors publicly well-known increases the possibilities for social interaction among peers.

Victims' perceptions diverge significantly from those of the aggressor group. Although the criteria they use to define cyberbullying are only fully met in the case of impersonation as was also the case for aggressors, the factor loadings in the other modes of aggression clearly reflected different perceptions. The results for the intentionality factor showed that victims perceived all forms of cyber abuse considered in the present study except insults to be committed with the objective of causing harm to peers (Table 8).

Victims were more limited than aggressors in interpreting the different modes of cyberbullying as merely mechanisms of social interaction. Although the victims perceived that spreading hurtful rumors (.310) and the publication of offensive videoclips (.443) can sometimes be regarded as behavior that they and their peers regularly use in their cyber contacts and exchanges, they also noted that the reasons are not always just having fun or part of normalized interactions, but that in many cases there is the intent to hurt others (Table 8). On the contrary, they did not attribute insults with the intent to hurt. Rather, these are interpreted primarily as forms of greeting or expressions used to address peers, with there being no intention to cause any offense.

One final difference between victims and aggressors is that the former find little relevance in the imbalance of power criterion. While aggressors score this criterion in five of the eight modes of cyberbullying analyzed, victims only scored it in impersonation (.584). For them, this

imbalance is probably related to the possession of technical knowledge that allows the aggressor to hack into security systems and steal other people's identities, private messages, and documents.

Table 8. The victims' perceptions of cyberbullying: Rotated Component Matrix

	Components			
	1	2	3	4
Definition of cyberbullying	.739	.572	.534	
Threats	.501	.437		
Spreading false rumors	.460			.310
Insults				.322
Exclusion	.553	.386		
Impersonation	.608		.337	
Sexting	.619		.340	
Physical attacks	.481	.526		
Videoclip	.425	.473		.443

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax. The rotation converged in 8 iterations.

DISCUSSION

Despite the proliferation of research on cyberbullying in the last decade, important questions remain about the conceptual definition of this phenomenon. The present results are consistent with the suggestions made by Slonje et al. (2013) about the need to consider in greater depth the delimitation of the criteria that define this construct. If researchers use different criteria to those used by youth to classify violent behaviour as cyberbullying then they will be describing different realities, and the success of anti-cyberbullying programs will consequently be severely threatened.. This is a population for whom the patterns of communication and interaction among peers differ from those of preceding generations. For them, ICTs form the essence of the instruments they use for connection and relationships with not only their closest sociocultural environment but also another virtually constructed environment to which they increasingly attach ever greater importance.

This study has shown that, of the five criteria considered to be identifiers of cyberbullying, Spanish adolescents have recourse to just three: intent to hurt, imbalance of power, and advertising. The lack of references to repeated aggressive behavior may be motivated, as noted by Nocentini et al. (2010), by the relationship between this criterion and advertising. Adolescents today understand that, even though the actual act of cyberaggression may occur only once, its rapid and uncontrolled spread via the Internet or mobile devices means that the hurt is repeated.

Spanish adolescents do not believe that anonymity should be considered a determining factor differentiating cyberaggression from an episode of cyberbullying. In line with these results, Dredge et al. (2014) argued that adolescents relativize this criterion because many of them know, or have reasonable suspicions about, the identity of aggressors. In most cases they are acquaintances who belong to the close environment of the victim. The high degree of

continuity between offline and online contexts in which adolescents' interactions foster the transfer to cyberspace of interpersonal relationships that started in physical environments (Subrahmanyam, Smahel, & Greenfield 2006). In this sense, cyberbullying episodes are a continuation of aggression experienced in the school context. The creation of peer support groups can promote the learning of how to resolve interpersonal conflicts, and the development of a capacity for empathy. The establishment and consolidation of a safety net in the form of presential adolescent support groups in classroom contexts, so important at this stage of a person's development, can foster the acquisition of prosocial attitudes and behaviors, and reduce instances of cyberbullying as well as encouraged the reporting of such instances.

Regarding the intent criterion, adolescents have no doubts about including it as a defining criterion of cyberbullying. Its high factor loading relative to those of the other factors showed that adolescents consider it to be a key identifier of cyberbullying, as has been noted in other studies (Bass et al., 2013). Nevertheless, there are still many unanswered questions concerning this criterion. One, for instance, is whether intent has to be detected in the aggressor or if it is sufficient that the victim perceives the abuse as causing them deliberate harm. In the cyber context, in which the aggressor's identity can be hidden, it is difficult to be sure that there is intent in the aggressive behavior. Thus, Dredge et al. (2014) suggested that the perception of intent may need to be replaced by the real impact that the aggression causes the victim. Other researchers argued that the understanding and relevance of the intent to harm as a determining factor of cyberbullying cannot be understood without relating this criterion with that of the imbalance of power (Nocentini et al., 2010).

The imbalance of power was the second most frequent criterion that the adolescents used to define cyberbullying. The high factor loading of this criterion is similar to that of the intent factor, and this could be indicative of the relationship of interdependence that Menesini et al. (2012) noted between the two. Nevertheless, more specific analyses will be required to determine the actual dynamics existing between these two dimensions.

Apart from its contribution to understanding the various perceptions of cyberbullying, the present study has provided information about the interpretation that adolescents make of the different modes in which this phenomenon occurs. In particular, the results showed that, taking as referent the definition that adolescents attributed to this construct, they only recognized impersonation or identity theft as being cyberbullying. For none of the other modes, do they transfer simultaneously the three criteria of intent, imbalance, and advertising, which, in their opinion, must concur for an act of cyberaggression to be classified as cyberbullying.

In this scenario, there appears to be another factor which we have termed 'forms of social relationship' showing that, for these adolescents, verbal (insults and spreading false rumors) and visual (publication of videoclips) aggressions, far from being interpreted as forms of cyberbullying, are considered to be mechanisms that foster and facilitate their communication and interaction. In this sense too, Straude-Müller, Hansen, and Voss (2012) noted that cyber verbal abuse is not only less serious but also sometimes goes unnoticed by adolescents since they have internalized and normalized these offensive behaviors as seemingly innocuous patterns of social relationship.

A second key contribution of the present chapter has been the analysis differentiating and comparing both the criteria aggressors and victims considered to be identifiers of cyberbullying and the interpretations they make of the different modes in which this phenomenon occurs. With respect to the definition of this construct, we observed that, although the two groups alluded to the same set of identifying criteria, those who commit the abuse emphasize the

imbalance of power criterion more. For victims, the contrary is the case, with intentionality being the primary factor, followed by advertising. Knowing the identity of the aggressor and the consequences that their actions have for the victim appeared to play a major part in understanding these results. Menesini et al. (2012) understand the imbalance of power not only as reflecting an asymmetry of status, but also as a dynamic of micro-processes of action and reaction. Thus, if the aggressor knows the consequences that their abusive actions have for the victim then this reinforces their perception of power. The decline in the score assigned to intent can be explained by the normalization that these adolescents make of their abusive behavior as prosocial patterns of interaction with their peers (Cuadrado 2012).

Slonje, Smith, and Frisé (2012) note the influence that knowledge of the aggressor's identity may have on the victim's perception of imbalance of power. If the identity is unknown then feelings of greater helplessness, frustration, and distrust undermine their possibilities of defense, putting them at a lower power status than the aggressor. Conversely, if they know or suspect who is behind the abuse then they can take some action to stop the aggression or mitigate its effects. A result is a reduction of the power asymmetry with the aggressor, since the victim has a perception of greater control (Sticca & Perren 2013).

With respect to the criterion of intentionality, victims perceive the abuse to which they are subjected as deliberate acts. The importance they assign to this criterion is reinforced when one considers the factor loading on the advertising component, since the public dissemination of the aggressions followed an uncontrolled path which causes the victim to continually experience the harm involved and to feel that so much suffering cannot be due to mere fortuitous events.

In the study of the modes of cyberbullying, it was only impersonation that we found victims and aggressors simultaneous attribution of the intent, imbalance, and advertising criteria. According to Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2008), the other modes can be classified as cyber-teasing or cyber-arguing, in which either the intent to hurt or the imbalance of power component is lacking. Other researchers qualify them as forms of cyber-aggression (Pieschl et al., 2013). But, regardless of the name given to aggressions that do not meet the criteria the adolescents use to define cyberbullying, the present results showed that there are significant differences in aggressors' and victims' perceptions of the abusive behavior that researchers categorize as modes of cyberbullying.

One difference is in the types of abuse in which the two groups involved perceived the presence of an imbalance of power. The aggressors believe that five of the eight modes of cyber abuse studied require the aggressor to be superior to the victim, usually in the sense of a perception of greater control and security. Victims, however, only attribute this component to impersonation, thus demonstrating that, a priori, despite suffering abuse, they do not perceive themselves as weaker or more helpless than their peers, but instead that anyone may be susceptible of becoming a victim.

Another significant difference lay in the value given to the intent to hurt criterion. The aggressors only perceived intent to hurt in sexual harassment or impersonation. They seem to interpret the rest of the behaviors as inoffensive ways in which they interact with their peers. These results illustrate the existence of distorted perceptions of reality, of a lack of social skills, of unassertive models of coexistence inherited from the family context or their peer group, and an imbalance in their moral development which makes it difficult for them to understand the seriousness of their actions and the harm they cause to others (Pozzoli, Gini & Vieno 2012). On the contrary, victims perceived the intent to hurt in all the modes of abuse except insults.

This is probably a reflection of the suffering they have experienced or are experiencing in being subjected to those modes of abuse. Nevertheless, in two of these modes (rumors and videoclips) the intent to hurt is sometimes diluted to the extent that victims interpret these behaviors as forms of peer relationships. This perceptive duality may be motivated by the influence of the social context. Depending on the environment in which the adolescent finds themselves, or the people with whom they interact, cyberaggressive behaviors may be perceived either as normalized behavioral patterns or as deliberate acts intended to cause harm.

Finally, with respect to the advertising criterion, both aggressors and victims explained and justified most manifestations of cyber-abuse by their dissemination. If these acts are not advertised, they will probably be replaced by other acts of aggression in physical contexts and in the presence of witnesses, because, as observed by Saino, Veenstra, Huitsing, and Salmivalli (2011), the public plays a key role in the onset and persistence of bullying and cyberbullying.

The present results can be used to improve the intervention and prevention of violent behavior. In this sense, it must be noted that these programs need to place particular emphasis on modifying adolescents' maladjusted perceptions concerning interpersonal relationships, on intervening in attributional styles, and on developing awareness of the potential consequences of their actions for people who do not share their ways of relating to others. In light of the results of the study, our proposal focuses on the importance of considering cognitive and emotional mediation of the subject in whichever of the roles. This would allow direct intervention on the victim's internalization of the bullying, on the aggressor's distorted thinking and moral imbalance, and on the witness's difficulty in overcoming the fear of exclusion. For the optimization of this prevention and intervention, it would be advisable to consider involving those members of the community who are most significant for the adolescent (family, friends, school), since the behavior of these young people extends across all their social environments.

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Chapter 5

EXAMINATION OF CYBERBULLYING EXPERIENCES AMONG STUDENTS FROM DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

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INTRODUCTION

Increases in electronic and computer-based communication and information sharing have drastically changed the ways of social communication, learning, and entertainment. For billions of people around the world, the Internet has become an essential component of everyday life. In addition, more than 97% of youths in the United States have internet access (Tokunaga, 2010, Ybarra, 2004). Besides the many benefits associated with internet and technology access, problems arise regarding misuse, with the intention of causing harm to others as a form of misuse. Utilizing the internet and technology, bullies can harass their victims over a prolonged period (both inside and outside of the school), and they can maintain a high level of anonymity while harming others. By hiding their identity, bullies can potentially escalate their level of intimidation beyond that seen in traditional bullying.

In recent years bullying through electronic means, specifically mobile phones or the internet, has emerged, often labelled “cyberbullying.” One definition of cyberbullying is: “An aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself” (Smith et al. 2008, page 376).” Examples of what constitutes cyberbullying may include the use of media, such as blogs and social networks. Furthermore, it can include anonymous mobile phone calls, e-mails containing viruses from senders, password theft, and text messages which include insults, threats, and slander using sound, images, or textual formats. Arslan et al. (2012) found that, the majority of victims (nearly 80 percent) were unaware of the identity of the person bullying them, in keeping with the previous work by Kowalski and Limber (2007). A further concern was that around three quarters of the victims in this sample had not told anyone

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about their bullying experiences, in line with some previous evidence as stated before. According to Ayas and Horzum (2012) some victims are concerned that disclosing the bullying experience will lead to a loss of their Internet or cell phone access. This finding emphasizes the need to educate children about cyberbullying and to provide appropriate support and prevention strategies at home and school.

A behavior can be considered bullying if it meets certain criteria, including repetition, intentionality, and an imbalance of power. These criteria were also initially used to conceptualize cyberbullying. Therefore, initial studies about bullying were focused on understanding more about the nature of cyberbullying and aimed at determining the similarities and differences when compared to traditional peer bullying. Previous studies revealed two different perspectives. Some researchers claimed that cyberbullying was not a new phenomenon and conceptualized it as an extension of the traditional bullying. Other researchers argued that, although cyberbullying shares some similarities with traditional bullying, there are different dynamics associated with cyberbullying, and that cyberbullying was a phenomenon with new, specific features.

Cyberbullying causes major problems among children, ranging from school failure to suicide in countries, such as the United States, England, and South Korea, that use the internet extensively and have advanced technology infrastructure. Researchers also indicates that cyberbullying has become a problem in Turkey (Erdur-Baker & Kavşut, 2007; Peker & Eroğlu, 2010). Cyberbullying has gained a lot of attention as children and adolescents can be subjected to cyberbullying in any setting and at any time. In addition, Li's (2006) study revealed that cyberbullying can occur among children and adolescents who attend the same school.

The studies reported in this chapter include prevalence rates of cyberbullying perpetration and cyber victimization, and these rates vary among these studies. These can be attributed to differences in sample characteristics and the assessment tools used to measure cyberbullying. The purpose of this chapter is to review literature on the age-related differences in cyberbullying. To do this, the chapter begins with a description of cyberbullying prevalence rates among elementary school children, followed by a section on prevalence rates among middle and high school students. The third section reviews literature on the prevalence rates of university students' cyberbullying involvement. Rates from different countries are discussed, with specific attention on Turkey.

EXAMINATION OF CYBERBULLYING EXPERIENCES AMONG DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

Cyberbullying is universal, as it can happen to anyone, at anytime, and in any place, regardless of age; therefore, we can conclude that cyberbullying is a pervasive issue that can potentially impact all children, adolescents, and adults using the Internet. The majority of the cyberbullying research focuses on children and adolescents, but cyberbullying can occur among older age groups. Some studies have found no associations between age and cyber victimization status (Beran & Li, 2007; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006; Smith et al. 2008; Wolak et al. 2007; Ybarra). Other research suggests that the risk of being a cyber victim increases with age. In one set of studies, Kowalski and Limber (2007) and Ybarra et al. (2006) found positive correlations between age and victimization in their studies which examined 11 through 14 year olds and 10

through 15 year-olds. Mesch (2009) found that the average age of cyberbullied youths was higher than the average age of those who were not bullied. In contrast, Slonje and Smith's (2007) results revealed an inverse relationship between age and cyber victimization in their sample of 12 through 20 year-olds, which indicates that younger age groups were more often victims than the older age group. Taken together, these studies might suggest that cyberbullying increases from middle childhood to adolescence, with declines from adolescence into adulthood. These differences might be attributed to changes in web usage style as children grow older. This section of the chapter reviews literature on cyberbullying perpetration and cyber victimization rates among elementary, middle and high school, and college students.

CYBERBULLYING AMONG ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

Previous studies on cyberbullying have focused mostly on adolescents aged 14 years and above. Few studies have included younger children. In one of these studies, Aricak et al. (2008) found that younger children were at a greater risk of being bullied, whereas older children were more frequently the aggressor. In a US sample of 3,767 secondary school students (aged 11-14), 22% of the sample were victimized, 4% bullied other children, and 7% was both cyberbully and cybervictim (Kowalski & Limber, 2007). Another study published that year, Williams and Guerra (2007) included children as young as age 10 and as old as age 14 ($N = 3,339$). Their findings revealed that physical bullying and cyberbullying peaked in secondary school and declined in high school.

With even younger children (ages 8-11 years old; $N = 372$), Arslan et al. (2012) found that 27% had been victims of bullying via the Internet or mobile phones, 18% had been involved as cyberbullies, and 15% were both cyberbullies and cybervictims. Boys were significantly more likely to be cyberbullies than girls. This finding suggests that boys have a greater tendency towards aggressive behavior, even in a potentially anonymous online environment. In Turkey, this gender difference may be exacerbated as aggressive behavior may be more tolerated in boys. This finding contrasts with claims that cyberbullying is a 'relational' or verbal form of aggression and thus would be more common among girls. Girls and boys were equally likely to be cybervictims. They also explored features associated with home and school life that might put the children at risk for cyberbullying. Cyberbullying exposure (as both a bully and a victim) was significantly associated with lower levels of self-reported school achievement. Paternal unemployment was also associated with a three-fold increase in the likelihood of being a cyberbully. Children below average levels of school achievement were over three times as likely to be victims of cyberbullying as those with above average achievement. Low school satisfaction was also associated with a doubled risk of victimization. The number of siblings, caregiver status, and maternal employment were not significant predictors of being a cybervictim.

CYBERBULLYING AMONG MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Many researchers divide adolescence into three periods. These include "early adolescence" (between ages 10-13 years old), "middle adolescence period" (between ages 14-17 years old), and "late adolescence" (age 18 and over). Generally, the focus in this section are individuals

between 10 and 18 years old. In one study, Price and Dalglish (2010) found that among 548 Australian students between the ages of 10-16 that 48% of the students between the ages of 10 and 12, 52% between the ages of 13 and 14, and 29% between the ages of 15 and 16 were cyberbullied. Ferdon and Hertz (2007) examined rates of cyberbullying among high school students, and around 34% were cyberbullies and 21% were cybervictims. Ybarra et al. (2007) focused their attention on school-based and lifetime prevalence rates of cyberbullying. They reported that 23% of the students in their sample were cyberbullied at school, 19.7% were cyberbullied at least one time in their life, and 54.4% were cyberbullied by others at least one time in their life. Other research has found that prevalence rates of adolescents' cyber victimization in their samples ranged from 4% (to 50% (Arslan et al. 2013; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Li & Beran, 2006). Rates of cyber victimization also ranged from 11% to 13.6% (Arslan et al. 2013; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Wang et al. 2009). Other studies have focused on occurrences of cyberbullying through different technologies. In this research, Arslan et al. (2015) found that 24.4% of cyberbullying among Turkish high school students occurred via e-mail, 8.5% in chat rooms, 35.4% via mobile phones, and 24.4% via MSN. Other research conducted by Price and Dalglish (2010) reported that 21% of the students were cyberbullied via e-mail, 20% through social media, and 19% via mobile phones. Previous findings in older children (aged 14 years and above) in Turkey have revealed ranges of cyberbullying (4 to 36%) and victimization (6 to 32%) estimates (Arslan et al. 2013; Arslan et al. 2015; Ayas, 2011; Erdur-Baker & Kavşut, 2007; Erdur-Baker, 2010; Özdemir & Akar, 2011).

Gender differences have also been explored in studies with adolescence. Arslan et al. (2015) showed that boys cyberbully (bully) more than girls and that they were also victimized by cyberbullying more often than girls. This research was corroborated previously by Li and Beran (2006), Wang and colleagues (2009), and Williams and Guerra (2007). In terms of victims, both sexes were comparably likely to have experienced cyberbullying (Arıcak, 2009). Kowalski and Limber (2007) argued that cyber-bullying is more common among the female students because relational bullying more common among the girls.

Prior studies have shown that the roles played by younger adolescents involved in cyberbullying whether as bullies, victims, or combined bully/victim groups may have differential risks for psychiatric and physical comorbidity when compared to each other.

Some adolescents reported that they engaged in cyberbullying because they gained satisfaction or pleasure from hurting their victims (Varjas et al. 2010). While some cyber-perpetrators reported victimizing targets in order to feel better about themselves, others cyberbullied because they believed, as a perpetrator, they were provoked by their victims and sought revenge. In addition, some cyberbullies tormented their victims because they disliked the person or were jealous of them. Furthermore, some adolescents cyberbullied others just "for fun." Varjas et al. (2010) suggested motivational factors (internal motivators, external motivators) for high school students concerning their involvement in cyberbullying.

CYBERBULLYING AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Cyberbullying is not just a phenoma that occurs among children and adolescents, but it is also common among university students (Arıcak, 2009; Mura, Topcu, Erdur-Baker, & Diamantini, 2011).

Cyberbullying and its effects on adolescents have been largely studied in middle and high schools, but less is known about cyberbullying in college students. Young adults and university students are frequent users of technology and they often lead the way in adapting new technologies for everyday use. College students can become highly competitive and political, and therefore they might be more likely to get involved in bullying incidents (Kokkinos et al. 2014).

The internet is one of the most popular communication channels among university students worldwide. Research has shown that involvement in cyberbullying is predicted by the time spent online and time spent using social networking sites among college and university students (Walker, Sockman, & Koehn, 2011).

Having a mobile phone connected to the internet is predictive of cyberbullying experiences among university students (Kokkinos et al. 2014).

In one of the earliest studies on college students, Walker, Sockman, and Koehn's (2011) findings revealed that 11% of their participants had experienced cyberbullying with more than 40% knowing someone who had been cyberbullied.

In more current research, Ellen et al. (2015) indicated that 27% of the participants in their sample had experienced cyberbullying in college, which impacted their mental health, with 17.4% reporting depression and 37.5% meeting the criteria for alcohol abuse. Cyberbully-cyberbervictims reported the most psychological symptoms, suicidal ideation, more psychopathic traits, and were higher sensation seekers compared to perpetrators and cyberbervictims only. Higher rates were reported by Kokkinos et al. (2014) found that 58.4% of their sample had participated in a cyberbullying incident as perpetrators, victims, and cyberbully-cyberbervictims.

Kokkinos et al. also found that cyberbullying was predicted by callous/unemotional and impulsive/irresponsible traits, depression, and internet use, as well as lack of social skills. In a study conducted in Turkey, Dilmaç's (2009) sample of university students reported that 22.5% of them were cyberbullied and 55.3% had been cyberbullied at least one time in their life. Prior experiences as a victim of cyberbullying in high school increased the risk for cyberbullying and cyberstalking in college, which suggests that students' roles in cyberbullying might be maintained from high school into college (Kraft & Wang, 2010; Zalaquett & Chatter, 2014). Research on college students' motivations for engaging in cyberbullying revealed that the top motivators were cyber sanctioning, power struggles, and entertainment (Rafferty & Vander Ven, 2014).

These statistics clearly indicate that cyberbullying is a problem among college students. However, the majority of college students are handling cyberbullying incidents themselves rather than utilizing campus resources, but two-thirds of respondents would be more likely to consider reporting an incident if there was a central e-mail address available for reporting incidents. In an effort to prevent cyberbullying, colleges and universities must implement programs to advocate for awareness of this phenomenon (Ellen et al. 2015). Campus administrators should consider allotting financial resources to cyberbullying education and promote healthy ways to communicate and deal with conflict. Campus policies should be developed to deal with the instances of cyberbullying on college campuses.

CONCLUSION

A new generation of internet users has emerged within the last decades who have different behavior and discourse patterns, defining themselves in a new way based on their relationship in social and physical environments. This generation unlike the previous one had an option to have access to information anytime, anywhere, and in an interactive way and aimed to design and form a new life by the help of internet technologies. However, mobile phones, e-mail, use of blogs, social networking sites, and web pages may also ease the person to be involved in cyberbullying. Sending messages rapidly to thousands of people in order to hurt, insult, and threaten became easier with the opportunity to hide the perpetrator's real identity. In addition, development of this technology requires less time, energy, and all actions can be transmitted immediately via mobile phone and internet. Although it seems that all physical barriers in communication have disappeared between people, these technologies may negatively impact lives.

Internet technologies allow children and adolescents to be exposed to pornographic pages, games containing inappropriate material, discourses that incite sex, racial discrimination, and exalted vandalism. Internet addiction has now been identified as a new psychological problem. Virtual worlds also make it more difficult for children to distinguish the real and dream world. Adverse reactions can be observed in cyberbullied children, adolescents, and college students, like academic underachievement, psychological problems, familial conflict, social problems, and suicide (Erdur-Baker & Tanrikulu, 2010). Recent research suggests that cyberbullying is related to anger, aggression, and rule-breaking behaviors and cause behavioral and psychosocial problems. Due to these implications and negative consequences that cyberbullying behaviors might have on victims, cyberbullying must be considered a mental and public health issue.

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Chapter 6

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN CYBERBULLYING PERPETRATION: THE ROLE OF MORAL DISENGAGEMENT AND AGGRESSION

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INTRODUCTION

Research findings over the decade suggest that cyberbullying has become a major concern among children and adolescents across many nations, including Austria (Gradinger, Strohmeier, & Spiel, 2010), Spain (Del Rey, Elipe, & Ortega-Ruiz, 2012), Sweden (Laftman, Modin, & Östberg, 2013), Canada (Bonanno & Hymel, 2013), Australia (Campbell, Spears, Slee, Butler, & Kift, 2012), and the United States (Bauman & Newman, 2013), confirming that this behavior is indeed a global issue threatening the well-being of young people from elementary school to university. Turkey is one of these countries where cyberbullying has been regarded as an urgent issue, particularly after the publication of the first known Turkish study by Erdur-Baker and Kavşut (2007). Other Turkish studies confirmed that many Turkish youngsters are involved in some form of cyberbullying, either as a bully, a victim, or both bully and victim (e.g., Erdur-Baker, 2010; Topcu & Erdur-Baker, 2010; Topcu, Erdur-Baker, & Capa, 2008). Concerns about the negative consequences associated with cyberbullying were substantiated by other Turkish studies (e.g., Erdur-Baker & Tanrıkulu, 2010; Şahin, Aydın, & Sarı, 2012). These Turkish studies suggest close relationships between cyberbullying experiences and psychological issues, such as low self-esteem, high levels of depression (Chang et al., 2013), anxiety (Şahin et al., 2012), poor subjective health (Laftman et al., 2013), and internalizing difficulties (Bonanno & Hymel, 2013).

Unlike, traditional bullying, which peaks around middle school age (Olweus, 1993) and decreases as age increases (Nansel et al., 2001), cyberbullying is common among all age groups, including university students (Brack & Caltabiano, 2014; Doane, Pearson, & Kelley,

2014; Francisco, Simao, Ferreira, & Martins, 2015; Ojedokun & Idemudia, 2013; Kokkinos, Antoniadou, & Markos, 2014; Mura, Topcu, Erdur-Baker, & Diamantini, 2011; Xiao & Wong, 2013). Similar to children and adolescents, university students' cyberbullying victimization is related to serious psychological issues. In particular, Faucher, Jackson, and Cassidy (2014) found that university students who experienced cyber victimization had poor mental health (i.e., anxiety, depression, emotional outbursts), problems with personal relationships inside and outside university, poor academic performance (i.e., inability to complete assignments, lower grades, desire to leave school, missing classes), and poor physical health (i.e., emotional and physical insecurity, headaches, pains). They also had suicidal thoughts, considered harming themselves, and felt vengeful as a result of being exposed to cyberbullying victimization. These outcomes were confirmed by the findings of other research conducted with university students (e.g., Crosslin & Crosslin, 2014; Munawar, Inam-ul-aq, Ali, & Maqsood, 2014; Schenk & Fremouw, 2012; Smith & Yoon, 2013). In a qualitative study, Rivituso (2012) examined victims of cyberbullying, and they reported being fearful, losing trust in people and technology, blaming themselves for their victimization, felt vulnerable and stressed, and became frustrated and ashamed. Furthermore, Schenk, Fremouw, and Keelan (2013) examined university students who identified themselves as cyberbullies or cyberbully-victims, and they found that these students had higher levels of depression, hostility, sensitivity to interpersonal rejection, paranoia, aggressiveness, phobic anxiety, and psychoticism in addition to suicidal ideations/behaviors and illegal acts, such as violent crimes and drug crimes, in comparison to uninvolved university students.

The negative consequences related to cyberbullying have alerted researchers to the profiles of victims in order to design prevention and intervention programs to help children and adolescents better cope with cyberbullying (Bastiaensens et al., 2014; DePaolis & Williford, 2014; Lee, Zi-Pei, Svanström, & Dalal, 2013; Ortega-Ruiz & Nunez, 2012; Topcu, 2014; Topcu, Yıldırım, & Erdur-Baker, 2013). However, another strategy to help cyber victims is to also focus on cyberbullies, and identify their characteristics so that effective intervention and prevention programs can be achieved. However, relatively less research has focused on the cyberbullies compared to cyber victims. Among these studies, the findings suggested that cyberbullies were more likely to be frequent and risky computer users (Mishna, Khoury-Kassabri, Gadalla, & Daciuk, 2012), abuse their dating partners (Yahner, Dank, Zweig, & Lachman, 2015), carry a weapon (Mitchell, Ybarra, & Finkelhor, 2007), and not to attend school (Ybarra, Diener-West & Leaf, 2007). Furthermore, studies have indicated that cyberbullies are more likely to be traditional bullies regardless of their age and gender (Erdur-Baker, 2010). Therefore, this chapter aimed to identify the interrelationships among cyberbullies' gender, moral disengagement, and offline aggression. These two variables were chosen based on the previous studies that found that male cyberbullies were more morally disengaged (e.g., Bussey, Fitzpatrick, & Raman, 2015) and more aggressive in the face-to-face context (e.g., Renati, Berrone, & Zanetti, 2012) when compared to female cyberbullies. The current study tested a mediation hypothesis in which moral disengagement and aggression were expected to be mediating variables in the relationship between gender and cyberbullying perpetration.

Gender and Bullying

Among all variables, gender appears to be a salient variable deserving closer examination. In the aggression literature, gender differences are found in the manifestation of aggressive behaviors (Borsa, Damasio, Bandeira, & Gremigni, 2013). While males are found to be more directly and physically aggressive, females were generally reported to prefer indirect types of aggression (Björkqvist, Lagerspetz, & Kaukiainen, 1992; Kerestes & Milanovic, 2006). Because cyberbullying is considered a specific type of aggression, gender differences might be expected. Nevertheless, research results are inconsistent. One group of studies have not found any gender differences in terms of being a cyberbully (Balakrishnan, 2015; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006; Tokunaga, 2010; Williams & Guerra, 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). As an explanation of no gender differences, Robson and Witenberg (2013) proposed that young people, regardless of gender, are immersed in online technologies daily, and that both females and males engage in cyberbullying equally as they have the same opportunity to engage in these behaviors due to their daily usage of technology. Another group of researchers have found that females were more likely to cyberbullying others. For example, Beckman, Hagquist, and Hellström (2013) found that females cyberbullied others at equal rates as males, and that females were also more likely to be cyberbully-victims when compared to the males. Other studies have also documented that females were more likely to be cyberbullies compared to the males (Connell, Schell-Busey, Pearce, & Negro, 2014; Rice et al., 2015). The indirect and relational nature of cyberbullying has been suggested as one of the possible reasons for why females cyberbully others more than males (Smith et al., 2008). Another possible reason for why females are more likely to cyberbully others is that females might engage in behaviors online that they never would do offline because of online disinhibition (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). A third group has found that males were perpetrators of cyberbullying significantly more than the females (Calvete, Orue, Estevez, Villardon, & Padilla, 2010; Doucette, 2013; Huang & Chou, 2010; Lapidot-Leffler & Dolev-Cohen, 2014; Li, 2006; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Wong, Chan, & Cheng, 2014). Huang and Chou (2010) speculated that males were cyberbullies more often because they were found to utilize information and communication technologies more frequently and more skillfully. However, it should be noted that these explanations have not been substantiated with empirical studies.

Conflicting patterns with regards to which gender is more likely to cyberbully others are also documented by Turkish studies. However, a male dominance in cyberbullying perpetration has been consistently and quantitatively observed in the Turkish cyberbullying literature. Only a few studies have not found gender difference in cyberbullying involvement (Topcu et al., 2008) and reported that females were significantly more likely to be cyberbullies (Erdur-Baker & Tanrikulu, 2010; Eroğlu, Aktepe, Akbaba, Işık, & Özkorumak, 2015).

On the other hand, the majority of findings from Turkish studies indicated that males cyberbullied others more often than females (e.g., Akbulut & Erişti, 2011; Baştürk-Akca, Sayımer, & Erdegül, 2015; Ekşi, 2012; Erdur-Baker, 2010; Erdur-Baker, 2013; Erdur-Baker & Kavşut, 2007; Erdur-Baker & Topcu, 2009; Karabacak et al., 2015; Ozden & Icellioğlu, 2014; Tanrikulu, Akbaba-Altun, Erdur-Baker, & Yerin-Güneri, 2015).

Because of the tendency for Turkish studies to report that males were more often cyberbullies when compared to females, researchers began to propose explanations that might account for gender differences in cyberbullying perpetration. One of the most widely discussed variables is gender socialization (Erdur-Baker, 2010; Topcu & Erdur-Baker, 2012; Wade &

Beran, 2011). Ferree and Hall (1996) described gender socialization as ‘ongoing, multi-level processes of social expectations, control, and struggle that sustain and subvert gender systems’ (p. 935). The socialization processes of females and males occur in different ways because societies expect each gender to conform to their specific norms, behaviors, values, and beliefs. This reasoning seems to have been supported by Agatston, Kowalski and Limber’s (2007) findings. In their study, while their female participants acknowledged that cyberbullying posed harm to people, males did not agree about the harmfulness of cyberbullying. This finding implied that males consider cyberbullying behaviors more acceptable compared to the females. A similar explanation supporting the role of gender socialization in cyberbullying experiences of Turkish university students was provided by Akbulut and Erişti (2011). They noted that, although females are expected to conform to societal rules, males are not, due to Turkish society’s dominant patriarchal nature. This may trigger males’ tendencies to assume more bully roles.

Participants’ characteristics, the measurement tools utilized, and methodologies employed might be explanations for divergent findings regarding gender differences in cyberbullying. Undertaking such a task might be incredibly difficult, and therefore a more fruitful direction might be to examine underlying variables which might account for these differences. One of the very few studies scrutinizing the underlying factors contributing to gender difference in cyberbullying behavior examined empathy as a potential mediating factor (Topcu & Erdur-Baker, 2012). The findings revealed that when females scored higher in empathy they had lower levels of cyberbullying perpetration. Another study (Erdur-Baker & Akbaba-Altun, 2010) focused on risky Internet use as having a mediating role in the relationship between gender and the engagement in cyberbullying. The results revealed that male students were more likely to report experiencing cyber bullying and engage in risky internet activities. That is, risky internet use substantially mediated the gender differences in both cyber bullying and cyber victimization. Thus, empathy and safe Internet use could be two factors that differ between genders and as a result yield in divergent cyberbullying prevalence rates for two genders.

Differences in aggressive tendencies between males and females seem to have a role in their likelihood to cyberbully others. In general, aggression is defined as ‘any behavior directed toward another individual that is carried out with the immediate intent to cause harm’ (Anderson & Bushman, 2002, p. 28). Although the existence of a relationship between gender and aggression has been reported, the research findings are inconsistent about whether males or females are more aggressive (Archer, 2004). While males were found to be physically more aggressive than females, a contradiction is present as to whether females or males are more relationally, indirectly, and verbally aggressive (Archer, 2004). A similar conflict seems to exist in cyberbullying perpetration. While some studies indicate that males cyberbullied others more than females (e.g., Kokkinos et al., 2014), other studies have found the opposite pattern (Beckman et al., 2013; Connel et al., 2014; Erdur-Baker & Tanrıkulu, 2010; Holfeld & Grabe, 2012; Rice et al., 2015; Smith et al., 2008). Moreover, the relationship between gender and cyberbullying perpetration was found to be moderated by age based on a meta-analysis study by Barlett and Coyne (2014). The findings of this meta-analysis indicated that during early adolescence females scored higher in cyber bullying than males; however, in late adolescence males reported that they cyber bully others more than females. According to Barlett and Coyne (2014), researchers theoretically expect that if cyber bullying is an extension of traditional bullying, males are more likely to cyberbully others. However, if cyber bullying is conceptualized as a form of relational or indirect aggression, females might possibly engage in

more cyberbullying. Studies assessing the role of aggression in cyberbullying perpetration have reported that higher levels of proactive and reactive aggression (Renati et al., 2012) and verbal aggression (Roberto, Eden, Savage, Ramos-Salazar, & Deis, 2014) were associated with being a cyberbully. In sum, gender appears to be an important variable in understanding predictors of cyberbullying perpetration. However, the existing knowledge about the nature of such gender differences is limited, especially among university students.

Moral Disengagement and Cyberbullying

Moral disengagement is described as the cognitive processes used to justify harmful behaviors, which normally do not conform to one's internal moral standards (Bandura, 2002). According to Bandura (2002), while moral disengagement does not develop in the early years of life, males tend to become more morally disengaged as time passes. The underlying reasoning behind this transition may be related to gender socialization. Given that practices of moral disengagement are inherently engraved in the social systems (Bandura, 2002), males might develop more moral disengagement because morally disengaged actions could be more tolerated for males than females within male-oriented societies, such as Turkey (Kocacık, Kutlar, & Erselcan, 2007). Even though studies investigating the role of moral disengagement in cyberbullying perpetration among other groups have been few in number, they have frequently reported that cyberbullies tend to have higher levels of moral disengagement (Bussey et al., 2015; Renati et al., 2012; Robson & Witenberg, 2013; Wachs, 2012). As a personality trait, moral disengagement provides cyberbullies with a cognitive schema to convince themselves that harming others, which would normally be against their personal moral standards, is tolerated in certain situations or contexts. Cyber bullies, in order to make their harmful behaviors acceptable, may employ a reason for harming victims, such as victims deserve it or victims need to learn a lesson. Furthermore, cyber bullying behaviors occur through cyber platforms where physical contact is not possible, and the impact on the physical and psychological wellbeing of victims cannot be observed. These inabilities might provide rationales for cyberbullies to justify their damaging behaviors since nobody physically gets hurt as a result of their bullying perpetration. To our knowledge, no research has examined the mediational role of moral disengagement regarding the associations between gender and cyberbullying perpetration. Therefore, this chapter aims to explore whether the level of aggression and moral disengagement explains gender differences in cyberbullying perpetration among university students. Based on previous studies on aggression and moral disengagement, it was hypothesized that males would be more likely to engage in cyberbullying perpetration due to their greater levelsof aggression and higher levels of moral disengagement when compared to their female counterparts.

METHOD

Participants

A total of 632 university students participated in this study. Of the participants, 365 (57.8%) were female and 267 (42.2%) were male. The participants were between the ages of

18 and 28 ($M = 21.31$; $SD = 1.89$). Among the participants, 19.3% ($n = 122$) were in an English preparatory school, 18.5% ($n = 117$) were freshmen, 11.9% ($n = 75$) were sophomores, 18.0% ($n = 114$) were juniors, and 31.8% ($n = 201$) were seniors (three participants did not report their year level). Concerning parental educational levels of the participants, 4.9% ($n = 28$) of their mothers were not educated, 66.6% ($n = 421$) completed high school, and 26.4% ($n = 167$) received a college degree. Thirteen participants (2.1%) did not report their mother's education level. Participants reported that 0.8% ($n = 5$) of their fathers were not educated, 53.0% ($n = 335$) completed high school, and 44.2% ($n = 279$) received a college degree. Thirteen participants (2.1%) did not report their father's education level. While 17.4% of the participants were in the low income group (≤ 1500 Turkish Liras (TL/month)), 24.1% were in the high income group (≥ 3600 TL/month). Yet, most of them (58.5%) belonged to the middle income group ($1600 \text{ TL} \leq \text{monthly income} \leq 3500 \text{ TL}$). Participants mostly utilized laptops and smart phones to connect to the Internet, and a great majority of them (43.2%) spent 2-3 hours online every day. Characteristics of the sample can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Participants' Internet connection tools and Internet usage frequencies

	<i>f</i>	%
*Tools		
Laptop	568	90.0
Smart phone	511	81.0
PC	183	29.0
Tablet PC	140	22.2
**Frequencies		
A few hours in a week	28	4.4
1 hour or less in a day	88	13.9
2-3 hours in a day	273	43.2
4-5 hours in a day	161	25.5
6 hours or more in a day	73	11.6

Notes. * Participants were able to choose more than one option; thus, the total percentage may exceed 100%. ** Nine participants (1.4%) did not report their daily Internet use.

Measures

Revised Cyber Bullying Inventory (RCBI) for University Students. The RCBI for University Students is a revision of the Revised Cyber Bullying Inventory developed by Topcu and Erdur-Baker (2010). It has a total of 12 items to assess cyberbullying experiences in two independent sections. The first section examined how frequently participants cyberbullied others in the previous six months, and the second section examined how frequently the participants were cyber victimized in the last six months. Because this study focused on cyberbullying perpetration, the cyberbullying perpetration subscale was only used in this current research. This measure is rated on a 4-point rating scale, with 1 = never, 2 = once, 3 = twice-three times, and 4 = more than three times. Sample items included: sending threatening, offending, embarrassing messages on the Internet, and swearing at others on online settings. Using the Amos 21 program, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was carried out for

this chapter to test whether the cyberbullying perpetration section confirmed the one-factor structure solution. According to the results, CFA initially indicated a poor fit ($\chi^2 = 373.41$, $df = 54$, $p < .001$, $GFI = .91$, $CFI = .79$, $TLI = .74$, $SRMR = .06$, $RMSEA = .09$). Modification indices were checked, and the error covariances between some items were freely estimated, which improved the model fit ($\chi^2 = 200.25$, $df = 52$, $p < .001$, $GFI = .95$, $CFI = .90$, $TLI = .88$, $SRMR = .05$, $RMSEA = .06$), and confirmed the unidimensional factor structure for the cyberbullying perpetration section of RCBI for University Students. In addition, the inter-item reliability of the cyberbullying perpetration section of RCBI for University Students was .78.

P propensity to Morally Disengage Scale (PMDS). PDMS examined participants' inclinations to convince themselves that they may engage in unethical behaviors under particular conditions. It was originally developed by Moore, Detert, Treviño, Baker, and Mayer (2012), and it was adapted into Turkish by the first two authors of this chapter. PDMS includes eight items, and participants rated the items on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Higher scores indicated a higher level of moral disengagement. Sample items included: "Taking something without the owner's permission is okay as long as you're just borrowing it", and "People shouldn't be held accountable for doing questionable things when they were just doing what an authority figure told them to do". For this study, the findings of the CFA provided evidence for the one-factor structure of the PDMS ($\chi^2 = 70.13$, $df = 20$, $p < .001$, $GFI = .97$, $CFI = .91$, $TLI = .88$, $SRMR = .04$, $RMSEA = .06$). The inter-item reliability of the PDMS was .68.

The 12-Item Aggression Questionnaire (AQ-12). AQ-12 measures aggressive inclinations of the participants. AQ-12 was developed by Bryant and Smith (2001) by using the refined version of the 29-item Aggression Questionnaire (Buss & Warren, 2000). It was adapted into Turkish by the first two authors of this chapter. The items are rated on a scale of 1 (uncharacteristic of me) to 5 (extremely characteristic of me). The higher the scores, the more likely a respondent has a higher tendency of aggression. Example items included: "I have trouble controlling my temper", and "Sometimes I fly off the handle for no good reason". A unidimensional first-order factor structure, four-factor structure, and a single second-order factor structure are possible for the AQ-12. As aggression was assessed as an individual construct, a unidimensional first-order factor structure for the AQ-12 was preferred in this study. In the current study, CFA initially indicated a poor fit ($\chi^2 = 819.66$, $df = 54$, $p < .001$, $GFI = .81$, $CFI = .65$, $TLI = .57$, $SRMR = .10$, $RMSEA = .15$). Modification indices were checked, and the error covariances between some items were freely estimated. This resulted in a better goodness of fit ($\chi^2 = 293.59$, $df = 50$, $p < .001$, $GFI = .92$, $CFI = .89$, $TLI = .85$, $SRMR = .06$, $RMSEA = .08$). The inter-item reliability of the AQ-12 was .81.

Demographic Information Form. The demographic information form included participants' age, gender, grade level, monthly income level of parents, parental educational level, Internet connection tools, and Internet use frequency.

Procedure

Institutional ethics approval was acquired to conduct this study. By adopting a convenient sampling strategy, the data were collected during the spring semester of the 2013-2014 academic year from university students enrolled in a large, urban public university in the capital

of Turkey. An anonymous, self-report, paper-based survey was administered in classrooms. The goal of the study was verbally and in writing explained to the participants, and participation was strictly voluntary. Approximately 20 to 25 minutes were required to fill out the whole survey form.

Data Analysis

A correlation analysis was performed to assess the correlations among the study variables. A t-test analysis was conducted to evaluate gender differences regarding the study variables.

Finally, the multiple mediation analysis was conducted by using the INDIRECT macro for SPSS 22 (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Bootstrapping procedure was used to explore the significance of the indirect effects in mediational models, because it does not require the normality assumption, and it is more powerful when determining mediating effects (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Therefore, bootstrapping procedure was employed in this present study by adjusting the number of the bootstrap samples to 5.000 and the confidence interval (CI) to 95% as suggested by Preacher and Hayes (2008).

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Table 2 presents the correlations among the study variables in addition to the means and the standard deviations of each variable. As anticipated, moral disengagement and aggression were significantly correlated with cyberbullying perpetration. In addition, gender was significantly correlated with cyberbullying perpetration, moral disengagement, and aggression. In order to examine whether there were significant gender differences, a series of t-tests were performed on the study variables. Bonferroni's correction was applied by adjusting the p-value to decrease the Type-1 error on multiple comparisons ($0.05 / 3 = 0.017$).

Table 2. Means, standard deviations and correlation coefficients of the study variables

	Females (N = 365)		Males (N = 267)		1	2	3	4
	M	SD	M	SD				
1. CB perpetration	14.12	3.52	16.39	4.86	-			
2. Moral disengagement	17.80	6.64	19.29	7.06	.28**	-		
3. Aggression	29.36	7.52	30.94	8.68	.34**	.32**	-	
4. Gender	-	-	-	-	.26**	.11**	.10*	-

Notes. CB refers to 'cyber bullying'. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, two-tailed. Gender was coded for females = 1 and males = 2.

The results showed that males ($M = 16.38$, $SD = 4.86$) when compared to females ($M = 14.12$, $SD = 3.52$) had significantly higher scores on cyberbullying perpetration, $t(459.73) = -6.47$, $p < .001$, and they ($M = 19.29$, $SD = 7.06$) had significantly higher scores on moral

disengagement than females ($M = 17.80$, $SD = 6.64$), $t(630) = -2.70$, $p = .007$. Moreover, males ($M = 30.94$, $SD = 8.68$) had significantly higher scores on aggression when compared to females ($M = 29.36$, $SD = 7.52$), $t(630) = -2.45$, $p = .015$. In short, males' cyberbullying perpetration, moral disengagement, and aggression levels were significantly higher than females.

TESTING THE MULTIPLE MEDIATION MODEL

Due to the fact that moral disengagement and aggression were significantly correlated with gender and cyberbullying perpetration, a multiple mediation analysis was carried out to determine the total and specific indirect effects of the mediators (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). While the mediators were moral disengagement and aggression, the independent variable was gender and the dependent variable was cyberbullying perpetration.

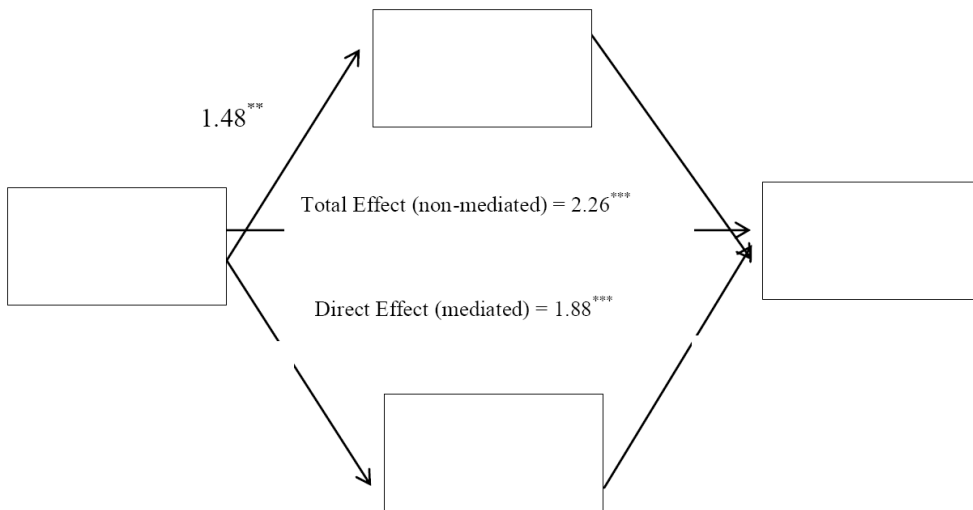


Figure 1. Total and direct effects of the tested model. Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The total (non-mediated) effect of gender ($\beta = 2.26$, $SE = .33$, $t = 6.79$, $p < .001$) and the direct effect (together with the mediators) of gender ($\beta = 1.88$, $SE = .32$, $t = 6.01$, $p < .001$) on cyberbullying perpetration were significant (see Figure 1). According to the results of the mediation analysis, the total indirect effect of gender on cyberbullying perpetration through the mediators (moral disengagement and aggression) was significant ($z = 2.97$, $p < .01$). Moral disengagement ($z = 2.34$, $p < .05$) and aggression ($z = 2.31$, $p < .05$) were significant mediators of the relationship between gender and cyberbullying perpetration.

Table 3 details the estimates and the 95% CIs bootstrapped bias corrected (BC) as well as the bootstrapped bias corrected and accelerated (BCa). According to Preacher and Hayes (2008), BCa 95% bootstrap CI interval values should not include zero in order to get a significant result. In this current research, BCa 95% bootstrap CI interval for the total indirect effect was between .1442 and .6935, .0449 and .3589 for moral disengagement, and .0462 and .4468 for aggression. Therefore, the combined effects of moral disengagement and aggression mediated the relationship between gender and cyberbullying perpetration.

Table 3. Mediation of the effect of gender on cyberbullying perpetration through moral disengagement and aggression

				Bootstrapping			
				BC 95% CI		BCa 95% CI	
	Point estimate	SE	Z	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper
Moral disengagement	0.1644	0.0702	2.3410*	0.0442	0.3582	0.0449	0.3589
Aggression	0.2207	0.0954	2.3125*	0.0462	0.4468	0.0462	0.4469
Total	0.3851	0.1295	2.9746**	0.1435	0.6933	0.1442	0.6935

Notes: While BC refers to bias corrected, BCa refers to bias corrected and accelerated. The number of bootstrap resamples was 5000. $R^2 = .20$. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

DISCUSSION

This chapter aims to shed light on the gender differences in cyberbullying perpetration. To help explain such differences, moral disengagement and aggression were examined as a possible explanation of gender differences in these behaviors. The results of this study revealed that both moral disengagement and aggression mediate the relationship between gender and cyberbullying acts. In this study, compared to females, males reported significantly higher scores on cyberbullying perpetration, moral disengagement, and aggression. This is consistent with the previous investigations reporting an association between being male and higher levels of cyberbullying perpetration (e.g., Wong et al., 2014), being male and moral disengagement (e.g., Bandura, 2002), and being male and physical aggression (e.g., Archer, 2004). These finding also imply that males might be more at risk in terms of engaging in more serious risky behaviors. In fact, previous research has provided evidence suggesting that higher levels of cyberbullying perpetration, moral disengagement, and aggression were potential contributors to risky behaviors for young people, such as suicide, anti-social behaviors, or health risk behaviors (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Hyde, Shaw, & Moilanen, 2010; Prinstein & La Greca, 2004). Specifically considering cyberbullying, this finding suggests that intervention and prevention strategies targeting the personality traits specific to each gender can be particularly helpful for males and females (Kowalski, Morgan, & Limber, 2012).

The results of mediation analysis revealed that being a male or a female was not an explanation for cyberbullying perpetration. However, it is the combined effect of moral disengagement and aggression that explains gender difference in cyberbullying perpetration. In addition, the unique contributions of moral disengagement and aggression were also explanatory in the relationship between cyberbullying perpetration and gender. That is, moral disengagement and aggression separately and in combination have roles in this relationship.

Even though higher levels of moral disengagement were previously linked to being a cyberbully (e.g., Bussey et al., 2015; Robson & Witenberg, 2013), to the best of authors' knowledge, the explanatory role of moral disengagement in gender differences regarding cyberbullying perpetration was identified for the first time in this chapter. Therefore, further investigations examining the mediator role of moral disengagement in the relationship between

gender and cyberbullying perpetration are needed to validate this finding. Unfortunately, there is no empirical data to confirm the study's findings regarding moral disengagement mediating the relationship between gender and cyber bullying perpetration. Nevertheless, there appears to be some support for these associations. In particular, Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, and Pastorelli (1996) argued that higher levels of moral disengagement contribute to being more prone to engagement in aggression, and that males were more likely to develop greater levels of moral disengagement when compared to the females. According to Bandura (2002), while no significant gender differences in moral disengagement are present in the early years of life, males might become moral disengagers as they get older. A potential explanation for this change might be gender socialization. As activities of moral disengagement are inherent in social systems (Bandura, 2002), males, compared to the females, might behave more morally disengaged since their morally disengaged behaviors could be more acceptable in male-oriented societies, such as Turkey.

Cyberbullying is a relatively new type of peer aggression, and it might be expected that males with higher levels of moral disengagement prefer cyber environments where they can easily disclose their aggressive tendencies. Furthermore, cyber environments offer opportunities for morally disengaged bullies do to the removal of physical presence and anonymity. In addition, the immediate destructive impacts of bullying behavior and the physical and psychological responses of victims cannot be observed. Bandura et al. (1996) maintain that individuals are less likely to behave aggressively when they can personally observe their victims suffering or can directly impose pain on their victims. Therefore, cyberbullies are unable to witness the harm they cause on victims and victims' immediate reactions, potentially leading them to be motivated to behave more aggressively in cyber settings.

Extensive research has indicated that cyberbullies score lower on empathy, which serves as a preventive mechanism for inflicting harm on others (Renati et al., 2012; Topcu & Erdur-Baker, 2012). As suggested by past research (e.g., Topcu & Erdur-Baker, 2012), empathy training can potentially be helpful to enhance the moral reasoning abilities of cyberbullies, such as training to adopt others' perspectives or sharing others' feelings. In addition, computer software that reminds young individuals about the negative impacts of their cyberbullying perpetration behaviors seems to be useful in preventing cyber bullying. For example, the software '*Rethink*' developed and tested by Prabhu (2014) alerted online users to the potentially harmful and offending content of the messages they were about to send. *Rethink* software resulted in a significant decrease in sending harmful and offending messages, and prevented cyberbullying before it happened. Such software can be effective in decreasing moral disengagement levels of cyberbullies by making them aware of the negative influences associated with their bullying behaviors.

Similar to moral disengagement, aggression was also found to be a unique mediator of the relationship between gender and cyberbullying perpetration. Existing research has provided evidence that higher levels of aggression were associated with the engagement in cyberbullying (Renati et al., 2012; Roberto et al., 2014). However, the mediational role of aggression on the relationship between gender and cyberbullying perpetration had not previously been examined, and therefore more investigations should be conducted to corroborate this finding. A possible explanation for this finding might be the gender socialization process; while males learn that behaving aggressively might be tolerated for their gender, females encounter less tolerance for their aggressive acts than males. Relative to females, male cyberbullies may feel more

comfortable while behaving aggressively, including bullying others online. This speculation seems to be supported by an empirical study (Agatston et al., 2007), which reported that though females considered cyberbullying as a problem at school, males were not totally in agreement about cyber bullying's being a school problem. In other words, males did not consider behaving aggressively online as a serious problem. Therefore, since online aggression did not bother males very much, they might engage in cyberbullying more than females because of their higher levels of aggression. To reduce aggressive behaviors in educational and online settings, cyberbullying and anger management programs should be implemented as they have been found to be effective interventions intended for young people (Candelaria & Fedewa, 2012). In addition to anger management programs, interventions aiming to build emotional intelligence skills can be helpful for dealing with aggressive behaviors of youth, considering that individuals with greater levels of emotional intelligence behave less aggressively (Garcia-Sancho, Salguero, & Fernandez-Berrocal, 2014). Moreover, Johnson (2011) recommends educating cyberbullies to gain awareness about the impacts of their bullying behaviors on victims, and strengthening their self-esteem and social skills as well as teaching impulse control skills and expressing emotions.

Gender differences in aggressive behaviors, including cyberbullying, have been an important topic for the literature on aggression. Researchers have endeavored to understand whether males or females behave more aggressively. Yet, a consensus has not been reached so far because of inconsistent findings. Thus, future studies need to investigate explanations of gender differences in aggressive behaviors in order to be gender sensitive while planning prevention and intervention strategies.

For example, based on the current study's findings, personality traits seem to account for gender differences in cyberbullying perpetration among university students in Turkey. Therefore, future studies are warranted to contribute to the literature by considering which characteristics differ between males and females, and how these differences in personality traits impact cyberbullying perpetration.

Although the present study contributes to the literature by examining the mediating role of moral disengagement and aggression in gender differences in cyber bullying perpetration, there are some limitations. The findings of this chapter were restricted to only two of the possible personality traits of the cyberbullies: moral disengagement and aggression. Further research is necessary to investigate whether other personality traits have mediating roles in cyberbullying perpetration. Lastly, the gender socialization process for females and males seems to have an important impact on aggressive behaviors. Yet, the literature lacks empirical evidence to support the role of the gender socialization process on aggressive behaviors. Researchers have only speculated on its impact on the aggressive behaviors of males and females. Therefore, empirical studies are needed to validate its role in gender differences concerning aggression.

The findings of this study can only be generalized to a population that carries similar characteristics as those participants from the present study. In addition, this chapter relied on self-report data concerning cyberbullying experiences and personality traits. Self-report measures are subject to social desirability bias. Specifically, revealing sensitive information, such as cyberbullying perpetration, aggression, and moral disengagement, could be more difficult for some people and obtaining data from other sources such as peer reports or parent reports might lead to less biases concerning sensitive topics.

Another limitation of this study is its cross-sectional nature which prevents expecting a cause and effect relationship among the variables studied in this current research. Further

research could adopt a longitudinal design to test the same model over time in order to understand whether the established relationships are stable over time.

CONCLUSION

Cyber bullying as a new challenge in the lives of the technology cohort has led researchers to attempt to understand how adolescents experience this new type of bullying by examining the characteristics of cyber bullies and risk factors for being a cyber bully. Although it is still not clear whether one gender is more at risk of engaging in cyber bullying, the majority of Turkish literature indicated that males are more at risk of cyber bullying. In the present study, aggression and moral disengagement were tested as the potential explanatory mediating factors of males' dominancy in cyber bullying. As expected, males were found to be more aggressive and morally disengaged than females, and males scored higher in cyber bullying. Moral disengagement and aggression mediated the relationship between gender and cyberbullying perpetration acts.

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Chapter 7

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PEER-PRESSURED SEXTING

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INTRODUCTION

In 2008, Jessica Logan committed suicide after her nude photo circulated throughout her Ohio town (Celizic, 2009). The case focused international attention on the possibility that nude pictures could be sent electronically. Since 2008, digital behaviors in general have not decreased in frequency; in fact, digital technology use among youth has dramatically increased to become a primary method of communication. A number of more recent studies have found that a large majority of teens continually use digital devices and social media (Englander, 2011; Lenhart, Madden, Smith, Purcell, Zickuhr, & Rainie, 2011). Heavy digital use is found among all social classes (Rainie, Lenhart, & Smith, 2011). The ubiquitous use of text messaging does not seem to be a passing fad; in 2010, 44% of teens studied in Massachusetts listed “text messaging” as their preferred type of communication, and by 2014, that proportion had risen to 65% (Englander, In Progress). Digital communications are largely used for positive interactions but are also, without dispute, one vehicle for harassment and threat between youth. Compounding the complexity of this is the fact that the same digital behaviors can represent little threat or can alternatively be a mechanism for emotional and social trauma.

As an example, consider *sexting*, a digital behavior that is usually, but not uniformly, defined as *sending nude or sexually explicit photos of oneself through electronic devices to a peer*. Frequency data suggests that approximately 10% to 30% of children and teens admit to having sexted, with numbers for teens aged 16 and older hovering around the 25% to 40% range (Dake, Price, Maziarz, & Ward, 2012; Englander, 2013; Mitchell, Finkelhor, Jones, & Wolak, 2011; National Campaign to Prevent Teen & Unplanned Pregnancy, 2008; Temple & Choi, 2014). Sexting appears to be common; and in and of itself it may not always jeopardize public health. It is the community, social norms, and social *context* within which sexting occurs that

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determines whether the incident could be considered cyberbullying or even sexual harassment, and therefore whether it could be potentially harmful. To many, the link between sexting and cyberbullying may seem unclear, but there is a relationship between some types of sexting behaviors and coercion, pressure, or bullying. Private images can be used to target and harass the subject of the photo, through, for example, behaviors such as *slut shaming* (i.e., harassing someone as a result of real or perceived sexual behaviors), *revenge porn* (i.e., the unwanted distribution of photos after the end of a relationship), or simply through the unwanted distribution of photos that the sender intended to remain private. It appears that while these negative behaviors are a relatively uncommon outcome of sexting, our ongoing research at the Massachusetts Aggression Reduction Center suggests that some of those behaviors can probably be characterized as digital sexual harassment.

This chapter reviews research findings from a 2013-2014 study of 642 college freshman recruited from the University's Subject Pool. This study surveyed subjects about many digital behaviors, including how sexting can occur because of digital sexual harassment, or how it can actually contribute to cases of digital sexual harassment.

A phenomenon that is of particular interest is called *pressured sexting*. Much sexting occurs willingly between two teenage partners in an emotionally intimate relationship, but in other cases, youth are blackmailed, threatened, or pressured into sexting (Englander, 2012; National Campaign to Prevent Teen & Unplanned Pregnancy, 2008; Zweig, Dank, Yahner, & Lachman, 2013). This chapter will examine some of the findings from that study, including the contexts in which sexting might increase vulnerability to digital sexual harassment.

BACKGROUND

Peer Pressure

There is a growing body of research examining the impact of pressure from peers or romantic partners on sexual behavior. Peer pressure involves groups or individuals influencing the attitudes and/or behaviors of others through the use of methods such as coercion, teasing, bullying, or explicit suggestion (Brown, 2008). Many studies have found that close friends and romantic peers influence adolescents' decisions to engage in romantic and sexual activity (Ali & Dwyer, 2011; Crockett, Rafaelli, Shen, 2006; Kennett, Humphreys, & Schultz, 2012). For example, in one study, negative peer pressure to engage in sexual activity was found to increase the likelihood that adolescents will engage in risky sexual behaviors, both directly and indirectly (through the increased use of substances) (Crockett et al., 2006). In an earlier review by the same authors, negative peer pressure was found to be a risk factor for early and risky sexual behaviors (Crockett, Rafaelli, Shen, 2003). Qualitative examinations have found similar results, with 60% of participants in one study reporting that they engaged in unwanted sexual activity as a result of pressure from their partners. In another study, gender differences were subtle, yet apparent, with females reporting that they were more likely to engage in sexual behaviors that contradicted their personal desires and needs in an effort to keep their partners happy and engaged (Suleiman & Deardorff, 2015).

In the study being reported in this chapter, similar gender differences were found (see *Results*, below), suggesting that peer pressure may play a larger role for females in adolescent

decisions about sexual behaviors. Unfortunately, though the link between peer pressure and adolescent sexual behaviors seems clear, there is little research examining the role of peer pressure in *digital* sexual behaviors.

Sexual Harassment

Traditional sexual harassment seems to be a common problem for teens (as individuals and as a group). A 1993 survey of 2,064 public school students, and a repeat of that study in 2001, found that over 80% of teens reported having been a target of sexual harassment (American Association of University Women Educational Foundation [AAUW], 1993). Other studies confirm these high numbers (Fineran & Bennett, 1999; Stein & Bogart, 1987). Physical sexual harassment (a more severe variety) was experienced at some time by 58% of students in the AAUW study. No matter the form it takes, sexual harassment is a serious public health threat; it has been linked to physical violence and profound psychological damage. A substantial amount of research, reaching back decades, has documented the association between sexual harassment and depression. Studies examining sexually harassed adults have found that victims experienced higher levels of depression, anxiety, and aggression (Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Hjelt-Back, 1994; Ho, Dinh, Bellefontaine, & Irving, 2012; Humphreys & Lee, 2009). Among children and teens, those who reported the highest level of peer sexual harassment also showed the highest anxiety and depression levels (Espelage & Holt, 2007). Sexual harassment has been particularly associated with depression among students with a sexual minority status (Martin-Storey & Crosnoe, 2012).

Digital forms of sexual harassment (DSH) have also been studied but in comparison to sexual harassment in person, they can be more difficult to define precisely. For example, if an online stranger asks to meet someone in person, or asks for a photo, that could be construed as a sexual advance – or not, depending on the context in which the solicitation occurred. Unlike face to face encounters, in digital environments, the intention of the inviter can be hard to ascertain. Being sent a nude picture or a picture of people having sex is clearly sexual harassment - unless the recipient requested such images. Pictures of a nude peer may be shared with others, not for the purpose of harassing the recipient but instead to simply share an intensely interesting photo with a friend (Englander, 2012). Yet there are also some digital events that seem very likely to be sexual harassment, such as telling a peer that they won't be offered a date unless they provide a nude picture of themselves, or soliciting someone sexually online or through texting. Drawing a distinction between what is clearly DSH, and what might not be, is difficult.

A few studies have suggested that sexualized digital behaviors may be sexual harassment by finding links between such behaviors and emotional trauma, including depression (Mitchell, Ybarra, & Finkelhor, 2007) and stress symptoms (Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2006). Unfortunately, current research protocols do not always consider digital behaviors, and in other studies conducted at the Massachusetts Aggression Reduction Center in 2011 and 2012, 65% of teens reported that when adults were questioning them about peer harassment and bullying, no questions about digital behaviors were ever asked (Englander, 2013), in spite of the well-known predominance of digital communications between youth today.

PRESSURED OR COERCED SEXTING

This chapter reports on one wave of data collected as part of an ongoing study conducted by researchers at the Massachusetts Aggression Reduction Center at Bridgewater State University in Massachusetts. In this ongoing study, college freshman are confidentially surveyed about their experiences in high school with regards to bullying, cyberbullying, and digital behaviors. The data presented here will examine the relationship between sexting, pressured or coerced sexting, and psychological functioning. We asked subjects about pressure or coercion that happened directly (e.g., being pestered to send a nude picture), but we also asked about another possible source of sexual harassment that might occur after a photo is sent: the picture, even if sent willingly and in confidence to one person, might ultimately be distributed widely by that trusted recipient. Certainly distributing nude photos is not rare; two studies have both found that about 25% to 30% of those youth who receive nude photos subsequently forward the pictures to others (Englander, 2014; Strassberg, McKinnon, Sustaíta, & Rullo, 2013). However, this data does not speak to the intention of a distributor (e.g., to harm the sexter); adolescents are naturally inquisitive about nudity and sexuality and sharing nude photos (of others) certainly predates the Internet (Englander, 2012b).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overall, 27% of 18-year-old participants reported that they had sexted prior to age 18. The trend of sexting increased as they matured. More than half of sexters (56%) said that they had sexted during 11th grade, while “only” 27% reported sexting during 9th grade. Surprisingly, 17% said they had sexted prior to high school.

We proposed that being pressured and/or coerced into sexting would be a very rare occurrence, but overall, about half of the sexters reported that they felt pressured, coerced, blackmailed, bullied, or threatened into sexting (Englander, 2013).

This proportion was consistent with the waves of data collected in both 2011 and 2012 (Englander, 2012a). We are not the only researchers who picked up on this trend: a qualitative report released earlier this year in the United Kingdom also identified coercive sexting as a major area of concern (Ringrose, Gill, Livingstone, & Harvey, 2012).

Of the sexters, high proportions reported at least some peer pressure or more serious coercion, but not all such pressure was experienced negatively. Still, subjects who were pressured or coerced into sexting reported higher levels of emotional distress as a result of the sexting incident. When asked to rate, on a scale of 1 to 10, how upsetting it had been to send the nude picture, those who sexted voluntarily didn’t experience it as very upsetting. Most of them (79%) selected the “least upset” ratings (a 1 or 2 out of 10). But those subjects who were pressured and/or coerced into sexting felt much more upset by the experience.

In contrast to the willing sexters, only 17% of the pressured sexters selected the “least upset” rating. But not all chose the “most upset” rating, either; “only” about 36% of those who were pressured reported that it caused significant emotional distress, and many “distributed sexters” (i.e., those who knew their photo was distributed to others) reported feeling little or no regret or anguish about having sexted (Englander, 2014).

While clearly pressured and coerced sexting increases the likelihood of emotional trauma, these data suggest that we cannot assume that all pressured sexting, and all unauthorized distribution, *automatically* constitute harassment.

What Motivates Sexting?

Willing and pressured sexters did not only differ on how upset they felt about sexting, they also differed on their motivations for sexting. Both types were most likely to report that a boyfriend or girlfriend wanted the picture, and least likely to say that someone at school or online had blackmailed them into providing the picture. But pressured sexters were three times as likely (55% versus 18%) to say that a *prospective* date (i.e., someone they weren't yet dating, but wanted to) asked for the picture, and they were also more likely to report that they were uncomfortable about providing the picture but ultimately decided that it "wasn't a big deal." As for any negative consequences following the sexting, almost a third of pressured sexters reported problems with peers or adults after they sent the picture (32%), but only 8% of willing sexters had those problems.

Gender differences were apparent in the study, where we noted that girls were more likely than boys to report that they had sexted. Interestingly, this difference was entirely due to more girls reporting that they had been pressured, coerced, blackmailed, or threatened into sexting. The genders did not differ on rates of voluntary or willing sexting.

PRESSURED SEXTING AND RELATIONSHIP PROBLEMS

Pressured sexters also seem at risk for experiencing *some* types of prior violence in relationships, but they showed no elevated risk for other types. For example, pressured sexters were more likely to report that they experienced prior dating violence; almost half (48%) of pressured sexters indicated these experiences as compared to only one-third of non-pressured sexters and one-fourth of nonsexters. Conversely, pressured and non-pressured sexters were similarly elevated in levels of prior family violence. It appears that prior violence as a risk factor is limited to dating violence.

Although some teens do appear to worry about the impact of sexting on their relationships with peers, parents, and other adults at school, in reality that does not appear to be a highly likely consequence. This is probably because while the media does seem to focus on cases where photos are widely distributed, our data suggests that this is an outcome that is far from universal. In this present study, slightly fewer than three-quarters (73%) of all sexters reported that to their knowledge, the picture(s) was never shown to anyone apart from the intended recipient. Willing sexters were less likely to say the picture was "passed around" (15% reported this), but even among pressured sexters, passing around wasn't overwhelmingly common, with "only" slightly more than a third reporting that the nude self-portrait was shown to others (34%). It is clear that in some instances nude self-portraits are passed around, but even those cases do not inevitably constitute episodes in which these pictures are seen by many others, as is often implied in the media. Our data suggests that overall, 19% of sexters reported that the picture was seen by one or two people after the original recipient, and only 8% said it was seen

by three or more. Even when the picture was disseminated, it didn't always lead to trouble - although 27% of sexters reported that others saw their nude picture, only 18% said it caused trouble for them. Notably, when these images *are* seen by others, and then do cause problems, it does not seem to be the adults who generally see and respond to them. Sexters reported that their parents saw the image only 3% to 4% of the time, and both pressured and willing sexters reported getting into trouble with their parents because of the picture at very low rates (only 5.4% and 3%, respectively). Rates of getting into trouble with the adults at school were even lower - about 1% and 3%, respectively.

In contrast, trouble from peers was the most common type, for both pressured and willing sexters. About 14% of pressured sexters and 6% of willing sexters reported having trouble from peers because of the pictures that were shown around. We did not ask subjects about specific types of problems with peers, but anecdotal conversations with teens whom we encounter in the schools in which we work suggests that these problems may cluster around gossip and rumors, sexual harassment, and in more severe cases, social rejection and/or extreme humiliation and isolation. Our experience leads us to believe that the social impact of sexting, if taken to extremes by peers, can be potentially devastating. Luckily, such outcomes seem to be the exception, rather than the rule.

Raising a Red Flag on Coerced Sexting

Although our findings reveal that sexting is less likely to result in a backlash than the media might have led us to believe, the fact that teens may sext when coerced or pressured to do so is a problem that should not be minimized. As noted above, about half of the girls and a third of the boys who sexted said they did so at least once because someone else pressured or coerced them to send a nude picture. Pressure applied in the context of a relationship (i.e., with a current boyfriend or girlfriend) wasn't always experienced as a problem; what's of more concern are the subjects who did experience the pressure negatively, most commonly when the pressure came from someone the sexter wanted to date (most often a potential boyfriend). It is troubling to think that intimate pictures might be solicited from vulnerable, eager-to-please teenagers. Although we do not by any means think the higher rates of depression and substance abuse among all types of sexters should be ignored, the pressured sexters seem to be dealing with an additional set of troubles. They were the sexters most likely to have a history of dating violence and most likely to report that the picture(s) ultimately caused problems for them, usually with their peers and occasionally with adults. Thus, they may be the most vulnerable students - prior victims who are being re-victimized.

Future research could help further our understanding of digital forms of sexual harassment. This current study was limited by its design (college freshman retrospectively recalling their behavior during high school) and by the nature of the variables studied. It is likely that the relationship between sexters and recipients may be far more nuanced and complex; for example, the role of friends, peers, and family needs to be explored to understand how digital sexual harassment occurs and what its consequences may be. This study has made it clear, however, that ignoring digital forms of harassment is likely to omit important sources of social stress and conflict between youth.

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Chapter 8

THE ROLE OF EMOTIONAL PROCESSES IN (CYBER)BULLYING

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INTRODUCTION

In a recent meta-analysis by Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, and Sadek (2010) on bullying and victimization in childhood and adolescence, they stressed that the most investigated predictors of both phenomena are individual characteristics, mainly gender, externalizing and internalizing behaviors, academic performance, self-related cognitions, other-related cognitions, and social problem-solving. However, among the individual-level predictors, scarce consideration was given to the role of emotions (e.g., individual traits, temperamental characteristics, abilities). This evidence is particularly pronounced in the field of research on cyberbullying, because of the lack of face-to-face interaction. The main aim of the present chapter is to review recent literature about bullying and cyberbullying in order to make an in-depth exploration of the role of emotional processes in these maladaptive behaviors. In line with the general aim of the present book, we will use the terms “bullying,” “traditional bullying,” or “face-to-face bullying” to refer to a maladaptive relationship in which individuals (or groups of individuals) repeatedly and intentionally harass those unable to defend themselves through physical, verbal, or relational (i.e., covert) behaviors (Olweus, 1993; Salmivalli, 2010). We will use the labels “cyberbullying,” “electronic bullying,” or “new forms of bullying” to refer to bullying behaviors characterized by offensive acts (e.g., harassment, cyberstalking, spreading of rumors, intimidation, etc.) inflicted through new technological means, such as social networking sites, instant messaging, blogs, and chat rooms (Menesini, Calussi, & Nocentini, 2012; Palladino, Nocentini, & Menesini, 2015; Williams & Guerra, 2007). A continuous effort will be made in order to trace similarities and differences between traditional and new forms of bullying in association with emotional processes, and research from face-to-face bullying will be used to provide a starting point in order to understand bullying in

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cyberspace. Given the overlap between traditional and cyberbullying phenomena (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2007; Wang, Iannotti, & Luk, 2012), we agree with Dooley, Pyzalski, and Cross (2009) that it is necessary to identify the unique emotional characteristics of individuals who exclusively engage in electronic bullying, in order to account for specific risk factors that play a role in predicting this new form of bullying.

As far as traditional bullying is concerned, the Social Information Processing Model (SIP) and the Theory of Mind Approach (TOM) as applied to children's aggressive behaviors (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2001; Sutton, Smith, & Swettenham, 2001) put little emphasis on the role played by emotions in bullying behaviors. According to the SIP model (Crick & Dodge, 1994, 1999), biases or deficits in one or more of the six steps in processing social information (i.e., encoding both internal and external cues, interpretations of cues, clarification of goals, response access and construction, response decision, and behavior enactment) were seen as leading to aggressive behavior in a child. Like aggressive children, bullies were hypothesized to have problems in the initial stages of processing (i.e., encoding and interpretation of social cues), but the empirical data did not confirm this assumption: many bullies were able to accurately perceive their social world and they had more advanced theory of mind skills (i.e., the ability to recognize others' emotions, intentions, beliefs, and goals). Instead, they displayed a "biased" response evaluation style and were more prone to choose self-oriented goals (e.g., material goals, social visibility, and/or a powerful position within the peer group), without experiencing aversive vicarious emotions due to the consequences of their actions on the victim (Sutton, Smith, & Swettenham, 1999a, 1999b, 2001). A different picture of the nature of bullying emerged: bullies were considered skilled and strategic manipulators who were able to latch onto victims' vulnerability and manipulate the social context by displaying "cold cognition," that is, a theory of mind formulated in instrumental terms without access to the empathic understanding of others (Sutton et al., 1999b). The involvement of TOM skills in bullying behavior goes hand in hand with the revision of the SIP model, by taking systematic account of the role of emotions and emotional processes in understanding social behavior. Specifically, the revised SIP model by Lemerise and Arsenio (2000) hypothesized that emotionality and regulatory ability strictly affects all steps of social information processing during interpersonal interactions.

Despite the theoretical recognition of the contribution of emotion processes to bullying phenomena, this topic has received scarce empirical support. In the present chapter, we will review some studies investigating the role of emotions in (cyber)bullying, while focusing our attention on specific topics concerning both traditional and current fields of research. First, we will focus on the role of emotion perception abilities, which represent the first step of the SIP model, and then we will consider the effect of emotionality and the emotion regulation processes that can affect what emotion cues are noticed and how they are interpreted. This section will conclude with some studies on the happy victimizer paradigm, which investigate how bullies and victims attribute emotions to hypothetical moral transgressors, and, indirectly, to hypothetical victims. We consider this a very promising area of study on cyberbullying yet to be explored, since in cyberspace the victims' emotional contingent reaction is lacking and bullies can only consider the victims' expected emotions in order to evaluate the effectiveness of their harassment. Second, we consider studies on empathy and callous-unemotional traits in order to explore (cyber)bullies' subjective dispositions in relation to others' emotions. Finally, we will review some studies on emotional intelligence that try to explore whether (cyber)bullies perceive themselves as able to handle both their own and others' emotions.

From a life-span developmental perspective, we emphasize the importance of age-related changes in the emotional correlates of (cyber)bullying behaviors. Nevertheless, we particularly focus on preadolescence and middle school (grades 6 to 8); preadolescence represents the transition from late childhood into adolescence, and it constitutes a period of rapid biological, psychological, and relational changes, having strong implications for future development trajectories; moreover, past research has indicated that bullying peaks during preadolescence, and cyberbullying is mainly committed by preadolescents and adolescents who are increasingly using new technologies (Brown, Birch, & Kancherla, 2005; Fitzpatrick, Dulin, & Piko, 2007; Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, Fisher, Russel, & Tippett, 2008).

WHEN (CYBER)BULLIES MEET OTHERS: THE ROLE OF EMOTION PERCEPTION ABILITIES, EMOTIONALITY AND EMOTION REGULATION

The first step of both the original and revised SIP model involves the ability to encode social cues (Crick & Dodge, 1994, 1999; Lemerise & Arsenio, 2000). Among the social abilities, emotion perception is considered a basic nonverbal skill comprising two distinct albeit associated processes: emotion perception accuracy (i.e., the ability to perceive a discrete emotion when it is actually expressed; for instance, children who are highly accurate at perceiving happiness tend to correctly identify or label happiness emotions when actual cues are expressed) and emotion perception bias (i.e., the tendency to perceive a discrete emotion when a different emotion is expressed; for instance, children with high levels of bias in perceiving happiness tend to mistakenly identify or label non-happy emotions as happiness). Izard and collaborators (Ackerman, Abe, & Izard, 1998; Izard, 1977, 2002) emphasized that emotion perception bias results from increased exposure to a particular emotion in others or increased emotional arousal experienced in themselves.

Children who are accurate at identifying others' verbal and nonverbal emotional cues are more likely to experience positive interactions with peers than those who are less accurate in this domain (Goodfellow & Nowicki, 2009; Mostow, Izard, Fine, & Trentacosta, 2002). In addition, the damaging role of emotion perception bias in social information processing has been outlined in several studies. In particular, research on socially rejected and aggressive children has revealed that these children are more likely to inaccurately recognize their peers' expressions of emotion and systematically attribute anger in ambiguous situations (Crick & Dodge, 1994; Orobio de Castro, Merk, Koops, Veerman, & Bosch, 2005; Schultz, Izard, & Ackerman, 2000). In other words, specific emotion perception bias interferes with children's ability to accurately collect and use the available emotional information, which in turn negatively influences the subsequent steps in social information processing (Barth & Bastiani, 1997; Rosen, Milich, & Harris, 2007). Furthermore, when emotion perception accuracy and emotion perception bias were simultaneously evaluated, it was found that recognition biases often played a more significant role in predicting social behavior than recognition accuracy (Barth & Bastiani, 1997; Fine, Trentacosta, Izard, Mostow, & Campbell, 2004; Schultz, Izard, & Ackerman, 2000).

What do we know about (cyber)bullying and emotion perception abilities? Studies on traditional bullying (Ciucci & Fonzi, 1999; Woods, Wolke, Nowicki, & Hall, 2009) have found

that bullies do not differ from peers in their overall accuracy when reading emotions in others' faces. We argue here that the ability to "see" victims' vulnerability (e.g., emotional cues of distress and anger) as communicated through their nonverbal and verbal social responses is fundamental because it acts as an immediate and tangible reinforcement to bullies' desire to dominate others (Pepler, Jiang, Craig, & Connolly, 2008; Perry, Williard, & Perry, 1990; Vandebosch & van Cleemput, 2008). Conversely, it was found that victims (especially relational victims) made more errors in perceiving expressions of anger and fear compared to non-involved peers (Woods et al., 2009); in addition, victims were more prone to "preemptively" process threatening social stimuli, thus impairing their ability to decode threat due to their dysregulated negative emotional arousal (Rosen et al., 2007).

As for cyberbullying, it is reasonable to expect that the association with emotion perception accuracy may be different, considering that cyberbullies are often removed from face-to-face interaction. They do not always have the opportunity to view the emotional impact of their actions on victims. Rather, they can have expectations about the emotional consequences of their behaviors which may motivate their response evaluation process (Dooley et al., 2009; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004).

To date, only one study (Ciucci, Baroncelli, & Nowicki, 2014) has conjunctly investigated the possible associations between face-to-face and cyber forms of bullying and victimization behavior, with both perception accuracy and perception bias in a sample of middle school preadolescents. In addition, this study paid particular attention to measuring the unique associations of each of the bullying scales (e.g., traditional bullying) with emotion perception processes, while controlling for the other three bullying scales (e.g., cyberbullying, traditional victimization, and cyber victimization) and emotionality. In so doing, the authors aimed to control the co-occurrence of bullying phenomena as well as the level of personal arousal. The results suggested that emotion perception abilities are important in bullying and victimization interactions for boys but not for girls; specifically, the results revealed that males who were more inclined toward traditional bullying did not show any deficit in accurately perceiving emotions, while they were more prone to over-perceive happiness and fear in the absence of actual cues. Both these perception biases may serve to reinforce bullies' behaviors and perpetuate the cycle of victimization: a bias in perceiving happiness may encourage bullies to interact with peers (including victims) because they perceive signs of pleasure or approval in others' faces; moreover, bullies could perceive displays of fear in others' facial expressions as a sign of their social dominance. Importantly, males who were more inclined toward cyberbullying could perceive fear more accurately, which may suggest the possibility that they use this information to select their victims; nevertheless, it remains unclear why the accurate recognition of this emotion is more important in cyberbullying rather than the traditional form of bullying. We could hypothesize that in face-to-face bullying, both in bullies (probably anger and joy) and in victims (fear), the role of emotional arousal is preeminent in determining over-perception of the victims' fear. The ability to accurately identify fear in victims could facilitate repeated and systematic offline abuse, but its preferential use in online interactions could be explained by its co-occurrence with social anxiety (high level of fear arousal), determining cyberbullies' preference to hide themselves behind a technological medium. This hypothesis derives from research supporting evidence of an association between problematic Internet use and shyness, loneliness, and avoiding social relationships (Ceyhan & Ceyhan, 2008; Gross, Juvonen, & Gable, 2002; Hardie & Yi-Tee, 2007). Further research that explicitly considered

the interactive effects of emotional perception processes, emotionality, and social involvement in association with cyberbullying needs to be performed to better understand extant results.

Conversely, Ciucci, Baroncelli, and Nowicki (2014) found that male cyber victims showed deficiency in emotion perception processes: they conjunctly revealed less accuracy in perceiving emotions, especially anger and fear, and a greater bias perception of anger and fear when other emotions were displayed. Considering these important deficits, male cyber victims find it difficult to assess whether others are potentially dangerous, or whether others are signaling that there is a threat in the situation. This tendency to mix anger and fear magnifies the potential of these nonverbal errors, heightening the risk of being bullied.

As already stated, the ability to accurately read others' emotional signals is strictly related to the quality of one's own emotional experiences. Studies on bullies and victims' emotionality may be relevant to this investigation. The intensity of the experienced emotions along with the scarce capacity to regulate them (i.e., proneness to anger, emotional lability/negativity, and low levels of fear reactivity and effortful control) are two emotional processes that influence bullying behaviors, even if bullies appear as skilled as other peers in their knowledge of emotional display rules (Camodeca & Goossens, 2005; Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2001; Garner & Hinton, 2010; Terranova, Sheffield Morris, & Boxer, 2008). Bullies and victims' emotionality could be important because the emotional arousal they experience could serve to strengthen their affective-cognitive structures related to a discrete emotion (Ackerman et al., 1998; Izard, 1977, 2002; Rosen et al., 2007). For instance, Camodeca and Goossens (2005) found that bullies and victims react similarly to hypothetical SIP situations with anger, while victims also react with sadness. By directly observing emotional display and emotional regulation in classroom bullying episodes, Mahady Wilton, Craig, and Pepler (2000) found that interest, joy, and anger were not only the most frequently observed emotional displays among bullies, but also among victims, with maladaptive consequences. In addition, Mahady Wilton et al. (2000) found that bullies expressed joy and anger more easily than victims; in contrast, victims were more prone to express surprise and sadness than bullies. When talking about their victimization, the victims told stories full of negative emotions, involving both distress caused by the victimization episodes and anger toward their perpetrators. During bullying episodes, bullies reported feeling better and less guilty for their victims compared to peers who were less involved in bullying behaviors (Bollmer, Harris, & Milich, 2006). Once again, the extant research mainly focuses on traditional bullying, while the few studies on this topic in relation to cyber phenomena have found that the typical emotions aroused in cyber victims included frustration, anger, sadness, and fear (Beran & Li, 2005; Hynduia & Patchin, 2007; Patchin & Hynduia, 2006; Spears, Slee, Owens, & Johnson, 2009). Further research on the role of emotionality in cyberbullying, as well as studies on the pre-emptive processing of emotional information, is necessary.

Prior to concluding this section, we want to report the findings of an interesting field of research that adopted the happy victimizer paradigm, a task developed in order to study the emotions that children attributed to a moral victimizer when confronted with hypothetical situations of moral violation. The results suggested that more often aggressive children attributed happiness to the perpetrators of moral infractions that produce personal gains, indicating that the former lack moral motivation (Arsenio, Gold, & Adams, 2006; Malti & Krettenauer, 2013). Other studies confirmed that bullies attributed positive emotions to a hypothetical moral transgressor more often and moral emotion attributions such as sadness and feelings of guilt less often (Gasser & Keller, 2010; Menesini, Sanchez, Fonzi, Ortega,

Costabile, & Lo Feudo, 2003). Similarly, in the face of real incidents of bullying, bullies were much more likely to say that they felt happy about the episode and much less likely to say that the victims felt unhappy than the victims or control peers (Smith, Bowers, Binney, & Cowie, 1993). Although to date no study has included electronic forms of bullying, we consider the happy victimizer paradigm particularly promising in cyberbullying research: considering that cyberbullies are removed from face-to-face interactions with their victims, it is crucial to assess how they expect to feel following the harassment, as well as how they expect their victims to feel and react as a result of their aggressive behaviors.

(CYBER)BULLIES' SUBJECTIVE DISPOSITIONS IN RELATION TO OTHERS' EMOTIONS: THE ROLE OF EMPATHY AND CALLOUS-UNEMOTIONAL TRAITS

A large amount of research has examined the individual factors that contribute to making a child more prone to harass others: it has been found that proactively aggressive individuals, such as bullies, are more likely to be characterized by a lack of empathy. Empathy can be defined as a multidimensional construct, involving a cognitive dimension that refers to the ability to recognize others' feelings, and an affective dimension that refers to the ability to share the affective state of others (Davis, 1983; Feshbach & Feshbach, 1982). Several studies have highlighted that the affective component of empathy could be the main emotional deficiency in traditional bullying, and especially in male bullies (Caravita, Di Blasio, & Salmivalli 2009; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006, 2011; Stavrinides, Georgiou, & Theofanous, 2010). As regards the relationship between empathy and different forms of traditional bullying, Jolliffe and Farrington (2006) found that physical bullying was negatively associated with general empathy among adolescent males, whereas indirect bullying was negatively related to affective and total empathy among adolescent females. In a subsequent study, Jolliffe and Farrington (2011) showed that affective empathy was negatively associated with both physical and verbal forms for males, while female bullying was not related to either cognitive or affective empathy. Considering cyberbullying, the results are as inconsistent as in the traditional form: Almeida, Marinho, Esteves, Gomes, and Correia (2008) found that cyberbullies do not show a lack of empathy while Steffgen, Pfetsch, König, and Melzer (2011) revealed that cyberbullies were less empathic than peers. Renati, Berrone, Fedrigi, and Zanetti (2011) found a negative relation between affective empathy and cyberbullying. Ang and Goh (2010) provided an interesting study in which the unique and interactive effects of both affective and cognitive empathy were tested in association with cyberbullying: the results showed that in male adolescents' higher levels of cyberbullying were associated with lower levels of cognitive empathy over and above the role of affective empathy; in female adolescents the same association was only found in those with low affective empathy but not in those with high affective empathy. This was interpreted on the basis of Silfver and Helkama's results (2007) that moral decision-making in boys is based more on cognitive components of empathy than in girls. We may assume that in boys the electronic medium serves to deal with a weak theory of mind and, therefore, a lower premeditated planning capacity; in contrast, females may only resort to electronic media as well as indirect bullying when they have not vicariously

experienced others' emotions. In summary, the role of empathy in traditional bullying and cyberbullying still needs more investigation, especially in relation to gender.

Empathy, and especially affective empathy, is a construct that is strictly related to Callous-Unemotional traits (CU). In the Fifth Edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders (DSM-5), the diagnostic criteria for Conduct Disorder (CD) were extended to include a specifier designating important subgroups of children and adolescents "with Limited Prosocial Emotions." Specifically, these children are characterized by uncaring (i.e., lack of remorse or guilt, lack of concern about performance in important activities), callousness (i.e., callous-lack of empathy), and unemotional (i.e., shallow or deficient affect) dimensions (Frick & Nigg, 2012). Children and adolescents with behavior problems who also show high levels of CU traits exhibit more severe and chronic antisocial behaviors than those with normative CU trait levels (Kahn, Frick, Youngstrom, Findling, & Youngstrom, 2012), and that they are resistant to traditional treatments (Frick & White, 2008). Moreover, children and adolescents with behavior problems who also exhibit a high level of CU traits show a number of unique genetic, neurological, cognitive, emotional, personality, and social characteristics (Frick, Ray, Thornton, & Kahn, 2014) which could suggest that children and adolescents with these traits have different causal factors leading to their behavior problems compared to other antisocial youths.

A current field of research has identified CU traits as a critical construct for an in-depth exploration of the etiology of bullying behaviors. For instance, higher levels of CU traits were related positively to direct bullying in British preadolescents (Viding, Simmonds, Petrides, & Frederickson, 2009) and to bullying behaviors in American preadolescent girls with conduct disorder symptoms (Pardini, Stepp, Hipwell, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Loeber, 2012). Other studies examined the role of different dimensions of CU traits (i.e., callousness, uncaring, and unemotional) in bullying. In preadolescent and adolescent Greek Cypriot students, Fanti, Frick, and Georgiou (2009) found that those who exhibited pure bullying scored higher on the uncaring dimension when compared to those exhibiting low bullying, pure victimization, or a combination of bullying and victimization. Ciucci, Baroncelli, Franchi, Golmaryami, and Frick (2014) explored the unique variance accounted for both bullying and cyberbullying by the three CU dimensions and found that in boys callousness and an uncaring attitude contributed uniquely to the prediction of face-to-face bullying, while an uncaring attitude alone was uniquely associated with cyberbullying. On the other hand, in girls the uncaring dimension was the only one associated with both offline and online bullying behaviors. The uncaring dimension, which includes a lack of care about one's performance in tasks as well as a lack of care about others' emotions, seems to be more strongly associated with both bullying phenomena. It is interesting to notice that, among the other CU dimensions, this dimension of disregard for others seems to be more strongly related to measures of severe delinquent behaviors in detained or incarcerated juveniles (Kimonis et al., 2008).

As we previously stated, there is no doubt that the callous CU trait overlaps with the construct of affective empathy, and some interesting studies further explore the unique role played by empathy and CU trait dimensions in their association with bullying. A recent contribution by Muñoz, Qualter, and Padgett (2011) found that both cognitive and affective empathy were associated with bullying in preadolescents, but these associations did not emerge when the personality trait related to not caring about others (i.e., the uncaring CU trait) was taken into account. The authors concluded that CU traits were more important than empathic disposition in predicting bullying behaviors. Following the results of Muñoz and colleagues

(2011), Ciucci and Baroncelli (2014a) tried to address some of the limitations of previous studies and aimed to determine which specific dimensions of empathy and CU traits were uniquely associated with bullying in preadolescence, while controlling for the level of victimization. Moreover, they attempted to highlight possible age-related effects. Their results indicated that for preadolescents in 6th grade the uncaring CU trait was positively related to bullying, but this association was mediated by a lack of the affective component of empathy; as for preadolescents in 8th grade the callous CU trait was directly related to bullying, while empathy proved not to be associated when CU traits were considered. The authors concluded that a callous attitude had a greater impact on determining bullying behaviors in older preadolescents than in younger ones, probably because these traits become more stable and solidified in the personality of near adolescents, as stated by Pardini and colleagues (2012).

Considering the role of CU traits in cyberbullying, a recent study on middle school students conducted by Ciucci and Baroncelli (2014b) revealed some interesting findings. In this study, the authors aimed to investigate the dynamic relationship between children's individual characteristics (i.e., CU traits) and the experienced social context (i.e., social preference and perceived popularity) on cyberbullying behaviors, while controlling for cyber victimization. In girls, higher levels of cyberbullying were associated with a more uncaring disposition towards others, but this effect was not influenced by interaction terms with social preference or perceived popularity. Conversely, boys with a more uncaring attitude were more likely to be involved in cyberbullying behaviors when combined with lower levels of social visibility and prestige within the peer group: this result indicated that the uncaring CU trait represents an individual risk factor that is maximized by disadvantaged social circumstances. Further research is needed to make an in-depth exploration of why this interactive effect is only significant in boys; the authors have put forward the hypothesis that in children approaching adolescence the strain for social status is more important for males than for girls: while preadolescent females are more likely to be involved in close dyadic relationships, such as love stories and friendships, boys are more likely to be building their social reputation and visibility within the broader peer group (Benenson, 1990; Sitsema, Veenstra, Lindenberg, & Salmivalli, 2009). To summarize, recent research on emotions and both bullying and cyberbullying has shown the importance of making an in-depth exploration of the emotional profiles of the boys and girls involved in these maladaptive behaviors; this will clearly trace whether the traditional field of research on bullies' empathy can be integrated with the more recent field of emotion-related personality traits.

HANDLING OWN AND OTHERS' EMOTIONS: THE ROLE OF (CYBER)BULLIES' EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

The above-mentioned studies on the perceptual and individual emotion-related characteristics that could be involved in (cyber)bullying lead us wonder how (cyber)bullies are able to handle their own and others' emotions, and how they perceive this. In other words, we cannot conclude this chapter without focusing on (cyber)bullies' emotional intelligence. Emotional Intelligence (EI) was described by Salovey & Mayer (1990, p.189) as *"the subset of social intelligence that involves the ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and*

actions.” According to this model, EI is a cognitive ability that is orthogonal to other intelligences; during time, different definitions have been put forward of EI, including broader non-cognitive aspects, such as competencies, skills and personality traits (Bar-On, 1997; Goleman, 1995; Petrides & Furnham, 2001). This trend brings EI close to another similar construct: emotional competence (Denham, 1998; Saarni, 1999). Denham, Zinsler, and Bailey (2011) use these two terms interchangeably, identifying three constituent dimensions: knowledge, expression, and regulation of own and others’ emotions.

To date, the role of EI in relation to bullying has received scarce attention; Mavroveli and Sánchez-Ruiz (2011) found a negative association between a total score of EI and both self-reported and peer-reported bullying in a sample of English primary school students. Kokkinos and Kipritsi (2012) observed that a total score of trait EI was negatively associated with both direct and indirect forms of bullying in Greek primary school students. Considering the subcomponents of trait EI, Lomas, Stough, Hansen, and Downey (2012) found that the self-perceived understanding of others’ emotions was negatively associated with bullying in a small sample of Australian preadolescents, suggesting that students who felt impaired in understanding others’ emotions were also unable to understand the consequences of their harassment behaviors; nevertheless, the low number of participants suggests caution in generalizing the results. The above-mentioned studies are crucial in that they investigated how self-beliefs about own emotional skills are associated with bullying; nevertheless, they did not simultaneously consider different forms of bullying (i.e., traditional bullying and cyberbullying) in association with different dimensions of EI (i.e., emotional appraisal, use and regulation of both own and others’ emotions). A recent study by Baroncelli and Ciucci (2014) tried to fill this gap, by investigating the associations of discrete trait EI dimensions with traditional bullying and cyberbullying, over and above involvement in other forms of bullying/victimization. The results of this study showed that the dimension of EI concerning the regulation and use of emotions was negatively associated both with traditional bullying and cyberbullying. However, this association did not emerge when traditional bullying was controlled for cyberbullying, whilst it still emerged when cyberbullying was controlled for traditional bullying and both forms of victimization. Differently, dimensions concerning appraisal of own and others’ emotions were not associated with children’s bullying or cyberbullying behaviors. In summary, preadolescents with higher levels of bullying or cyberbullying did not perceive themselves as unable to detect emotional cues in the self or in others (i.e., the basic processes of emotional intelligence; Schutte et al., 1998). Rather, they perceived themselves as less able to regulate and use these emotions (i.e., the more evolved and integrated emotional intelligence processes). However, the latter evidence did not emerge in traditional bullying when it was controlled for cyberbullying. Baroncelli and Ciucci (2014) commented that criteria defining bullying behavior (i.e., intentionality, repetition over time, cold cognition) suggest that bullies may not have an impaired emotional functioning, and may be aware of this. This awareness, which could derive from mastery experiences, may empower the motivation to accurately identify victims’ body language and facial expression in order to carry out the harassment; moreover, it could promote the monitoring of peers’ reactions to gain a dominant role within the class group (Salmivalli, 2010). In addition, they did not consider themselves deficient in accurately monitoring and regulating their emotional states. Indeed, this may result effective while they perform bullying behaviors, in terms of choosing the best way of harassing victims without incurring sanctions. Similarly, cyberbullies did not perceive themselves as impaired in their basic emotional processes; once again, we can argue that self-

evaluation about these abilities may support them in acting out their cyberbullying behaviors. As largely highlighted in the previous section, cyberbullies are removed from face-to-face interactions with their victims and have to plan how to hurt them at a distance; in so doing, they may have to anticipate their victims' emotional reactions, while only relying on their own reactions to their acts (i.e., excitement) and sense of expectation. The main difference between the two forms of bullying concerns the self-perception of being able to use and regulate emotions: a lower level in this EI dimension was a significant predictor for cyberbullying, but not for traditional bullying. The ability to regulate and use emotion, but also the level of self-efficacy in this, has a core role in the SIP model (Lemerise & Arsenio, 2000). Saarni (1999) proved that children who are deficient in emotional regulation are less likely to consider multiple perspectives and more prone to choose a socially incompetent behavior. In addition, it can be hypothesized that poor regulators who are aware of their limits may intentionally choose an alternative option if they want to harass peers, and they may find it easier to bully in cyberspace rather than in face-to-face settings.

CONCLUSION

Research on the role of emotion processes in both (cyber)bullying and (cyber)victimization is timely. While rather limited, it is nevertheless fruitful (Camodeca & Goossens, 2005; Rosen et al., 2007; Woods et al., 2009). Considering this argument, most of the existing research has investigated traditional bullying and it is only recently that it has begun to examine the emotional characteristics of the individuals at risk of cyberbullying or cyber victimization (Ang & Goh, 2010; Ciucci & Baroncelli, 2014; Ciucci, Baroncelli, & Nowicki, 2014; Spears et al., 2009). Much of the recent interest in cyberspace is based on the belief that this form of bullying may exhibit unique characteristics compared to the off-line form, considering that cyberbullies and cyber victims are mainly removed from face-to-face interactions. A related consequence is that cyberbullies do not have direct feedback about the others' emotional reactions; thus, we have to assess how they expect to feel and how they expect their victims to feel following their cyber aggression.

The studies that have been considered in the present review - which does not claim to be complete or comprehensive - seemed important in order to point out some concluding remarks. The male students that were more prone to cyberbullying appeared more able to recognize the fear of others, even if they perceived themselves as less able to regulate their emotions. We have hypothesized that cyberbullies strategically put an electronic medium between themselves and their victims in order to cope with their perceived inability to regulate emotion during face-to-face social interactions: when a bully cannot face the others' suffering, it is more effective to switch to cyberspace. This can be read as a sign of great control and planning, but also as a sign of greater insecurity compared to traditional bullies. In this regard, it is important to note that, for cyberbullies, an uncaring disposition is preminent in order to harass peers in cyberspace; on the contrary, higher levels of the callous CU trait (which refers to lack of empathy and guilt) are fundamental in traditional bullying, where the physical presence of the other imposes a greater coldness in order to perform the aggression.

Our review has revealed only one paper that jointly examines the role of emotional individual characteristics and contextual factors in cyberbullying research. Specifically, Ciucci

and Baroncelli (2014b) found that male preadolescents with an uncaring disposition toward others' emotions and with low levels of popularity in the peer group are more likely to act out cyberbullying behaviors, maybe in order to gain visibility and prestige. According to a social-ecological approach, we hope that future research will consider the role of emotional processes in interaction with further contexts that play a central role in children's social competence, such as parent- and teacher-child relationships.

To conclude, we have to remark that, similarly to traditional bullying, gender seems to play a great role in cyberbullying too; from the role of the emotion perception processes, up to the impact of contextual factors in accentuating or decreasing the association between emotional characteristics and aggressive behaviors through electronic means, more research is needed to better identify the etiological processes that lead boys and girls to implement cyberbullying behaviors.

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Chapter 9

WHO IS WHO IN CYBERBULLYING? CONCEPTUAL AND EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVES ON BYSTANDERS IN CYBERBULLYING

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INTRODUCTION

Many cases of cyberbullying take place in the presence of others (e.g., sending degrading phone calls in a peer group), and some forms involve bystanders further perpetrating cyberbullying by causing additional harm to victims (e.g., spreading rumors in chat rooms or passing on embarrassing photos or videos via internet or mobile phones). While definitional aspects of traditional bullying include an intention to harm, a repetition of the act, and a power imbalance between bully and victim, the concept of cyberbullying is characterized through the use of technology to mediate the harmful communication (Tokunaga 2010). Two differences of cyberbullying in contrast from traditional bullying merit special attention: the wide audience and the complex roles of bystanders. Regarding the first aspect, cyberbullying differs from traditional bullying such that cyberbullying acts may reach a wide audience. In traditional bullying, only those who are physically present may witness the bullying act, in cyberbullying the text, photos, or videos may spread and be forwarded to a large audience. Cybervictims are often unsure about how many people have seen the degrading material and fear to lose social reputation. Concerning the second aspect, the bystander roles are more complex than in traditional bullying, because in traditional bullying bystanders are present offline only. In contrast, bystanders in cyberbullying may be present offline with the perpetrator when a harmful act is performed, offline with the victim when the message is received, or witnessing the incident directly while being online. Taking these two characteristics of the wide audience and bystander roles into account, the bystanding audience seems relevant for understanding the dynamics of the process of cyberbullying. But how do bystanders perceive cyberbullying

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incidents and how do the bystanders react to these experiences? While we have theoretical approaches to conceptualize the behavior and social role of bystanders in traditional bullying, this is an unclear point in cyberbullying. The current chapter focuses on the concept of bystanders in traditional bullying and cyberbullying from a theoretical perspective integrating existing empirical results in this area. A closer look at the social context of cyberbullying and the role that bystanders play for this behavior seems worthwhile for theoretical as well as for practical fields.

The current chapter refers to a socio-ecological model of bullying, acknowledging the social context of aggression and bullying on different levels (Espelage & Swearer 2003; Rodkin & Hodges 2003; Swearer, Espelage, Siebecker, Kingsbury & Bevins 2006). Bronfenbrenner (1979) suggested in his ecological theory that human development is nested in multiple environments—*micosystem*, *mesosystem*, *exosystem*, *makrosystem*, *chronosystem*—which are interrelated with each other and interactively influence human experiences, behavior, and development. Socio-ecological theory builds on this theoretical approach and suggests that “bullying and victimization are phenomena that are reciprocally influenced by the individual, family, school, peer group, community, and society” (Swearer et al., 2006, p. 257). Taking this perspective into account, the current contribution on bystanders in cyberbullying refers to the reciprocal influences of individual factors and peer group factors of the model, embedded in a digital communication environment. First, special characteristics of cyberbullying and bystanders in cyberbullying in contrast to traditional bullying are considered, then conceptual models of traditional bystanding are introduced which are of relevance for cyberbullying too. In the main part, existing empirical research about determinants and correlates of cyberbystanding behavior is reviewed. Building on this, a conceptual framework for cyberbystanding behavior is proposed and the chapter closes with hints on achieved milestones and future directions in the research on cyberbystanders.

CYBERBULLYING AND TRADITIONAL BULLYING

Traditional bullying is defined as a repeated, intentional act to harm another person including a power differential between a powerful individual or group of individuals of perpetrators and a powerless person being victimized (Olweus 1993). Cyberbullying is “any behavior performed through electronic or digital media by individuals or groups that repeatedly communicates hostile or aggressive messages intended to inflict harm or discomfort on others” (Tokunaga 2010, p. 278). Cyberbullying differs from traditional bullying in various aspects as it: (a) is conducted via technological devices, (b) is rather indirect, (c) does not provide direct feedback for the perpetrator about victim’s reactions, (d) leads to more complex bystander roles, (e) does not include direct status gain in front of witnesses, (f) has a larger potential audience, and (g) reaches victims wherever they are and is therefore difficult to escape (Smith 2012). Thus, although traditional bullying and cyberbullying are both behaviors that are intended to harm another person, there are specific features that distinguish cyberbullying from traditional bullying. However, despite the common definitional criterion of the intention to harm, other criteria like repetition of the act and power imbalance have been questioned (Menesini 2012; Pieschl, Porsch, Kahl & Klockenbusch 2013; Smith 2012).

Langos (2012) included the criteria of repetition only for special forms of cyberbullying—direct cyberbullying (where the communication of the perpetrator is directed to the victim straightly) as opposed to indirect cyberbullying (where the communication is spread in public cyberspace). She explained that “Cyberbullying involves the use of ICTs to carry out a series of acts as in the case of direct cyberbullying, or an act as in the case of indirect cyberbullying, intended to harm another (the victim) who cannot easily defend him or herself” (p. 288). Furthermore, in focus groups with youth from three countries (i.e., Italy, Spain, Germany), Nocentini, Calmaestra, Schultze-Krumbholz, Scheithauer, Ortega, and Menesini (2010) found that cyberbullying acts were labeled as such when the intention to harm of the perpetrator is related to experienced harm by the victim and when repetition of the act is present. Other criteria like the imbalance of power, anonymity, and publicity were not prerequisites for labeling an act as cyberbullying, but help to understand the specific context of the act (e.g., the severity of the attack). In sum, the intention to harm delivered via electronic means is the definitional core of cyberbullying, with repetition, power imbalance, anonymity, and publicity as additional criteria. Interestingly, the only definitional criteria that included the broader social context of cyberbullying was publicity (Nocentini et al., 2010) and indirect cyberbullying (Langos 2012), where the target of the degrading message is not only the victim but also potentially the public audience. This is relevant for the perspective of cyberbystanders, because it focuses on the public audience (i.e., the cyberbystanders) who constitute a specific feature of cyberbullying compared to traditional bullying.

CONCEPTUAL MODELS OF BYSTANDING IN TRADITIONAL BULLYING

Definition of Bystander

Considering the linguistic notion of the term bystander, a bystander is a person who is standing by or present at an event or incident without taking part as an onlooker, observer, or spectator (Oxford Dictionaries 2015). However, bystanders in traditional bullying are mostly seen as involved participants rather than passive witnesses of an event, because they can decide whether to get involved or stay uninvolved (Oh & Hazler 2009) and their behavior influences other people present in a way that reinforces or weakens the behavior of others (Salmivalli 2010). Referring to the pragmatics of human communication, it could be argued that every verbal, paraverbal or nonverbal behavior might be interpreted from other persons as a behavior with a meaning for them and therefore all behavior in social situations implies messages such that “one cannot not communicate” (Watzlawick, Bavelas & Jackson 2011, p. 30). In this sense of the impossibility of not communicating even when doing nothing, a bystanders behavior—be it passive or active, verbal or nonverbal, ambiguous or clear—can be interpreted by other persons in the situation as a communicative act. Therefore, a bystander is a person who notices a social situation occurring between at least two involved actors. Possibly there are more persons in this situation present, e.g., a group of bullies, victims, or other people who are not actively involved from the beginning. The two actors are the bully (or bullies) and the victim(s) in traditional bullying or the cyberbully (or cyberbullies) and the cybervictim(s) in cyberbullying, respectively. The term traditional bystander here is used to refer to bystanders in incidents of traditional bullying and cyberbystanders as bystanders in incidents of

cyberbullying. A cyberbystander is a person who notices a social situation occurring among a cyberbully and a cybervictim, and possibly other persons noticing this incident.

The group that is mostly researched as traditional bystanders are people from the peer group of the victim, e.g., classmates or schoolmates (Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Österman & Kaukiainen 1996). However, other groups could be considered as well, including teachers, educational or administrative personal in schools, parents, or even other people on the street or passengers in public transport (Fekkes, Pijpers & Verloove-Vanhorick 2005; Flashpohler, Elfstrom, Vanderzee, Sink & Birchmeier 2009). Research has shown that traditional bullying among children and adolescents not only takes place within schools but also beyond school yards (Wolke, Woods, Stanford & Schulz 2001); therefore, not only peer groups may constitute bystanders to traditional bullying.

The bystanders in cyberbullying may also include different people witnessing cyberbullying incidents online or offline, like peers from school and adults, like teachers and parents. These cyberbystanders may notice the cyberbullying incident online (e.g., while surfing on social networking sites, reading messages in a WhatsApp group, or watching degrading videos on a video portal) or offline (e.g., the cybervictim informs them, bystanders are physically present with the cyberbully or the cybervictim while it happens). Thus, there is a broad variety of people who may constitute a cyberbystander as well as a multiplicity of possible ways cyberbystanders can learn about the incident.

Cyberbystanding research so far has included mainly adolescent samples (e.g., Macháčková, Dedkova, Sevcikova & Cerna 2013), sometimes children (e.g., Van Cleemput, Vandebosch & Pabian 2014), young adults (e.g., Shultz, Heilman & Hart 2014) or teachers (e.g., Eden, Heiman & Olenik-Shemesh 2012). Because of the focus of existing research so far, the current chapter focuses mainly on research on adolescents if not otherwise indicated.

Bystanders in Social-Psychological and Developmental Psychological Research

The concept of bystanders has been researched from diverse theoretical views and in different contexts. Most traditional bullying episodes are social situations in nature, because in more than 80% of the cases uninvolved students are present when another student is harassed (Atlas & Pepler 1998; Hawkins, Pepler & Craig 2001; Rigby & Johnson 2006).

The bystander effect indicates that the probability of helping decreases with the higher the number of people present (Latané & Darley 1970; Latané, Nida, & Wilson 1981). More generally, the decision to help or not to help a person in need is conceptualized in a bystander intervention model (Latané & Darley 1970). This model specifies the steps which a witness takes to show or not to show helping behavior toward others in emergency situations. The model describes five key steps that must be taken by a bystander to intervene: (a) noticing that something is happening, (b) interpreting the event as an emergency, (c) taking personal responsibility for providing help, (d) choosing how to help, and (e) displaying helping behavior. The model assumes that at every step hindrances may occur which lead a bystander to stay passive and that every step has to be taken positively in order to help. The bystander intervention model has been successfully applied to situations of traditional bullying (e.g., Pozzoli & Gini 2012) as well as cyberbullying (e.g., Dillon & Bushman 2015).

Another very helpful approach to understand the social underpinnings of traditional bullying situations is the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner 1986, cited in Mummendy & Otten 2002), which describes the interplay of individual behavior and social group dimensions influencing it. Social identity theory proposes that the behavior in social situations is based on a social categorization process between an in-group the person belongs to and an out-group the person is not part of. As people strive for a positive and distinct social identity, people in intergroup situations tend to favor the in-group (in-group-favoritism) in contrast to the out-group (out-group devaluation). People show the more in-group-favoritism the more strongly they identify with their own in-group. In addition, people show intergroup behavior like social competence (and maybe aggressive or bullying behavior) or social creativity, especially when relevant out-groups and evaluation dimensions are situationally available. The social identity theory has been fruitful in explaining social discrimination of individuals belonging to out-groups (Mummendy & Wenzel 1999), inspiring research to diminish prejudices and discrimination (Gaertner & Dovidio 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp 2008) and group processes in cyberbullying (Jones, Manstead & Livingstone 2011).

Building on insights concerning intergroup and socialization processes, a group socialization theory of development was proposed by Harris (1995). This theory emphasizes that socialization is context-specific and takes place inside and outside the home, where the peer group strongly influences individual development as well as the parents' peer group who transmit culture via group processes. Furthermore, between-group (in-group-favoritism) as well as within-group processes (social comparison) lead to assimilation to the group and differentiation from specific aspects of the group (Harris 1995). The focus on the peer group and inter- and intra-group-processes seems especially fruitful for researching cyberbystanding behavior.

Bystanders in Traditional Bullying

While research on traditional bullying mainly focused on personal characteristics of bullies and victims, there are three approaches focusing on the behavior of bystanders in traditional bullying, the socio-ecological model, the participant role approach (Salmivalli 2001), and the cycle of bullying (Olweus 2001).

In the socio-ecological model of bullying, the interplay of different factors on the probability of bullying and victimization is analyzed. For example, pro-bullying attitudes and negative school climate go along with high levels of bullying behavior (Swearer et al., 2006), and peers tend to make friends to other peers who are more similar to them regarding self-reported bullying and fighting, so pro-bullying and anti-bullying friendship groups emerge (Espelage, Holt & Henkel 2003). Socio-ecological theory analyzes factors at various levels—ranging from the individual, family, school, peer group, to community, and society. This enables a complex view on the determinants on bullying from various levels.

Conceptually, the social dimension of bullying as a group phenomenon is especially stressed by the participant role approach (Salmivalli 2001). For example, a seminal empirical study identified six typical behaviors or social roles which students adopt in the process of traditional bullying (Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Österman & Kaukiainen 1996). These so called participant roles were identified via peer nominations and include the roles of victims, bullies, assistants of the bully, reinforcers of the bully, defenders of the victim, and outsiders.

While the victim is a target of systematic harassment, the bully is actively taking the initiative for bullying behaviors. Assistants of the bully join in the bullying once it has started and assist the bully. Reinforcers of the bully behave in a way that encourages the bully; e.g., watching and laughing of bystanders can be interpreted as a social reinforcement following the social learning theory (Bandura 1973). Defenders of the victim take side with the victim and actively intervene in order to stop the bullying. Outsiders withdraw from bullying situations or do not react to the bullying (Salmivalli 2001; Salmivalli et al., 1996; Sutton & Smith 1999).

Olweus (2001) builds on the participant role approach and describes a cycle of bullying on the continuum of acting or not acting in a bullying situation. He differentiates the following roles or typical ways of behaving in the context of traditional bullying: bullies, followers / henchmen, supporters, passive supporters, disengaged onlookers, possible defenders, and defenders of the victim. In contrast to the participant role approach, these roles are based on theoretical considerations and (to the best of my knowledge) are not yet empirically validated. One great advantage of the participant role approach and comparable theories is their emphasis that bullying is not only a dyadic phenomenon between a victim and a bully, but is embedded in a social context and nearly all children in a group are either actively or passively involved in the bullying process.

The role of defender is crucial, because these children actively support the victim and try to stop the bullying. This behavior may be seen as civil courage which is a bystander's intervention associated with potential risks in a situation where fundamental norms are being violated (Pfetsch 2010). Research has shown that those students who defend the victim show high levels of affective empathy, and cognitive empathy, high social self-efficacy, well developed skills of social and moral cognition (i.e., high levels of understanding for cognitive, emotional, and moral states of others, and low levels of moral disengagement) (Gini, Albiero, Benelli & Altoè 2007; Gini, Albiero, Benelli & Altoè 2008; Gini 2006; Nickerson, Mele & Princiotto 2008). Furthermore, defenders tend to have high social status in their class, show high levels of agreeableness and emotional stability, and high self-esteem and report altruistic feelings (Lodge & Frydenberg 2005; Salmivalli et al., 1996; Tani, Greenman, Schneider & Fregoso 2003). Most of these determinants could be trained in order to enhance defending behavior or civil courage among students (Pfetsch 2010; Pfetsch, Steffgen, Gollwitzer & Ittel 2011). Apart from the role of the defender, also the assistants of the bully, reinforcers of the bully, and outsiders influence the process of traditional bullying, because their behavior is perceived either as a support for the bully or for the victim (Salmivalli 2001).

DETERMINANTS AND CORRELATES OF CYBERBYSTANDING BEHAVIOR

Research focusing on traditional forms of bullying shows that in more than 80% of the cases, uninvolved students are present when another student is harassed (Atlas & Pepler 1998; Hawkins, Pepler & Craig 2001; Rigby & Johnson 2006). The vast majority of youth disapprove of aggression and bullying at school (over 80%; Gini, Pozzoli, Borghi & Franzoni 2008; Menesini, Codecasa, Benelli & Cowie 2003; Pepler, Craig, Ziegler & Charach, 1993; Rigby & Slee 1991). Nevertheless, only one in four students reports that they have intervened in favor of a victim of bullying (Rigby & Johnson 2006) and one in five was observed doing so

(Hawkins et al., 2001). Concerning cyberbullying, one might ask, how often do cyberbystanders intervene in instances of cyberbullying and what determinants might influence how cyberbystanders perceive and behave in the context of the cyberbullying incident. In the following, different determinants and correlates of cyberbystanding behavior are presented. The first section refers to the different forms and prevalence rates of cyberbystanding behaviors, then findings from empirical studies concerning individual, social, and situational characteristics of cyberbystanding will be reviewed. If relevant, research on traditional bystanding is summarized, before findings on cyberbystanding are presented.

Prevalence and Form of Bystanding in Cyberbullying

Prevalence rates of cyberbystanding behavior differ. While around 53-55% of Canadian adolescents reported to know someone who had been cyberbullied (Li 2006, 2007), 35% of Flemish children and adolescents reported having witnessed cyberbullying, of which 59% stayed passive, 45% reported helping the victim, and 5% joined the cyberbully (Van Cleemput et al., 2014). In another study, 53% of Czech adolescents reported knowing someone who had been cyberbullied (Macháčková et al., 2015b). Other research revealed that 20% of German adolescents reported cyberbystanding behavior at least once a week or more often in the last year, of which 55% stayed passive (cyberoutsiders), 25% defended the cybervictim (cyberdefenders), and 21% helped to cyberbully others (cyberassistants; Wachs 2012). In a study conducted in Australia, 45% of the adolescents reported witnessing cyberbullying (or cyberbullying and traditional bullying) in the last year, of which 53% behaved as cyberoutsider, 31% as cyberdefender, 8% as cyberassistant, and 8% as cyberreinforcer in the last incident of cyberbullying (Quirk & Campbell 2014). In total, prevalence rates for cyberbystanders differ between 20% and 55%, possibly due to different methodology (formulation of questions, reference time frames or cut-off criteria), age ranges, or cultural differences.

Generally, researchers differentiate several forms of cyberbystanding behavior (Shultz, Heilman & Hart 2014), including supportive helpful cyberbystander behavior in favor of the cybervictim, reinforcing and degrading cyberbystander behavior by joining the cyberbully, and passive and ignoring cyberbystander behavior. These behaviors can be implemented either online or offline, either privately or publicly, and are addressed either to the cybervictims or to the cyberbullies. Defending the cybervictim can take several forms, like talking offline to the cyberbully, confronting the cyberbully online, providing advice to the cybervictim online or offline, reporting to a service provider, informing friends or adults (i.e., parents, teachers), frightening the cyberbully, or physical retaliation (e.g., DeSmet et al., 2014; Shultz et al., 2014).

Although passive cyberbystanding was perceived rather acceptable among Flemish adolescents (DeSmet et al., 2014), passive behavior can be recorded and displayed in metadata, like social networking sites, web sites, or instant messengers, through the number of views, the web counter of visits, or the read confirmations of messages and it may therefore can have a greater impact than passive offline bystander behavior. However, in other occasions it is less clear how we can measure and interpret passive cyberbystanding, as some adolescents in focus groups said that they did not react to the cyberbullying in order not to give attention to the cyberbully (“purposeful ignoring;” Pfetsch, & Ittel 2012). While conducted with a supportive motivation from the cyberbystanders, this behavior could be interpreted from others as a silent approval and thus reinforcing cyberbullying.

Some researchers have transferred the participant role approach of traditional bullying to cyberbullying, measuring the roles of assistants, reinforcers, defenders, and outsiders in the context of cyberbystanding (Quirk & Campbell 2014; Wachs 2012). However, DeSmet et al. (2014) argue that cyberbystanding behavior depends heavily on the context (friend vs. acquaintance as cybervictim, popular vs. unpopular cyberbully, clear vs. unclear circumstances, perceived fairness of the behavior of the involved parties). Therefore, cyberbystanding behavior varies more than in traditional bullying and should not be considered as fixed participant roles. Pfetsch, Müller, Walk, and Ittel (2014) found substantial overlap across self-reported cyberbystanding behavior, when participants could indicate one or more of cyberbystanding behaviors that applied for them in the last cyberbullying incident. 40% of the 428 adolescents were classified as having only one role (cyberdefender, cyberoutsider, cyberbully, or cybervictim), 34% were classified as having two roles, 18% three roles, and 8% four roles. It seems that the characteristics of the concrete situation are very powerful determinants of cyberbystanding behavior and that supportive, reinforcing, and passive cyberbystanding are not mutually exclusive, even in the same incident (Shultz et al., 2014). The situational influence on cyberbystanding will be examined later.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

In the following section, empirical results concerning individual characteristics of cyberbystanders are reported. Depending on the measurement of cyberbullying, conceptualization of the bystander reactions, and other study features, results across studies differed.

Gender and Age

In traditional bullying, some gender and age differences were found (see Macháčková et al., 2015a). Generally, younger children tend to report that they are defenders or support the victims more often than older adolescents (Menesini et al., 1997; Pozzoli & Gini 2010; Rigby & Johnson 2006; Rigby & Slee 1991). Gender differences are not as consistent. While in some studies girls tend to defend more often than boys (Gini et al., 2007; Goossens, Olthof & Dekker 2006; Oh & Hazler 2009; Salmivalli et al., 1996), in other studies there were no difference (Menesini et al., 1997).

In cyberbullying experiences as bystanders, males tend to be cyberassistants more than girls, but they are less likely cyberdefenders (Quirk & Campbell 2014). In reaction to an experimental cyberbullying situation in social networking sites, adolescent girls were found to comfort the victim, give the victim advice, and defend the victim more often than boys (Baestiaenssens, Vandebosch, Poels, van Cleemput, DeSmet & De Bourdeaudhuij 2014). In contrast, boys were more inclined to tell the bully that they think the degrading picture is funny (Baestiaenssens et al., 2014).

In another experimental study, no gender differences concerning behavioral intentions could be proved. Girls and boys were equally inclined to report a hate group, support the victim, tell the bully to stop, do nothing or join the hate group—only regarding the option to contact

adults, girls report higher behavioral intentions (Fawzi & Goodwin 2011). No gender differences were found in forwarding a degrading picture in an experimental setting (Barlińska et al., 2013; Barlińska et al., 2015) as well as in supporting the victim as documented through self-reports of cyberbystander experiences (Macháčková et al., 2013; Macháčková et al., 2015a). Furthermore, results concerning gender differences were mixed concerning children's and adolescent's self-reports on cyberbystander behavior. Bivariate correlations showed that girls were more likely to help the victim (defenders) and less likely to do nothing (outsiders), but gender did not predict joining in, helping, or doing nothing when considered with other predictors simultaneously (Van Cleemput, Vandebosch & Pabian 2014). Taken together, results concerning gender differences across cyberbystanding behavior revealed an inconsistent pattern, possibly because of different methodology in the measurement of cyberbystander behavior (e.g., self-reports of experiences vs. experimental manipulation, classification into supportive, reinforcing and passive behavior), confounding variables like age of the participants or cultural differences (Macháčková et al., 2015a).

Concerning age differences in cyberbystanding behavior, some studies found no significant effect of age on supporting the victim (Macháčková et al., 2013; Macháčková et al., 2015a), whereas others found that older adolescents were more likely to join in the cyberbullying, to do nothing, and less likely to help the victim (Van Cleemput et al., 2014), and that, although there was a significant difference of the mean ages of cyberbystanders—slightly older cyberoutsiders than cyberdefenders—the difference was only a few months and probably without practical relevance (Quirk & Campbell 2014). It seems that results of age differences are not as consistent as in traditional bullying but seem to go in the same direction—children tend to help more, whereas adolescents tend to stay passive or even join in the cyberbullying, reinforcing it. This could be due to the fact that the concern about being accepted by their peers peaks in early adolescence (Bellmore, Ma, You & Hughes 2012), which can reduce the probability to intervene in cyberbullying incidents in order not to take sides and avoid tensions in the relationships (Van Cleemput et al., 2014).

Previous Involvement in (Traditional or Cyber-) Bullying or Victimization

Based on a hypothetical scenario involving a hate group in a social networking site against a classmate, 2,502 adolescents reported their behavioral intentions (Fawzi & Goodwin 2011). Those bystanders who had been former cybervictims were not more willing to support victims than other bystanders, whereas bystanders who had been cyberbullies before were more willing to encourage the perpetrator than other bystanders. In particular, they reported the group, supported the victim, and contacted an adult significantly less often than non-bullies. So, the previous experience as a cyberbully influenced bystander's intentions to react in a way that reinforced cyberbullying.

Regarding children's and adolescent's self-reports of cyberbystander behavior, joining in cyberbullying was predicted by reporting traditional bullying and cyberbullying behavior, helping the victim was predicted by victimization in traditional and cyberbullying, and doing nothing was negatively predicted by victimization in traditional bullying (Van Cleemput et al., 2014). While supporting and helping the victim was related to one's experience of victimization, reinforcing the bullying was related to one's experience of bullying.

Overlap of Bystanding in Traditional Bullying and Cyberbullying

Taking the similarities of traditional bullying and cyberbullying into account—intention to harm, repetition, power imbalance—it can be assumed that the roles bystanders take in online and offline bullying situations are quite similar. However, a total accordance seems unrealistic when considering the differences of cyberbullying in contrast to traditional bullying, e.g., physical and psychological distance, reduced emotional feedback, potential of an amplified publicity, and anonymity in the online context. Also, cyberbullying tends to be less frequent than traditional bullying (Tokunaga 2010). As such it is not surprising that a study with 518 adolescents who self-reported their behavior once a week or more often in the last year in the context of traditional and cyberbullying found that the roles in cyberbullying were a bit less frequent than the roles in traditional bullying (e.g., 8.5% traditional defenders vs. 5% cyberdefenders; Wachs 2012). Furthermore, there was substantial and significant overlap of the roles: 59% to 66% of the bullies, assistants, outsiders, defenders, and victims in cyberbullying situations were also bullies, assistants, outsiders, defenders, and victims in traditional bullying (Wachs 2012).

These findings differed slightly in a study with 930 (mainly female) early adolescents who self-reported their behavior in the most recent incident of traditional and cyberbullying that they experienced (Quirk & Campbell 2014). The overlap in cyberbullying roles to traditional bullying roles was 5% (of cyberreinforcers who were also traditional reinforcers) to 65% (of cyberoutsiders who were also traditional outsiders). While the overlap was considerably lower for roles of cyber-assistants and cyber-reinforcers (who both tended to be traditional outsiders), the roles of outsiders and defenders were clearly higher (Quirk & Campbell 2014). In total, there is considerable overlap between some of the roles in cyberbullying and traditional bullying (e.g., outsiders) whereas other roles were less stable across contexts (e.g., reinforcers).

Empathy

Empathy as the ability to understand (cognitive empathy) and feel the emotions of another person (affective empathy; Batson 2009) is considered a protective factor against aggression (Miller & Eisenberg 1988), antisocial behavior (Jolliffe & Farrington 2004) and traditional bullying (Mitsopoulou & Giovazolias 2015). Also, there is evidence that defenders of the victim in traditional bullying show high levels of affective empathy (Gini, Albiero, Benelli & Altoè, 2007; Nickerson, Mele & Princiotta 2008; Pöyhönen, Juvonen & Salmivalli 2010), cognitive empathy (at least the boys, Gini et al., 2007; Caravita, Di Blasio & Salmivalli 2009; Espelage, Mebane & Adams 2003), high social and moral cognition skills, and high levels of understanding for cognitive, emotional, and moral states of others (Gini 2006). In contrast, pro-bullies (assistants, reinforcers) reported lower levels of affective and cognitive empathy (Gini et al., 2007), and outsiders lower affective empathy (Nickerson et al., 2008).

Concerning cyberbystanders, the effect of situational activation of affective and cognitive empathy through a video presenting a case of cyberbullying was analyzed (Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski 2013). A total of 1,498 adolescents saw the video with different instructions: seeing the video including victim's feelings (affective empathy), anticipating victim's emotions (cognitive empathy, instruction 1), anticipating victim's behavior in reaction to the harm (cognitive empathy, instruction 2; Barlińska et al., 2013), or focusing on the negative

consequences of cybervictimization for the victim (cognitive empathy, instruction 3; Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski 2015). Participants then read a hypothetical scenario involving a comment on a degrading photo and had to decide whether they would forward the message or delete it. The analyses showed that the activation of state affective empathy and all three instructions for state cognitive empathy reduced negative bystander behavior (forwarding the degrading photo; Barlińska et al., 2013; Barlińska et al., 2015). However, focusing on the negative consequences of cybervictimization for the victim (cognitive empathy, instruction 3) reduced negative bystander behavior only immediately after the manipulation and not one week later (Barlińska et al., 2015).

In a study concerning real-life experiences of cyberbystanding among 453 adolescents, the factors that influenced the immediate empathic response towards the cybervictimization were analyzed (Macháčková et al., 2015b). Adolescents' empathic responses in the sense of the degree to which witnessing the cyberbullying did upset the cyberbystander was predicted by higher prosocial behavioral tendencies, a better personal relationship to the cybervictim and either being present when the event happened or being informed by the cybervictims about it. Macháčková et al. interpreted these findings by suggesting that the directness or proximity of the cyberbystander to the cybervictim and the incident heightens the empathic response. Furthermore, referring to the same data, the probability of actively supporting the victim was positively predicted by the immediate empathic response over and above prosocial behavior tendencies, self-esteem, or fear of intervening (Macháčková et al., 2015a). Other data from real-life experiences in children and adolescents corroborated that affective empathy (or empathic concern) predicted helping the victim and negatively joining in bullying as well as doing nothing in spite of noticing the bullying (Van Cleemput et al., 2014).

In sum, the results of these studies implied that actively taking the perspective of the cybervictim (cognitive empathy) and feeling the emotions of a harmed person (affective empathy) is related to more supportive intervention and less passive reactions in cyberbystanders. All these results refer to state empathy or empathic responses in the current situation (and not dispositional or trait empathy). However, there is also research showing that affective and cognitive trait empathy is related to less cyberbullying behavior. Cyberbullies reported lower affective empathy, affective media empathy, and cognitive media empathy than non-involved students, while they were reported by their peers to have less cognitive empathy than non-involved students (Pfetsch, Müller & Ittel 2014). It seems that empathy is one possible protective factor against negative online behavior (as cyberbully or passive cyberbystander) and increases the probability of prosocial online behavior (as supporting cyberbystander).

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

After the individual characteristics, social features that influence cyberbystanding will be described, particularly the relationship between the cybervictim and cyberbully as well as group norms for bullying behavior.

Relationship to Cybervictim and Cyberbully

In traditional bullying, bystanders react depending on their former relationship and closeness to the bully or the victim. Both data on hypothetical scenarios (Bellmore et al., 2012; Lodge & Frydenberg 2005) as well as real experiences as a bystander of bullying (Bellmore et al., 2012; Oh & Hazler 2009) support this fact. When bystanders are friends with the victim, the probability to intervene as defenders and to try to stop the bullying is higher, while it is lower when bystanders feel closeness to the bully.

Referring to one's own experience as a bystander of cyberbullying, a good or at least a neutral relationship with the victim predicted bystanders' support of the victim (Macháčková et al., 2015a; Macháčková et al., 2015b). Furthermore, a positive relationship with the cyberbully was associated with less supportive behavior for the cybervictim (Macháčková et al., 2013). When other cyberbystanders were labeled as good friends in contrast to a mere acquaintance, the intention to reinforce the cyberbully by doing something similar is significantly higher. But when other cyberbystanders defended the victim, participants were less likely to reinforce the cyberbully when these other cyberbystanders were good friends (Bastiaensens et al., 2014). Also, qualitative research found that adolescents tend to defend cybervictims especially if they are good friends (DeSmet et al., 2012; Pfetsch, Ittel & Walk 2012). In addition, data on hypothetical scenarios showed that social identification with the cybervictim leads to more frequent supportive online behavior or confrontational intervention, while identification with the cyberbully is related to more passive bystander behavior or supportive offline behavior (Shultz et al., 2014).

In sum, mirroring the results of traditional bullying, in cyberbullying bystanders reacted to incidents of cyberbullying in a way that corresponded their established relationships with the cyberbully or the cybervictim. Possibly, behaving against a friend would endanger the relationship and, therefore, cyberbystanders support the person they have a closer relationship with.

Also, adolescents in pro-bullying roles in traditional bullying (bullies, assistants, reinforcers) shared attitudes that were more approving of bullying (Salmivalli & Voeten 2004) and tended to establish friendship networks ("homophily hypothesis;" Espelage, Holt & Henkel, 2003; Huitsing & Veenstra 2012). Therefore, in cyberbullying it might be possible that cyberbystanders who reinforced the cyberbully had more aggression-approving attitudes and friendships with cyberbullies. Existing relationships seemed to shape cyberbystanding behavior.

Group Norms for Cyberbystanding Behavior

In traditional bullying the classroom mean levels of reinforcing bystander behavior were related positively and the mean levels of defending behavior related negatively to bullying behavior (Salmivalli, Voeten & Poskiparta 2011). The behavior of the social context served as positive or negative feedback for bullying behavior and these results can be interpreted in a way that behavior of others can be seen as a normative influence on bullying behavior.

In cyberbullying, the influence of group membership and group norms on group-based emotions was analyzed with 90 children aged 10-11 years (Jones, Manstead & Livingstone 2011). Manipulating the norm of the perpetrator's group (to be kind or unkind towards others),

children were confronted with a scenario of cyberbullying. Results showed, that group membership, group norms, and the proposed antecedents of the group-based emotions of pride, shame, and anger (but not guilt) influenced group-based emotions and action tendencies. Identification with a kind or unkind perpetrator group led to different emotions (shame, anger) and behavioral intentions in cyberbullying (keep away from the perpetrator, saying sorry to the target, telling an adult what has happened). Also for bystanders in cyberbullying, the social norms and expectations from important others seemed relevant in predicting emotions and behavior towards the victim. However, there is still much research necessary to fully understand the group-based processes in the context of cyberbullying.

SITUATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

The following section concerning the current state of knowledge about the situational determinants of cyberbystanding is organized by the five steps of the bystander intervention model, including (a) noticing the incident, (b) interpreting it as an emergency (and assessing its severity), (c) responsibility to help, (d and e) decision how to help and displaying helping behavior (Latané & Darley 1970). Afterwards, current knowledge on a specific social characteristic of a cyberbullying situation—how the number of bystanders present inhibits helping behavior in cyberspace (bystander effect)—is reviewed.

Noticing the Cyberbullying Incident

Using an experimental approach, the first step of a bystander intervention model from Latané and Darley (1970) was tested, i.e., the necessity to notice a cyberbullying incident occurring in a chat environment under different conditions of audio or visual distraction (Dillon & Bushman 2015). Noticing the event was operationalized via answering that a negative conversation (cyberbullying) happened on open questions in post-experimental interviews about a chat room and concerning feedback about the experiment in the funneled debriefing procedure. The distraction tasks had no effect on noticing the event or intervening. However, cyberbystanders were found to be more likely to intervene when they reported noticing that a negative conversation occurred compared to when they did not report negative experiences (which did not necessarily mean that they did not notice, but at least they did not report it). While the majority of the participants (68%) reported noticing the cyberbullying incident, only 10% intervened directly (chat comments towards the bully, victim or a non-present other), and 68% intervened indirectly after the incident (through worse evaluation of the bullies performance in the chat or notifying the researcher about insults occurring in chat; Dillon & Bushman 2015).

Interpreting the Cyberbullying Incident As an Emergency and Assessing Its Severity

It is difficult to assess the severity of a cyberbullying incident objectively, because different online situations can vary significantly concerning the medium of the harassment, public vs.

private context, amount of audience witnessing the incident, combination of online and offline acts (overlap to traditional bullying), possibility to be a bystander to cyberbullying online or offline, and relationship to involved parties. Therefore, when assessing the severity of a cyberbullying incident, it is important to take into account the perspectives of cybervictims (Pieschl, Kuhlmann & Porsch 2015).

Obermaier, Fawzi, and Koch (2014) conducted two online experiments with adult participants regarding hypothetical cyberbullying scenarios in social networking sites, manipulating the number of bystanders (2 vs. 5,025 bystanders) and the degree of severity of the cyberbullying incident with more subtle insults vs. very rude and harsh insults (medium vs. highly severe). In this study, a higher severity led to a higher assessment of the situation as an emergency. The assessment of the situation as an emergency was positively linked to a higher intention to intervene in cyberbullying. This relationship was mediated through higher feelings of responsibility of the bystanders to help. Thus, noticing the incident and interpreting it as an emergency that calls for action significantly heightened the probability to intervene in cyberbullying incidents.

Also, Bastiaenses et al. (2014) manipulated experimentally the severity of an incident, with a medium (insult on a public social networking site) and a high severe incident (publishing a degrading picture with mean comments on a public social networking site). The higher the degree of severity, the more likely early adolescents were to comfort the victim, report the incident, and defend the victim. However, severity was not related to different forms of reinforcing the cyberbully, like spreading the incident, doing something similar, or telling the cyberbully it is funny. Referring to self-reported bystander behavior in real cyberbullying situations, adolescents reported in focus groups that the more severe the incident was, the more probable they would intervene (Pfetsch & Ittel 2012). The severity was defined by the participants regarding the number of cyberbystanders witnessing the incident and the degree of physical harm to the cybervictim (e.g., in happy slapping incidents). In sum, these results implied that cyberbystanders tended to help the victim more, the higher the severity of the incident was evaluated. However, severity may not be directly linked to less reinforcing bystander behavior.

Responsibility to Help

As mentioned above, the medium vs. high severe cyberbullying incident in an experimental design led to a higher assessment of the situation as an emergency. The lower the number of bystanders and the higher the assessment of the situation as an emergency, the higher the feeling of responsibility was, which led to a higher intention to intervene in favor of the victim (Obermaier et al., 2014).

Other studies researched the attribution of responsibility for the cybervictimization to the victim ("blaming the victim"), a processes that has been repeatedly shown in the context of victims of (sexual) violence and that is connected to less helping behavior and more aggressive behavior towards the victim (Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, Siebler & Viki 2009). For example, one study analyzed the effects of different degrees of personal information disclosed on a social networking site (low vs. high) and extraversion of the victim (low vs. high) on blaming the victim among 586 young adults, aged 16 to 22 years. Results showed that a high degree of personal information disclosure and extraversion led to higher direct and indirect blaming of

the victim (Weber, Ziegele & Schnauber 2013). A study with 1,105 early adolescents more specifically measured the attributions of control, responsibility, and blame towards a cybervictim who reacted passive, active, or reactive to an incident involving embarrassing pictures and hurtful comments on a social networking site. If the cybervictim tried to ignore the situation (passive response), he or she was perceived as having more control and assigned greater blame than if he or she reported the incident (reactive response; Holfeld 2014). Male participants tended to attribute more responsibility and blame to the cybervictim than female participants. Taken together, victims of cyberbullying are evaluated by cyberbystanders as being partly responsible for their negative experience because of their behavior (information disclosure, passive response to cybervictimization) or personality (extraversion). These attributions of responsibility might hinder cyberbystanders to intervene to support the victim. On the other hand, the more responsible cyberbystanders feel to intervene, the higher their intention to actively support the cybervictim.

Decision on How to Help and Displaying Helping Behavior

In order to come to a decision to help or not to help, traditional bystanders might consider different reasons that speak in favor for an intervention that were outlined by Thornberg, Tenenbaum, Varjas, Meyers, Jungert, and Vanegas (2012). Based on semi-structured individual interviews with 30 students ranging from 9 to 15 years, the authors developed a conceptual framework of bystander motivation to intervene in traditional bullying. This framework encompassed five general motives to intervene: interpretation of harm in the bullying situation, emotional reactions, social evaluating, moral evaluating, and intervention self-efficacy. The interpretation of harm implied that bystanders would intervene more often in cases with a high severity causing significant harm to the victim. Emotional reactions included motivating reactions (empathy for the victim) as well as demotivating reactions (fear of being victimized, audience excitement). Social evaluating refers to a positive or negative relationship to the victim as well as the low vs. high social rank of the bully which resulted in high vs. low probability to intervene. Moral evaluating means the judgment of bullying being morally wrong and being responsible for intervening, whereas a high intervention self-efficacy could strengthen the intention to help a victim in need.

DeSmet et al. (2014) showed that the decision on how to defend a cybervictim or not depends on different contextual factors. A friend should always be defended, but when the cybervictim is an acquaintance it depends on the social status of the cyberbully—defending is more likely with an unpopular than with a popular cyberbully. However, a loner will not be defended, regardless of the circumstances. When cyberbullying is perceived as unfair (e.g., racist remarks, picking on appearance, or handicap), defending is more likely.

Whether a cyberbystander actually displayed active helping behavior in favor of the victim depends in part on the subjective assessment of resources to do so and in part on the social circumstances where the helping behavior should be shown. The fear of being negatively judged by an audience (evaluation apprehension) might diminish the probability of actually helping (Latané & Darley 1970). Also the perceived self-efficacy of helping the victim seemed to be a crucial determinant promoting the intervention, as shown in traditional bullying (Cappadocia, Pepler, Cummings & Craig 2012; Gini, Albiero, Benelli & Altoè 2008; Thornberg & Jungert 2013).

Bystander Effect in Cyberbullying

As noted above, there is a substantial discrepancy between a general attitude towards traditional bullying and displayed behavior. This might be explained by various factors, among others the bystander effect (Latané & Darley 1970). The probability offering help in an emergency situation decreases with the number of people witnessing the event (Latané & Nida 1981). Meta-analytic evidence showed that the bystander effect is reduced when the situation is perceived as being markedly dangerous for the victim and when the perpetrator is present in the situation with the bystander (Fischer et al., 2011). The bystander effect takes place in digital communication over chats (Markey 2000), social networking sites (Martin & North 2015), or e-mail-lists (Barron & Yechiam 2002; Blair, Thompson & Wuensch 2005).

More specifically concerning the bystander effect in cyberbullying, in the past years, several studies analyzed the influence of the number of others on the reaction to witnessed cyberbullying. Regarding hypothetical cyberbullying scenarios, no direct effect of the number of bystanders (2 vs. 5,025 bystanders) on the intention to intervene emerged. However, there were two significant mediation processes. The larger the number of bystanders, the less participants felt responsible to help and the less willing they were to intervene. Furthermore, the higher the severity of the cyberbullying incident, the more participants assessed the situation as an emergency, which led to higher feeling of responsibility and intention to intervene in the cyberbullying incident (Obermaier et al., 2014, Study 2).

The bystander effect was found when adolescent respondents reported their own response to witnessed cyberbullying attacks in the internet. Compared to just a few (“one or two”) bystanders present when the incident happened instead of a large number of bystanders (“a lot”), participants reported significantly less supportive reactions like comforting the victim (Macháčková, Dedkova & Mezulanikova 2014; Macháčková, Dedkova & Mezulanikova 2015c). Interestingly, only the smallest number (“one or two”) and not a medium number of bystanders (“under 10”) differed from a large number of bystanders (“a lot”), indicating a nonlinear relationship between bystanders and reduced helping behavior. Also the relationship between the number of cyberbystanders (2, 24, 224, 5,025) and the feeling of responsibility (Obermaier et al., 2014) indicated a non-linear function between the bystander number and the feeling of responsibility or intention to intervene. Although in these studies rather non-dramatic help was searched for, it seems clear that the number of people present in cyber space has an impact on the willingness to help another person.

Latané and Darley (1970) proposed several explanations for the occurrence of the bystander effect (see Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder & Penner 2006). One mechanism is diffusion of responsibility, which means that bystanders subjectively attributed responsibility to help to all bystanders while reducing their own contribution for helping. Secondly, pluralistic ignorance might take place when an event has to be assessed as an emergency. When confronted with an unexpected situation, people tended to orientate themselves to the behavior of others. When these others behave passively, one might infer erroneously that the event is not an emergency. Thirdly, evaluation apprehension might lead bystanders to behave passively in fear of embarrassing themselves in public. Except for the first mechanism, the diffusion of responsibility, these mechanisms still await empirical evidence in the context of bystanders of cyberbullying.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF CYBERBYSTANDING

After the overview on relevant conceptual approaches and empirical results, I describe a conceptual framework that encompasses relevant dimensions for the perceptions and behaviors of cyberbystanders. This framework is applicable for the analysis of dimensions underlying cyberbystanding (e.g., for considering central aspects of the situation of cyberbystanding or to identify possible control variables in studies about perceptions and behaviors of cyberbystanders) as well as for practical contexts (e.g., to understand the complexity of supportive or negative cyberbystanding behavior). The proposed conceptual framework of cyberbystanding is grounded in parts on prior research, e.g., concerning social identity theory or social relationships between cyberbystanders and cybervictims, but has to be proven empirically. Hopefully, the suggested dimensions and assumed relations to the cyberbystanding behaviors can be analyzed and validated in future studies.

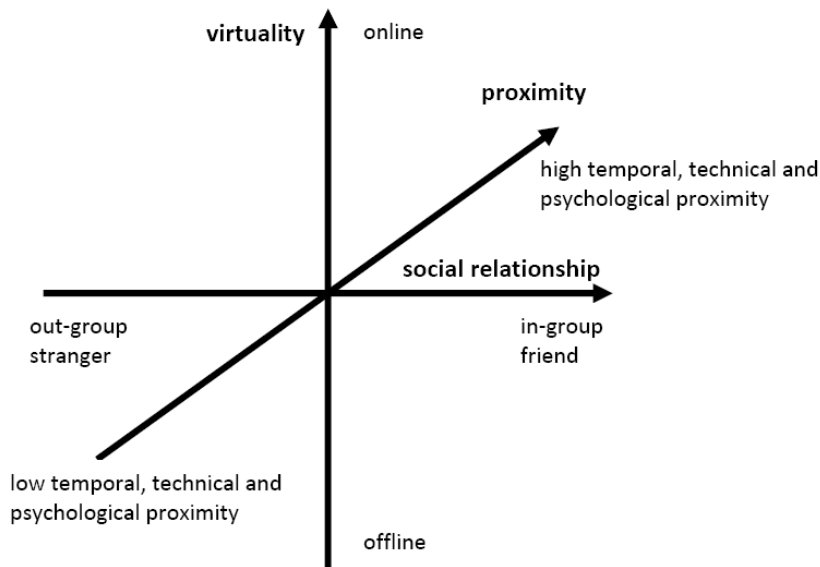


Figure 1. Dimensions of bystanding in cyberbullying.

Cyberbystanding differs from traditional bystanding in three important aspects. The interplay of virtuality, or online and offline cyberbystander behavior is relevant, as well as the low vs. high proximity in three dimensions—temporal, technical, and psychological proximity. Furthermore, the social relationship dimension includes the existing relationship to cybervictim, cyberbully, or other cyberbystander as well as their social identity (in-group, out-group) and the number of cyberbystanders (see figure 1). These determinants of cyberbystanding perceptions and behavior is further explained below.

Virtuality: Online vs. Offline Cyberbystanders

Bystanders may be present in cases of cyberbullying in two forms, online and offline. Online cyberbystanding involves a person who notices cyberbullying using digital

communication technology such as the internet or mobile phones. Offline cyberbystanding involves a person noticing cyberbullying in the physical presence of others. *Online cyberbystanders* witness cyberbullying of others while being online, using the internet (e.g., websites, chat rooms, social networking sites, e-mail, instant messaging services) or using their mobile phone (e.g., phone calls, text messages, sending and receiving pictures or video clips). Examples of cyberbullying that might be witnessed online are reading how someone is spreading rumors in a chat room or receiving via mobile phone an embarrassing film (e.g., happy slapping).

In table 1, the presumed influence of virtuality on the behavior of cyberbystanders is displayed. Whether an online cyberbystander reacts supportive towards the victim, ignoring the incident, or reinforcing by joining in the bullying may be the function of many variables, e.g., proximity and social relationships. Possibly, the probability to behave by ignoring cyberbullying is higher in a public or semi-public area of the internet (e.g., social networks, chat rooms), because of the bystander effect. In a more private online environment, like a closed small group in a forum or a instant messenger group, the probability that cyberbystanders will behave by actively supporting the cybervictim might be higher, because of the higher responsibility to help of the individual bystander.

Table 1. Influence of virtuality on cyberbystanding behavior

Virtuality		Reinforcing	Passive	Supportive
Offline	in presence with cyberbully	High	Medium	Low
	in presence with cybervictim	Low	Medium	High
Online	(semi-)public	Medium	High	Low
	private	Low	Medium	High

Offline cyberbystanding takes place when the cyberbully acts aggressively against a cybervictim in the real-life presence of bystanders, e.g., the cyberbully uses the internet or his or her mobile phone to harass the victim and others see or hear it. Offline cyberbystanders may witness how a cyberbully makes an abusive phone call or how a bully edits degrading photos or videos. Depending on from whom offline cyberbystanders learn about the cyberbullying, cyberbystanders may react differently. If they are offline with the victim, they may behave in an active, supportive way towards the victim or stay passive. If they are in offline with the cyberbully, offline cyberbystanders may either stay passive or even join in the bullying. However, this assumptions about the influence on the behavior of cyberbystanders await empirical validation.

There are cases of cyberbullying that happen without any bystanders witnessing it (e.g., harassment in direct communication between cyberbully and cybervictim, i.e., direct cyberbullying; see Langos, 2012). The victim may talk to a peer, parent, or teacher about the negative experience and this person becomes a bystander.

Temporal, Technical and Psychological Proximity

The difference between online and offline cyberbystanders is connected to the degree of proximity of cyberbystanders to other involved people in the situation. Proximity may be

considered under three dimensions, temporal, technical, and psychological proximity. The assumed relationship between these dimensions of proximity and cyberbystanding behavior is shown in table 2.

Table 2. Dimensions of proximity and cyberbystanding behavior

Proximity	Reinforcing	Passive	Supportive
Temporal proximity	High	Low	High
Technical proximity	High	Low	High
Psychological proximity	High when proximity with cyberbully	Low	High when proximity with cybervictim

Temporal proximity means that the cyberbystander learns about the cyberbullying directly when it happens (e.g., in a chat room or via an instant messaging service) or more indirectly, if there is a time lag between the act of cyberbullying and the awareness of this act through the cyberbystander (e.g., reading degrading posts on a social networking sites many weeks later after they had been written). The incident can still be ongoing or be finished; however, it is not always easy to determine this from the side of the bystander, because information about cyberbullying incidents can be available for very long time on the internet. The probability that cyberbystanders react supportively or reinforcing the cyberbully is higher with a higher temporal proximity. In addition, cyberbystanders may react more often passively, the lower the temporal proximity (i.e., there is a bigger time lag between the cyberbullying act and noticing the incident by the cyberbystander). Thus, a perception of temporal proximity could lead to a higher feeling of urgency to intervene.

Technical proximity implies more realistic displays of communication (e.g., through a video on a video broadcasting channel) in contrast to more abstract displays of content (e.g., in text messages). The higher the technical proximity, the higher the realistic display, and the more cyberbystanders tend to act supportively or by reinforcing, but the lower technical proximity, e.g., in mere text messages, the more cyberbystanders tend to act passively. The more realistic the display, the more emotional cues can help a bystander to identify the emotions of the involved parties and, therefore, feel empathy for the victim, which might lead to more helpful behavior.

Psychological proximity means the degree to which a bystander experiences a situational social-emotional bond to the involved people like the cybervictim, cyberbully, or other cyberbystanders. Different from longer lasting social relations, psychological proximity means the situational feeling of connectedness to the other people. Normally a low temporal and technical proximity will go along with a low psychological proximity and a high temporal and technical proximity will imply a high psychological proximity (although this might differ). Presumably, with a higher psychological proximity to the cybervictim, cyberbystanders may support the victim, whereas with a higher psychological proximity to the cyberbully, cyberbystanders may be inclined to join in the bullying.

Social Relationship

The social relationship dimension includes the existing relationship from the cyberbystander to cybervictim, cyberbully, or other cyberbystander in the form of a positive

relationship (*friendship*) or a non-existing or negative relationship. As outlined above, cyberbystanders tend to react to incidents of cyberbullying correspondingly to their existing relationships with the cyberbully (joining in) or the victim (actively supporting the victim). This relationship between friendship and cyberbystanding behavior is shown in table 3.

Table 3. Interplay of social relations and cyberbystanding behavior

Social Relations	Reinforcing	Passive	Supportive
Friendship	Friendship with cyberbully	No pre-existing relationship	Friendship with cybervictim
Social Identity	Cybervictim as out-group, Cyberbully as in-group	Cybervictim and Cyberbully as out-group	Cybervictim as in-group, Cyberbully as out-group
Bystander Effect	High number of reinforcing bystanders	High number of passive bystanders	Low number of any bystanders

Furthermore, the *social identity* of the other involved parties is relevant to the behaviors of cyberbystanders. The perception of a cybervictim as an in-group member may lead to high psychological proximity (and active support), whereas a perception of a cybervictim as an out-group member may lead to low psychological proximity (and passively ignoring cyberbullying or reinforcing by joining the bullying). On the contrary, when the cyberbully is perceived as an in-group member reinforcing behavior becomes more probable, while a perception of the cyberbully as an out-group member might make it probable that cyberbystanders might support the cybervictim. However, if the cyberbystander perceives both, cybervictim and cyberbully, as out-group members, passive behavior might result. The social identity seems especially relevant, when the involved people are unknown to the cyberbystander and group membership and group characteristics are salient in the situation.

Finally, as the research on the *bystander effect* in cyberbullying has shown, the question about how many bystanders witnessing the incident affect the responses of individuals to cyberbullying. Apparently, there is a non-linear function between the number of cyberbystanders and the feeling of responsibility to intervene as well as the willingness to help another person. When there is a large number of (reinforcing or passive) bystanders, an individual might be inclined to behave in a reinforcing or passive way. On the other hand, when only a small number of bystanders is present, an individual tends to behave by actively supporting the victim.

This proposed conceptual framework for the perceptions and behaviors of cyberbystanders focuses on three main dimensions: (a) Virtuality as the online and offline location of the cyberbystander during noticing the cyberbullying, (b) Proximity as the temporal, technical, and psychological closeness of cyberbystanders to the involved people (cyberbully, cybervictim and other possible cyberbystanders), and (c) Social relationships which refer to the existing relationship of the cyberstander to the cybervictim and cyberbully and their perceived social identity and the number of cyberbystanders. These dimensions are central factors influencing perceptions and behaviors of cyberbystanders that are specific for cyberbystanding as opposed to traditional bystanding.

MILESTONES AND DIRECTIONS OF FUTURE RESEARCH

Research on the phenomenon of cyberbullying has started only about ten years ago and became very dynamic in the last years. Apart from a variety of themes dealt with—prevalence rates and overlap with traditional bullying, determinants and consequences of cyberbullying, risk and protective factors for cybervictimization, coping with victimization experiences, prevention of involvement in cyberbullying—research has also focused on cyberbystanders and how their behavior can be explained.

In contrast to cyberbullying research in general (Tokunaga 2010), there are several studies on cyberbystanders grounded on well-established theoretical models and applying appropriate methods to analyze these models. There are thorough applications of theoretical models like the bystander intervention model (Macháčková et al., 2015c; Obermaier et al., 2014), attribution theory (Holfeld 2014), or social identity theory (Bastiaenses et al., 2014; Jones et al., 2011) to the research of cyberbystanding behavior. Hopefully, more of those theoretically well grounded studies are conducted in future research. There are different constructs or research participants that are less researched or not researched at all so far in cyberbystanding: self-efficacy for intervening as a cyberbystander, moral emotions, moral disengagement and norms, psychological proximity of the bystander towards cybervictim and cyberbully, offline bystanders of cyberbullying (e.g., in physical presence of the cyberbully or cybervictim) or teachers and parents as bystanders of cyberbullying, to name just a few interesting themes. And this might even be a small selection on what future studies can focus.

Methodologically, current research so far has implemented mainly three approaches. Participants self-report their cyberbystanding behavior retrospectively, they are experimentally confronted with hypothetical scenarios about a cyberbullying incident and reactions to these scenarios are measured, or participants are interviewed qualitatively concerning their experiences and views on cyberbullying. All three approaches have their merits and disadvantages. The use of self-reports is highly ecologically valid and reflects the diversity of cyberbystanding situations. However, it can not be guaranteed that participants are able and willing to report the attitudes, motives and behaviors of cyberbystanders exactly, due to recall biases, self-serving biases, and social desirability. Experiments can control for confounding variables as well as manipulate the situation systematically in order to analyze causal relationships between study variables. Nevertheless, they have to reduce complexity of the phenomenon of cyberbystanding and their ecological validity is therefore reduced. Qualitative studies, on the other hand, have the strengths that individual reasons, circumstances or attitudes can be clarified and analyzed in-depth and that they are more open to new ideas and perspectives. However, they are not as representative due to smaller sample sizes and less standardization. To a lesser extent, research has used peer-reports, teacher- or parent-reports in order to measure cyberbystanding behavior (see Badaly, Duong, Ross, & Schwartz 2015). This might be due to the fact, that these groups do not share each and every situation and therefore peers, parents or teachers might lack of an informational basis they can draw on when they are asked to report on a cyberbystanders behavior. Further, observational studies in chat rooms, social networks, etc. are a possible alternative research methodology. This could include also the analysis of meta-data provided from service providers, such as the number of views, web counter of visits, or read confirmations of messages. This might affect ethical questions about data protection regulations and the right for privacy, although some of these data are available

publicly. Also, there is a lack of longitudinal studies, which could confirm how effective the behaviors of bystanders are and to what outcomes they may lead on side of the cybervictim. This could also be researched by applying social network analyses to follow up relationships between cybervictims, cyberbullies and cyberbystanders (see Festl, Scharkow & Quandt 2013). In addition, prevention studies on cyberbystanders could inform practitioners how to utilize the large potential of cyberbystanders in diminish cyberbullying. Although there is interesting and creative research in the field of cyberbystanders, as confirmed by the overview on empirical studies in this chapter, there is still a myriad of themes and methodologies waiting to be used for future research. So hopefully, future research will contribute to this inspiring research field in order to further our understanding of the behaviors of cyberbystanders.

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Chapter 10

THE ADOLESCENT-PARENT CONTEXT AND POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT IN THE ECOLOGY OF CYBERBULLYING

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INTRODUCTION

An increasingly serious concern for many youth negotiating the normative challenges of adolescence involves the threat of cyberbullying. A full understanding of the dynamics of cyberbullying and the development of effective interventions requires an appreciation of the contributions of the multiple contexts, or the ecology of cyberbullying, including the family, the peer group, the school, and the neighborhood/community (Barboza et al., 2009; Espelage & Swearer 2011). Given the centrality of school experiences and peer relationships in the lives of adolescents, considerable attention has been directed at the school and peer context of cyber bullying (Barboza 2015). Much less research attention, however, has been directed towards the equally powerful and relevant family context of both face-to-face and cyberbullying.

With reference to the role of the family context in cyberbullying, it is useful to recognize that many adolescents participate in multiple microsystems involving interpersonal contact that includes in-person interactions (e.g., school, family or peer based), virtual contact (e.g., social media, not location specific), or some combination of both. In turn, understanding the dimensions of both the virtual experience of adolescent participation in social media and the adolescent participation in the family context are relevant to understanding and preventing cyberbullying victimization in a variety of interpersonal interactions.

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Using the ecological perspective to bullying as a guiding framework (Barboza, Schiamberg et al., 2009; Espelage and Swearer 2011), this chapter will focus on the adolescent-parent relationship as the immediate and focal context (i.e., the microsystem) of cyberbullying (Veenstra et al., 2007). A review of research will in turn examine the critical dimensions of that context in relation to cyberbullying, including: (a) social factors and social media, which frame the adolescent parent context, (b) characteristics of the microsystem participants - adolescents and parents, (c) factors which influence the quality of the adolescent-parent relationship, and (d) contributions of contexts of adolescent experience beyond the adolescent-parent microsystem. The latter includes research connecting bullying and cyberbullying to the presence/absence of resources and developmental assets (e.g., individual characteristics and connection to external supports, including the family and community resources), frequently associated with Positive Youth Development (PYD) (Benson et al., 2004; Lerner et al., 2005).

A SOCIAL FRAMEWORK FOR ADOLESCENT-PARENT RELATIONSHIPS

Rapid advances in communication technology (e.g., the continuing evolution of cell phones, and computers) lends importance to developing a comprehensive yet somewhat fluid definition of cyberbullying. This is essential given the multiple ways that cyberbullying is defined (and reported), in turn complicating the accuracy of comparisons of the prevalence and correlates of cyberbullying across different studies. Other factors which inform the challenge of defining cyberbullying include the following: (a) the variation in age, gender, and other demographic characteristics across the samples studied, and (b) the need to sort out the elements of a cyberbullying definition which are shared/not shared with definitions of traditional face-to-facebullying.

PREVALENCE OF CYBERBULLYING

According to Aricak (2008), in the U.S., 91% of 58,273,000 children under the age of 18 are computer users, and 59% are Internet users. Twenty three percent of preschoolers (who are younger than five years old) were reported to be Internet users as well. Almost 8 out of 10 adolescents connect to the Internet from their home (Mason 2008; Lenhart, Madden & Rainie 2006). According to Schneider, O'Donnell, Stueve, and Coulter (2012), 93% of teens are active Internet users and 75% own a cell phone, up from 45% in 2004. Therefore, cyberbullying can be considered invisible because of its potential to harass victims outside of the classroom and school campuses.

With statistics such as these, it is not surprising that the rates for cyberbullying are alarming. For example, in a study involving 3,767 students in the U.S., 11% of respondents were victims of cyberbullying, 7% were cyberbullies -cybervictims, and 4% were cyberbullies, at least once over the previous several months (Kowalski and Limber, 2007). Approximately half of the victims had no knowledge of the identity of the cyberbully. As well, the data indicated that 53.2% of respondents indicated that the cyberbully was from their school and 37% reported that the cyberbully was their friend. In a 2007 panel study involving 13-17 year olds, 43% had experienced cyberbullying in the previous year (Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor

2007). Hinduja and Patchin (2008) found that over 32% of boys and 36% of girls have been the victims of cyberbullying. A study by i-SAFE (2004) on 1,500 U.S. students in grades 4 through 8 found that 42% of students reported being bullied while online, and one in four reported that this happened on more than one occasion. Fifty-eight percent indicated that another person said mean or hurtful things to them online, with more than four in ten indicating that this happened more than once. Taken together, these results point to a disturbing prevalence of cyberbullying.

As might be expected, being online is associated with the likelihood of cyberbullying. In a study of 384 individuals under the age of 18, 11% reported bullying others while online and 29% reported being the victim of online bullying (Patchin and Hinduja, 2006). Cyberbullying was most prevalent in chat rooms along with text messaging and e-mail. As well, while online, 50% reported that they felt that they were not respected, 30% reported being called names, 21.4% reported being threatened by others, 19.8% reported being humiliated, and 18.8% reported having rumors spread about them. Results of another study with adolescent girls found that 68% of the time the bully was a friend or an acquaintance whom they knew from school while 28% of the time the bully was from a chat room (Burgess-Procter, Patchin & Hinduja 2008). Thirty six percent of the students in Ybarra, Diener-West and Leaf's (2007) nationally-representative sample reported that they were concurrently subjected to traditional bullying and cyberbullying. Higher rates were found by Juvonen and Gross (2008), with as many as 85% of adolescents who experienced cyber bullying were also victims of traditional bullying at school.

Likewise, Li (2006) found in a sample of 264 Canadian junior high school students, that one in four of these students had been cyberbullied and almost half of the students knew someone who was being bullied. Li (2006) also found that 54% of the students were victims of face-to-face bullying and over a quarter of them had been cyberbullied. One in three students had bullied others in traditional bullying, and almost 15% had bullied others using electronic communication tools. In the U.K., a study found that one in four 11 to 19 year olds reported that they had been the victim of cyberbullying (NCH, 2002). The most common medium through which cyberbullying was perpetrated was via text messaging on cell phones (NCH, 2006). Furthermore, a survey conducted by the National Crime Prevention Council found that of the more than 40% of U.S. teenagers who were cyber bullied, only about 10% told their parents about their experience (UPI, 2008).

CHARACTERISTICS OF CYBERBULLYING: INFLUENCE ON THE ADOLESCENT-PARENT MICROSYSTEM

Bullying is seen as intentional behavior that causes repeated harm to another individual. The victim of the bullying finds it difficult to defend himself or herself (Olweus 1993; Slonje, Smith & Frisen 2013). The advancement in technology has resulted in a transformation of bullying from the physical world to the virtual world (Ang & Goh 2010; Appel, Stiglbauer, Batimic & Holtz 2014; Aricak et al., 2008; Beale & Hall 2007; Beran & LI 2007; Rideout, Foehr & Roberts 2010). Traditional bullying stops at school. In the case of cyberbullying, the bullying occurs in cyberspace and through technological devices. Cyberbullying can follow a victim home via his or her cell phone and computer (Strom & Strom 2005). Cyberbullying uses the Internet and other technology willfully as a medium to transmit harm and discomfort

intentionally and repeatedly at a specific person, group, or persons (Jones, Mitchell & Finkelhor 2013; Li & Ang 2012; Ybarra & Mitchell 2004; Ybarra, Diener-West & Leaf 2007). It includes negative behaviors, such as lying, threatening, teasing, insulting, and displaying others' pictures without their consent in virtual settings (Belsey 2005; Monks, Robinson & Worlidge 2012; Sakeyari, Carroll & Houghton 2012; Williams & Guerra 2007). In traditional bullying, school administrators and teachers are considered to be the regulators of bullying (Holt & Keyes 2004). This is not the case in cyberbullying as the Internet is used because it provides a sense of anonymity to the perpetrators and, as well, there is limited monitoring by adults and parents. The use of technology reduces the sensitivity an individual has toward others in his or her surroundings.

Three Components of Face-to-Face Bullying Shared with Cyberbullying

There are many different definitions of cyberbullying in the literature, and many of these definitions come from the traditional bullying definitions. All of the definitions, however, share the common component of repetition of harm, hostility, and aggression that is directed toward the victim, via an electronic device or through the Internet (Tokunaga 2010). The definition of traditional bullying has three components: repetition of the harmful behavior, a power imbalance between the bully and his or her victim, and intent to harm. These three components are also evident in cyberbullying. However, the anonymity and pervasiveness of cyberbullying makes the detection of each of these components more difficult. The repetition of harmful behavior represents acts of cyberbullying that might spiral out of control, due to the technology used. Repetition is difficult to operationalize in cyberbullying. For example, if a picture is uploaded online, that picture can be distributed by other people. Repetition is created through the ongoing humiliation resulting from the embarrassing picture (Dooley et al. 2009; Fauman 2008; Leishman 2005). In the context of cyberbullying, this refers to an individual's greater knowledge of technology, Internet, and computers (Smith et al., 2008; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput 2008). Power can also come in the form of the anonymity of the Internet. It is more difficult for the victim to respond effectively if he or she does not know the bully's identity (Raskauskas 2010; Slonje & Smith 2008). Finally, Dooley, Pyzalski, and Cross (2009) state that the victim can feel powerless because the material that is posted online can be hard or impossible to remove. The victim is harmed psychologically, emotionally, and/or socially. Also, the behaviors must involve psychological torment and be carried out with harmful or malicious intent (Dehue, Bolman & Vollink 2008).

The Dynamic Features of Cyberbullying and the Adolescent-Parent Relationship

In addition, three features of cyberbullying, including anonymity, asynchronicity, and accessibility, pose advantages for cyberbullies, increasing risks for victims of cyberbullying and, in turn, challenges the adolescent-parent relationship as a source of support and prevention of cyberbullying. Anonymity refers to the absence of in-person audiovisual information (e.g., nonverbal cues) in communication and/or to the possible absence of cyberbully identity and, therefore, the source of cyberbully statements. In turn, such anonymity is a source of cyberbully

advantage and power. Cyberbully power is derived, not from having an in-person physical or psychological advantage, as in traditional bullying, but rather through their technological competence and their ability to hide their identity while online. Their ability to hide their identity provides cyberbullies with a safe haven, in turn not having to be bear the consequences of cyberbullying. Cyberbullies often engaged in cyberbullying because they knew that there would be no consequences resulting from their cyberbullying behavior (Holtz & Appel 2011; Lee & Chae 2007; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput 2008). Anonymous cyberbullies can transmit a personal attack in seconds (Garringer 2008). As Cooper (2004, p. 1) states, “the Internet has unleashed its dark side, an underground adolescent world of spite and vengeance. It is the bathroom wall moved into everybody’s bedroom.” Asynchronicity refers to the time allowed to respond to messages posted online. Because messages and posts to the Internet can remain online indefinitely and individuals can respond to these posts whenever they want, perhaps even days, weeks, or months after the post has been made; this lack of synchrony allows bullies the chance to post hurtful information at any time that they wish. Accessibility refers to the Internet users who have varied interests, age, and social backgrounds (Appel et al., 2014). Thus, in addition to anonymity, variation in age and differences in using the Internet may be affected by interests and social backgrounds, further compounding the problem of cyberbullying (Barr 2005).

Anonymity, asynchronicity, and accessibility can lead to adolescents feeling less conscious and apprehensive about their physical appearance, giving them greater confidence that they will not be discovered and punished for being cyberbullies (Beale & Hall 2007; Berson & Berson 2005, Slater & Tiggemann 2010). This is particularly the case for adolescent girls. That said, these three characteristics can also pose risks for adolescent development, such as increases in adolescents’ verbal aggression (Anderson & Bushman 2002). Cyberbullies have been found to be less inhibited in saying things to another person that they would never say face-to-face (Keith & Martin 2005; Sparling, 2004). Also, these three characteristics might allow easy access to sexual and/or violent content that is now readily accessible (Baumgartner, Valkenburg, & Peter 2010). In fact, Englander and Muldowney (2007) label cyberbullying as an “opportunistic offense,” because it results in harm without any physical interaction, may not require a lot of planning time, and the anonymity of the Internet reduces the chances that the cyberbully will be caught.

Cyberbullying As Covert Bullying

There are two broad types of how bullying is classified, and these types are based on how the bullying behavior is displayed. Researchers classify bullying according to whether it is overt or covert. Direct bullying refers to harassing others through direct (overt) physical or verbal attacks. Examples include hitting and pushing. Indirect bullying is also referred to as relational bullying. It is a covert form of bullying. Covert bullying creates harm by destroying the victim’s social relationships. Some examples of covert bullying include gossiping, spreading rumors, name calling, and excluding a person from their social group (Aricak 2008; Beran 2006; Bjorkqvist, Lagerspatz & Kaukiainen 1992; Coyne, Archer & Eslea 2006; Ma 2001).

Since cyberbullying is characterized by an absence of direct confrontation, it is best considered covert (indirect) bullying. If true, this tends to explain why girls, who might be less confrontational in face-to-face contexts, may be feel less inhibited when online, because they

can use the anonymity of the Internet to manipulate others (Ang & Goh 2010; Belsey 2004). Despite these dynamic features that distinguish cyberbullying from face-to-face, or traditional bullying, some researchers suggest that cyberbullying is not qualitatively different from traditional bullying. They argue that instead online harassment is merely an extension of bullying in face- to- face contexts (Li, 2006). For example, Hinduja and Patchin (2010) found that 65% of cyberbullying victims were also victims of traditional bullying. Seventy-seven percent of cyberbullies also reported being involved in traditional bullying.

ADOLESCENT-PARENT MICROSYSTEM

Adolescent Characteristics

Bullies, Victims and Bully-Victims

As indicated, defining cyberbullying is challenging due to difficulties in identifying repetitive behavior and in measuring power imbalances as they occur online. However, individuals who are involved in bullying are frequently divided into three distinct groups: bullies, victims, and bully-victims. Based on the responses of 3,767 middle school students in grades 6-8 in U.S. schools, Kowalski, Limber and Agatston (2008) found that 21% of students were identified as victims, 13% as bullies, 18% as bully-victims, and 48% as non-involved students. Bully-victims reported the highest percentages of simultaneously being a cybervictim (36%) and a cyberbully (23%).

Bullies are those who initiate aggressive behaviors with others. They are usually stronger than their peers and strive to achieve certain goals, such as control over others (Hazler, Carney, Green, Powell & Jolly 1997). Adolescent bullies have high emotionality and low self-control (Juvonen, Graham & Shuster 2003; Pellegrini et al., 1999). Traits, such as delinquency and aggressive behavior, are associated with being a bully in the traditional sense (Perren & Alsaker 2006). According to Piskin (2002), bullies come from families where physical punishment is used and there is little parental warmth and involvement. Victims are the opposite, they are the subject of the bullies' harassment, suffer from low self-esteem, and are usually physically weaker than their peers. Victims who are often targeted might be overweight, small in size, or have a learning disability (Willard 2005). Victims usually come from families where parents and family members might be overprotective (Piskin 2002). Being a traditional victim is associated with internalizing problems, such as depression and somatic symptoms (Arsenault et al., 2006). Traits associated with being a bully-victim are linked with both internalizing and externalizing problems (Haynie et al., 2001; Iverson, Broberg, Arvidsson & Gillberg 2005). Recently, there has been a surge in "cyberbullicides" - suicide that is directly or indirectly influenced by an individual's experiences with online aggression/bullying (Hinduja & Patchin 2010).

Victims might also attempt to retaliate through technology, because it is not as intimidating as face-to-face confrontations. Therefore, cyberbullying becomes a means of self-protection (Beran & Li 2007). Finally, bully-victims are those individuals who bully their peers and who are also bullied by their peers (Espelage & Swearer 2003). Children bullied in cyberspace may also bully others in cyberspace. Children bullied in school are also at risk of being bullied online. According to Patchin and Hinduja (2006), life in cyberspace is often intertwined with

life in the real world. Many adolescents spend their daytime hours with friends at school and public places. At night, they “see” their friends via chat, Facebook, and other social media sites. Whatever is discussed on these sites is talked about in the day, and vice versa. Technology has advanced so much that there is now no separation between the online and the offline worlds. According to Schneider et al. (2012), one third to more than three quarters of adolescents who are bullied online are also bullied while offline.

Individual Behaviors Characterizing Cyberbullying

The impact of cyberbullying may vary depending on the type of cyberbullying that the victim experiences (Calvete, Orve, Estevez, Villardon & Padilla 2010; Slonje et al., 2013). In interpreting the impact of cyberbullying, several major factors emerge as possible explanations for the impact of cyberbullying, including the social media involved and the specific actions or behaviors transmitted via social media. Some researchers have categorized cyberbullying as typically occurring in two primary social media venues--- the Internet and via cell phones (Ortega et al., 2009). The use of smart phones, however, makes it possible to send and receive e-mails on the cell phone and also to use the Internet beyond simply sending and receiving e-mails.

The technological transformation enabling the integrated use of Internet and cell phones has further increased attention to the specific actions or types of communication through which cyberbullying is perpetrated. Willard (2006) described eight categories: flaming (i.e., sending angry, rude, or vulgar messages to someone), online harassment (i.e., repeatedly sending angry, rude, or vulgar messages), denigration (i.e., put-downs, harmful, untrue, or cruel statements), cyber stalking (i.e., harassment that includes threats of harm or is highly intimidating), masquerading (i.e., pretending to be someone else and posting material that makes another person look bad), outing/trickery (i.e., engaging in tricks to get embarrassing information about a person and then making the information public), exclusion (i.e., intentionally excluding a person from a social group), and bombing (i.e., the cyberbully uses an automated program to cause the victim’s e-mail to fail and to block the victim’s e-mail account) (Bhat 2008; Burgess-Proctor, Patchin & Hinduja 2008).

Furthermore, all of these categories of communication are possible regardless of the medium through which cyberbullying occurs (e.g., through cell phone or Internet). To illustrate, Rivers and Noret (2010) described the contents of abusive text messages and e-mails. The ten major categories that they developed included: threat of physical violence, name calling, hate-related and abusive statements, death threats, description or portrayal of sexual acts, demands/instructions, and threats to the victim’s home or family and to their existing relationships. Similarly, Huang and Chou (2010) studied the types of cyberbullying behaviors across victims and bullies. For both victims and bullies, the most commonly reported behaviors involved threats and harassment, followed by making jokes, and then spreading rumors.

The face of cyberbullying has been changing. For example, smart phones are being used to check e-mail as well as to access the Internet. Social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, have gained popularity, allowing for communication involving the public posting of information such as photographs, with abundant opportunity for comments by others as well as anonymity. Texting via the Internet has emerged as another communication venue involving the need for brief statements, accompanied by the evolution of a new vocabulary. This new

terminology not only points to increased opportunities for cyberbullying but, as well, to increased need for responsible behavior and prevention strategies. Additional examples of such new terminology include “sexting” (circulation of sexual images without the victim’s consent), “trolling” (persistent abusive comments made online), and “griefing” (harassing someone in an online game). In short, the continued evolution of technological media has created opportunities for enhanced cyberbullying with devastating potential consequences.

Gender Differences

While some studies point to traditional or face-to-face bullying perpetrated primarily by men and boys (Beake & Scott 2001; Boutlon & Underwood 1992; Forero, McLellan, Rissel, & Baum 1999; Jolliffe & Farrington 2006; Sourander, Helstela, Helenius & Piha 2000), gender differences in cyberbullying are inconsistent. Some studies have found no gender differences between boys and girls, as perpetrator or as victim, while other evidence suggests that girls are more likely to be cybervictims and use psychological techniques of tormenting victims (Rivers & Noret, 2010). Other studies suggest that males engaged in cyberbullying more frequently than females (Calvete et al., 2010; Fanti et al., 2012; Harman, Hansen, Cochran and Lindsey, 2005; Li, 2006; Salmivalli and Poyhonen, 2012; Smith et al., 2008). However, while males reported more engagement in cyberbullying compared to females, females engaged in face-to-face indirect bullying and relational aggression more frequently (Anderson & Strum 2007; Crick & Grotpeter 1995; Hara 2002). One possible explanation for this is that girls tend to have more close-knit relationships and boys tend to socialize in larger groups with less sharing of personal details. In other studies, such as Dehue et al. (2008), boys (18.6%) were found to be more likely to be cyberbullies compared to girls (13.4%). Li (2006) studied 264 junior high school students in Canada and found that 55.6% of males and 54.5% of females were aware of cyberbullying. Twenty-five percent of males and 25.6% of females reported being victims of cyberbullying. Other researchers have found no gender differences between boys and girls in the rates of cyberbullying (Williams & Guerra 2009). The inconsistency of findings for gender differences in cyberbullying is largely the result of different samples and methodologies often using different types of cyberbullying.

Gender and Suicidal Ideation

Suicidal ideation is especially salient if social acceptance is vital to an adolescent’s identity and self-esteem. Being cyberbullied can have devastating effects on a victim’s psychological, emotional, and social well-being (Patchin & Hinduja 2006). In Roland’s (2002) study of 1,838 Norwegian eighth graders, boys who were the victims of cyberbullying had suicidal ideation 2.5 times more than non-bullied boys. Bullied girls had suicidal ideation that was 4.2 times more than non-bullied girls. The boy bullies suffered from suicidal ideation 3.8 times more than the non-bullies, and the girl bullies suffered from suicidal ideation 8 times more than the non-bullies. Cyberbullying makes the feeling of unhappiness even worse in the victim’s mind (Hinduja & Patchin 2009). Hinduja and Patchin (2009) found that youth who bullied others at age 8 were more likely to have suicidal thoughts at age 18 compared to non-bullies. There are many reasons why such negative outcomes befall bullies and their victims, including the

following: (a) the preservation of computer-based messages that are stored on web sites and search engines;(b) the ease and freedom through which hurtful statements can be made;(c) the difficulty identifying the bully, difficulty proving that cyberbullying occurred, and the challenge of determining appropriate punishment: (d) the possibility of cyberbullying extending beyond the classroom and school, minimizing the input of teachers; (e) the advancement of technology and its use bygrowing numbers of adolescents and young adults.

Age

Adolescence is a phase in life in which there is massive growth in social relationships outside of the immediate family (Giordano 2003). Interactions with their peers helps adolescents to refine their socio-emotional skills, to take different perspectives, and to consider intimate relationships (Crosnoe 2000; Rubin, Bukowski & Parker 1998). However, their expanding social circle also exposes them to risk, such as cyber bullying and harassment.

Cyberbullying, however, is not restricted by age and can occur from elementary school to the college years. For example, in a study of fifth, eighth, and eleventh graders, fifth graders were found to experience the least victimization rate (only 4.5% of their fifth grade sample were cyberbullied), eighth graders seemed to be at the peak of cyberbullying experiences (12.9%), and cyberbullying rates for eleventh graders dropped during high school (9.9%) (Williams and Guerra, 2007). Similarly, Tokunaga (2010) found that the greatest incidence of cyberbullying occurs around the seventh and eighth grades (around 13-15 years of age). Cyberbullying tends to decrease after late adolescence (Sevcikova & Smahel 2009).

PARENT CHARACTERISTICS/BEHAVIORS AND CYBERBULLYING

There is a lack of research on parents and how they influence their adolescents' risk of being involved in cyberbullying (Mesch 2009). There is evidence from some researchers that positive parent-child relationships may help to decrease the likelihood of cyberbullying (Ybarra & Mitchell 2004). This applies to both Asian and Western adolescent samples. In the field of digital media use, the most common question is the role that parents play in minimizing the risks that come with online technology. This is termed parental mediation, and the literature has focused on TV and its influence on children. According to Nathanson and Cantor (2000), there are two areas of parenting strategies: (a) active mediation, which involves talking with adolescents about the Internet, and (b) restrictive mediation, which involves setting rules and regulations. Of the two, Nathanson (1999; 2002) and Nathanson and Cantor (2000) have found that active mediation yields more positive results compared to regulating and restricting adolescents' media usage.

Parental Monitoring

Implications of parental monitoring are an important element cyberbullying. In a study of U.S. parents' and adolescents' online behaviors, adolescents whose parents monitored their

children's online behavior tended to be more cautious in disclosing such personal identifying information as their name or e-mail address (Rosen, 2007). Other evidence suggests that giving out personal information, visiting inappropriate sites, and total amount of time spent online was lower for the adolescents whose parents had specific rules that limited their online activities (Beebe, Asche and Harrison, 2004).

Due to the anonymity and accessibility of the Internet, however, parents' restriction of their children's media usage has been shown to be ineffective. This is because Internet activities might occur outside of parents' control. Also, young people and parents relate differently to technology (Keith & Belsey 2004; Martin 2005). That is, adults view computers as practical tools, whereas children and adolescents view the Internet and technology as a "lifeline" to their peers (i-SAFE 2004; Keith & Martin 2005). Sites, such as Facebook and chat rooms, might be considered "safe" but they can contain very inappropriate material (Mesch 2009; Shin & Huh 2011). Communication between parents and their adolescents can facilitate awareness of cyberbullying and possible resources to cope with these Internet stressors (Appel, Holtz, Stiglauer & Batinic 2012). For example, in a study of 363 secondary school German adolescents, the quality of Internet-related communication with their parents mattered (Appel et al., 2014). Adolescents who did not have or engage in this type of communication had an increase in verbal aggression over a six-month period. Those who had high levels of communication had the reverse relationship. The reluctance of students to disclose cyberbullying to their parents is because some parents view physical bullying as more serious and harmful than verbal and indirect bullying and are less likely to intervene in cyberbullying cases (Aftab 2005; Barr 2005; Dehue Bolman & Vollink 2008).

Parental Communication

In general most adolescents do not talk to their parents about their online experiences, especially those that are stressful or annoying (Appel et al., 2014). Nine out of ten adolescents aged 12-17 years were found to not tell their parents about cyberbullying (Juvonen & Gross 2008), even in cases where the cyberbullying causes severe emotional distress. In Patchin and Hinduja's (2006) study, 56.6% of their sample responded to cyberbullying by telling an online friend. Even fewer (19.5%) told their parents and only 16.8% reported telling a sibling. In the popular press, a United Press International (UPI) study found that fewer than 10% of victims turned to their parents for help (UPI, 2008). In a similar finding, a study of 38 fifth through eighth graders found that children did not tell parents or other adults about their cyberbullying experiences because they felt that adults would not be able to identify the bully or to find evidence that cyberbullying occurred (Mishna, Saini, and Solomon, 2009). Other reasons included wanting to be independent, the fear that reporting the cyberbullying would make the problem worse, or the adult would tell the victim to ignore it (Mishna et al., 2009). Similar findings can be found with Li (2006), who found that only 30% of adolescents disclosed their cyberbullying experience to an adult. As in the case of traditional bullying, the rates of disclosing to an adult are minimal.

Furthermore, there is evidence that adult monitoring of adolescent Internet usage is a relatively infrequent parent practice (Berson and Berson 2005; Ybarra and Mitchell 2004). This is likely a significant contributor to the at-risk behavior among adolescents. For example, Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) found that 30% of adolescents used the Internet for three or more

hours per day. More than half of these adolescents reported poor parental monitoring, 7% reported that their parents knew where they were online, and 9% reported that their parents rarely knew who they were spending their time with outside of the home (Ybarra & Mitchell 2004). Interestingly, Odendaal, Malcolm, Savahl, and September (2006), in their study of 23 tenth graders between the ages of 14 to 16 years old, found that most of these students were not monitored by adults. Despite this, victims tend to trust their parents over school officials to help them find a solution to being cyberbullied.

Other factors that affect parent-adolescent communication on cyberbullying and other matters of adolescence include age, gender, and cultural experience. Both age and gender have already been discussed with reference to other aspects of cyberbullying, including prevalence and correlates (see above). That said, as students get older, they are less likely to confide in their parents or guardians about being cyberbullied (Cassidy, Jackson & Brown 2009). With reference to gender and cyberbullying victimization, Li (2006) found that female cyberbully victims were more likely to tell adults (including parents) if they had been cyberbullied. One possible explanation is that men/boys regard asking for help as putting themselves in a “one down” position (Tannen 1994).

With reference to cultural factors in cyberbullying communication, Li (2006) sampled 157 Canadian students and 202 Chinese students from China. She found that Chinese students were more likely than their Canadian counterparts to believe that adults in schools will try to fight cyberbullying. Also, Chinese students were more likely to tell adults about cyberbullying incidents. Cultural differences between China and Canada could account for these differences, in particular China’s emphasis on Confucianism, which posits that children should show respect to authority, including parents and teachers (Cole et al., 1997).

THE ADOLESCENT-PARENT RELATIONSHIP: CHARACTERISTICS AND RELATIONSHIP QUALITY

The past three decades has seen unprecedented interest in understanding the relationship between the socio-familial environment and childhood aggression. Few studies, however, have investigated the parent-child context as a proximal risk factor for the onset of bullying behaviors. The few studies that do tend to implicate family violence (Farrington 1993), specific parenting styles (Baldry & Farrington 2000), and the lack of parental monitoring (Roberts & Coursol 1996; Low & Espelage 2013) in the etiology of face-to-face and online victimization. These studies have emphasized the family’s role in modeling aggressive behaviors either directly, for example through family violence (Shields & Cicchetti 2001) and parental conflict (Baldry 2003), or indirectly by being part of a causal chain of risk factors for bullying perpetration or victimization. This includes things such as living with a depressed parent, low levels of parental attachment, and the lack of cognitive stimulation (Beran & Violato 2004; Zimmerman, Glew, et al., 2005).

SOCIAL LEARNING AND ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

According to social learning theory and social interaction learning theory, maladaptive and aggressive social interactions with peers originate in impaired and conflictual family dynamics (Patterson 1982; Patterson, Dishion & Bank 1984). Compared to children growing up in non-violent households, children exposed to violence are developmentally disadvantaged due to recurring health problems (Bowes et al., 2009) and posttraumatic stress (Kilpatrick & Williams 1998). The cumulative impact of violence exposure coupled with complex stressors and comorbidities that often accompany violence has been linked to the development of both internalizing and externalizing behaviors in children. Chronic exposure often culminates in what has been coined the ‘cycle of violence’ (Holt, Buckley & Whelan 2008). Generally speaking, face-to-face bullying and cyberbullying behaviors are consistent with social learning theory and the role of maladaptive socialization within the family context in promoting such behavior. The social interactions in the home are a critical source of origination for diverse forms of aggressive behavior (Low & Espelage 2013), including diverse forms of face-to-face and online abuse. Children living in families characterized by deficient parents are “mis-socialized” into acting aggressively either directly or indirectly. While few in number, studies have found a strong, positive relationship between domestic violence and bullying, thereby corroborating previous research suggesting that children who are exposed to family violence engage in higher levels of both generalized aggression and bullying (Bauer et al., 2006). In one study, for example, exposed youth were nearly three times more likely to partake in bullying and/or threatening other students at school and more than twice as likely to spread gossip or exclude others from participating in group activities (Baldry 2003).

Another type of family violence, abuse directed towards the child himself or herself, shows strong associations to online aggression. Children who witness domestic violence are more likely to be involved in bullying and/or victimization, even after controlling for the individual-level characteristics of age, gender, and other childhood adversities, such as the presence of child abuse or neglect. Child maltreatment has been shown to operate directly and indirectly to increase the likelihood of being a victim or perpetrator of bullying. Child victims of physical and sexual abuse, for example, have been shown to be more likely to engage in bullying or be victimized by peers (Bowes et al., 2009; Low & Espelage 2013). Being a victim of abuse may also be an intervening variable that manifests itself through internalizing behaviors in the causal chain from child mistreatment to aggression. For example, both childhood maltreatment and domestic violence have associations with childhood depression and anxiety, which in turn is a risk factor for bully victimization. It is possible, then, that a child's individual traits act to confound the direct relation between socio-familial characteristics and the likelihood of being involved in bullying, but future research must be done to parse out the relative influences of each.

Drawing on an ecological perspective, Osofsky (2003) concludes that violence exposure is a prerequisite risk for future aggression but children must also come to view aggression as functional in their relationships and subsequently believe violence is an acceptable method of conflict resolution (Holt, Buckley & Whelan 2008). Children exposed to violence in the home often learn that violence is a normal way to be treated or respond to conflict and in turn become aggressive toward peers. In this regard, domestic violence is relevant for explaining aggressive behavior as learned phenomena whereby poor social skills moderate the relationship between

violence exposure in the family and involvement in bullying. According to Lundy and Grossman (2005), the development and preservation of friendships at a critical developmental period is compromised by poorly developed social skills. They may either pick up on and react to aggressive cues in their interactions with other children and consequently be at risk of bullying or tune out from such cues and be at increased risk of being bullied (Bauer et al., 2006; Cunningham & Baker, 2004). One-third of Lundy and Grossman's (2005) sample of 4,636 children who were exposed to domestic violence were described as frequently aggressive, and one-fifth had difficulties adhering to the rules of the school, with the acting out, peer difficulties, sadness, and depression, frequently bringing them to the attention of the teachers. Deficient parenting impairs a child's social competence and consequently the ability to develop positive friendships, whereas parents who are involved in their children's lives and supervise them are instrumental in reducing aggressive behavior both within and outside of the family (Duman & Margolin 2007; Knutson, DeGarmo & Reid 2004; Mazefsky & Farell 2005).

EMOTIONAL DYSREGULATION AND CHILD EXPOSURE TO FAMILY VIOLENCE

On the basis of social learning theory and emotional dysregulation, children who are exposed to violence in the home are more likely to develop negative relationship patterns and model them with peers (Low & Espelage 2013). Concurring with this hypothesis, Graham-Bermann and Brescoll's (2000) research with 221 children between 6 and 12 years of age and their mothers found a direct relationship between the level of physical and emotional abuse of mothers and children's belief systems regarding the acceptability of violence in family interactions. Reflecting on family systems theory, these authors surmise that children in abusive families have internalized belief systems that are conditioned through acts of physical abuse. Taken together, these findings suggest that perceived parenting behaviors are in fact related to adolescents' engagement in cyberbullying. An important qualification, however, is that family context is neither monolithic nor does it exist in a cultural vacuum. A family's cultural values and belief systems underlie their social contexts and will govern online social interactions in much the same way they do face-to-face communications (Shapka & Law 2013).

While highly variable, a simplified way of understanding parenting styles is to view them in two dimensions: (a) how responsive are parents to the behavior of their children, and (b) how demanding are parents in limiting their bad behavior. The former dimension is characterized by warmth, support, acceptance, and affection, while the second refers to supervision, control, and monitoring (Baumrind 1991; Spera 2005), and both dimensions include aspects of the child-parent relationship that are predictive of both face-to-face bullying (Baldry & Farrington 1998, Rigby 1996; Smith & Myron-Wilson 1998) and cyberbullying behaviors above and beyond violence exposure and parental conflict. Parents who interact with their children in a hostile, cold, and indifferent manner encourage their children to interact with others in a similar way, which affects the socialization of their children and may increase a child's likelihood of becoming a bully (Pontzer 2010). In an online environment, parenting styles are particularly important (Law et al., 2010). In this vein, research has found that children who cyberbully experience limited parental monitoring, stronger parental discipline, and a weaker emotional bond with their parents than children who do not cyberbully (Ybarra & Mitchell 2004; Wang,

Ianotti & Nansel 2009; Wong 2010). For youths who are involved in traditional bullying and in cyberbullying, bullies, victims, and bully-victims report less responsiveness and demanding behaviors by parents than non-involved youths. Research findings have consistently found a negative association between authoritative parenting styles and both online and face-to-face bullying; simply put, unresponsive parents have children who exhibited higher levels of cyberbullying perpetration and cyberbullying victimization.

Due to parents' lack of sophistication or knowledge about technology, some have speculated that parents may feel uneasy about their adolescents' proclivity to engage in online activities (Livingstone 2002; Stanaland et al., 2009). Consequently, greater efforts to monitor and control their children's online activities (Smetana 2000) are frequently implemented. Children of parents with inadequate supervision, inconsistent discipline and lack affection and support are more likely to have children who engage in bullying behaviors. In contrast, when parenting is characterized as warm and consistent children display much lower levels of antisociality (Bacchini, Miranda & Affuso 2011; Brown, Arnold, Dobbs & Doctoroff 2007; Demetriou & Christodoulides, 2011; Getachew & Sintayehu, 2007; Knutson et al., 2004; Luyckx et al., 2011). However, Stattin and Kerr (2000) found that controlling and monitoring adolescents' Internet use was not associated with fewer reported incidences of cyberbullying. Similarly, Mesch (2009) found that parental use of restrictive mediation (limiting and controlling adolescent's online activities) was not effective for reducing reports of cyberbullying, but those that engaged in evaluative mediation (open discussion about the internet and the co-creation of rules) had children with less risk for exposure to cyberbullying. Adolescents who feel supported (Park, Kim & Cho 2008) and comfortable disclosing their online experiences to their parents were less likely to report engaging in online risk behaviors (Law et al. 2010; Shapka 2011). These findings are consistent with a larger body of work on the parental mediation of children's online behavior that was discussed above or the activities carried out by parents to protect their children from exposure to online dangers (Dehue et al., 2012). Research has shown that when parents closely monitor their children's online activities, they are less likely to disclose personal information, less likely to seek out inappropriate sites, and less likely to conduct chat conversations with strangers. Researchers posit that when parents do not engage in these practices, they indirectly promote aggression and victimization by dampening the social competencies of their children (Duman & Margolin 2007; Knutson et al., 2004; Mazefsky & Farell 2005; Pontzer 2010). Thus, it has been suggested that the lack of responsiveness and demanding behaviors of parents as role models impairs the social competence of both bullies and victims (Perren & Hornung 2005; Stevens et al., 2002).

This is especially true in the case of cyberbullying since peers and teachers, as possible role models, are frequently unaware that a child is a cyberbully or is being cyberbullied (Aricak et al., 2008; Dehue et al., 2008).

SOCIALIZATION AND PARENTING STYLES

The broader familial context, including the role of socialization and parenting styles, needs further investigation, given its relative dearth in the bullying literature. According to Low & Espelage (2013), the field would benefit from a deeper unraveling of family conflict in order to understand the potential additive and synergistic role of violence and conflict in the family.

Nevertheless, the current research suggests several points of prevention and intervention of aggressive online behaviors. First, a holistic and ecological approach would integrate family and individual levels, as well as negative outcomes of family violence and poor parental practices to better unravel their role in developing social competencies (e.g., positive assertiveness, empathy) and emotion management. These programs should also consider cultural underpinnings associated with parenting styles and in particular the cultural values that create vulnerability to cyberbully victimization or perpetration. This includes a consideration of gender and race/ethnicity since subgroup differences exist with respect to both family violence and parental treatment of children.

THE FAMILY CONTEXT AND CONTEXTS BEYOND THE FOCAL ADOLESCENT-PARENT RELATIONSHIP: IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND INTERVENTION

An effective adolescent parent relationship is both a potential venue for reducing cyberbullying, a powerful asset for promoting positive adolescent development and a basis for preventing or reducing cyberbullying. In fact, it has become increasingly apparent that many existing programs for reducing standard bullying and quite possibly cyberbullying, end up emphasizing dimensions of positive youth development, including the enhancement of adaptive individual characteristics and individual connection to positive family and community resources.

This points to the importance of an ecological perspective to prevention and reduction of cyberbullying, directed at the multiple ecological contexts of cyberbullying, including the family and contexts beyond the family (including the community/ neighborhood or the school). Building on existing models of traditional or face-to-face bullying emphasizing the bi-focal bully-victim relationship as the basic microsystem context of bullying (Barboza et al., 2009; Espelage & Swearer 2011; Veenstra et al., 2007), an enhanced ecological approach to policy and intervention, for both in traditional bullying and cyberbullying, includes a Positive Youth Development (PYD) framework (Lerner et al., 2005). Specifically, an emphasis on adolescent internal assets (e.g., competence, caring, connection) and external assets (e.g., family, school, community) in honing and shaping internal assets essential for Positive Youth Development (PYD) are, in turn, essential for preventing/reducing both traditional and cyberbullying as well (Theokas & Lerner 2006).

THE ECOLOGY OF BULLYING AND POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT (PYD)

The Ecology of Bullying

Using the bully-victim relationship as the focal context of both face-to-face bullying and cyberbullying, ecological models have been developed which provide a basis for understanding the dynamic character of bullying as a contextual phenomenon (Barboza et al., 2009; Espelage & Swearer 2011; Veenstra et al., 2007). Barboza et al. (2009) examined risk factors of bullying

for a sample of adolescents, ages 11-14 ($N = 9,816$), from *Health Behavior in School Children: WHO Cross National Survey*. The study modeled the relationship between bullying and media effects, peer relationships, family support networks, and self-efficacy, supporting the significant role played by contexts within and beyond the bully-victim relationship. Many of these individual characteristics and contextual supports, including the family, are associated with constructive PYD positive youth developmental outcomes, which, in turn, provided evidence-based support for some existing and future directions in prevention, remediation, and policies for both traditional bullying and cyberbullying.

Incorporating Positive Youth Development (PYD)

The incorporation of positive youth development (PYD) is particularly relevant as it underlies the internal and external assets of PYD which are the very goals of many existing and effective bullying and cyberbullying programs. From a PYD framework, positive individual assets or adaptive individual characteristics are frequently described as the 5C's (Benson, Mannes, Pittman & Ferher 2004). These internal assets include the following (5C's): *competence* (intellectual ability/social behavioral skills), *connection* (positive bonds with people and institutions), *character* (integrity and moral centeredness), *confidence* (positive self-regard, self-efficacy, courage), and *caring/compassion* (empathy, sense of social justice). When all 5Cs are present, *contribution to civil society* (i.e., youth actions in support of social institutions and other individuals) is made more likely (Lerner et al., 2000). These internal assets are made possible by, and occur in the context of, external assets in the form of *support* (e.g., positive family support/communication, other adult relationships, a caring community, positive/caring school climate), *empowerment* (e.g., community values youths as resources), *clear expectations/ boundaries communicated in context* (e.g., family has clear rules, schools communicate rules and expectations, positive peer influences, available adult role models), and *constructive use of time* (youth programs, creative activities).

While most research on bullying has focused on the negative indicators and outcomes of adolescent bullies and victims, more recent studies have taken a strength-based approach to bullies and victims of bullying (Hilliard, Bowers, Greenman, Hershberg, Geldhof, Glickman, Lerner & Lerner 2014; Ma, Phelps, Lerner & Lerner 2009a; Ma, Phelps, Lerner & Lerner 2009b). For example research on moral virtues compared the trajectories of moral character (e.g., doing the right thing, staying out of trouble), performance character (e.g., persistence, self-discipline, self-regulation), and civic character (e.g., leadership, helping, service) by bullying status (e.g., bullies, victims, and adolescents not involved in bullying) from middle school to high school (Hilliard et al., 2014). Adolescents who reported being bullies and being victims had lower levels of moral and civic character while bullies reported higher levels of performance than youths who did not experience bullying. Although there was individual variability in these character virtue trajectories, the general study findings suggest potential opportunities for maximizing on character virtues for bullies and victims at, or even earlier than, the 7th grade level and, including the potential redirection of increased bully performance character in positive and more constructive directions.

Other studies focusing on PYD are also illustrative of opportunities for tapping individual internal assets and community and family external assets in the social ecology of youth involved in bullying. Ma et al. (2009a) focused on the interplay of expectations for school

success, and they found that engagement in school encouraged academic competence in youth Grades 5 - 7. In a related study, Ma and colleagues (2009b) found that both teacher and parent support independently predicted the PYD individual asset of academic competence for both bullies and victims in grades 5th through 7th. It is important to keep in mind the importance of individual differences in trajectory patterns such that the development of positive characteristics does not automatically imply that negative and problematic behaviors such as bullying will be eliminated (Hilliard et al., 2014). This means that strength-based efforts to diminish cyberbullying, specifically the promotion of PYD, needs to be included, in a comprehensive effort, with programs designed to specifically eliminate or prevent cyberbullying (e.g., teaching about cyber security).

THE ROLE OF FAMILY IN CYBERBULLYING INTERVENTIONS

The nature and quality of the parent-adolescent relationship provides a critical ecological context for understanding both the dynamics of cyberbullying victimization and, in turn, for developing effective intervention and prevention strategies. However, there is limited research on the critical details of this vital role, particularly in adolescent social media involvement and effective parental responses. There is some agreement that involving families as either the primary adolescent asset in an intervention or as part of a comprehensive community effort including community/neighborhood or school resources may be useful in reducing cyberbullying. While such programs appear to have had some level of success in combating cyberbullying, it is not clear exactly how the dynamics of the adolescent-parent relationship create outcomes which may successfully reduce cyber bullying.

A recent investigation using data from a Pew study which involved telephone interviews of a representative sample of adolescents aged 12-17 and their parents examined the relationship of youths' self-reported bullying victimization with parental strategies for preventing adolescent online victimization (Schiamberg & Barboza 2014). The analytical sample for the study included those adolescents, and their parents, who reported cyberbullying victimization, via a social media website or text message in the past 12 months ($n = 509$). Results of the study addressed patterns of adolescent-parent communication, parental knowledge and monitoring of youth online activities, and adolescent knowledge of their parents' monitoring of their online behavior on cyberbullying victimization. The findings revealed that (a) youth whose parents reported monitoring their child's use of the Internet by blocking or filtering websites were significantly less likely to be victims of cyberbullying, (b) youth who perceived that their parents used the internet to check websites they visited were also less likely to be bullied, and (c) adolescents whose parents reported talking to them about internet safety were significantly less likely to be cyber bullied. Other forms of communication and monitoring (e.g., suggesting ways to behave, discussing online activities, checking online profiles, or checking to see what information is available) were unrelated to cyberbully victimization.

These results suggest the complex nature of the interaction between the parent-adolescent relationship and cyberbullying victimization. While adolescent-parent communication about online activities is essential, the form of the communication is what really matters. The most effective form of communication is about being safe *in general*. While parental monitoring is

a protective factor, children's perception that controls are in place (i.e., by blocking or checking websites) is also effective at minimizing the likelihood of cyberbully victimization. While important, an awareness of adolescent online activities is not as effective as parents' knowledge and use of the Internet. Preventing cyberbully victimization requires that parents themselves have knowledge about the types of activities their children are doing online.

PYD AFTER-SCHOOL CYBERBULLYING INTERVENTIONS: ACROSS FAMILY, COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL

While bullying of children and youth is a serious social problem, attempts to address the problem have tended to focus almost entirely on the role of the school as both a focal point for bullying relationships and for intervening in those relationships. Although of considerable importance in providing a positive environment for adolescent development and support, a full understanding of the complexity of bullying involves the appreciation of contexts beyond the school such as community and family as places for bully-victim relationships as well as for interventions designed to prevent bullying. In fact, there is good reason to believe that many youth can be served effectively in after school programs, perhaps in conjunction with school programs.

While schools represent an obvious location for some bullying events, it is important to recognize the role of out-of-school organizations and programs in reducing and preventing face-to-face bullying and cyberbullying. Working in collaboration with formal schools, out-of-school programs represent a significant opportunity for many youth to reach out to trained and caring adults to build positive youth assets (e.g., individual characteristics and community connections for preventing and reducing bullying) (Barboza et al., 2009; Durlak, Weissberg & Pachan 2010).

According to the 2010 Youth Risk Behavior Survey, nearly 23 percent of public high school students in Michigan reported being bullied at school one or more times during the previous 12 months (CDC, 2011). While these statistics reflect school-based bullying experiences, peer-perpetrated events very often occur outside school environments, particularly when accounting for the presence of electronic aggression or cyberbullying behaviors (Turner, Findelhor, Hamby, Shattuck & Ormrod 2011). While concerns about the prevalence and consequences of bullying are valid, an exclusive focus on a deficit perspective, focusing on bullying as a set of problem behaviors to be eliminated and prevented, may be necessary but is not sufficient. Such efforts often frame the issue as a generic youth problem, rather than examining the complex issues surrounding both traditional and cyberbullying through the ecological frame of the intersection of social contexts and youth development. In short this means viewing the solution to the problem of both traditional and cyberbullying as the connection of bullying programs to the internal and external assets of of Positive Youth development (PYD)..

Be SAFE: Addressing Bullying Across Community Settings is an after school program based on Positive Youth Development (PYD), reflecting an ecological, community-wide approach to addressing the complex issues of bullying (Olsen and Pace, MSU Extension and Outreach, 2012). The initiative improves knowledge about healthy and unhealthy relationships and settings while building skills and strategies for addressing bullying behaviors. Be SAFE

involves after school partnerships among adolescents, educators, volunteers, families, and other community members who are involved in a variety of opportunities through the *Be SAFE* curriculum for early adolescents, adult leadership development, parent/caregiver education, collaborations with schools, and other youth and family organizations. Preliminary focus group evaluations of the program (involving youths and cooperating adults) on a variety of dimensions related to bullying and cyberbullying indicated the emergence of successful group processes in both developing specific steps for reducing/preventing cyberbullying (e.g., ensuring cyber safety and awareness among participating parents and youth) and specific collaborations to promote PYD.

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Chapter 11

SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE: POWER OF PEER RELATIONS IN DETERMINING CYBER-BYSTANDER BEHAVIOR

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INTRODUCTION

Social networking sites, such as Facebook, have been described as a “full-fledged friendship lifeline” for young people (Bevan, Pfyl & Barclay, 2012, p. 1458) as they provide a forum to form, maintain, and end friendships (Lodge & Frydenberg, 2007; Sibona & Walczak, 2011). These sites are defined as web-based services that allow individuals to: (a) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (b) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (c) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Across a range of social media platforms, young people around the globe are engaging regularly in online situations similar to the Facebook ‘defriending’ scenario described in Figure 1 (Madden, 2012).

Online social networking sites provide opportunities to add people as friends or innocently or maliciously provide power to remove or delete the person. This process is known as ‘defriending’ in the United Kingdom or ‘unfriending’ in the United States (Bishop, 2012). In these situations, various roles are engaged, including the bully, the victim and, of particular interest in this chapter, the cyber-bystander. Bystanders act in a number of ways: some defend the victim, others reinforce the bully, and many remain uninvolved (Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiuanen, 1996). The rapid emergence and popularity of digital technologies encompasses ever changing social media platforms that come in and out of favor with young people on an ongoing basis. They provide instant visual and audio communication with individuals, groups, and communities, which can include personal friends, family, and

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complete strangers around the world. Once any form of communication is posted, its dissemination can be far reaching and instantly irretrievable. For many, this can have long lasting positive and negative effects. Unfortunately, whilst social media has provided a positive innovation to socialization, business, marketing, and communication, it has prompted the emergence of the phenomenon of cyber-bullying. Extensive research has endeavored to analyze the roles of bullies and victims, and in face-to-face bullying, the role of the bystander has gained focus. Given the large population engaging online in social media platforms, less is known about the cyber-bystander. Who are they? What do they observe or hear? How do they act? What factors influence why they act, how they act, or choose not to react?

Two friends, a girl, Tayla, and, a boy, Sam, are on Facebook chatting. Tayla claims that Katie has been mean to her in class.

Tayla: *OMG did you hear what she said to me 2day?*

Sam: *No like what?*

Tayla: *She was like "if you did ur homework wen u were supposed 2 u'd know the answers in class". She is such a bitch... who the hell asked her.*

As a result, Sam suggests that she should pick on Katie by trashing her Facebook page or posting a gross picture of her. Together they decide to ask all the boys and girls they know to "defriend her". They hoped that Katie would turn up to school the next day with no friends and then everyone would laugh at her for being a 'loser' and she 'will totally lose it'.

Tayla then emails everyone saying:

Hey guys.

So... Sam and I have been talking & we have a heaps funny job 4 u all. Some of u may know that Katie was a total bitch in class 2day & we want 2 get her back 4 being such a mole. I know u guys r just as sick of her bossy, loser ways as I am, so this is wat u need to do.

Delete Katie off ur Facebook account...like... 'defriend' her completely. She won't know till she rocks up 2mrw & finds she has no friends on FB & no friends in class either! Lmao!!

It'll be hilarious & she'll totally lose her shit, which is exactly what she deserves after being such a cow.

Seeya 2mrw...should be awesome.

Bec (Katie's supporter) starts to join in by emailing her support to Tayla; however, before sending her response she thinks better of it. Instead she decides to alert Katie about what is going on.

In relation to this scenario, consider the following:

- What roles do Tayla, Sam, Bec, Katie and the peer group play?
- Who are the bystanders in this situation and how can they help?
- What makes a cyber-bystander help?
- How would you act in a similar situation?
- What might make someone like Bec decide to support Katie?
- What might make others decide to 'defriend' Katie and support Tayla?
- How do social-ecological factors influence cyber-bystander behaviors?

Figure 1. Facebook 'Defriending'.

In this chapter we explore the power of peer relationships as a significant factor in determining cyber-bystander behavior. We particularly focus on factors including: belonging, acceptance, hierarchical power, group norms, agency, social conventions, and friendships.

These elements will be further analyzed in relation to broader, bi-directional interrelations and influences across social-ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Engaging the voice of the young people who are active users of social media and can share first-hand knowledge and perspectives is central to understanding cyber-bystander behaviors. Although it is recognized that Facebook will be replaced by other exciting new iterations of online interaction, the key message of this chapter surrounding the power of peer relations in determining cyber-bystander behavior will have far reaching applications for future social media platforms. We begin by understanding the nature of peer relations, in particular the notion of power.

Power of Peers

The fundamental need to belong can shape and influence behavior (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Osterman, 2000). Belonging to one's peer group plays an important role in young people's academic achievement and more importantly their wellbeing (Dreikers as cited in Charles, 2002). Gaining and maintaining peer acceptance often motivates the way young people act whereby they establish group norms which determine what is considered acceptable by the peer group. These factors subsequently influence bystander behavior.

Peers play a powerful role in young people's lives, but who are they? They are individuals who share similarities, such as age, interests, school, workplace, etc. Although peers can be friends, this is not always the case. Despite this, peers play a significant role in the way that individuals and groups act and behave. Social behavior is never a function of the individual alone, and therefore one often acts differently depending on the company they are in and broader social-ecological influences. As you read this chapter, consider your own perspective and the role that your peers have played in supporting or influencing your behavior.

Early in life, within the microsystem of the home environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), families provide the primary source of social education. However, as young people mature there is a subtle, yet developmentally significant shift toward peers (Rubin, Bukowski & Laursen, 2009). This results in the formation of a separate friendship/peer group microsystem. When seeking understanding, emotional support, companionship and approval, adolescents consistently value friends more highly than parents, highlighting the importance they place on these relationships. At this time, learning occurs from peers, family/caregivers, educators, and significant adults across numerous ecological systems. At the mesosystem level, interactions across the microsystems of home, school, and friendship/peer groups provide complex influences on a young person's development and behavior (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). Within the friendship/peer group microsystem, the power of peers in providing acceptance or rejection influences and shapes young people's behavior. Such experiences and interactions teach lessons about what is and is not acceptable. The establishment and reinforcement of group norms within this microsystem influences bystander behavior, which may subsequently reinforce or inhibit bullying. Of note, it has been found that when peers/bystanders intervene in bullying situations, their actions have been successful in the majority of instances (Rigby & Johnson, 2006). Given such power, peers, regardless of whether bullying occurs face-to-face or online, seemingly hold the key to reducing bullying.

To explore cyber-bullying and the role of the bystander, one needs to draw on an understanding of bullying in any context. Bullies are often motivated by status and dominance, supporting the argument that peer groups are powerful in determining who has the power within

the group (Atlas & Pepler, 1998; Hawkins, Pepler & Craig, 2001; Long & Pellegrini, 2003; Salmivalli, 2010; Sijtsema, Veenstra, Lindenberg, & Salmivalli, 2009; Sutton, Smith & Sweetenham, 1999). In relation to the microsystem of a social media platform, such as Facebook, cyber-bystanders observe and possibly interact to enhance the bully's social status by spreading the word among others that the bully is powerful. From the bully's perspective this reputation, as perceived by others, may be self-fulfilling (DeRosier, Cillessen, Coie & Dodge, 1994; Green, 2014), while for bystanders it may prevent them intervening as they '*wouldn't want to become another target*'. The actions, or lack of actions of members in the peer group, the bystanders, can be seen as supportive, thus reinforcing the bully's behavior and increasing the likelihood of the behavior being repeated (Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Berts & King, 1982; Pikas, 1975; Whitney & Smith, 1993).



Figure 2. Nine year old girl's perception of bullying (Green, 2014).

As depicted in Figure 2, bullying is not isolated to the bully and victim, others are present in the majority of instances (Atlas & Pepler, 1998; Craig, Pepler & Atlas, 2000). Peers play either active or non-active roles with some indirectly or directly supporting the victim or the bully, while others remain uninvolved. To further extrapolate this, Salmivalli and her colleagues (1996) identified various participant roles: the *bully* who instigates the bullying behavior; the *follower* who joins in after the bullying has begun; the *reinforcer* who is not actively involved but reinforces by watching, laughing, and encouraging the behavior; the *outsider* who is completely uninvolved; the *defender* who helps the victim; and the *victim* who is the target of the bullying. These roles provide members of the peer group with a sense of belonging and are often influenced by an individual's emotions, attitudes and motivations. By means of definition, the term 'bystander' suggests that these individuals 'stand by', yet their presence determines

whether bullying continues or not (Price et al., 2014). Empowering bystanders to act has been a major focus not only in education but society in general. Bystanders are more likely to intervene if they have done so before, are pro-victim and hold the belief that others, particularly their friends, would expect them to intervene (McLaughlin, Arnold & Boyd, 2005). So, in the context of cyber-bullying and the scenario provided at the outset of this chapter (Figure 1), how powerful are peers in determining cyber-bystander behaviors and what are the social-ecological influences?

THE PRESENT STUDY

Facebook ‘Defriending’: The Power of Peer Relations in Determining Cyber-Bystander Behavior

‘Defriending’ can have a significant negative impact on victims, particularly if they spend considerable time on Facebook and/or are psychologically invested in it (Bevan, Pfyl & Barclay, 2012). As illustrated in the scenario presented at the beginning of this chapter, ‘defriending’ often occurs among girls and is typically instigated by an offline event, such as Katie’s in-class comment to Tayla (Bevan, Pfyl & Barclay, 2012; Keith & Martin, 2005; Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005). However, boys are not immune to such actions as they too are susceptible to peer influences. To further understand the power of peer relations in determining cyber-bystander behavior, we draw on the voice of 961 students from a metropolitan Australian secondary school, Years 8-12 (mean age of 15 years) and their participation in a University of South Australia research project titled, *Cyber-bystanders: the role of the bystander in cyberspace and cyber-bullying in an Australian context* (Spears, Johnson, Scrimgeour, Geer, Price, & Green, 2010). These young people were asked to respond online to questions after viewing a digital animation of a typical cyber-bullying scenario. This scenario comprised of the Facebook ‘defriending’ situation outlined at the beginning of this chapter. The animation depicted a Facebook chatroom, and displayed text on a computer screen in the same way that it appears in a real chatroom. To help understand what was being typed on the screen, a narrator read the exchange between the parties. Participants’ responses reflected the power of peer relations on cyber-bystander behaviors across ecological influences: individual (e.g., decision making, attitudes, and beliefs), peer group (e.g., relationships, norms, and acceptance), school (e.g., class and whole school programs, values, and teacher perspectives), home (e.g., family values, digital divide), community (e.g., attitudes, bullying initiatives and projects), policies and legislation (e.g., National Safe School Framework, cyber laws), as well as time critical factors (e.g., global events, internet speed and personal/family events). The importance of capturing youths’ voices provides insight into cyber-behavior as a significant number have experienced cyber-bullying as a cyber-bystander (Spears & Kofoed, 2013). For example, after viewing the Facebook ‘defriending’ scenario, students were asked, ‘Are people at your school ‘defriended’ like this?’ Whilst 470 students replied with *never*, 199 replied *once or twice*, 21 stated *2-3 times a month*, 8 identified about *once a month*, and 5 students declared *several times a week*. Given this prevalence and authentic insight, we begin to explore the power of peer relations on cyber-bystander behavior by understanding the roles of the peer group members in this scenario.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

What Roles do Tayla, Sam, Bec, Katie, and the Peer Group Play?

Bullying, whether face-to-face or online, does not occur without an audience. In most bullying situations, there is a bully, victim, and a number of bystanders. Each of these play a role in determining what happens. In the Facebook 'defriending' scenario, Katie is the victim, as she is the target of the bullying, i.e., 'defriending'. Katie's actions were described as being trivial by a number of students who believed that 'defriending' her was a harsh way to act, suggesting that there may be some behaviors that warrant 'defriending'. The bully, in this instance, was Tayla as she instigated the bullying by emailing all the boys and girls that she knew to encourage them to 'defriend' Katie. She is, therefore, considered a 'typical' bully (Björkqvist, Ekamn & Lagerspetz, 1982; Olweus 1978).

Sam, played a dual role, being considered both as a bully and a bystander. As a bully, he is considered a 'henchman' bully as he suggested 'defriending' Katie and supported Tayla's actions (Olweus, 1978, 1991). Henchman bullies rarely instigate bullying but they do join in and become involved. On the other hand, Sam is a bystander, a view supported by 332 students in our research, who identified him as being someone who could have actively stopped the bullying from occurring. Many of these students highlighted that Sam should not have suggested 'defriending' Katie and that he was responsible for what had happened despite not acting. Instead, some believed that he should have discouraged Tayla from acting in a way that would bully Katie and they encouraged him to adopt a more proactive approach by telling Tayla to calm down, such as saying that *'He could have cooled the situation down and realized the consequences'*. Sam also could have actively supported Katie by telling her what was happening; however by doing nothing he was a bystander who enabled the bullying to take place. Some students suggested that he should have encouraged Tayla to send an apology to Katie after the 'defriending'; however this would have done little to stop the bullying at the time. Despite students acknowledging Sam's role in the Facebook 'defriending', very few thought that he would be likely to intervene. Other bystanders who could have intervened included those who received Tayla's request to 'defriend' Katie and others who may have been aware of what was going on, such as friends of friends.

Who Are the Bystanders and How Can They Help?

It is often difficult to identify bystanders, particularly when they are online; therefore accessing the voice of youth who regularly use social media, such as Facebook is important. A number of individuals and groups were identified by students as bystanders in the above scenario.

Friends on Facebook *'didn't have to defriend Katie'* and these friends were identified by the majority of students (n = 583) in the present study as being in the best position to help Katie and stop the bullying. This group of friends hold the power to decide whether to 'defriend' Katie or ignore Tayla's request, therefore influencing the outcome and impact of the bullying. The need to warn Katie about what was going on and support her was raised consistently. Comments, such as *'if everyone was supporting her, Tayla would look stupid'*, highlight the

important, yet complex, role that peers can play in determining who has the power and what the outcome might be. Peers learn social skills and group norms from each other (Rubin, Bukowski & Laursen, 2009). In order to belong and be accepted young people are influenced by what the peer group deems to be appropriate and acceptable behavior. In bullying situations, peers can therefore reinforce the bullying by joining in, supporting the bully, or alternatively they can support the victim or confront the bully about their actions. By telling *'Tayla that her behavior isn't appropriate'*, the peer group is sending a clear message about their group norms. If Tayla desires continued acceptance and belonging within this group, she needs to change her behavior, and thus the *'defriending'* will potentially stop.

Students often take matters into their own hands by either choosing to *'defriend'*, support the victim, or by confronting the bully, as indicated by our findings. Some students, however, choose to deflect their responsibility and instead exercise agency *'by reporting the situation to someone like a teacher or someone of authority'* such as those on Facebook. Mirroring Tayla's behavior, some act by deleting her from their Facebook for being mean.

Bec was identified as a bystander by many students ($n = 370$) in this situation. *'By telling Katie what was happening', 'remaining her friend', and 'not deleting her and standing up for Katie'* were considered important ways of helping. Again, students highlighted that although *'she did help by telling Katie what was going on. She could have taken the next step by having a word to Tayla and telling her that what she was doing was wrong'*. Bec could have also acted further by *'telling everyone not to delete her [Katie]'* as this may have diffused the situation by preventing *'everyone else from 'defriending' her'*. In addition, Bec could have deflected her responsibility to act by *'doing what she did and also reporting it to the people at school' or 'report[ing] it on Facebook'*.

Friends at school were also recognized by students as bystanders in this scenario. This group of friends plays a role in both the online and offline settings, and are known as hybrid bystanders (Price et al., 2014). Regardless of the setting, the onus to act and support Katie was emphasized by students who suggested that friends should *'accept her for who she is and support her the next day'* and *'help Katie when they see her in school'*. These comments highlight the online/offline flow that often occurs in cyber-bullying situations where relationships between the face-to-face and cyber contexts shift and change rapidly (Cross et al., 2009; Price et al., 2014; Spears, in press; Spears, Slee, Owens, & Johnson, 2009). This group of friends were seen as the bystanders who out of all those identified should report the incident to a teacher or another authority figure. Friends at school were deemed to be in a unique position due to their awareness of what occurs in both contexts and they have the power to report it in both the online and offline environments, suggesting that these hybrid bystanders may play a very influential role. Online, these bystanders could also have ignored the message that Tayla sent, while offline they could support Katie either by remaining her friend or telling her what was happening. It was also suggested that these friends should confront Tayla about her request to defriend Katie suggesting that they should *'confront Tayla for being: (a) mean to her classmates, and (b) for her psychologically challenged thinking that 'defriending' people on Facebook would make them have no friends in real life'*. This comment suggests that *'defriending'* someone online has no effect on the offline environment; yet paradoxically bystander behavior appears to have no boundaries as students report that friends at school should support and remain friends with Katie.

Surprisingly, others online were identified by only a few students as bystanders ($n = 139$) and therefore this group was seen as the least likely to intervene. It was suggested that this

cohort should ignore Tayla's request to 'defriend' Katie and/or report the incident to an authority figure.

What Makes a Cyber-Bystander Help?

Bec, as Katie's friend, was considered to be the most likely person to help ($n = 384$). *'Because they are friends'* was continually used to explain why she should help, implying a universal understanding of what is expected of a friend. Friends on Facebook and friends at school were also considered likely to intervene to help Katie. Their role as friends on Facebook (including Bec) was complex as they are recognized as bystanders online and expected to support Katie not only online but also offline at school, supporting the idea that they are hybrid bystanders (Price et al., 2014).

So, why would someone help Katie? Students identified a number of reasons why cyber-bystanders may intervene. Being friends either on Facebook or offline was identified as the main reason that influenced bystander behavior. This highlights both the significance of peer relationships and the complexity that lies within being part of a peer group. Comments, such as *'they are friends on Facebook for a reason, they're her friends'* and *'therefore they would be looking out for her and supporting her'* suggests that certain rules apply among friends. For these students, if *'they are friends ... they have to respect their friend,'* which means *'they would not tolerate Tayla's bullying'* and would *'support her and help her'*. Peer relationships are complex. Young people are often torn between following Tayla's request, maintaining a sense of belonging among peers, or following the social conventions of friendship and supporting Katie.

Doing the right thing and acting morally was also described as a key influence in bystander behavior, suggesting that cyber-bystanders may act because *'they know that it's wrong to do to someone'*. This comment highlights the moral thinking that may underpin cyber-bystanders' thinking. Having empathy for Katie also influenced cyber-bystanders' decision to intervene or not in this Facebook scenario. Descriptions such as *'she knew how it would feel and she didn't want to do that to Katie'* and *'she put herself in Katie's shoes'* consistently supported students' views that feeling sorry for Katie and seeing the scenario from her perspective, helped bystanders intervene. These students made suggestions about how bystanders in this hypothetical scenario might act; however this may not portray how they would act themselves if faced with a similar situation.

How Would You Act in a Similar Situation?

What would you do if you were asked to 'defriend' someone on Facebook? Agency in reporting the incident to a teacher or someone in authority featured consistently in students' responses. While *'teachers have the power in the school'*, *'the Facebook administrator might ban the person who sent the email to make her think she wasn't so clever after all'* therefore, *'by reporting it online you can get higher levels of authority involved hopefully getting the bully in serious trouble and hopefully they won't bully anyone else ever again'*. Students also argued that *'teachers can't control what happens on fb [Facebook] and out of school hours'* and *'it's nothing you can sort out with the teacher it's the people's choice so leave it to them because a*

lot of the time a teacher makes it worse'. Despite good intentions, there were some students who chose not to act because they feared the consequences from their peers and thus these students explained *'by reporting to a teacher, I would stay anonymous to my peers and help resolve the problem'*. This enabled the student to do the right thing without retribution. Others simply would not get involved because *'we'd be targeted if we were on her side'* and they *'wouldn't want to become another target'*.

Gaining or maintaining a sense of belonging and being accepted is a powerful influence on people's actions. For example, students described wanting *'to help my friend but I wouldn't want everyone to hate me'*. In this instance, students may join others in 'defriending' Katie or they may fail to intervene so that they maintain their sense of belonging among their peers. For many, social media is paramount in their lives as it provides a platform to interact with peers and gain a sense of belonging. Yet, for others *'having no friends on Facebook doesn't mean anything at all'* because it is not about *'who are friends with you on fb [Facebook] it's about real life that counts'*. Ensuring that the victim feels a sense of belonging and acceptance can motivate bystanders to act *'so they don't feel they don't have friends and make them feel better'*. Friendship again featured consistently in students' responses, highlighting the complexity and importance of these relationships. Students will act *'because she is my friend'* which demonstrates their understanding of the rules of friendship. Relationships, sense of belonging and acceptance are important to young people and these elements of their life underpin and motivate their actions.

It is argued that one difference between bullies and bystanders is their ability to feel empathy for others (Olweus, 1991; 1994). Understanding what it must be like to be 'defriended' motivates bystanders to intervene *'because they would be heartbroken when they don't have any friends on Facebook'*. Some students feel guilty about what is happening to Katie and therefore they *'help her because I would feel awful that the girls or other students are targeting her and making her feel like a loser'*. The need to *'stand up for what is right because you wouldn't want it happening to you'* was also consistently echoed by students as reasons for intervening in this situation.

What Might Make Cyber-Bystanders Decide to 'Defriend' Katie and Support Tayla?

Despite some young people's empathy for victims, the fun, entertainment, and enjoyment of seeing peer reactions to adverse situations may adversely influence cyber-behavior. For some young people, 'defriending' Katie was *'hilarious'*, whilst others seemingly diffused the seriousness of such action by brushing it off as a *'light hearted joke'*. If peers think the act of 'defriending' is funny, then joining in on such behavior seemingly promotes peer acceptance (Green, 2014). Such *'mob mentality'* described by one participant, identifies how some individuals do not want to *'be accused of ruining'* the fun or being labelled *'stupid'* or *'a loser'*. If everyone else is doing it, then it must be okay. What was noticeable and in contrast to findings by Olweus (1991; 1994), was the lack of empathy in peer responses for how Katie might feel about being 'defriended' or the potential hurt and emotional consequences that it may cause. Whilst a few peers were empathetic, a significant proportion were extremely egocentric in their behavioral decision making in relation to how it might impact on their own social status, particularly their image and recognition from the *'cool'* or *'popular'* people. Young people

described Tayla as the *'coolest in the school'*. Her reputation and status may have influenced cyber-bystander behavior as adolescents, who are highly susceptible to peer influence, and wished to attain social desirability and the status of being *'cool'*. Subsequently, they support the bully's behavior as they are *'not wanting to be seen helping the loser'*.

The importance of belonging to a peer group identified as the *'beautiful people'* (Price et al, 2014), was driven by adolescent desire *'to be part of the crowd'* and not wanting to *'be seen as different'*. Such rationale was reflected in comments stating that they *'wanted to look like everyone else and fit in even if it meant bullying of some sort'*, like *'defriending'* Katie. The peer pressure of conforming to group norms was identified as a key influence on cyber-behavior and may be present as a major reason why cyber-bystanders might support popular people like Tayla and *'defriend'* Katie. Lack of conformity *'risks losing popularity'*, and *'being left out'* with *'fear of losing Tayla as a friend or being shunned by friends'*. Supporting the victim was deemed as *'social suicide'* and *'weak'*, whereas *'defriending'* Katie *'may help somehow in social hierarchy'*. Fear of exclusion seemingly clouded cyber-bystanders' behavioral judgements as *'in society it's all about being in a group and people want to be accepted'*. This raises the issue of the social-ecological factors which influence such societal attitudes and how these can be shifted so that positive cyber-bystander behavior is enacted.

In aspiring to be recognized as part of the cool group, individuals may feel pressured or intimidated to act regardless of whether they perceive the act to be inappropriate, harmful, or against the law. Feeling *'scared'* of the power exercised by someone they aspire to connect with and the ability to be recognized may override moral reasoning whereby they undertake acts, such as *'defriending'* on Facebook.

This notion of power and intimidation creates feelings of being *'afraid'* and not wanting to end up being at the receiving end of the person with power where they become the *'victim'*. They need to be seen to be on the good side of the *'cool'* person, not the *'bad side'* so they are not the brunt of retaliation, physical or mental abuse, or being *'defriended'* on Facebook. *'If you mess with a popular girl she will get all her friends onto you and make your life hell'*. This notion of being *'destroyed'* by such powerful people was an underlying rationale for decisions and behaviors. It created necessity to take sides between Katie and Tayla, with many choosing a safe option of the popular and powerful girl as the retaliation would impact on friendships, inclusion, and becoming a victim of bullying. This feeling of being controlled due to intimidation and being scared was common reasoning for young people in their reasoning for cyber-bystander behavior. And for some, in relation to being *'defriended'*, they were *'just glad it wasn't me'*.

Further reasons for *'defriending'* Katie revolved around *'dislike'* of the victim or lack of *'care'* and in a few cases they *'want to see the victim get hurt'*. This lack of empathy and moral engagement by cyber-bystanders is addressed by Price et al. (2014). For some cyber-bystanders, as in the Facebook *'defriending'* scenario, they *'don't see the potential harm'*, reasoning *'it wasn't that bad'* as their own focus was primarily on social acceptance within the cool group. For others, they argue that there were *'good reasons'* for such actions which promoted *'fairness'* for settling the issues in such a manner. This implies an element of justice being served and that the victim, Katie, deserved being *'defriended'*. *'Because she's been a bitch to all of them and they want to get her back'*. Therefore, *'defriending'* Katie was *'an apt punishment'*. For many adolescents *'defriending'* was just the *'right'* action to take. So in light of these suggested reasons for why cyber-bystanders may choose to become involved in either

positive or negative cyber-bystander behavior, what are the social-ecological influences at play?

SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL INFLUENCES ON CYBER-BYSTANDER BEHAVIOR

The digital revolution has connected people across the globe twenty four hours a day, encouraging a range of interactions, collaborations, and relationships previously unimagined or experienced. ‘The mobile/cell phone has transformed peer groups into a truly networking group’ (Campbell, Butler & Kift, 2008, p. 1). Young people’s continual access to social networking sites creates ongoing decision making about their cyber-behavior and while many display responsible actions, cyber-bullying continues to be a major societal concern. If peer groups are now truly networked and interconnected every second of the day, then in the context of this scenario, to be ‘defriended’ in one setting can and will affect their social worlds. Therefore, for cyber-bystanders to play a productive and pro-active role in social networking forums, such as Facebook, what are the social-ecological factors that influence their behavior?

Within this chapter we have examined the heart of the friendship/peer group microsystem interactions that traverse between the online social networking forum, such as Facebook, and the school microsystem. The influences of peer acceptance, belonging, group norms, hierarchical power, and friendships were suggested to strongly determine the effectiveness of relationships within the microsystem and a cyber-bystander’s subsequent behavior. However the power of peer relations in cyber-bystander behavior was seemingly influenced by a wider range of social-ecological factors which filter into the online social media platform and which we suggest are equally important in advancing initiatives to prevent cyber-bullying.

Home/family life has a significant influence on the attitudes and values that adolescents form. However, the ‘digital divide’ between a young person and their parents may create competing beliefs and knowledge regarding online platforms and the associated behaviors when using them (Pearce, Cross, Monks, Water & Falconer, 2011). Cyber-bystander initiatives of defending victims by reporting incidents such as those highlighted in the ‘defriending’ scenario may be undermined by parents/caregivers who threaten restrictions to young people’s use of technology (Keith & Martin, 2005). When confronted with a range of differing attitudes and values across parent/caregivers, peers and the educational school values and individual classroom teacher’s perspectives, a powerful concoction of conflicting, conforming, and aligning values may emerge. These complex mesosystem interrelations (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) across home, school, and online platforms, may challenge the adolescent in forming their own beliefs and attitudes or upholding them across a range of settings. For example, engaging on a social media platform, the limited presence of authority figures including parents and teachers, may sway cyber-behavior toward peer group norms and socially desirable attitudes.

Further to this, at the exosystem level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) decisions regarding the social media platform design, accessibility, policies and authorization may influence a young person’s actions online. For example, increased access and insecure privacy settings may result in inappropriate use and unsafe online behavior. At the chronosystem level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the impact of time critical factors also influence behavior. Increased internet speed may provide faster capacity to send messages and gain instant replies whereby decision making may

be impulsive when ‘defriending’ someone like Katie, lacking the time needed to think about the consequences.

At the macrosystem level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), policy and legislative decisions aim to influence cyber-bullying and cyber-bystander behavior. In Australia, bullying and cyber-bullying are not considered criminal offences, yet their place in civil law continues to cause debate (Campbell, Butler, & Kift, 2008). As technology diversifies and we learn more about cyber-crimes, this may change. Given these ‘grey areas’ with no distinctive legislation, people continue to bully or act as a bystander who follows, reinforces, or just watches cyber-bullying take place without getting uninvolved, as there is no requirement to do so. Under civil law, schools have a duty of care. Lord Esher, citing the legal case of *Williams and Eady*, described the duty of care of a teacher as being at the same level as ‘a careful father [who] would take care of his boys’ (as cited in Campbell, Butler & Kift, 2008 p. 8). There is also an onus on the victim to report cyber-bullying to authorities as they need to be seen to have taken practical precautions. Victims can sue bullies and school authorities. The most likely outcome is negligence on the school’s part in preventing cyber-bullying (Campbell, Butler & Kift, 2008). Australian schools are required to have anti-bullying policies; however, whether these address cyber-bullying is contentious. Given the rapid technological advancement, many schools are grappling to keep abreast in updating their policies to adequately address cyber-bullying. In addition, given cyberspace has no geographical boundary, it makes it difficult to determine who has jurisdiction (Campbell, Butler, & Kift, 2008). This is compounded by the hybrid bystanders who traverses the online and offline environments, viewing this as only one environment (Price et al., 2014). These mixed and undefined policies underpinning cyber-bullying filter into the online social media platforms creating diverging online behavior. Adolescents who are risk takers may challenge authority by engaging in risky bystander behavior, whilst others may conform. As emphasized through this chapter it could be summarized that the power of peer relations may override some cyber policies.

The school microsystem has been extremely proactive in attempting to educate school communities about positive uses of technology and online behavior. A range of stand-alone school based programs have been implemented; however, these programs are not as effective as whole-school approaches in addressing bullying (Cross et al., 2011; Smith, Schneider, Smith, & Ananiadou, 2004; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). Whole-school approaches are underpinned by an ecological systems approach where bullying is targeted at multiple levels. For example, at the school level, policies aimed at fostering a positive classroom and school ethos, addressing behavior, implementing peer support, and school yard improvements are employed. In addition, initiatives are integrated at the classroom level, home level by engaging and involving parents and caregivers, and an individual level by working with students who are at risk of being victimized or engaging in bullying behavior (Cross et al., 2011). This whole school approach aims to empower all stakeholders while providing an environment where bystanders feel that they can intervene. Such initiatives are supported by the National Safe School Framework’s (Education Services Australia Ministerial Council on Education, Early Childhood Development and Youth Affairs, 2011) whole school approach which ‘provides a vision and a set of guiding principles for safe and supportive school communities that also promote student wellbeing and develop respectful relationships’ (p.2). In essence, applying ‘an ecological perspective can influence everyone’s sense of wellbeing and belonging to a community’ (McCallum & Price, 2016).

CONCLUSION

The power of peers in determining cyber-bystander behavior played a significant role in the eyes of youth. Employing resilience in being confident with ‘well developed positive peer relationships, bouncing back from adverse situations and events’ (Nolan, Stagnitti, Tacket & Casey, 2014, p. 241) was also inclusive of broader social-ecological factors including the role of families and significant others, policies and programs. In responding to the ‘defriending’ scenario, young people (12-18 years) indicated that they would use a number of strategies if they were bullied online. The most common of these was to avoid the person, block them, or report what was happening to an online authority. Secondly, this group indicated that they would look for support from parents. To prevent further escalation, some of these young people said that they would confront the perpetrator (Vandoninck & d’Haenen, 2014). However, for many young people responding to this scenario, their reasoning and decision making of cyber-bystander behavior was influenced by their egocentric desire to belong or be recognized by the dominant ‘popular’ people.

The challenge in addressing cyber-bullying is how to direct adolescent preoccupation of being influenced by their peers (Rubin, Bukowski, & Larsen, 2009) into proactive behaviors which are agential in overcoming hierarchical power, group norms, and social status. Whole-school approaches and broader community initiatives need to promote an increasing understanding of cyber-bullying and advocate positive cyber-bystander behavior as ‘cool’. This is where everyone as a cyber-bystander does more than ignore or report incidences, rather elicits peer power to enact positive online relationships and interactions. For these youth, victims need more than just friends to stand up and counteract cyber-bullying, as everyone plays a role whether within the online social media microsystem or across the broader ecological meso, exo, macro and chronosystem. Remember, social behavior is never a function of the individual, it is influenced by the company they are in and the broader social-ecological influences.

So when reflecting on this chapter, you may wish to consider the following:

- How do you individually behave as a bystander?
- What influences your behavior and attitudes?
- What role can you play in empowering positive and proactive bystander behavior?

AUTHORS NOTE

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Chapter 12

ENGLISH TEACHERS AND CYBERBULLYING: A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF THE STAKEHOLDERS' PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCE OF THE PHENOMENON

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter is intended to provide an understanding of cyberbullying among young people from teachers' perspective. Academic research into this topic is relatively recent; however, due to the increased usage of computers and mobile phones by young people, cyberbullying has attracted a lot of interest and media attention (Ybarra & Mitchell 2004; Patchin & Hinduja 2006; Li 2007; Kowalski et al., 2008; Shariff 2008; Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, Fisher, Russell & Tippett 2008; Sourander et al., 2010). Whilst using mobile phones and computers for communication purposes has many advantages, it can also bring some negative experiences, such as unwanted aggressive messages (e.g., Smith et al. 2008; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput 2008), flaming (e.g., Smith et al., 2008), happy slapping (e.g., Smith et al., 2008), and sexting (e.g., Spears, Slee, Owens & Johnson 2009).

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the vital role teachers play in the prevention and management of cyberbullying. Throughout the chapter, the importance of understanding teachers' perceptions of cyberbullying is emphasized as the necessary first step to help them develop a good recognition of bullying and develop the skills needed to deal with it. Consideration is first given to cyberbullying in the global research context (i.e., the conceptualization, the prevalence, the outcomes) to help the reader appreciate the importance of this work on a wider scale, not only in the United Kingdom, where the research project is based. Following this, research undertaken by the authors is presented. Based on in-depth

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interviews with 28 teachers (18 females (64%) and 10 males (36%)) from 5 different schools from the West Midlands region in England, the research was able to capture teachers' perceptions of cyberbullying, their understanding of its impact on young people's health and lives, their readiness to act when incidents of cyberbullying take place, and finally the support the teachers voiced they need to help them prevent and manage cyberbullying within educational settings (Marczak 2014). In conclusion the chapter highlights the value of Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework (1979) when evaluating current and future interventions aimed at cyberbullying prevention and management.

WHAT IS CYBERBULLYING?

Cyberbullying refers to bullying and harassment of others using new electronic technologies, the most popular being the internet and mobile phones (Ybarra & Mitchell 2004; Patchin & Hinduja 2006; Kowalski et al., 2008; Shariff 2008; Smith et al. 2008; Sourander et al., 2010). New technologies, such as personal computers and mobile phones, have become omnipresent in our society (Kowalski et al., 2014). Research conducted by the EU Kids Online network in 2011 indicated that 60% of 9-16 year old internet users in Europe go online daily, and a further 33% go online at least weekly, with 49% using the Internet in the privacy of their bedrooms. The Internet is used by adolescents on a daily basis and research shows that the majority of 'online youths' are using it to send e-mail or instant messages (Livingstone, Ólafsson & Staksrud 2011). Other popular uses reported among those surveyed include school-related research, obtaining news information, getting information about movies, music, and television, and looking up health information (Kanuga & Ronsenfeld 2004). With somewhere between 75% and 83% of adolescents having Internet access at home, and nearly all having access at school, the vast majority of them are able to go online whenever they like.

These numbers paint a picture of how new technologies are used by youths, both in and out of schools, and although appropriate use of the Internet can enhance student learning, these new technologies also increase the likelihood of using them for negative purposes, such as cyberbullying (Patchin & Hinduja 2006). The anonymity, the lack of supervision in chat rooms, and the possibility of being able to contact others anytime, anyplace, are all purported to contribute to increased opportunities for cyberbullying. Although the majority of cyberbullying incidents take place outside educational settings, they involve school and usually classroom-based relationships (Slonje & Smith 2008). It has been reported that despite the rates of traditional bullying decreasing in many countries, the rates for cyberbullying incidents seem to either be stable or increasing. This may be due to the fact that technology continues to develop (e.g., the appearance of smart phones) and that social networking sites have been increasing in popularity among young people (Rigby & Smith 2011).

A review of literature suggests that although this area of research has recently become very popular there is still considerable amount of unanswered questions (Slonje & Smith 2008). To date the extent research has focused on providing information on the phenomenon, clarifying issues of measurement, and exploring its impact and implications (Smith & Sittichai 2009). Tokunaga (2010) highlighted the need for research to further define and conceptualize cyberbullying to reduce methodological problems in future studies.

CONCEPTUAL DEFINITIONS

Similar to traditional bullying, there is no universal definition of cyberbullying available. The earliest studies adopted existing definitions of school bullying proposed by Olweus (1993) and adapted these definitions to the online environment. Some of these definitions have been accepted by the researchers investigating cyberbullying and they are currently being used in studies conducted across the world (Marczak & Coyne 2015).

As previously discussed, few problems exist when defining traditional bullying and these have to be considered when defining cyberbullying. The definition of traditional bullying includes intended or purposeful harmful behaviors or acts which need to be repetitive in nature and includes a victim who is 'weaker' either physically or mentally than his/her perpetrator(s). As cyberbullying is a type of bullying, all of those aspects should apply to it as well. Although all of the cyberbullying definitions used in studies accentuate the essential aspects of cyberbullying (i.e., the intention to harm, repetition, and power imbalance between victim and perpetrator) and these components are widely accepted (Dooley, Pyzalski & Cross 2009), they still rise some controversy among researchers (Necentini, Calmaestra, Schultze-Krumbholz, Scheithauer, Ortega & Menesini 2010).

Intention

Some researchers have argued that because of the indirect nature of cyberbullying it is very difficult to establish the intention of this behavior (Menesini & Nocentini 2009; Slonje & Smith 2008). This stance was followed by other researchers challenging the importance of the intention to cause harm aspect within the definition of cyberbullying (Langos 2012; Nocentini et al., 2010). They argued that at times even when messages were sent as a joke and not meant to harm, they affected the victim in the same manner. Therefore, it was suggested that the criterion used should be the victim's perception of the perpetrator's intention and the impact the message(s) had on the victim (Grigg 2010).

Repetition

Langos (2012) argued that a single act of aggression is not sufficient to be classed as a direct form of cyberbullying, and that the negative behavior has to happen on more than one occasion, making this criterion similar to traditional bullying. However, in circumstances where a perpetrator posts an electronic communication in a public forum, a public blog, or creates a 'hate page' (i.e., in the act of indirect cyberbullying), it is no longer necessary for the victim to prove a course of behavior to satisfy the criterion of repetition. In such circumstances even one single act can have infinite scope in terms of the velocity with which it propagates and/or is being accessed by a large volume of people. Moreover the message, page, or blog can be saved and then accessed at a later point in time and/or re-posted. This means that others can repeat the original perpetrator's single act of behavior and that the victim may experience it repeatedly (Menesini & Nocentini 2009). Hence, as the victim can be harmed repeatedly by one single act

of cyberbullying, the traditional repetition criterion does not automatically have to be met (Marczak 2014).

Power Imbalance

Power imbalance is pervasive within definitions of traditional bullying, as physical bullying often involves a larger individual exerting his/her physical power over a smaller or weaker individual (Atlas & Pepler 1998). However, in an online environment, the perpetrator's physical size does not make any difference, as even the smallest and physically weakest individual can engage in cyberbullying. Instead, it is the nature of the power that is different, as those who are more technologically savvy seem to hold the power (Law, Shapka, Hymel, Olson & Waterhouse 2012). Cyberbullies think of themselves as better Internet experts in comparison with those who do not cyberbully others and students who had more advanced Internet skills were more likely to experience deviant Internet and mobile phone activities (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput 2008; Ybarra & Mitchell 2004). This technological power is also characteristic of virtual worlds, such as Second Life. Chesney, Coyne, Rivers, and Madden (2009) concluded that a virtual world is a specific environment in which those with a greater expertise may become more powerful than others and therefore these individuals have more opportunity to intentionally harm others.

Examining this issue from the victim's perspective, Dooley, Pyzalski and Cross (2009) argued that power in an online environment is based on the victim's lack of power and not necessarily on the perpetrator's possession of power. They believed that as the material exists in cyberspace, the environment itself makes it more difficult to remove or to avoid it as it can be circulated, saved, reposted, or edited and amended by people other than the original perpetrator, which in turn can make the victim feel more powerless (Dooley, Pyzalski & Cross 2009).

Defining cyberbullying may not be as clear cut as defining traditional bullying. The debate on how and whether to adopt the criteria of intention to harm, repetition, and power imbalance associated with traditional bullying definitions continues (Marczak 2014).

DIFFERENT FORMS OF CYBERBULLYING

Smith et al. (2008) identified seven types of cyberbullying, depending on the type of technology used:

- Text message bullying
- Picture/video clip bullying (including taking a picture or a clip of someone using a mobile phone camera and then sending it to others or uploading it on a website as well as happy slapping – a physical attack on a person which is filmed by others but with the full knowledge of the perpetrator)
- Phone call bullying (includes silent or abusive calls)
- Email bullying (includes sending or receiving abusive emails)
- Chat-room bullying (being abusive or being abused whilst using chat rooms)

- Instant messaging bullying
- Bullying via websites (includes creating a hate page which contains abusive information direct to a specific person or uploading abusive information on an already existing hate page).

Cyberbullying can also take different forms of behavior, and although several studies investigated its different forms, Willard (2006) proposed a categorization, which included a formal definition for each form of behavior:

- Flaming – “sending angry, rude, vulgar messages” (p.1) to a person or to an online group
- Harassment – “repeatedly sending offensive messages” (p.1) to a person
- Cyberstalking – “repeatedly sending threats of harm or highly intimidating messages” (p.1)
- Denigration (put-downs) – “posting untrue or cruel statements” (p.1) about a person to other people
- Impersonation – “pretending to be someone else to make that person look bad or place in danger” (p.1)
- Outing and Trickery – includes “posting material that contains sensitive, private information about another person” and engaging “in tricks to solicit embarrassing information that is then made public” (p.1)
- Exclusion – “intentionally excluding a person from an online group” (p.1).

Rivers and Noret (2010) listed ten categories of behavior. These included threats of physical violence, abusive or hate-related and/or homophobic name calling, death threats, threats to family/home, menacing chain messages, threats to damage existing relationships, ending of platonic relationship, sexual acts, and demands/instructions. Slonje, Smith and Frisen (2013) also acknowledged other modes of cyberbullying, such as sexting (which includes distributing sexualized images using mobile phones or the Internet without a person’s consent), trolling (i.e., uploading or posting persistent abusive comments on a website), and grieving (i.e., harassing someone in an online game or virtual world). In summary, a variety of cyberbullying has been studied through delineating types of behavior and the media used.

Langos (2012) has also made a distinction between what constitutes direct and indirect cyberbullying. As such, direct cyberbullying takes place in the private domain and involves electronic communications from the perpetrator and targets solely the victim. It may encompass a perpetrator making direct phone calls to a victim’s mobile phone, sending e-mails to a victim’s personal e-mail account, or sending SMS messages to a victim’s mobile phone. Indirect cyberbullying occurs in the public online space and it includes material that has been uploaded onto a webpage and is easily available, such as posting in a public forum or a public blog.

PREVALENCE RATES

Previous research investigating the prevalence rates of cyberbullying among adolescents has primarily focused on two categories of involvement, i.e., cyber-victims and cyberbullies

(Marczak & Coyne 2015). The prevalence rates of cyberbullying found in these studies ranged from 10% to 72% (Hinduja & Patchin 2008; Hoff & Mitchell 2008; Juvonen & Gross 2008; Mishna, Cook, Gadalla, Daciuk & Solomon 2010). Research carried out for the Anti-Bullying Alliance (ABA) found that 22% of 11-16 year olds in their sample had been a victim of cyberbullying (Smith & Shu 2000; Smith, Mandavi, Carvalho & Tippet 2005). The MSN cyberbullying report (2006) found that 11% of UK teens had experienced cyberbullying. River and Noret's (2010) four-year study investigating cyberbullying found that 15% of the 11,227 participating children had received nasty or aggressive text messages and emails, and that there was a year-by-year increase in the number of children who were being cyberbullied. Results from studies conducted as part of the Department for Children Schools and Families' (DCSF; 2007a) cyberbullying information campaign found that 34% of 12-15 year olds reported that they were cyber victims.

Kowalski et al. (2014) suggested that the discrepancy in reported rates of cyberbullying may depend on the most popular method of online communication used by the sample at the time of the research being conducted. The various methodologies used within the studies conducted to date make it difficult to compare rates of cyberbullying across countries and over time. Moreover, some studies used a very specific time frame (e.g., within the last year) when asking students about when a cyberbullying incident took place, which could have led to the results showing reduced cyberbullying prevalence rates (Ybarra 2004; Williams & Guerra 2007; Wolak, Mitchell & Finkelhor 2007; DeHue, Bolman & Vollink 2008; Ybarra & Mitchell 2008). Other researchers did not use a time frame and reported higher rates of cyber-victimization (Raskauskas & Stoltz 2007; Hoff & Mitchell 2008; Juvonen & Gross 2008; Mishna et al., 2010).

Moreover, Slonje, Smith and Frisen (2013) acknowledged that in many of the studies on prevalence rates reported a different number of media used among the participants. For example, Smith et al. (2008) included seven (i.e., mobile phone calls, text messages, picture/video clip bullying, e-mails, chatroom, instant messaging, and websites), Hinduja and Patchin (2010) used nine, and Wachs and Wolf (2011) investigated five types of technology. Furthermore, it is important to note that with the emergence of smart phones, different online communication media can be accessed using a single mobile phone (Marczak & Coyne 2015).

Although the majority of the studies published to date were conducted in one country some attempts have been made to compare the cyberbullying phenomena across different countries within a specific timeframe. These included three international projects such as the European Daphne Programme (with three countries cooperation: Italy, Spain and England), EU Kids online (thirty three countries), and COST Action ISO801 (thirty countries in total) (Marczak & Coyne 2015).

The majority of the studies conducted to date employed quantitative methodology, exploring the phenomenon of cyberbullying through online or face-to face questionnaires (Li, Smith & Cross 2012). Whilst they use different self-assessments (i.e., global item assessment versus specific item assessment), these approaches have their own limitations, which may explain the differences in reporting prevalence rates of cyberbullying (Gradinger, Strohmeier & Spiel 2010; Marczak 2014).

AGE AND GENDER DIFFERENCES

Although cyberbullying occurs among people of all ages in varying degree, most research examining this phenomenon has been conducted on children and adolescents (Tokunaga 2010). Findings have differed with regards to age, with some studies indicating a significant relationship between age and cyber-victimization (e.g., DeHue et al., 2008; Hinduja & Patchin 2008; Kowalski & Limber 2007; Slonje & Smith 2008; Ybarra, Diener-West & Leaf 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell 2008) and others reporting no association (e.g., Beran & Li 2007; Didden et al., 2009; Juvonen & Gross 2008; Katzer, Fetchenhauer & Belschak 2009; Patchin & Hinduja 2006; Smith et al. 2008; Varjas, Henrich & Meyers 2009; Wolak et al., 2007; Ybarra 2004).

Although it appears that gender is an important factor influencing cyberbullying, inconsistent findings have also been reported regarding gender differences (Hinduja & Patchin 2010; Keith & Martin 2005; Smith et al. 2008; Tokunaga 2010). Keith and Martin (2005) proposed that since cyberbullying is similar to relational forms of traditional bullying, and because girls engaged in more relational bullying, then girls would be more likely to be cyberbullies. However, while some studies (e.g., Rivers & Noret 2010) have shown that girls were more involved than boys, some (e.g., Calvete, Orue, Estevez, Villardonm & Padilla 2010; Fanti, Demetrium & Hawa 2012) have indicated that boys were more involved than girls, and others (e.g., e.g., Livingstone, Haddon, Gorzig & Olafsson 2010; Smith et al., 2008) report no significant gender differences. The inconsistencies regarding age and gender differences may be due to different samples or methodologies used across the studies (Slonje et al., 2013).

RISK FACTORS

A considerable amount of studies have tried to identify risk factors associated with cyberbullying, with the emphasis being placed on demographic and behavioral factors. Sparse research has investigated the predictors of cyberbullying and their similarities and differences to those associated with traditional bullying (Marczak & Coyne 2015). Research however has shown that intensive use of the Internet emerged as a risk factor for cyber-victimization (Wolak et al., 2007). Initial investigations from the USA (e.g., Ybarra & Mitchell 2004; Patchin & Hinduja 2006; Willard 2006) and Canada (e.g., Li 2006) have shown that children and adolescents who enter chatrooms are subject to psychological stress and aggressive behaviors from other chatroom guests. Other predictive factors of cyber-victimization include location of the computer at home and a lack of awareness of the risks involved in going online (Hinduja & Patchin 2009; Sengupta & Chaudhuri 2011). Furthermore, Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) showed that students who were victims of school bullying were more likely to be cyberbullies. However, Raskauskas and Stoltz's (2007) study did not support these results as they found that victims of traditional bullying were not more likely to cyberbully others, but rather to also be cyber-victims. Their results also showed that those students who were traditional bullies were more likely to have been bullied and to perpetrate cyberbullying.

OUTCOMES OF CYBERBULLYING

Cyberbullying causes harm which appears to be comparable to that caused by traditional bullying (Gradinger, Strohmeier & Spiel 2009; Smith & Slonje 2010). Thus, cyberbullying presents a legitimate cause for concern by schools, teachers, and parents. In comparison to traditional bullying, the impact of cyberbullying experiences has been evaluated in fewer studies. Some have assessed the impact of cyberbullying by comparing its effects with those of traditional bullying. In the most frequent approach used, students were asked about what forms of aggression (face-to-face or online) seem more damaging. Findings suggested that the impact depends on the form of cyberbullying (Smith et al., 2008). Some types of cyberbullying (such as insults and threats) are perceived as less harmful than traditional bullying, whilst others, especially ones using images or videos and with an element of blackmail, are considered more damaging. Ortega et al. (2012) suggested that as the perceptions differ between countries, the impact of cyberbullying may be dependent on the cultural importance given to social relationships that started in cyberspace.

The second approach focuses on the correlates of cyber-victimization. These studies found that the negative outcomes of cyber-victimization, such as lower achievement scores adjustment problems (e.g., depression, social anxiety), and low levels of self-esteem, are similar to those found for traditional bullying victimization (Ortega et al., 2009; Ortega et al., 2012; Tokunaga 2010).

Recent literature on children and adolescent samples showed that cyber-victimization can lead to serious physical, social, and psychological problems (e.g., Finkelhor, Mitchell & Wolak 2000; British Broadcasting Corporation 2006). These studies encompass psychological problems (e.g., Didden et al., 2009; Katzer et al., 2009) and emotional difficulties (e.g., Raskauskas & Stolz 2007; Katzer & Fetchenhauer 2007). Other research showed that cyber-victims are at a higher risk for internalizing adjustment problems (e.g., Gradinger et al., 2009), developing mental health problems (e.g., Brighi et al., 2012), misusing illicit substances (e.g., Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen & Brick 2010), and developing eating disorders (e.g., DeHue, Bolman & Vollink 2008). The direst outcome of cyberbullying is suicide (Hinduja & Patchin 2010).

Furthermore, cyberbullying was linked with a decline in academic performance (e.g., Katzer et al., 2009; Rothon, Head, Klineberg & Stansfeld 2011), not being able to concentrate (e.g., Beran & Li 2005; Juvonen & Gross 2008), decline in school attendance (e.g., Wolak, Mitchell & Finkelhor 2006; Ybarra et al., 2007), lower school commitment (e.g., Ybarra & Mitchell 2004), and a negative school climate (e.g., Williams & Guerra 2007).

BACKGROUND FOR CURRENT STUDY

Research on bullying indicated that the school community plays an important role in bullying-related issues, as teachers, often the first adults dealing with student behaviors, play a significant role in addressing bullying. Teachers' awareness of this issue together with commitment to involve themselves in bullying prevention and management can reduce bullying by 50% (Boulton 1999; Olweus 1991). Given that teachers' behavior is affected by their

perceptions and beliefs, understanding their perceptions is a necessary first step to help them develop a good recognition of bullying and the skills needed to deal with it (Siu 2004).

The close connection between traditional bullying and cyberbullying suggests that teachers' beliefs and behavior may significantly contribute to combatting cyberbullying (Li 2008). Although many educational professionals recognize the problem of traditional bullying, only a small number of educators realize that students may be subject to electronic aggression (Smith et al., 2008; Steffgen, König, Pfetsch & Melzer 2011). Thus, more research is needed to investigate cyberbullying from the teachers' perspective.

ECOLOGICAL MODEL

Using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological system, the World Health Organisation (1999; 2002) has adopted an ecological model to understand the multiple causes of aggressive behavior in terms of the constant exchange of risk factors thought to contribute to such behavior and which operate at four different levels (i.e., individual, relationship, family and societal). Sutton and Smith (1999) proposed a parallel method for understanding school bullying. The main aim of Marczak's (2014) research was to construct an approach that would allow for a better understanding of cyberbullying. The four levels of the ecological model as related to school bullying are presented in Figure 1.

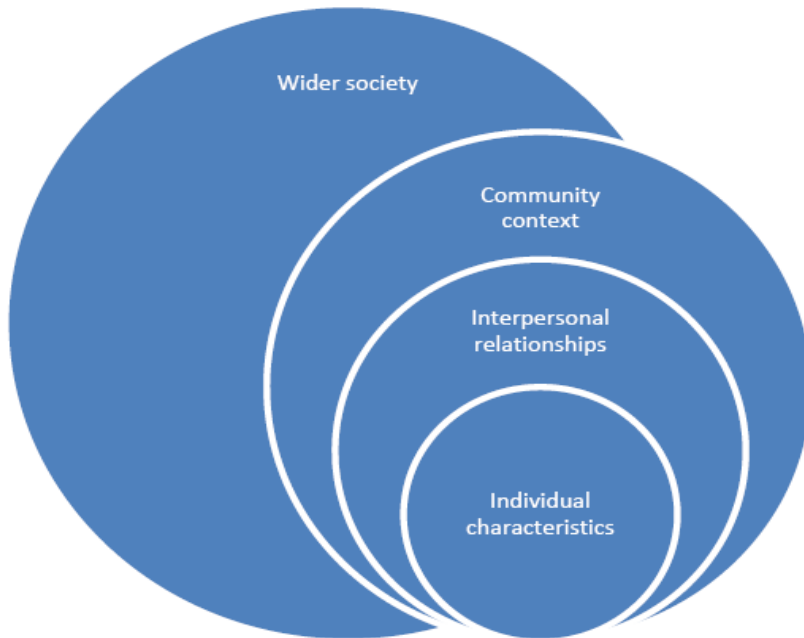


Figure 1. Ecological model for understanding school bullying (adapted from World Health Organisation 2002).

The first level of the ecological model focuses on the personal characteristics of the individual that play a role in the development of victimization or bullying behavior (e.g., the child's temperament). The second level of the model focuses on an individual's interpersonal

relationships (i.e., with their family or friends) and how these may heighten the risk of being victimized or engaging in bullying behaviors. This could include factors such as parenting style (e.g., Baldry & Farrington 2000) and friendship relationships (e.g., Cairns et al., 1988; Pellegrini et al., 1999). The third level of the model examines the community and more precisely the schools and neighborhoods as an ambience in which interpersonal relationships happen and how each of them relate to the risk of victimization or bullying behaviors. The identified risk factors in this level may encompass social circumstances (e.g., the caregivers being of no fixed abode, frequent relocations of the family, and living within a heterogonous population) and economic factors (e.g., high levels of unemployment, likelihood of witnessing crime in terms of getting involved in gangs, guns and drug-dealing activities). Thus, the last mentioned characteristics of an immediate community can penetrate into school communities and act as encouragement for violent attitudes and behaviors. The fourth and last level of the ecological model considers the wider societal factors that may affect the rates of violence. These include the established social and cultural norms supporting violence as an acceptable way of conflict resolution or a solution to a political conflict, undermining child welfare and giving priority to parental rights within a family home and possibly putting the child in danger and supporting male dominance over women and children.

Other societal factors, such as the educational, economic and social policies responsible for the economic or social inequality between groups in society, can also be included at this level (Askew 1989; Carter 2002; O'Moore, Kirkham & Smith 1997).

A lot of research investigating cyberbullying is not theoretical and tends to examine the phenomenon from only one perspective (i.e., victim). Research investigating teachers' perceptions of the cyberbullying phenomena and the importance of safety and support in schools and the effect of these issues on their psychological well-being is presented in this chapter. As the academic interest in bullying has been maintained in the UK since the late 1980s, it was assumed that UK teachers have an awareness of the cyberbullying phenomenon, that they are likely to perceive it as a problem at school, that they were aware of the known effects of cyberbullying on adolescents' well-being, and that they felt confident to deal with cyberbullying incidents if they occurred on school premises.

METHODS AND FINDINGS

This research commenced in 5 different schools from the West Midlands region in England. Twenty-eight teachers [18 females (64%) and 10 males (36%)] participated in semi-structured interviews. The interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis, a flexible and useful tool which can potentially provide a rich, detailed, and yet complex, account of data (Braun & Clark 2013). Thus, the thematic analyzing process, as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2013), began by reading through the answers to the open-ended question and giving interesting features initial codes. The encoding requires an explicit "code." A theme is a pattern found in the information that at the minimum describes and organizes the possible observations or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon. A theme may be identified at the manifest level (i.e., directly observable in the information) or at the latent level (i.e., categorizing issues underlying the phenomenon). A code may be a list of themes; a complex model of themes, indicators, and qualifications that are casually related or something in between these two forms.

A codebook is the compilation or integration of a number of codes in a study. The coding process can briefly be described in two steps: (a) open coding and (b) selective coding. In the open coding process, the interviews were analyzed line by line and broken down into segments reflecting the substance of the data, i.e., the emerging themes. The themes with the same content were grouped together to form more abstract themes. From their accounts, seven codebooks were identified. The codebooks included Internet, Perspicacity, Seen through the eyes of bystander, Threat to self and well-being, Readiness to act, Avoidance and Support (see Table 1).

Table 1. Codebooks with identified main themes and subthemes

	Main themes	Subthemes
	Use	-Educational -Personal
	Access to medium	-Improvement -Hindrance
	Understanding of the phenomenon	-Personal experience -Means -Medium -Technique
	Beliefs about cyberbullying	-Reasons -Dangers -Characteristics
	Consequences for cyber-victim	-Threat to own health -Threat to social life
	Consequences for cyberbully	-At school -In personal life
	Action taken by cyber-victim	-
	Action taken by teacher/ school	-School staff involvement -Organizational characteristics
	Action taken by peer	-
	Cyberbully	-Social immaturity -Emotional disturbance -Lack of perspective taking
	Cyber-victim	-
	Avoidance in accessing support	-
	Factors preventing problem solving	-
	Support	-

The *Internet* codebook, which emerged through the data analysis focused on participants' views in terms of the Internet and the risks and opportunities associated with its use by young people, was linked to three out of the four layers of the ecological model. Results presented in the *Internet* codebook confirmed the increased popularity of Internet-related technologies among young people, with participants commenting on two main reasons for using the net: (a) educational purposes and (b) personal purposes. The educational reasons for using the Internet-related technologies included finding information for school projects, and doing homework.

“We have MyMaths which is a system where students do homework through the internet.” Teacher #8.

The personal reasons for using the Internet-related technologies consisted of continuing communication with friends after schools using social networking sites as well as other activities, such as downloading music or videos, online shopping and gaming. These functions were reflected by one teacher in the context of acceptable Internet-related technologies:

“I think that the use of the internet for students now is predominantly to do with social accepted, or acceptable social networking sites, particularly Facebook.”, Teacher #6.

UK teachers also commented on the differences in terms of access to the Internet that they have noticed in the recent past. They highlighted that the access to internet has improved whilst taking into consideration other aspects, such as speed of connection, price, the amount of the equipment available for use, advances in technology, more products becoming easily accessible on the market, and increased parental awareness of the benefits of Internet and computer. Some teachers reflected on how the usage of technology at home has exploded in recent years.

“I would say it’s really mushroomed in the last three years using the internet I wouldn’t be sure how many of our children would have had access to it prior to that.” Teacher #3.

“It’s more affordable, more parents use it at work so, more parents are aware of internet so you know it’s in more homes now.” Teacher #5.

Moreover, despite noticing so many advantages of computer and Internet use, UK teachers also commented on issues which could still be improved.

“Now we have cuts [loss of connectivity] for very short term in school when the internet goes down.” Teacher #8.

“Now it’s fast you just google whatever you want and there it is. It’s not true everywhere but it’s very good here at school. At my house it’s hopeless because I live out in the countryside, out in the sticks as we call it, and a lot of children live in the sticks too and they will have it very slow as well.” Teacher #18.

Linking the findings presented in the *Internet* codebook with the ecological model of cyberbullying, we suggest that the Internet can be seen as part of the macrosystem (in terms of the wider society factors), which permeates throughout all other layers of the model. Internet-related technologies allow for interaction between individuals, families, schools, and workplaces, and this interaction affects young people’s development. Young people learn how to use technological devices, such as mobile phones or computers, for educational and personal purposes. This impacts the microsystem layer in terms of young people gaining new skills. Young people use social networking sites to sustain relationships with their peers outside of the school environment. They often face parental restrictions on the duration of mobile phones, computers, and Internet use, and they have to cope with sharing the available technologies with their siblings. With time, they gain parental trust to use these Internet-related technologies for basic or school related activities. Hence, the Internet, as part of the macrosystem, affects the

mesosystem layer (e.g., different communication styles, methods of recreation, changes to relationships with siblings and parents), and exosystem layer (e.g., changes to the learning environment).

The *Perspicacity* codebook focuses on the participants' understanding of and beliefs regarding cyberbullying. This section is broken down into two main themes; the first describes the knowledge that teachers had gained regarding the issue of cyberbullying through personal experiences of dealing with cyberbullying incidents or observing one's colleagues managing such incidents. Moreover, this theme showed that UK teachers were aware of how and via which means cyberbullying can be perpetrated, as elaborated by one teacher:

"We've had incidents where...for instance inappropriate photos have been taken at a party, and these have been circulated that's happened on Facebook and on mobile phones."
Teacher #3.

In addition, this theme also emphasized that the UK teachers were able to specify some features of cyberbullying that they have seen or heard about, of which these behaviors were specified in the definitions proposed by scholars. They spoke about cyberbullying taking place during and outside of school, perpetrators' ability to be anonymous, the likelihood that the behaviors can reach a wide audience, and how such behaviors typically involve aggressive language. A teacher reflected on each of these components in the interview:

"I think it's because it's easy, it's much easier than going to somebody face to face and risking being punched in the nose or having something back at you, 'cause even through a computer screen even if somebody is responding to you, you are a step removed from it and it doesn't feel real, does it. It's like a game playing etc. and it's an association that it's not a real world it's a fantasy world." Teacher #14.

Aggressive language was mentioned by participants as one of characteristics of cyberbullying. This finding seemed to support the suggestion of Ybarra et al. (2006) that the content and tone of a message determines if a communication is classified as cyberbullying. UK teachers highlighted that the messages written could at times be ambiguous and difficult to interpret. It may be beneficial to explore this use of language further with young people in order to understand it more fully. A teacher focused on the difficulty of evaluating cyberbullying incidences, especially when teachers cannot understand the language being used:

"We were decoding language that we didn't even understand, we had to ask people what does that mean, 'cause it was like a street talk, I didn't understand it." Teacher #7.

UK teachers viewed cyberbullying as a social activity because communicating via social networking sites is widely popular and an accepted way to communicate among teenagers. Thus, it can be assumed that UK school staff perceive cyberbullying as an issue taking place not only within students' home environment.

The Threat to self and well-being codebook focused on the seriousness of cyberbullying in terms of its impact on students' health and well-being. Feeling stressed and experiencing stress-related physical health problems, feeling low in mood and/or suicidal, and engaging in self-harming behaviors were the consequences of cyber-victimization mentioned by UK teachers. Moreover, they also spoke about the impact of cyberbullying on victims' mental health, with

victims developing depression and eating disorders, and they also referred to the impact on cyber-victims' emotional state, school attendance, and school performance. The following reflects teachers' perceptions of the impact of cyberbullying on victims:

"He gets really frustrated and angry, he comes down to our area and he punches everything possible. He doesn't think anything has changed; this stigma will always stay with him about what these lies have said. And he deals with it in this particular moment he deals with it through anger, he gets really crossed, he shouts and hits things but doesn't hurt anybody else just himself." Teacher #5.

"He got ill, he got stressed, he got mentally ill because he's got very scared he did not want to think about coming back to college in case he would come across her physically, so you know it was more of emotional illness rather than physical but he just got very stressed and upset." Teacher #25.

"One aspect is the student who is being bullied losing confidence and either becoming an attendance issue, we haven't any at the moment but we have students who had an attendance issue." Teacher #8.

Finally, within this codebook, UK teachers reported a factor which has not, to date, been considered in the research literature. These responses focused on the impact of cyberbullying on young people who perpetrate this behavior. The participants highlighted that cyberbullies face a number of consequences at school as well as issues at home in terms of parents imposing restrictions on cyberbullies' access to the Internet.

"There was one student was put in pit, it's an isolation room so he spent a day in a room, they stay there for all the lessons, lunch and break. There is a member of staff in there but they just sit at the table and get on with their work." Teacher #15.

In addition, the participants also discussed the long-term consequences for cyberbullies in terms of the difficulties they may face in adult life with regard to seeking employment whilst having a criminal history record.

"The bully sees the consequences of their behavior the lasting effects of their behavior can be very similar because it can affect their life chances, they can start having difficulties with the police and so on." Teacher #19.

The *Readiness to act* codebook combined methods for preventing and addressing cyberbullying issues in schools and managing cyber-victimization by the victim and victims' peers who had knowledge of the event. A whole school community approach was considered to be required and the need to involve pupils, staff, other schools, parents, and the wider community was highlighted. UK teachers spoke about cyber-victims' access to support from their friends, confronting the perpetrator, retaliating, and seeking support and advice from others, such as their parents, older siblings, and school staff.

"Other students informed me and the girl came to see me because this young man is in my tutor group and people know that he has learning difficulties as well. He is known around college as doing inappropriate things and other students told me about it." Teacher #5.

“He actually went to his tutor and told him about it a little while after, it’s gone on for a few weeks so then he actually went to the tutor and told the tutor.” Teacher #25.

These findings concur with the ways of coping with cyberbullying experiences as identified in the literature. Research indicated that cyber-victims tend to use technological coping strategies, such as changing privacy settings (e.g., Aricak et al., 2008; Juvonen & Gross 2008), user names (e.g., Juvonen & Gross 2008), or email addresses (e.g., Smith et al., 2008) as ways to prevent further cyber victimization. Other active coping strategies employed by young people included confronting cyberbullies (e.g., Aricak et al., 2008; Juvonen & Gross 2008; Patchin & Hinduja 2006), informing parents or other adults about being cyberbullied (e.g., Aricak et al., 2008; DeHue et al., 2008; Slonje & Smith 2007), and consulting friends for advice (e.g., Aricak et al., 2008; DeHue et al., 2008; Slonje & Smith 2007). UK teachers highlighted the measures employed within their workplace to prevent and manage cyberbullying incidents. They spoke about advising students in terms of preventing further cyber-victimization and putting emphasis on the importance of not using whichever platform cyberbullying was taking place.

“I mean you can switch it off, and ultimately that’s our advice, you switch it off, people always I suppose it’s something of use as well I’ve known grown- ups act the same that you worry what people are saying behind your back I think you have to learn not to worry ‘if you can’t hear it it’s not happening’ is my attitude you know. So, my advice to people is to switch off their Facebook don’t let it happen, block people, you don’t have to choose to be complacent in that.” Teacher #3.

Moreover the findings within this general theme also highlighted that school staff had considered their responses to cyberbullying incidents in both proactive (e.g., teachers attending training focusing on cyberbullying, holding regular school assemblies for students to disseminate knowledge about cyberbullying) and reactive terms (e.g., contacting parents of students’ involved in an incident as well as police, other agencies, or professionals). UK teachers also reported focusing primarily on policy development and training for students, school staff, and parents, and declared that working with students on developing their understanding of how to stay safe online and what behaviors constituted cyberbullying.

“I think certainly with the Facebook stuff we get a lot of parents complaining this has happened on Facebook that has happened on Facebook, we try to speak to parents a lot about that and what they can do to stop that happening.” Teacher #3.

“We do intra training, not actually for staff, but we do like advice evenings where we are getting people like from Barnardos to talk to parents about how to protect children as well.” Teacher #3.

Although a mobile phone ban was discussed by UK teachers as a possibility, they felt that it would not solve the problem of perpetrating cyberbullying behaviors. Thus, the results showed a differing reaction to new Internet technologies available in schools, with some educational establishments choosing to ban mobile phones and others highlighting that this would not be realistic due to the amount of technology which is used within the schools. This latter view seems to support the suggestion of the Byron Report (2008), which indicated that,

rather than viewing technology as causing harm, it would be beneficial to equip students with skills allowing them to remain safe in the digital world. It could, therefore, be argued that rather than banning technology on school premises, a greater emphasis should be placed on using the equipment responsibly with support from staff.

The *Seen through the eyes of bystander* codebook described a cyber-victim and a cyberbully as perceived through the eyes of others. UK teachers believed that words such as shy, lonely, and companionless provide an accurate description of a cyber-victim. Participants also agreed on a number of negative features which characterize a cyberbully. These portrayed cyberbullies as lacking an understanding of the impact of their behavior and which the behaviors cyberbullies perceived as normal. Previously reported findings suggested that a factor in cyberbullying behavior may be the impersonal nature and the anonymity offered by the medium, resulting in bullies not understanding the consequences of their actions – a factor which would also appear to be supported by findings reported in the *Perspicacity* codebook (Englander & Muldowney 2007).

“Because it is so easy for them to do it through a screen. I think sometimes the students don’t realise how much hurt it causes when they do it via a screen. They just put their thoughts down without thinking about the consequences whereas they’d never actually say that to that person’s face or they don’t understand how people could be upset by it. I think they’re too much in this virtual world sometimes and they just forget about the real consequences unfortunately.” Teacher #12.

UK teachers also indicated that perpetrating cyberbullying may be used as a maladaptive coping mechanism, fulfilling a need to feel in control or to attract attention if the perpetrator had difficulties coping with problems at home.

“I think it’s quite complicated about the reasons why people would do it but generally I think it’s a sense of having to one over somebody else or being able to manipulate somebody else and the sense of power that comes with it.” Teacher #14.

Therefore, school staff could play an important role when working with students to enable them to understand the real emotional and psychological impact cyberbullying can have. As dealing with such issues in a school context required considerable tact and discretion, future research should consider how these incidents could be dealt with most effectively in the future.

The *Avoidance* codebook focused on exploring reasons why young people tend not to report being cyberbullied. These have been divided into two main groups: (a) reasons for avoiding reporting cyber-victimization, and (b) factors for preventing effective problem-solving, which in turn could impact victims’ readiness to act in such circumstances. Doing nothing in response to being victimized has been infrequently employed by victims (Patchin & Hinduja 2006). In terms of cyberbullying, this may be more complex, as current findings suggest that students are reluctant to report cyber-victimization to teachers, parents, or police for fear of retribution from the bully and other students. Previous research indicated that school staff were the least chosen adults to report cyber-victimization to (Kowalski et al., 2008; Slonje & Smith 2008). Young people’s reluctance to approach parents or teachers for support (presents an interesting conundrum in the literature (Kowalski et al., 2008; Marczak 2014; Slonje & Smith 2008). In theory, positive family relationships and the ability to seek and receive support from adults should help young people deal with difficult situations. However, UK teachers

highlighted that young people may not want to seek help hoping that they would be able to manage it themselves or may be afraid of the adults' reaction.

"Although quite interestingly enough a lot of students don't want to tell their parents because they know perfectly well that they have been involved in it themselves when someone called them names or whatever." Teacher #6.

"They seem to be reluctant to seek help at the early stage, they seem to just want to put it off and deal with it themselves, don't want to tell anyone." Teacher #24.

"They are probably scared of talking about it because they are scared of looking like this person who is talking to a teacher, you know like telling the teachers they may look a bit wet or something so they may be scared of telling us." Teacher #28.

Therefore, if schools are expected to become involved and work collaboratively with parents in managing cyberbullying incidents, they would have to do so very carefully. Furthermore, findings suggest that there is a real possibility of students being confused about who to approach should such incidents occur. They might also not be confident that others are able to help them. This is an area which requires significant consideration from parents, school staff, and young people themselves, particularly given the fact that schools are already struggling with the increases in workload in terms of the national curriculum and the lack of time to teach.

The *Support* codebook focused on suggestions made by UK teachers, which they would like to be employed within schools and their wider communities. Their hope is that this information can be used to further cyberbullying prevention and management. Having a designated member of staff who deals specifically with cyberbullying incidents, having access to more information or training on e-safety (which would include cyberbullying), and raising parents' awareness of this phenomenon were commonly reported in the interviews.

"We educate students, maybe we could do more with parents. We had two parents invitation evenings in the last 5 years for when we've had internet bullying people presenting. In the first night we've had four parents and then in the follow up we've had six parents out of about 500 students so a 1000 roughly parents." Teacher #8.

UK teachers wished for further direction from the central government on managing cyberbullying incidents by school staff and ISPs to act more responsibly by way of monitoring online traffic.

"I think, maybe this is on a magical wish list but what I really want to see is some direction from the central government to give legal clarity as to what we can and can't do. We've recently had clarity from the government in conjunction with the police about dealing with drug related incidents, very clear guidelines. With regards to bullying it's, cyberbullying is still attached to your bullying policy which we have and all schools have." Teacher #6.

This highlights difficulties faced by UK teachers when managing cyberbullying incidents. The presented above results also highlight the implications of cyberbullying in terms of safeguarding students in the schools and the barriers encountered by staff in order to be able to

carry out this function and a need to involve the wider community for successful management of cyberbullying incidents.

DISCUSSION

These findings highlight that raising awareness among adults needs to continue. Adults (i.e., school staff and parents – representing the exosystem and the mesosystem in the ecosystemic framework) are responsible for creating environments in which young people's capacities and competencies for healthy relationships can be promoted and in which opportunities for negative peer interactions are minimized (Craig & Pepler 2007). When adults are aware of young people's interpersonal interactions, they can help them protect themselves against cyber-victimization, seek support during a cyberbullying incident, and minimize the re-occurrence of cyber-victimization. However, to be able to do this, young people need to understand that cyberbullying is not just a school staff problem and that parental involvement together with help from the wider society (statutory and regulatory organizations, representing the macrosystem) are essential requirements of intervention programs.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of ecological systems provides a framework for conceptualizing cyberbullying. It states that human development is affected by several ecological systems. Bronfenbrenner's model has been adapted to explain a wide range of social problems, such as childhood obesity (e.g., Opalinski 2006), and postpartum depression (e.g., Garfield & Isacco 2009). Bronfenbrenner's model has also been adapted by the World Health Organisation (1999; 2002) to understand the multiple causes of aggressive behavior. Moreover, it also has been used by Swearer and Espelage (2004) to explain traditional bullying, which is a result of complex interactions between individual factors and social environments (i.e., family, peers, school, community, culture).

The ecological model proposed in this chapter consists of four interrelated systems, encompassing a number of factors or events with regards to cyberbullying, cyber-victimization, and cyberbullying prevention and management. The four systems include:

- the microsystem - individual characteristics of cyberbully and cyber-victim, such as age, gender and individual differences that increase the likelihood of being a cyberbully or a cyber-victim;
- the mesosystem - interpersonal relationships such as parent-child relationships, home difficulties, and peer relationships, and associated social support;
- the exosystem - school community context such as school environment, school climate, and teacher-student relationship;
- the macrosystem - wider society, such as cultural norms and beliefs, media portrayal of violence, media industry, usage of IT for educational and personal purposes, access to mediums, community environmental factors, and intervention programs.

Micro, meso, exo, and macro systems all interact with each other from the beginning of a child's life. This begins with the family house, and then extends to those factors influencing the child outside of the home. According to this model (i.e., Bronfenbrenner 1975), the growing

child is affected by the immediate surrounding environments, adult and peer interactions, and later on societal influences as well as the interactions between these environments.

MICROSYSTEM - LEVEL 1: INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CYBERBULLY AND CYBER-VICTIM

The first level of the model focuses on individual characteristics, such as such as one's personality, behavior, and motives. Individual factors of the young person will impact on his or her involvement in cyberbullying. Participating teachers listed a number of characteristics that, in their opinion, describe the cyber-victim and the cyberbully. They agreed that in terms of a cyberbully these characteristics included a lack of empathy, perspective taking skills, and using maladaptive coping strategies to deal with problems. A cyber-victim was, on the other hand, perceived as quite a lonely and introverted person, outside of a peer group, not willing or not able to defend oneself, and would not retaliate. In addition, UK teachers spoke about young people having better access to the Internet and their increased ability to use it for longer periods of time as well as for different activities. Whilst the lack of knowledge in terms of securing passwords or appropriate privacy settings highlights the need for further IT training for young people in terms of cyberbullying prevention, the use of maladaptive coping strategies on behalf of the cyberbully shows more needs to be done to support the perpetrator in terms of developing pro-social skills. Moreover, these results suggest show that the level of knowledge and understanding of cyberbullying has increased among young people and their teachers.

Mesosystem - Level 2: Interpersonal Relationships

The second level of the model focuses on an individual's interpersonal relationships (i.e., with their family or friends) and how these may heighten the risk of being victimized or engaging in bullying behaviors. They, therefore, included parent-child relationships and possible family home difficulties (e.g., parental divorce, parental violence), and negative or positive peer relationships. The child's individual characteristics (one microsystem), family home (one microsystem), and the peer group (another microsystem) interact together creating a mesosystem.

Regarding the family context, UK teachers explained that cyber-victims may be afraid of their parents' reaction as it may lead to further consequences being imposed by the parents. They had the opinion that victims' decision to inform their parents would depend on the relationships within the family home. They felt that more positive parent-child relationship would encourage children to talk to the parent about a cyberbullying incident.

In relation to the mesosystem layer of the model and cyberbullying, these findings are interesting as they imply that young people choose to confide in each other as they can rely on sufficient and effective support from their peers. This needs to be carefully monitored, as Kowalski et al. (2008) suggested that if school staff do not respond to the incidents, this can lead to students having less empathy for the cyber-victim. Moreover, as increasingly more young children are involved in cyberbullying, the possibility exists that the social skills necessary to support their peers when needed may not be sufficiently developed.

EXOSYSTEM - LEVEL 3: COMMUNITY CONTEXT

The third level of the model examines the community setting and more precisely the schools and neighborhoods as an ambience in which interpersonal relationships happen. These settings include the school environment, which may include school-related stressors, school atmosphere in terms of tolerating cyberbullying, teachers' approach to inappropriate behaviors in terms of reinforcement of anti-bullying and behavioural policies and received training, as well as the relationships between teachers and students in terms of reporting the incidents.

The Exosystem involves understanding the inter-relations between Level 1 (microsystems) and Level 2 (mesosystems). The parental reaction to the news that their child is a cyber-victim or a cyberbully can create an exosystem, if that parent is contacted by the school with regards to the incident or decides to contact the school when the child confides in him or her. Ybarra and colleagues' (2007) research revealed that schools find it difficult to select the right approach to manage cyberbullying incidents when parents approach the school with a complaint that their child is a cyber-victim or cyberbully. The reason for this difficulty was that cyberbullying often takes place outside of the school grounds, when the victim is at the family house, but the individuals involved in the incidence usually involve pupils from the same school.

UK teachers also highlighted that young people may engage in cyberbullying to raise his or her own status within the peer group. This finding concurs with Andreou, Didaskalou and Vlachou's (2008) results, highlighting that whilst bullies usually act on his or her own, the behavior is reinforced and encouraged by the peer group. Therefore, any interventions and prevention strategies should be directed not only toward the perpetrator but to the whole peer group and school community to improve the school climate.

Findings from the presented study highlight a number of changes that took place within the school environment (i.e., the exosystem). These included implementing some cyberbullying preventative strategies within the school (i.e., netiquette training, anti-bullying awareness week, school assemblies) aiming to raise students' awareness of this phenomenon.

With regards to having parental involvement in cyberbullying incidents, UK teachers spoke about struggling with parental attendance at specially organized parents' meetings during which either themselves or professionals from outside agencies spoke about cyberbullying. UK teachers also emphasized the importance of the whole school community involvement in cyberbullying prevention and management.

MACROSYSTEM - LEVEL 4: WIDER SOCIETY

The fourth and the last level of the ecological model considers the wider societal factors that may affect the rates of aggression. They may determine social structures and activities that occur at Level 1 and 2, and include aspects of the environment beyond the immediate system containing the individual. Though this system may not directly involve the individual, it may affect the ways in which young people interact with others in Level 2. This system encompasses cultural norms and the beliefs held within society, the media's portrayal of cyberbullying, technological industry, community environmental factors, and intervention programs.

Findings from teachers suggest that they would deal with cyberbullying similarly regardless of if they had direct experiences. Regardless of the level of experience, UK teachers were aware of incidents involving students from their school. Moreover, whilst UK teachers were able to follow the school's anti-cyberbullying policy, they saw the need for further guidance from policy makers on how to manage cyberbullying incidents. UK English teachers spoke about attending special workshops or training events which broadened their knowledge of the cyberbullying phenomenon. Thus these findings also show the working objective of the statutory and voluntary organizations with regard to promoting e-safety, netiquette, changes to curriculum, dissemination of knowledge through a variety of means, which included organization and attendance at conferences, e-safety programs, and media campaigns.

CONCLUSION

Sparse research has been conducted on cyberbullying prevention and intervention (Grigg 2010), although a whole school approach is seen as imperative. Both preventative and management strategies should ideally combine as many ecological systems as possible to help reinforce the message that whether it is traditional school bullying or cyberbullying, such behavior is wrong and should be avoided. In accordance to the Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner 1979), it is of paramount importance that students, school staff, parents, and the wider community work together in order to develop and implement multi-level strategies to deal with cyberbullying.

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Chapter 13

EXPOSURE TO ANTISOCIAL AND RISK BEHAVIOR MEDIA CONTENT STIMULATES CYBERBULLYING BEHAVIOR: THE CYCLIC PROCESS MODEL

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INTRODUCTION

Ten years ago, cyberbullying behavior, or bullying carried out via electronic media, was a relatively new phenomenon (Smith, 2014). Over the last ten years, research investigating cyberbullying has accumulated rapidly. At first, the majority of research was descriptive in nature and scholars tried to determine how many children and adolescents were victims of cyberbullying or cyberbullies themselves. Results showed that cyberbullying peaks during adolescence and between 10% to 40% of adolescents have been a victim of cyberbullying (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, and Lattanner, 2014; Tokunaga, 2010). Much research has focused on the negative impact of cyberbullying and how victims cope with it. For example, being victimized through cyberbullying relates to a number of psychosocial difficulties, such as depression, anxiety, and stress (e.g., Campbell, Spears, Slee, Butler, and Kift, 2012; Gamez-Guadix, Orue, Smith, and Calvete, 2013; Gradinger, Strohmeier, and Spiel, 2009; Wang, Nansel, and Iannotti, 2011), suicidal ideation (e.g., Bauman, Toomey, and Walker, 2013; Hay and Meldrum, 2010; Hinduja and Patchin, 2010; Sinclair, Bauman, Poteat, Koenig, and Russel, 2012), and poorer academic achievement (e.g., Kowalski and Limber, 2013; Sinclair et al., 2012). Furthermore, numerous studies have showed that having been victimized by offline or online bullying is related to being or becoming a cyberbullying perpetrator (Bauman, 2010; König, Gollwitzer, and Steffgen, 2010; Kowalski, Morgan, and Limber, 2012; Patchin and Hinduja, 2011; Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, Fisher, Russel, and Tippett, 2008; Sontag, Clemans, Graber, and Lyndon, 2011; Wong, Chan, Cheng, 2014; Wright and Li, 2012; Wright and Li, 2013; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004; Yilmaz, 2011). The relationship between being victimized (i.e., being bullied) and becoming a cyberbully is striking because one might expect that these

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victims understand the impact of being bullied and would not harm others in such an unpleasant situation. Therefore, we investigated the underlying processes that take place in the relationship between victimization and cyberbullying behavior.

In the current chapter, we provide arguments for a Cyclic Process Model as a framework to investigate the relation between being bullied and becoming a cyberbully. To clarify this relationship, the Cyclic Process Model proposes that victimized adolescents get angry and frustrated, which draws them to media with antisocial and risk behavior content, further easing the way to become a cyberbully. Thus far, the role of adolescent media use in this chain of events has been understudied. Therefore, our research focused on the role of media use in cyberbullying behavior. In the following section, we first provide a short overview of the current state of cyberbullying research. Next, the role of media in cyberbullying behavior is discussed and the Cyclic Process Model is introduced. In addition, we provide empirical tests of the Cyclic Process Model with different samples showing the underlying, amplifying role of media use. The chapter concludes with a summary of the findings, limitations, and challenges in view of future research.

PREVALENCE AND DEFINITION OF CYBERBULLYING

Prevalence rates of cyberbullying involvement vary substantially among studies, which is mostly due to a mix of factors (Kowalski et al., 2014; Modecki et al., 2014; Smith, 2014). One factor leading to different prevalence rates is the use of different measurement instruments. For instance, some researchers use a specific time frame when asking their respondents how often they perpetrated acts of cyberbullying (e.g., in the past year or the past six months; Campbell et al., 2012), while others do not mention a time reference period and measure “lifetime” victimization (Calvete et al., 2010). Prevalence rates obtained by lifetime measurements are often higher than prevalence rates in which the timeframe was restricted (Kowalski et al., 2014). Furthermore, prevalence rates of cyberbullying are lower in samples where the word “bullying” is used in the measurement instrument (e.g., “how often did you bully someone in the past 2 months?”) than in samples where the word “bully” is not mentioned (Kowalski et al., 2014; Modecki et al., 2014). This is possibly due to social desirability in responding to questions (Kowalski et al., 2014) because respondents probably do not want to associate themselves with the term “bully,” either as a victim or a perpetrator.

Another factor that affects the prevalence rates is the frequency criterion. Some researchers classify cyberbullying behavior when someone has cyberbullied someone only once, while others classify cyberbullying when it occurred on a frequent basis. This frequency criterion is related to repetitiveness. This criterion is linked to the literature on traditional (or offline) bullying, in which three key criteria are defined for bullying behavior: a) the bully’s intention to harm (intentionality), b) the bullying happened on multiple occasions (repetitiveness), and c) the victim finds it difficult to defend him or herself (i.e., power imbalance) (e.g., Olweus, 2013; Smith, del Barrio, and Tokunaga, 2013). In the last few years, the criterion of repetitiveness in view of cyberbullying has been discussed among various scholars (e.g., Dehue, 2013; Langos, 2012; Menesini et al., 2012; Olweus, 2013; Slonje et al., 2013; Smith et al., 2013) because online a single act of cyberbullying behavior can last forever and lead to ongoing embarrassment. Therefore, some researchers suggest that the criterion of repetitiveness

is subsidiary to defining cyberbullying behavior (Menesini et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2013), while the most important criteria are: a) the intent to harm, b) the existence of a specific target, and c) an imbalance of power between perpetrator and victim (Smith et al., 2013).

The definition which, in our opinion, describes cyberbullying best, is the definition of Langos (2012). According to Langos, cyberbullying behavior “involves the use of ICTs to carry out a series of acts as in the case of direct cyberbullying, or an act as in the case of indirect cyberbullying, intended to harm another (the victim) who cannot easily defend him or herself” (p. 288). Here, intentionality, the existence of a specific target, and the power imbalance are explicitly described, while repetitiveness is only included in direct cyberbullying. Direct cyberbullying involves direct contact between perpetrator and victim. The direct cyberbullying has to occur on repetitive occasions, because it could otherwise be “teasing” or “joking around” as perceived by the victim. On the contrary, indirect cyberbullying happens when acts of cyberbullying are distributed on, for instance, social networking sites. Based on this definition, the repetitiveness of the cyberbullying act itself is not a prerequisite, since the cyberbully incident can stay online forever and be seen by many over and over again. We support the definition of Langos, because it covers the key criteria for bullying behavior and we also acknowledge that the act of bullying in cyberspace does not have to occur on multiple occasions to lead to repetitive humiliation. Following the above considerations, it is important to know which methodologies and definitions are applied in order to interpret a study’s prevalence rates of cyberbullying. Another important factor influencing prevalence rates is age, or rather age groups or developmental stage.

ADOLESCENTS’ INVOLVEMENT IN CYBERBULLYING BEHAVIOR

In the last five years, various meta-analyses and reviews of the extant research described the state of cyberbullying research (e.g., Hinduja and Patchin, 2012; Kowalski et al., 2014; Modecki, Minchin, Harbaugh, Guerra, and Runions, 2014; Slonje, Smith, and Frisen, 2013; Tokunaga, 2010) and reported that between 10-40% of adolescents have been victims of cyberbullying (Kowalski et al., 2014; Tokunaga, 2010). As for perpetrators of cyberbullying behavior, the average percentages of cyberbullying perpetration among adolescents are somewhere around 16% and 17% (Hinduja and Patchin, 2012; Modecki et al., 2014). While some cyberbullying research has been conducted among adults (e.g., in an Australian study among 103 working males, 10.7% had been a victim of cyberbullying; Privitera and Campbell, 2009), the majority of studies focused on children and adolescents. Cyberbullying clearly peaks during adolescence, notably around the age of 12-14 (Kowalski et al., 2014; Slonje et al., 2013; Tokunaga, 2010). Therefore, we decided to focus our research on cyberbullying behavior among adolescents.

Overall, cyberbullying (still) occurs less often than traditional face-to-face (or offline) bullying, yet these bullying types are highly correlated. In particular, individuals who are bullied offline are often also bullied online, and perpetrators often bully both offline and online (Kowalski et al., 2014; Modecki et al., 2014; Slonje et al., 2013). Furthermore, a summary of 131 quantitative studies showed that performing acts of cyberbullying is related to being a victim of cyberbullying ($r = .51$) and being a victim of offline bullying ($r = .21$; Kowalski et

el., 2014). Hence, why this relationship exists, or why victims may become bullies themselves, is an important question that seems unanswered thus far.

Furthermore, research on gender differences in cyberbullying behavior have provided mixed results (Kowalski et al., 2014; Slonje et al., 2013; Tokunaga, 2010). Some studies have found boys to be more likely to be cyberbullies (e.g., Calvete, Orue, Estévez, Villardón, and Padilla, 2010; Fanti, Demetriou, and Hawa, 2012), while other studies show that girls were more often cyberbullies than boys (e.g., Kowalski and Limber, 2007), and yet other studies did not find gender differences in cyberbullying behavior (e.g., den Hamer and Konijn, 2015; Hinduja and Patchin, 2008; Lonigro, Schneider, Laghi, Baiocco, Pallini, and Brunner, 2014; Smith et al., 2008).

In our own research, we found rather high prevalence rates of cyberbullying perpetration. For example, in our cross-sectional study, 48.4% of boys and 36.0% of girls have cyberbullied someone (den Hamer, Konijn, and Keijer, 2014). In our longitudinal study, 33.5% of boys and 24.4% of girls had ever performed acts of cyberbullying (den Hamer and Konijn, 2015; den Hamer, Konijn, and Aartsen, under review-a). We measured cyberbullying behavior using the often applied Cyberbullying Questionnaire (CBQ; Calvete et al., 2010), which we updated according to modern smartphone technology and use with adolescents (den Hamer et al., 2014). We applied a “lifetime” framing reference, thus asking participants (i.e., adolescents) if they had ever performed certain cyberbullying behavior, such as sending hurtful messages through e-mail or mobile phone, or broadcasting other people’s secrets online. Participants could indicate whether they never, incidentally, several times, often, or very often performed this behavior. The word “bully” was not mentioned in our questionnaire, although probably all participants understood that the survey concerned cyberbullying. While these prevalence rates are based on a frequency criterion of ‘happened once or more often’, all relational and predictive analyses were conducted using a continuous scale of cyberbullying (1 = *never* to 5 = *very often*). Detailed information on the methodologies can be found in den Hamer et al. (2014), den Hamer and Konijn (2015), and den Hamer et al. (under review-a).

In sum, cyberbullying behavior occurs mostly among adolescents, among both boys and girls, and involves an overlap between offline and online bullying. An important question that arises from the overlap between victims of bullying behavior and being a bully oneself, is what factors underlie becoming a cyberbully.

BECOMING A CYBERBULLY

What leads a youngster to becoming a cyberbully? Research has showed that several characteristics predict cyberbullying behavior. One of the most common motives for cyberbullying is anger (Gradinger, Strohmeier, and Spiel, 2012; Lonigro et al., 2014; Patchin and Hinduja, 2011). Other known predictors of cyberbullying behavior are being an offline bully (e.g., Fanti et al., 2012; Modecki et al., 2014; Perren and Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2012; Sticca, Ruggieri, Alsaker, and Perren, 2013), low levels of empathy (Ang and Goh, 2010; Steffgen, König, Pfetsch, and Melzer, 2011), and high levels of narcissism (e.g., Ang, Tan, and Mansor, 2011). However, not much is known about the chain of events that lead to performing acts of cyberbullying behavior (Slonje et al., 2013). Some researchers suggest that some adolescents perform acts of cyberbullying because they are victims of bullying themselves

(offline or online; Slonje et al., 2013). Indeed, the link between victimization and being a perpetrator of cyberbullying is supported by many studies (e.g., Ak, Özdemir, and Kuzucu, 2015; Bauman, 2010; König et al., 2010; Kowalski et al., 2012; Patchin and Hinduja, 2011; Smith et al., 2008; Sontag et al., 2011; Wong et al., 2014; Wright and Li, 2012, 2013; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004; Yilmaz, 2011). For example, in the study of Bauman (2010), cybervictimization was the main predictor of cyberbullying behavior. In addition, Wright and Li (2012; 2013) found that being bullied (either offline or online) was longitudinally related to performing cyberbullying behavior six months later.

One possible explanation for this relationship is that performing acts of cyberbullying can serve as a form of revenge (Hinduja and Patchin, 2014; König et al., 2010; Sontag et al., 2011; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004). Other scholars coined the idea that this relation between victimization and cyberbullying behavior may be explained by the General Strain Theory (Ak et al., 2015; Wright and Li, 2012; Wright and Li, 2013). The General Strain Theory suggests that individuals who experience strain will have increased levels of anger or frustration and some may use deviant behavior as a reaction to these negative emotions (Agnew, 1992). There are three sources of strain: a) failure to achieve positively valued goals, b) removal of positively valued stimuli, and c) experiencing negatively valued stimuli (Angew, 1992). Following this theory, victims of bullying experience strain (i.e., being bullied as a negatively valued stimulus), which instigates anger and/or frustration and could subsequently lead to performing deviant behaviors, such as cyberbullying behavior. Cyberbullying behavior could possibly give these victimized adolescents a feeling of power (Patchin and Hinduja, 2011). In fact, several studies showed that (cyber)victimization induces feelings of anger or frustration, supporting the idea that being bullied is a source of strain (Lonigro et al., 2014; Hay, Meldrum, and Mann, 2010; Ortega, Elipe, Mora-Merchán, Calmaestra, and Vega, 2009; Wallace, Patchin, and May, 2005). As mentioned prior, others have shown that anger is one of the main predictors of cyberbullying behavior (Gradinger et al., 2012; Lonigro et al., 2014; Patchin and Hinduja, 2011). Linking these findings makes it plausible that the relationship between victimization and cyberbullying behavior could be explained by experiencing feelings of anger or frustration. Recently, in addition to our own study (den Hamer et al., 2014), a study investigated this full sequence of victimization, anger, and cyberbullying behavior, and showed that victimization indeed induced levels of anger, which was subsequently related to becoming a cyberbully (Ak et al., 2015).

The General Strain Theory is an important step toward insights into the underlying processes in the relation between being victimized and becoming a perpetrator of cyberbullying oneself. However, we argue that there is another important variable in this chain of events in being bullied, experiencing increased levels of anger and frustration and becoming a cyberbully. That is, we argue in the following that this process will be reinforced by adolescents' media exposure.

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CYBERBULLYING BEHAVIOR

Media are omnipresent in adolescent life (Konijn, Veldhuis, Plaisier, Spekman, and den Hamer, 2015), with adolescents between 11 and 14 years old spending more than eleven hours a day using old (e.g., television, magazines) and new (e.g., online games, social networking

sites) media (Rideout, Foehr, and Roberts, 2010; Strasburger and Hogan, 2013). Only one of the available meta-analyses on cyberbullying behavior briefly mentioned the possible influence of media exposure within cyberbullying behavior, and suggests that more research is needed on this topic (Kowalski et al., 2014).

We propose that media exposure plays an important part in the underlying processes of being victimized (online or offline), getting angry or frustrated, and becoming a cyberbully oneself. Previous research indicates that angry adolescents could show an increased attraction to violent media outlets, possibly in the belief to vent their anger (Arnett, 1996; Flammer and Schaffner, 2003; Olson et al., 2007; Olson, Kutner, and Warner, 2008; Plaisier and Konijn, 2013). For example, in Olson et al.'s (2007) study, 45.4% of adolescent boys used violent video games as a way to "get their anger out." For girls, an exact number is not given, but a table shows that this is about 30%. A second possible reason for turning to violent media when feeling angry is the search for attractive role models. An important part of adolescence is finding an independent identity, in which media figures can serve as heroes to look up to (Konijn, Nije Bijvank, and Bushman, 2007). In violent media, adolescents can find numerous role models that show how to deal with anger, mostly by behaving aggressively (Konijn et al., 2007). A victimized adolescent, who has become angry because of this victimization, could possibly turn to media to find out how other people cope with anger and feelings of rejection. This is supported by Plaisier and Konijn's (2013) finding that social rejection led to an increased attraction toward antisocial and risk behavior media content. Antisocial and risk behavior media content portrays antisocial (e.g., stealing, swearing, fighting) and risky (e.g., binge drinking or taking drugs) behaviors. This type of media content also incorporates violent content, classifying violence as antisocial behavior. Given that media portraying antisocial and risk behavior content is highly popular among youth (Brown and Witherspoon, 2002; Strasburger, 2009; Strasburger, Jordan, and Donnerstein, 2010), we found it overly narrow to merely investigate the role of *violent* media in cyberbullying behavior and decided to also include other antisocial and risk behaviors as shown in the media. We hypothesized that adolescents who were victims of bullying would have increased levels of anger and frustration, which subsequently instigates an increased attraction toward media with antisocial and risk behavior content, possibly in order to vent their anger or in search for attractive role models.

Furthermore, we argued that exposure to antisocial and risk behavior content stimulates cyberbullying behavior. Although debated, numerous research exists showing that exposure to media with violent content increases aggressive behavior (e.g., Anderson et al., 2010; Ferguson & Konijn, 2015; Greitemeyer and Mügge, 2014). From a theoretical level, this is explained by theories like the Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 2001) and the Downward Spiral Model (Slater, Henry, Swaim, and Anderson, 2003). The Social Cognitive Theory claims that people learn vicariously through media exposure, that they model their own behavior in accordance with the behavior shown in the media, especially since this behavior is often rewarded in entertainment media (Bandura, 2001; Dal Cin, Stoolmiller, and Sargent, 2012; Konijn et al., 2007). The Downward Spiral Model (Slater et al., 2003) follows this line of thought and suggests that exposure to violent media and aggressive behavior reinforce each other. That is, they state that trait aggressive adolescents show a strong preference for violent media content and high exposure to this type of media reinforces their aggressive behavior, which causes these adolescents to end up in a downward spiral of aggression (Slater et al., 2003; Slater, Henry, Swaim, and Cardador, 2004; von Salisch, Vogelgesang, Kristen, and Oppl, 2011). Following

this rationale, it seems plausible that a relationship exists between exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content and becoming a perpetrator of cyberbullying behavior.

Support for our notion that media with antisocial and risk behavior content would reinforce cyberbullying behavior can partly be found in the results of previous research, showing that exposure to violent media content relates to (cyber)bullying behavior. For instance, two studies demonstrated that exposure to media with violent content related to offline bullying perpetration (Kuntsche, 2004; Lee and Kim, 2004). Results of a survey among over 4,000 adolescents (mean age of 13) in Switzerland showed that violence on television and in games was related to offline bullying behavior (cyberbullying behavior was not measured in this study; Kuntsche, 2004). This was corroborated by Lee and Kim (2004), who investigated bullying behavior among 560 Korean junior high school students (mean age of 14), and they showed that exposure to media violence (on TV and on the Internet) was related to offline bullying behaviors (cyberbullying behavior was not measured).

Where the above mentioned studies investigated offline or traditional bullying, more recent research demonstrated that an association exists between violent media exposure and cyberbullying perpetration (Calvete et al., 2010; Chang et al., 2015; Dittrick, Beran, Mischna, Hetherington, and Shariff, 2013; Fanti et al., 2012; Lam, Cheng, and Liu, 2013). A cross-sectional study among over 1,400 Spanish adolescents (mean age of 14) showed, among others, that violence on TV was positively related to cyberbullying behavior (Calvete et al., 2010). In addition, in a longitudinal study among over 1,400 Cyprian adolescents (mean age 13), exposure to violent media content (on TV, internet, in movies and games) was related to higher cyberbullying perpetration rates one year later (Fanti et al., 2012). The same was concluded in a study among almost 400 Canadian parents and their 500 children (mean age of the children was 13), in which both parents and children reported the child's attraction to violent video games (Dittrick et al., 2013). Kids that were highly attracted to violent video games were more likely to perform offline and online bullying behavior. This coincides with the results of a study among almost 1,300 adolescents (mean age of 15) from China, which demonstrated that exposure to violent video games was associated with both being a perpetrator and a victim of cyberbullying behavior (Lam et al., 2013). And finally, in a recent study, 2,315 students (mean age of 15) from Taiwan were surveyed in a longitudinal design (one year in between waves), and results showed that exposure to media violence (on TV, in newspapers, on the Internet and in online games) predicted later cyberbullying behavior (Chang et al., 2015).

This enumeration of research that examined the link between media exposure and (cyber)bullying behavior showed that most studies solely focused on one or two media outlets (e.g., Chang et al., 2015; Fanti et al., 2012) and only investigated the impact of *violent* media content on cyberbullying behavior. As argued above, we expected that it is important to not only examine the role of violent media content in cyberbullying behavior, but to broaden the scope toward media content portraying antisocial and risk behaviors. To do so, we developed an instrument to measure exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content, the Content-based Media Exposure Scale (C-ME; den Hamer, Konijn, Plaisier, Keijer, Krabbendam, and Bushman, Under Review-B). This scale measured the extent to which adolescents are exposed to *specific behavior* as portrayed in the media, instead of asking for generic exposure to media fare in general (e.g., hours of playing games, watching television) without taking the specific content into account. The C-ME is thereby independent of the medium: the specific behaviors portrayed can be watched on TV, or through the Internet, games, movies, etcetera. In the introduction of the scale, adolescents are informed that it does

not matter through which media outlet they have seen certain behavior, rather they need to focus on the frequency with which they watched each of the listed behaviors. Sample items from the C-ME are: “How often do you watch (on the Internet/TV/games/mobile phone/DVD) people who shoot at another person?” and “How often do you watch (on the Internet/TV/games/mobile phone/DVD) people who steal?” Adolescents rate how often they are exposed to behaviors, such as fighting, relational aggression, drug abuse, and general antisocial behaviors (e.g., stealing, destroying someone else’s property). The items on the C-ME were based on the extant literature regarding adolescent antisocial and risk behaviors (e.g., Hopf, Huber, and Weiss, 2008) and have been extensively pretested and validated in a number of independent studies (den Hamer et al., under review-b).

In sum, we integrated the relevant factors that appear to explain the relation between being victimized and becoming a cyberbully oneself into a theoretical model, named the Cyclic Process Model. This model specifically includes media use among youngsters, for which a content-based media exposure scale has been developed and validated. The Cyclic Process Model will be further elaborated in the next section.

THE CYCLIC PROCESS MODEL OF CYBERBULLYING BEHAVIOR

The Cyclic Process Model aims to disentangle the underlying processes between being bullied (either online or offline) and becoming a cyberbully. Based on the extant literature discussed above, we hypothesized that two processes would play a role in this relation: a) feelings of anger or frustration following victimization, and b) exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content. The Cyclic Process Model (visualized in Figure 1) proposes that a victimized adolescent will get angry or frustrated, and will then try to vent these negative feelings by turning to media with antisocial and risk behavior content, which will stimulate or lower the threshold to bully others in cyberspace. Hence, these adolescents get caught up in a cyclic loop because cyberbullying behavior often results in being bullied again (Walrave and Heirman, 2011; Wright and Li, 2012; Wright and Li, 2013). One study actually showed that cyberbullying others was the main predictor of being cyberbullied oneself (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, and Ólafsson, 2011). Since cyberbullying behavior peaks during adolescence and media with antisocial and risk behavior content is highly popular among adolescents, we tested the Cyclic Process Model among this age group. Furthermore, given that most research in cyberbullying behavior is descriptive in nature, and uses cross-sectional data, there is an urgent need for longitudinal research that could shed light onto the causal chains in cyberbullying behavior. Therefore, we first tested the Cyclic Process Model in a cross-sectional setting and subsequently in a longitudinal design.

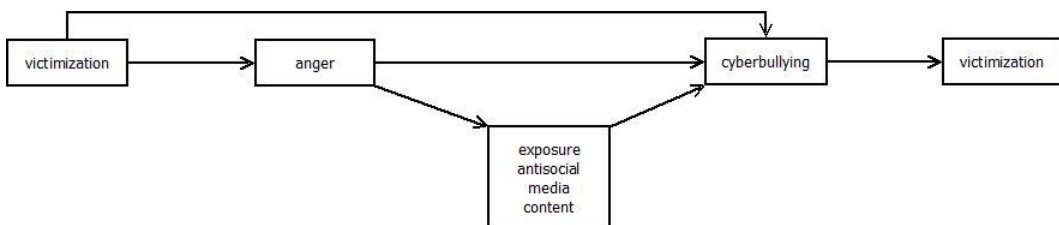


Figure 1. The Cyclic Process Model.

Testing the Cyclic Process Model in a cross-sectional design revealed that all hypothesized pathways were supported by the data (den Hamer et al., 2014). Note that the last step of the Cyclic Process Model (i.e., cyberbullies become victims again) was not tested due to the cross-sectional nature of the study (i.e., a measured variable cannot be used twice in a cross-sectional path model). While these results were encouraging, a cross-sectional design cannot assess whether the Cyclic Process Model would hold over a longer time span. Therefore, another study was conducted utilizing a longitudinal design.

Longitudinal data for the same variables as in our previous study were collected in three waves throughout one school year in a sample of 1,005 participants, aged 11-17 years. Analyses through Structural Equation Modeling provided a good fit of the empirical data to the theoretical model (e.g., $RMSEA = .01$ (.00-.04), $CFI = .99$; see den Hamer et al., under review-a). That is, the results provided evidence for the Cyclic Process Model to occur *over time*. In fact, the results showed that the relationship between victimization and cyberbullying behavior was completely mediated, both by feelings of anger *and* exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content. Also, the feedback loop from cyberbullying at the final stage back to victimization found support in the empirical data. The Cyclic Process Model explained 14.0% of the cyberbullying behavior in the last wave. Together, the cross-sectional and longitudinal studies showed that the Cyclic Process Model holds both at certain time points (i.e., within waves) and over a longer period of time (i.e., over time). The results of testing the Cyclic Process Model showed that victimization is followed by anger and frustration, which instigates using media portraying antisocial and risk behavior. In turn, the sequence may stimulate to perform cyberbullying behavior oneself. These findings add to our understanding of the underlying processes of being victimized and becoming a cyberbully oneself: both victimization-based anger and exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content showed to be crucial factors.

As a next step, further analyses on the longitudinal data were performed to increase insights in the role of media use in cyberbullying behavior. Following the rationale of the Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 2001), the Downward Spiral Model (Slater et al., 2003), and along with the results of our previous studies, we propose that adolescents' exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content would serve as an amplifier of cyberbullying behavior. The results showed that exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content was related to higher *initial* rates of cyberbullying behavior. That is, adolescents who more intensely used media with antisocial content also had higher levels of cyberbullying rates at the first wave compared to those lower in such media use (den Hamer and Konijn, 2015). Importantly, results further underscored that exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content reinforced cyberbullying behavior *over time*, such that an increase in exposure to media with antisocial content goes hand in hand with an increase in cyberbullying behavior over time during the course of an academic year (details in den Hamer and Konijn, 2015).

Furthermore, we examined whether the effect of media exposure on cyberbullying behavior differed between boys and girls (den Hamer and Konijn, 2015). As described earlier, research on gender differences in cyberbullying behavior showed mixed results. However, in general, boys tend to be more attracted to media with antisocial and risk behavior content (Konijn et al., 2007; Möller, Krahé, Busching, and Krause, 2012). Hence, it might be that cyberbullying behavior increases more strongly over time for boys than for girls. The results showed that the effects hold for both boys and girls in predicting an increase in cyberbullying rates as a function of exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content. For boys,

this increase was significant for each subsequent wave, while for girls only from wave 1 to wave 2 the increase in cyberbullying was a clear and significant function of their media use. For them, the increase from wave 2 to wave 3 was less clear and seemed to stabilize (den Hamer and Konijn, 2015). Thus, for both boys and girls, exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content reinforced cyberbullying behavior in the long run, most clearly for boys while for girls this effect flattens out after a couple of months.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Some limitations of the present research may be addressed in future research. First, cyberbullying behavior is changing rapidly (think of the abundant rise of new formats of social media in which cyberbullying could occur), and it is difficult to find a measure that captures all variations of cyberbullying behavior. When we started our research, we chose to use the Cyberbullying Questionnaire of Calvete et al. (CBQ; 2010), which was then among the best cyberbullying behavior measures (e.g., because the CBQ measures various forms of cyberbullying). We are aware that ever since, new types of cyberbullying have emerged (for example, shaming someone on Twitter), but we decided to stick with the CBQ for reasons of consistency in our studies and comparability with many others. Thus, it is possible that the cyberbullying scores in our research are underestimations and that we did not capture all types of cyberbullying. However, even under these circumstances, we found a good model fit and significant relations between cyberbullying behavior and victimization, anger, and especially, exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content. Likewise, we found an increase in cyberbullying behavior over time as a function of media use.

Second, the use of the Content-based Media Exposure Scale (C-ME; den Hamer et al., under review-b) may be seen by some as a limitation, because it is a newly developed scale. However, we argue that it is important to measure the impact of the *content* of exposure to media rather than just the frequency of watching television or playing video games, for example, regardless of specific content or solely to violent media content. The C-ME includes a broader spectrum of antisocial portrayals in the media and has currently been tested among 2500 adolescents in different samples and shows to have good psychometric qualities. In fact, the antisocial and risk behavior factor of the C-ME is more strongly related to aggressiveness than a traditional media exposure instrument that solely measured *violent* media content (den Hamer et al., under review-b).

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The current chapter aimed to illustrate the role of media exposure in cyberbullying behavior as an important step in the Cyclic Process Model (Figure 1). The Cyclic Process Model explains how victimized adolescents could turn into cyberbullies and identifies the processes underlying this relation. The validity of the Cyclic Process Model has been tested in several studies with about 2,000 adolescents. We applied both cross-sectional and longitudinal research designs and found clear empirical support for the Cyclic Process Model. As expected, the relation between victimization (either online or offline) and becoming a cyberbully was mediated by

experiencing feelings of anger or frustration and by exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content. Our findings not only explain the mechanisms in the relationship between being bullied and becoming a cyberbully, but also emphasize the reinforcing role of exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content. In further investigating the latter, exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content predicted both higher starting values of cyberbullying behavior, and a stronger increase in cyberbullying behavior *over time*, for both boys and girls, but more clearly for boys.

Our results are in line with and add to related research. Empirical evidence for the mediating role of anger between being bullied and becoming a cyberbully is now also found in another study independent of ours (Ak et al., 2015). Furthermore, the relation between media exposure and cyberbullying behavior was found in a more narrow sense, that is, to violent media exposure alone (Calvete et al., 2010; Chang et al., 2015; Dittrick et al., 2013; Fanti et al., 2012; Lam et al., 2013). We broadened the scope of media exposure to also include other types of antisocial and risk behavior content, since such content is highly popular among adolescents (Brown and Witherspoon, 2002; Strasburger, 2009; Strasburger et al., 2010). Moreover, we developed a more systematic measurement instrument to assess specific content-based media exposure, independent of media channel, rather than just the frequency of exposure to a particular media outlet (e.g., solely movie violence; den Hamer et al., under review-b). In so doing, our results are based on a more reliable and valid measure of content-based media exposure than in previous media-based studies.

Implications that arise from the empirical support for the Cyclic Process Model, and the reinforcing impact of exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content on cyberbullying behavior are manifold. Currently, in cyberbullying research, a shift can be detected from merely descriptive and predictive research onto increasing our understanding and investigating ways to combat cyberbullying behavior, for example with intervention studies (e.g., Cross, Monks, Campbell, Spears, and Slee, 2011; Hinduja and Patchin, 2014; Jacobs, Völlink, Dehue, and Lechner, 2014; van den Broeck, Poels, Vandebosch, and Van Royen, 2014). Our findings suggest that such intervention studies should pay close attention to adolescents' media exposure, and in particular adolescents' exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content. Also, future research should consider how adolescents cope with anger and frustration, since the Cyclic Process Model shows that these emotions mediate the relation between being victimized and becoming a cyberbully. Some studies have shown that individuals who used media with antisocial content to cope with their anger were even more aggressive after this media exposure (Bushman, 2002; Bushman, Baumeister, and Phillips, 2001). More adaptive coping styles for anger could possibly help break the cycle among victimization, anger, media use, and cyberbullying.

Moreover, future research is warranted to examine whether the Cyclic Process Model works differently for adolescents with different personality characteristics. For example, low empathy is a predictor of cyberbullying behavior (Ang and Goh, 2010; Steffgen et al., 2011). Perhaps, the Cyclic Process Model works differently for adolescents who are low versus high in empathy. That is, it could be hypothesized that victimized adolescents who are high in empathy do not become angry when victimized. Or, when they do become angry following victimization, perhaps high empathic adolescents use other means to cope with it and do not turn to media with antisocial and risk behavior content.

Another personality trait that warrants further attention in relation to the Cyclic Process Model is internalization vs externalization of negative emotions (e.g., Kim, Conger, Elder, and

Lorenz, 2003). Adolescents who internalize the victimization-induced anger and frustration may not feel the need to be exposed to antisocial media content, while the adolescents who externalize their anger may be more attracted to this media content. And perhaps the externalizing adolescents react differently to this media use than the internalizing adolescents.

In conclusion, our research found clear evidence for the Cyclic Process Model, which expands our understanding about the underlying mechanisms in the relation between being bullied and becoming a cyberbully oneself. The Cyclic Process Model shows how victimized adolescents get caught up in a cyclic process of being bullied and bullying others. These victimized adolescents experience negative emotions (i.e., anger or frustration) and by seeking relief in media with antisocial and risk behavior content, they become cyberbullies themselves. This does not solve anything, since cyberbullies often become victims again.

Furthermore, the Cyclic Process Model underpins the important impact of exposure to media with antisocial and risk behavior content. While possibly trying to vent their anger, the adolescents become eventually aggressive, resulting in performing cyberbullying behavior themselves. The Cyclic Process Model is the first to integrate media exposure in a theoretical model, providing insight into the underlying processes of cyberbullying and how it evolves over time. Many questions remain about adolescents' reasons for becoming a cyberbully, but the Cyclic Process Model brings us one step further in our understanding of the mechanisms underlying cyberbullying behavior.

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Chapter 14

CYBERBULLYING: THE NEED TO EXTEND THE CONCEPT BEYOND PEER AGGRESSION

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TRADITIONAL SCHOOL BULLYING

School bullying research began in the 1970s in Norway. The scientific interest in this issue was the result of the adverse effects associated with victimization, including suicidal ideation, suicidal attempts, and depression. These mental health consequences, psychosomatic complaints, and learning difficulties are associated with victimization by school bullying (Hymel & Swearer, 2015; Klomeck et al., 2009; Monks et al., 2009; Olweus, 1993).

Studies have been mostly conducted on examining the aggressive acts constituting bullying in the school context. Young people who were involved as bullies, victims, and bully-victims belonged to the same group based on the formal structure of school (e.g., a class) or other institution (e.g., sport team). This has been reflected by measurement instruments, specifically definition or behavior based questionnaires or peer nominations. In both cases, respondents were young people who took part in the study revealing peer aggression experiences within the group in which they belonged.

This finding reveals broader social group dynamics, suggesting that research should take into account the impact of bystanders (Salmivalli, Voeten, & Poskiparta, 2011).

Olweus (1993) defined three features that should be present at the same time to constitute certain hostile acts as bullying. Those include: repetition – aggressive acts are not one-time experiences (e.g., a quarrel concerning a specific situation) but a series of negative experiences which are performed for a longer period, imbalance of power – perpetrators are much stronger than a victim due to physical power, great numbers of them, or psychological power (e.g., a perpetrator has better communicational skills compared to a victim), and intention – the acts are planned as harmful by perpetrators.

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Aggression acts conducted by perpetrators may have various characteristics, according to the behaviors undertaken by them. Traditionally, they include: physical bullying when perpetrators use physical force against victims or their belongings, verbal bullying including vulgar or unpleasant language against victims, and relational bullying which often involves excluding a victim from peer relations and activities. These definitions have been widely accepted and used as a basis of school bullying studies and practical intervention programs (Smith, 2010; Smith, 2014).

It is crucial to understand that the bullying definition is closely related to its consequences. Bullying is widely defined as more harmful than other peer aggression acts due to the presence of the three characteristics described above. This means that there are greater negative mental health outcomes for those involved in bullying, especially when the behavior includes the three features of bullying. This has been empirically proved using both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies (Hymel & Swearer, 2015, Smith, 2014). However, it is worth noting that some researchers argue that peer aggression which does not include the three bullying features may also be seriously harmful for victims. Stemming from this, they suggest that researchers should have a broader scope on peer aggression not restricting it to cases of bullying (Finkelhor, Turner, & Hamby, 2012).

FROM SCHOOL BULLYING TO CYBERBULLYING

Similarly to the interest in school bullying that started in Norway after a series of tragic suicides by young peer aggression victims, the interest in bullying conducted via ICT also started after a few serious cases widely described by the media. This brought attention to the situations where ICTs and the Internet might be used as tools to conduct aggression among young people. The two well-known examples were the Star Wars Kid case and the Megan Meier case. In both cases, both perpetrators and victims were young people that knew each other from school. The cases led to serious consequences, including mental health problems in the first case and the tragic suicidal death in the latter.

These outcomes gained the publics' and researchers' attention on the features that made cyberbullying potentially qualitatively different from traditional school bullying. Cyber perpetrators have a greater opportunity to easily forward hostile messages to a wider public (e.g., on social networking sites), such messages could have been sent to others multiple times, prolonging the cyberbullying experience.

It is also easier for perpetrators to remain anonymous, making it much harder for a victim to defend herself or himself. Cases like these include behaviors that represent traditional bullying characteristics. On the other hand, they suggested that some new characteristics are present in cyberbullying (Nocentini et al., 2010; Tokunaga, 2010). Based on the cyber aggression research conducted previously, it is reasonable to focus on these behaviors using traditional bullying characteristics in the cyberbullying context. In Table 1, comparison of the mechanisms behind the three bullying characteristics are described within the context of cyberbullying behaviors. In some cases of cyberbullying, the mechanisms are the same in both contexts, particularly in situations when bullying and cyberbullying overlap (e.g., students from the same class). Hostile acts occur many times both online and offline (i.e., repetition), the power dynamics are the same in the face-to-face and online contexts (i.e., imbalance of power),

and the rationale behind the negative actions is to cause harm (i.e., intention). As research shows that the overlap of bullying and cyberbullying is common, we do not know whether the same individuals are involved. For example, Pyżalski (2012) found that almost 46% of youths who were traditional perpetrators were also cyberbullies. Additionally, one traditional victim in five was also a cybervictim. In cases when bullying and cyberbullying were perpetrated together by the same perpetrator(s), both phenomena seemed to be just the same set of actions at least from a victim's perspective. In many cases, such acts are, contrary to popular beliefs, not anonymous (Bottino et al., 2015; Hinduja & Patchin, 2009; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Kowalski, Limber, & Agatson, 2008). As shown in the table, in some cases, new mechanisms connected to specific features of the online content and computer mediated communication occur in cyberbullying. Another important consideration is that they are all present in only some cases of cyberbullying. For example, repetition caused by durability of the material published on the internet is only present in situations when such contents are published. In many cases, such a situation is not present since many cyberbullying acts take place in one-to-one communication between a victim and a perpetrator. Someone may send an unpleasant e-mail or short message to another person (Dooley, Pyżalski, & Cross, 2009; Pyżalski, 2012). This can be said also about intention. In many cases of cyberbullying, perpetrators claim that their intention was different and that they did not intend to harm someone else. In particular, 37% of Polish adolescents indicated that they sent a message to someone on the Internet or via mobile phone that was intended to be a joke but caused serious harm to the recipient. The fact that the act has not been intentionally planned does not mean that subjectively it is not attributed as intentionally harmful by a victim (Pyżalski, 2012). There is empirical data suggesting that a new understanding of traditional bullying features in the cyber context is needed. For example, many studies show that cyberattacks including the publication of materials are perceived as the most harmful by victims (Pyżalski, 2012; boyd, 2007). This illustrates a new understanding of repetition. Cyber contexts may also change the dynamics of power. For example, – one in eleven victims of traditional bullying were a cyberperpetrator, often in retaliation for hostile acts he or she experienced in school (Pyżalski, 2012).

BEYOND PEER AGGRESSION

There is a lot of empirical data that supports the usage of the cyberbullying construct as the natural subsequent construct stemming from traditional school bullying. There are two main reasons for this. The first is that adolescents widely use computer mediated communication to extend their offline peer relationships, mostly those from school contexts.

That means that most of the group dynamics both positive and negative show consistency between the online and offline environments (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008; Reich, Subrahmanyam, & Espinoza, 2012). The second is that most of the studies reveal overlap between bullying and cyberbullying roles. It is often the same students who engage in and experience peer aggression in both contexts (Pyżalski, 2012). However, there are arguments to leave out the peer context of cyberbullying since young people on the Internet have “the opportunity to interact with a variety of people, in a potentially less personal way” (Reich, Subrahmanyam, & Espinoza, 2012, p. 374).

Table 1. Traditional bullying characteristics in bullying and cyberbullying

	Mechanisms in traditional (face to face bullying)	Mechanisms in cyberbullying
Repetition	Caused by perpetrators repeating their hostile actions many times over a longer period	The mechanism can be the same as in traditional bullying. However, it may also involve a situation when a perpetrator's carries at an act only once (e.g., publishes photos of a victim on the internet) and the repetitive victimization is caused by durability and multiplication of the content by people other than a perpetrator.
Imbalance of power	Caused by physical or psychological power (e.g., a perpetrator has better communicational skills in comparison to a victim)	The mechanism can be the same – particularly in situation when cyberbullying is an extension of traditional face-to-face bullying within the same social group (e.g., school class). However, it may also be caused by better technological skills of those perpetrating. Additionally, imbalance of power may be caused by anonymity of aggressive acts, especially when victims do not know who publishes materials against them.
Intention	Stems from a perpetrator's willingness to harm another person	Cyberbullying may be intentional similar to traditional bullying. However, some serious harmful acts may be conducted without negative intentions due to computer mediated communication features that may facilitate unintentional harmful actions.

That means that the Internet by its nature allows young people to communicate with a broader scope of people from close friends to total strangers. This opens new possibilities as well as new threats.

Young people may conduct hostile acts and suffer online attacks from people other than their peers. It is worth noting that although some scientists researching cyberbullying analyze it as a peer phenomenon the instruments they use do not reflect this behavior as a peer-related issue. For instance, Bottino et al. (2015) analyzed ten studies researching cyberbullying.

In all cases, the questions used the survey instruments included victimization and perpetration subscales, but that the items were phrased as “someone,” or “another person.” This method allows participants to answer in a very broad sense including all cases when they have been attacked via the Internet by a peer or someone else. This is probably one of the reasons why numerous studies on cyberbullying present extremely high rates of cyberbullying perpetration reaching about 75% in some studies (Juvonen & Gross, 2009; Katzer, Fetchenhauer, & Belschak, 2009, Kowalski et al., 2014).

The need for extending cyberbullying out of the peer context is also justified by the fact that some cyberbullying cases can “spill over” into the school context or other contexts, bringing additional consequences.

In a meta-analysis, Bottino et al. (2005, p. 466) found that victims' emotional distress is higher when the following types of cyberbullying are present: "episodes in which the aggressor was an adult; publication of a picture of the child or adolescent; and episodes accompanied by aggressive contacts off-line, like receiving a telephone call or when the aggressor went to the victim's house." The identity of the perpetrator is an important consideration. Whittaker and Kowalski (2015) tested a typology proposed by Pyżalski, (2011; 2012) by focusing on the relationship between victims and perpetrators.

The findings revealed that cyber aggressive comments directed toward random people known only online occurred most frequent and perceived as the most acceptable. Cyber aggressive comments directed toward peers were seen as the least acceptable and the most malicious and offensive, and the most likely to be labelled cyberbullying.

Therefore, it is important that cyberbullying should be examined by taking into account who is using ICT in a hostile way and who is receiving the abuse as well as the relationships between the individuals.

WHEN A VICTIM IS NOT A PEER

When I started my research on using an online instrument to measure cyber-attacks, I decided not to ask specific quantitative questions but instead use a qualitative grounded theory approach (Pyżalski, 2012). That meant I asked my respondents both students and teachers general questions in interviews and focus groups about whether they used the internet or mobile phones to do something unpleasant to others. I also conducted unstructured observations of such behaviors by young people on the Internet in order to record their natural activities. This could be treated as a kind of triangulation that led to construction of electronic aggression perpetration typologies by young people (and also adults). Peer aggression based on the offline group where a victim and a perpetrator(s) belong is only one of the types identified.

Electronic peer aggression (cyberbullying). Many students taking part in the interviews and focus groups indicated that their peers were targets of unpleasant aggressive actions. Peers were in many cases those they knew in offline contexts – mostly students from the same class. The negative interactions were often connected to hostile actions happening in offline contexts, e.g., someone have been called names at school and via cell phone messages simultaneously. In many cases, the cases described seemed to not be very serious and they did not fulfill traditional bullying definition. For example, the presence of imbalance of power had not been involved in many of the cases since the students were friends who have been quarrelling at times but not consecutively. In other cases, students experienced something that they described as minor incidents with peers, indicating that the victim was not harmed. These results may partially help to understand results from other studies showing that almost four in ten Polish adolescents believing that electronic peer aggression was more harmful than traditional bullying (Pyżalski, 2012). Not all peer electronic aggression and traditional aggression were taken seriously.

As to the "new" features present in cyberbullying, it is worth noting that peer aggression is often not anonymous. In many cases, perpetrators utilize social networking site, which is a relatively open environment, or operate mobile phones, with phone numbers displayed.

Each of these examples make it pretty clear who the perpetrator is. Such findings are aligned with many quantitative projects showing that only some acts of electronic aggression possess anonymity feature (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Kowalski, Limber, & Agatson, 2008).

Anonymity seems to be a feature of cyberbullying or peer electronic aggression. Many times researchers treat anonymity of cyberbullying as a new phenomenon brought by new communication technologies. This is clearly not true since some forms of physical aggression, particularly those concerning damaging belongings of a victim, and covert relational bullying can be carried out anonymously as well.

Although it is always taken for granted that anonymity makes electronic peer aggression worse, this may be not that obvious. The respondents indicated that anonymous acts, particularly when rare do not bring any serious distress – they are often interpreted as rude behavior of someone who is not brave enough to communicate openly. Contrary, when perpetrators are known and belong to the same peer group, the acts are perceived as more harmful. More serious electronic peer aggression acts rarely occur. Many of them were the acts typical to electronic communication that have not been available before in traditional contexts.

For instance, one adolescent girl has been discussed a peer's family problems on her social networking site. This made the situation more harmful by revealing the sensitive information to potential viewers. The harm might have been worse due to the long lasting character of Internet content and what is called by boyd (2008) as invisible audience, providing the imbalance of power present in traditional bullying but brought by technology features and the ways the technology is socially used.

Another example is a kind of electronic aggression that is called impersonation (Kowalski, Limber, & Agatson, 2008). For example, a boy oversaw a peer's password for Facebook profile, and then he logged into the peer's account and sent unpleasant comments to other users who thought that the boy was the actual account owner.

In many cases, perpetrators conducting hostile electronic actions did not indicate any negative intentions. They indicated that they engaged in the acts as a joke or hoax.

Young respondents taking part in the study also indicated different levels of relationships with victims, such as a former or current romantic partner, close friend, or young people they knew from school or where they lived. A situation involving a former romantic partner resulted in more mental health consequences as described by victims.

In summary, not all electronic aggression is cyberbullying. The context always decides what makes it cyberbullying.

Electronic Aggression against Teachers

Young people experience hostile relationships with their teachers and this is not unique to the digital era. Teachers and other educational staff also experience electronic aggression. During the interviews, some respondents, usually teachers, described situations when a teacher or other school staff members have been attacked on the Internet. For example, the school headmaster presented a case when one student had sent a series of letters insulting teachers to their school e-mail addresses. Additionally, revealed situations when students were sending unpleasant messages via text messages.

Electronic Aggression against the Vulnerable

Some students admitted being involved in online aggression against people in unfortunate situations, such as being homeless and alcohol addicted. This kind of aggression usually involved short films published on portals, such as YouTube. The involvement of young perpetrators may have two different forms. They can be producers of the aggressive materials, although perpetration of this form of aggression is rare.

Most often young people were active viewers, positively commenting, rating hostile videos positively, or praising the producers of the materials. Analyzing this kind of aggression as media aggression makes this phenomenon a serious issue, due to the psychosocial and moral consequences for both perpetrators, bystanders, and victims. The form of aggression includes an imbalance of power because sometimes victims in this videos are sometimes not aware of the harm they experience and are helpless.

This makes such acts clearly unethical. Modeling of aggressive behavior in viewers may be occur as they are often around the same age as producers of the harmful content. Additionally the aggressive content is not fictional that took place in the offline world. Viewers often show acceptance by providing positive comments and high ratings, which may give the impression that those kinds of materials are socially accepted.

Aggression Against Random Victims (Random Electronic Aggression)

A lot of respondents indicated that they have attacked people electronically that they have no relationship with. Such acts were usually spontaneous situations influenced by a comment or a behavior of the victim that perpetrators did not like, such as during a forum or chat conversation.

Sometimes the reactions described by the respondents were very emotional and openly aggressive toward victims. It is worth indicating that such behavior is generally targeted against victims that are completely unknown to an aggressor. Those who admitted perpetrating these behaviors sometimes indicated the potential low-risk of potential legal actions taken by a victim in order to identify and punish them.

Electronic Aggression Against Groups (Bias Cyberbullying)

Sometimes students admitted attacking whole groups. For example, they published comments insulting all fans of a certain singer or sport team.

Those comments were often published in places where a lot of potential Internet users could see them, e.g., Facebook wall or as a comment on a public access forum. Although this kind of electronic aggression is not personalized, each person affiliating themselves with a certain insulted group might suffer. This is vital as affiliation to groups, particularly peer groups, is an important developmental stage of adolescence.

Electronic Aggression Against Celebrities

Another target of young perpetrators was widely known individuals, such as actors and singers. Electronic attacks of this kinds were almost never conducted directly through one-to-one communication.

Most often respondents were writing abusive comments about celebrities on gossip portals where short scandalized messages concerning famous people are published. Sometimes such comments, texts, or rarely visual materials were presented on perpetrators' blogs or their profiles on social networking sites.

CONCLUSION

The presented analysis of literature and research showed that the cyberbullying concept should be extended. The complexity and diversity of acts involved suggest that the simple concept of cyberbullying may be too simplistic to describe this phenomenon. I suggest adoption of a wider concept such as electronic aggression. This umbrella term covers a wide range of hostile cases where ICTs are used to harm others. The distinction here is connected to the instruments and environments where the aggression takes place. Those acts could be divided and the typologies may be based on at least two aspects. The first formal feature relates to how the aggression is conducted. This could be based on traditional bullying characteristics (i.e., repetition, imbalance of power, intention) or "new" features, such as anonymity or the publication of digital content. The next aspect concerns the relationship between a perpetrator(s) and a victim(s). It is not how the aggression is conducted that is important but the identity of actors involved. The issue is whether victims and perpetrators are connected based on a group membership. Young people's relationships may be based on formal groups (e.g., a class, a sport team) or informal groups (e.g., peer group in the neighborhood). These groups may also occur online in some way. In such groups, attacking a victim or victims by people from the peer group might heighten the severity of victimization. These findings are corroborated by Whittaker and Kowalski's (2014) study. They found that my typology showed that this kind of electronic aggression is perceived as relatively more damaging than other forms. Victims may be different kinds of people that are strangers to victims (e.g., unknown Internet users, groups, celebrities). Analysis of these different contexts suggests that both the mechanisms and consequences of different kinds of electronic aggression may vary. This means that the measurement should reflect contextual factors in a way that the results should differentiate different kinds of electronic aggression. This might also influence intervention that should consider these contextual aspects of electronic aggression based on relationships between victims and perpetrators.

The elaboration of typologies is still in its preliminary stage. The research presented thus far refers only to adolescents as perpetrators of electronic aggression. However, these typologies might be extrapolated to other groups as well. Generally speaking, the new typologies might influence the way measurement tools are constructed that could yield more accurate and valid cyberbullying research.

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Chapter 15

DOES CULTURE MATTER? CYBERBULLYING PERPETRATION AND CYBERVICTIMIZATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA REGION

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INTRODUCTION

The Mediterranean Sea is the biggest inland sea in the world. According to the population density, the population is highest in this region, especially along the coastlines. Recent statistics on internet penetration rates indicated that 9% of worldwide internet use derives from 16 countries which have coastlines on the Mediterranean Sea. This relatively high rate of Internet use may bring both opportunities and risks to individuals. The main aim of this chapter is to review the research on one online risks (i.e., cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization) in the Mediterranean Sea Region.

Cyberbullying is defined as an “aggressive, hostile, or harmful act that is perpetrated by a bully through an unspecified type of electronic device” (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 270). Cyberbullying is often described as the online continuum of traditional bullying (Gradinger, Strohmeier, & Spiel, 2009; Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Machačková, Dedkova, Sevcikova & Cerna, 2013; Olweus, 2012; Riebel, Jager, & Fischer, 2009; Wade & Beran, 2011), or as a specific form of indirect bullying that involves the use of electronic devices to carry out bullying (Hemphill et al., 2012; Li, Smith, & Cross, 2012). On the other hand, in the case of cyberbullying, a degree of technological expertise is required; cyber-bullies are much more invisible or anonymous compared to traditional bullies, and the act of bullying in cyberspace typically happens when the bully and victim are physically distant (Cowie, 2009; Li et al., 2012). A comprehensive review, which included databases (i.e., Science Direct, PsychInfo, Medline, Scopus, Ebscohost), revealed that national and international studies focusing on cyberbullying in the Mediterranean Sea Region were generally from Italy, Spain, Turkey,

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Greece and Cyprus. Although it is difficult to say that all of these five countries share similar characteristics associated with Mediterranean culture, it can be suggested that they are mainly countries with collectivistic cultural tendencies, except Italy which is characterized as an individualistic country (Green, Deschamps, & Paez, 2005; MacDonald, 2010; Suh et al., 1998). Therefore the following parts of the chapter focused on cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization research in Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Turkey, respectively. After reviewing the literature, similarities or differences in the variables predicting cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization in these countries will be discussed and the question “Does culture matter?” will be revisited.

RESEARCH IN CYPRUS

Research on cyberbullying is relatively new in both Northern and Southern Cyprus. This is mainly because of a lack of knowledge about the issue in both communities and the lack of attention in academic settings. Therefore, there is little research focused on cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization in Cyprus.

Özçınar and Aldağ (2012) recruited 800 students from five universities in North Cyprus. It was found that both cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization was associated with the death of a parent. Gender comparisons indicated that males were more involved in both cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization. The results also showed that the risk of cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization increased with the use of computers and the Internet. In another study conducted in North Cyprus, Tabak and Köymen (2014) examined sending and receiving unkind messages as indicators of cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization, respectively. The sample included 40 English preparatory school students of the European University of Lefke. They found that 40% of the students received unkind messages while 50% of the students reported that they sent unkind messages to someone. Using college students from three universities in North Cyprus, Bayraktar, Dedkova and Machackova (2014) tested the associations among independent self-construal, femininity-masculinity, cyberbullying perpetration, cybervictimization. A total of 393 participants (56.2% females, 44.8% males) between the ages of 19 and 35 ($M = 24.25$, $SD = 2.51$) participated in the study. The results revealed that higher independent self-construal orientation mediated and moderated the association between femininity and cybervictimization. More specifically, independent self-construal served a protective function against cybervictimization for feminine participants.

Some research has also focused on cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization in South Cyprus. Although, the Republic of Cyprus is recognized as the only legal entity in Cyprus, two communities (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) have lived separately in the North and South parts of Cyprus since 1974. Because of different life contexts and educational/administrative systems in both communities, they are considered separate. Fanti, Demetriou, and Veronica (2012) examined a series of protective (i.e., perceived social support from family, peers, and school) and risk factors (i.e., being involved in school bullying perpetration and victimization, being exposed to media violence, callous-unemotional traits, impulsivity, and narcissism) related to cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization using a two wave longitudinal design. A total of 1,416 adolescents were recruited from schools in South Cyprus. Their findings indicated that there was longitudinal continuity between school

bullying and cyberbullying. Callous-unemotional traits at Time 1 were related with cyberbullying at Time 2 with a time gap of 1 year. Also, exposure to media violence was found to be a risk factor for both cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization. Also focusing on adolescents from South Cyprus, Floros et al. (2013) recruited 2,684 high school students in order to examine the role of parenting and personal factors in cyberbullying involvement. They found that affectionless parental control (i.e., high maternal and paternal overprotection with low maternal and paternal care) was associated with adolescents' involvement in cyberbullying. The findings also showed that cyberbullies had emotional difficulties, conduct problems (i.e., hyperactivity), interpersonal problems with peers, and antisocial tendencies.

RESEARCH IN GREECE

Empirical research on cyberbullying in Greece began in 2005 (Antoniadou, & Kokinnos, 2015). Increases in Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) penetration and utilization are suggested as contributing to the "cyberbullying epidemic" in Greece (Tsaliki, 2010). Additionally, some researchers have suggested that the ongoing economic crisis could have an impact on cyberbullying rates because rapid economic changes are known to be related to increased violence among young people (Kalliotis, 2000). One of the first studies on cyberbullyingin perpetration and cybervictimization in Greece dates back to 2008, and it was conducted by Kapatzia and Sygkollitou. A total of 544 high school students (ages 16-19) from the area of Thessaloniki were recruited. Self-reported cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization rates were 15.2% and 20.5%, respectively. Comparisons on gender indicated that boys were more involved in cyberbullying via cell phones, while girls used the Internet more for cyberbullying. Gountsidou (2008) conducted a study on behalf of the Committee of Social Policy of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The participants were 194 freshmen University students.

The results revealed that cyberbullying involvement rates were low in this sample: 6% for cybervictimization and 1% for cyberbullying perpetration. It was also found that cyberbullying was common in chat rooms, social network sites, and instant messaging services. Two independent studies were conducted on cybervictimization by the Adolescent Health Unit of the University of Athens in 2007 and 2008 with 900 and 315 adolescents (Tripodaki et al., 2008). The results indicated that cybervictimization rates were 4.2% in the larger sample and 5.8% in the smaller sample. Utilizing data collected from the European Action Safe Net Home project, Sygkollitou and colleagues (2010) found that 54% of the 450 students in this sample were cybervictimized. A follow-up study was conducted in 2009 and 2011 with 1,221 adolescents (age range: 15-18 years old; Fisoun, 2011). The results showed that cybervictimization rates increased from 14.5% to 28.3% in two years.

Taken together, these studies reveal different prevalence rates. Antoniadou, and Kokinnos (2015) discussed a factors which might have contributed to these differences. Some factors include a lack of a common definition of cyberbullying, different tools used to measure the issue, and the use of empirically untested self-reported questionnaires. For these reasons, researchers have directed their attention to predictors of cyberbullying involvement.

In one study, Lazuras and Ourda (2012) recruited 125 secondary school students from Athens, and they examined the predictive roles of empathy, attitudes, social norms, risk

prototypes, and self-efficacy beliefs for traditional (face-to-face) bullying and cyberbullying in youths' cyberbullying perpetration. The results revealed that not only did affective empathy negatively predict cyberbullying but self-efficacy beliefs fully mediated the relationship between empathy and cyberbullying.

Other research has focused on personality factors in predicting cyberbullying involvement. In this research, Kokkinos, Antoniadou, Dalara, Koufogazou, and Papatziki (2013) examined the associations among cyberbullying involvement, big five personality traits, and coping strategies among 300 preadolescents. The findings indicated that cyberbullying involvement was predicted by low agreeableness, low conscientiousness, and high neuroticism. Cyberbullying involvement was also related the maladaptive coping strategies of aggression, resignation, and passive avoidance.

Kokkinos and Antoniadou published two independent studies in 2013 (Kokkinos, & Antoniadou, 2013a; Kokkinos, & Antoniadou, 2013b). The first study included 429 students (age range: 10-18 years old) and found that cyberbullying (similar to traditional bullying) was predicted by lack of cooperation and sensation seeking traits (Kokkinos, & Antoniadou, 2013a). The second study included 430 University students (Kokkinos, & Antoniadou, 2013b). The results revealed that cyber-bully/victimization was predicted by anxiety, depression, hostility and interpersonal sensitivity symptoms and on all psychopathic traits, whereas boredom susceptibility, depression, grandiosity, callousness–unemotionality and insecure attachment predicted cyberbullying. Cybervictimization was significantly predicted by gender, depression, grandiosity and callousness–unemotionality.

Some research has focused on gender differences in cyberbullying involvement among Greek youths. In particular, Floros, Siomos, Fisoun, Dafouli, and Geroukalis (2013) recruited 2,017 adolescents whose ages were between 12 and 19. They found that girls were significantly more likely to have been cyberbullied than boys. In addition, both cyberbullying and cybervictimization was predicted by maternal and paternal overprotection, impulsivity, loneliness, depression, and social discomfort. In another study investigating parenting and cyberbullying involvement, Makri-Botsari and Karagianni (2014) examined the associations between parenting styles and cyberbullying involvement among 396 secondary school students. The results showed that authoritative parenting style was negatively related to cyberbullying perpetration, while authoritarian parenting was positively related to these behaviors. There was no significant correlation between authoritative or authoritarian parenting styles and cybervictimization.

RESEARCH IN ITALY

Research on cyberbullying in Italy began in 2008. Pisano and Saturno (2008) found that 14% of middle-school students and 16% of high school students were cyberbullied. They found no gender differences in cyberbullying involvement among the middle-school sample, but females experienced more cybervictimization in the high-school sample. Focusing on mobile phone and Internet bullying, Guarini, Brighi, and Genta (2009) found that middle and high school students used mobile phones more to cyberbully others.

Similarly, Mura, Bonsignore, and Diamantini (2010) also found that 10% of students in their sample of 475 middle and high school students in Milan, Italy reported that they were

cyberbullied. Mobile phones and the Internet were two main tools used to cyberbully others. Focusing on behaviors which represent cyberbullying, Nocentini and colleagues' (2010) findings revealed that Italian adolescents perceived sending unkind text messages and sending a compromising photo as indicators of cyberbullying but not getting access to someone's password and removing someone from an online group. In a cross-national study conducted by Ortega and colleagues (2012), they found that Italian adolescents had the highest rates of cyberbullying involvement through the Internet, compared to adolescents from Spain and England. Furthermore, Italian victims were felt greater anger when compared to their Spanish and English counterparts. They cautioned interpretations of their results as "anger" might be expressed and perceived differently across nations. Similar research was conducted by Schultze-Krumbholz et al. (2015) who utilized latent class analysis to identify classifications of involvement in traditional and cyberbullying across six European countries, including Italy. The results showed that more Italian adolescents were involved in the bully-victim category when compared to adolescents from Poland, Spain, the UK, Germany, and Greece.

Menesini, Nocentini, and Camodeca (2011) evaluated the role of morality and values in traditional bullying and cyberbullying. They recruited 390 adolescents from four high schools in Tuscany, Italy. The results indicated that immoral and disengaged behaviors were associated with both traditional bullying and cyberbullying. Menesini et al. (2011) discussed the key role of morality in both forms of bullying. The authors found that immoral and disengaged behaviors predicted both traditional and cyberbullying. Further investigating predictors of cyberbullying involvement, Brighi, Guarini, Melotti, Galli, and Genta (2012) found that traditional victimization (both direct and indirect) predicted cybervictimization among 2,326 Italian adolescents. Different associations were found for males and females such that low self-esteem in family relationships was a predictor of cybervictimization among males, while feeling lonely in relationships with parents related to cybervictimization among females. Utilizing participants from the same study, Guarini, Passini, Melotti, and Brighi (2012) further investigated the role of gender, age, self-esteem, loneliness, and perceived school climate in relation to traditional bullying and cyberbullying. They found that perceived loneliness in one's relationship with parents, low self-esteem, and conflict with teachers increased the risk of perpetrating both traditional bullying and cyberbullying. Baroncelli and Ciucci (2014) examined the association between trait emotional intelligence and bullying in a sample of 529 Italian preadolescents. The results indicated that the regulation and use of emotions (as indicators of emotional intelligence) were negatively related to both traditional bullying and cyberbullying. Some research has focused on the psychological outcomes associated with cyberbullying involvement. In this research, Brighi and colleagues (2012) investigated the associations among self-esteem, loneliness, and cyberbullying. They found that cybervictimization was related to decreased self-esteem and loneliness.

RESEARCH IN SPAIN

Unlike the earlier research in the other countries, which focus on prevalence rates, one of the first studies published on cyberbullying in Spain focused on the emotional impact of cybervictimization. Ortega, Elipe, Mora-Merchan, Calmaestra, and Vega (2009) recruited

1,671 Spanish adolescents to evaluate the emotional impact of traditional bullying and cyberbullying on victims.

Results indicated that cyberbullying had an impact on victims in two ways. One group of victims reported that they had not been affected by either bullying or cyberbullying. The second group indicated that they suffered from negative emotions as result of their victimization. Following up research investigating prevalence rates of cyberbullying revealed that 29% of adolescents in a sample of 2,001 reported that they were victimized via the Internet, while 24.6% were bullied through mobile phones (Buelga, Cava, & Musitu, 2010).

Girls and juniors in high school were more at risk for cybervictimization. Nocentini and colleagues (2010) conducted research on labels, behaviors, and definitions of cyberbullying in Spain. Spanish adolescents perceived sending unkind text messages and removing someone from an online group as indicators of cyberbullying but not getting access to someone's password or sending a compromising photo.

A cross-national study investigated rates of cyberbullying involvement in England, Italy, and Spain (Ortega et al., 2012). Frequent victimization through the Internet was lowest for adolescents in Spain when compared to adolescents from Italy and England. In addition, Spanish victims reported less anxiety and fear.

Del Rey, Elipe, and Ortega-Ruiz (2012) conducted a short term longitudinal study involving 274 adolescents (age range: 12-18 years old) from two schools in South Spain. The results showed that offline aggression and victimization predicted later cyberbullying perpetration. However, cyberbullying didn't predict later traditional bullying perpetration. Therefore, they concluded that cyberbullying is a continuum of traditional bullying perpetration and a compensation strategy for traditional victimization. In other research, Calvete, Orue, Estevez, Villardon, and Padilla (2010) developed a questionnaire, called the Cyberbullying Questionnaire, to understand cyberbullies' profiles in a sample of 1,431 adolescents. They found that boys perpetrated cyberbullying more often than girls. The results also indicated that cyberbullying was significantly related with the use of proactive aggression, justification of violence, exposure to violence, and perceiving less social support from peers. Other research has focused on comparisons of the predictors associated with traditional bullying and cyberbullying. In particular, Casas, Del Rey, and Ortega-Ruiz (2013) recruited 893 secondary school students from Cordoba, Spain. Their results revealed that traditional bullying and cyberbullying shared similar risk factors (i.e., safety problems in school and negative peer interactions). On the other hand, problematic internet use (which defines excessive and addictive use of internet) uniquely predicted cyberbullying perpetration and the lack of control of personal information online uniquely predicted cybervictimization.

Navarro, Yubero, Larranaga, and Martinez (2012) recruited 1127 primary school students to evaluate the interrelations between cybervictimization, social anxiety and social competence. They concluded that fear of negative evaluation from peers, also interpersonal difficulties and lack of appropriate social skills predicted cybervictimization. Focusing on the associations of cybervictimization to self-esteem and loneliness, Brighi and colleagues (2012) found that cybervictimization was related to decreased self-esteem and loneliness. Utilizing a longitudinal design, Gamez-Guadix, Orue, Smith, and Calvete (2013) investigated the associations of cybervictimization to problematic Internet usage, depression, and substance use among 1,021 adolescents (age range: 13-17). They found that cybervictimization at Time 1 predicted depressive symptoms and problematic internet use at Time 2 with a time gap of 6 months. Moreover, higher depressive symptoms and more substance use at Time 1 predicted

cybervictimization at Time 2. The results revealed that there was a reciprocal relationship between depressive symptoms and cybervictimization.

RESEARCH IN TURKEY

Similar to studies in other Mediterranean countries, except Spain, the first publications focused on the prevalence and nature of cyberbullying. For example, Aricak et al. (2008) examined the prevalence rates of cyberbullying and cybervictimization in a sample of 269 secondary school students. The rates were 35.7% for cyberbullying perpetration, 23.8% cyberbullies-cybervictims, and 5.9% for cybervictimization. Males were more often involved in cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization when compared to females. The secondary aim of the study was to investigate the coping strategies of these students. They found that almost 33% of the students used active strategies, such as blocking the aggressor, and 25% asked for help from peers and parents. In another study in the same year, Topçu, Erdur-Baker, and Çapa-Aydın (2008) recruited 183 adolescents from public and private schools. They found that students in public schools reported more cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization compared to their peers in private schools.

Accordingly, using internet mediated communication tools more frequently predicted cyberbullying involvement among public school students but not students from private schools. Dilmac (2009) investigated the relationship between psychological needs and cyberbullying among 666 undergraduate students. When the criteria “at least once in the past” was used, 22.5% of the students reported that they cyberbullied others, and 55.3% reported that they had been cybervictimized. Compared to females, males reported more cyberbullying. The results indicated that aggression and the need of attention from other people predicted cyberbullying. On the other hand, cybervictimization was related to the need for affiliation. Other research has focused on the rates of victimization and bullying in both the cyber and face-to-face context.

In such research, Erdur-Baker (2010) recruited 276 adolescents (age range 14-18) to examine the co-occurrence between traditional bullying and cyberbullying. The results indicated that 32% of the participants had been victimized in both forms. The rate of bullying in both social contexts was 26%. Males were more involved in cyberbullying and cybervictimization when compared to the females. Other research by Yilmaz (2011) examined cyberbullying in a sample of 756 middle school students living in Istanbul. The prevalence rates were 17.9% and 6.4% for cybervictimization and cyberbullying perpetration, respectively. Males were more involved in cyberbullying when compared to females. The primary tools for cyberbullying were instant messages and social network sites. For males, massive multiplayer online games were a risk factor for cybervictimization. The results also indicated that most of the students did not know how to cope with cyberbullying effectively. Burnukara and Ucanok (2012) recruited 868 adolescents from different secondary and high schools in Ankara. The main aim of the study was to examine the overlap between traditional and cyberbullying. The results indicated that the rate of co-occurrence was 63%. The prevalence rates for being involved in traditional bullying/victimization/bullying-victimization and cyberforms of these were 31.9% and 21.7% respectively.

Males were more involved in traditional bullying but not gender difference was found for cyberbullying. Arslan, Savaser, Hallett and Balci (2012) examined the prevalence of

cyberbullying and school/home related factors which predict bullying in cyberspace. A total of 372 primary school students were recruited. The prevalence rates were %27, %18 and %15 for cybervictims, cyberbullies and cyberbully-victims respectively. Males cyberbullied more compared to females. Cyberbullying and cybervictimization was negatively related with school satisfaction and academic achievement. Paternal unemployment as a home related factor increased the risk to be a cyberbully three times.

Bayar and Ucanok (2012) examined how students who were involved in traditional bullying and cyberbullying perceived their school's social climate and peer relationships. A total of 1,263 secondary students were recruited for this study. The results revealed that non-involved students perceived their schools and their teachers more positively compared to bullies and bully-victims. Cybervictims perceived their teachers more positively than cyberbullies. Non-involved students, traditional bullies, and cyberbullies had more positive peer relationships than traditional victims and cybervictims. On the other hand, traditional victims and cybervictims perceived their teachers more positively when compared to bullies and bully-victims. Focusing on predictors of cyberbullying involvement, Celik, Atak and Erguzen (2012) investigated the links between personality and cybervictimization among college students from different universities. They found that emotional instability predicted cybervictimization. On the other hand, openness to experience was related negatively to cybervictimization. The results indicated no link between personality traits and cybervictimization. In addition, Eksi (2012) examined the interrelations between narcissistic personality traits, internet addiction, and cyberbullying perpetration among 508 high school students recruited from different schools in Istanbul. Internet addiction mediated the relationship between narcissistic personality trait and cyberbullying. Attention has also been given to the psychosocial adjustment consequences associated with Turkish youths' involvement in cyberbullying. In this research, Cetin, Eroglu, Peker, Akbaba, and Pepsoy (2012) studied the interrelations between relational-interdependent self-construal, depression, anxiety, stress, and cyberbullying involvement in a sample of 258 high school students. Relational-interdependent self-construal was negatively correlated with both cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization. The results also indicated that cyberbullying involvement predicted depression, anxiety, and stress. Other research has found this relationship as well but with loneliness and cybervictimization among 389 secondary school students from different schools in Trabzon, a city on the North coast of Turkey (Sahin, 2012). Psychiatric variables have also been found to be associated with cyberbullying involvement. In particular, Ozden and Icellioglu (2014) found that cyberbullying involvement was linked to psychotism among 136 university students.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CYBERBULLYING RESEARCH IN MEDITERRANEAN REGION

The research on cyberbullying in these five Mediterranean countries (i.e., Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Turkey) typically began around the same time, parallel to the rest of the world as well. One of the reasons behind this academic interest can be attributed to the rapid increase in Internet and mobile phone use, especially among adolescents and young adults between 2004 and 2008 (Lenhart, Arafeh, Smith, & Macgill, 2008). ICTs created new contexts for bullying, including text messages social network sites, and online games. This review of the research on

cyberbullying in these Mediterranean countries suggests that many of the studies began by focusing on defining the nature of the phenomenon to more current investigations aimed at examining the related risk and protective factors. It is difficult to discuss similarities and differences among these findings because of various sample characteristics and different methods to measure cyberbullying. However, the most stable finding was males' greater tendency for cyberbullying in all countries. Although Tokunaga (2010) stated that both males and females were equally vulnerable in his meta-synthesis, there is a line of research which indicates a constant tendency to cyberbully among males (e.g., Aricak et al., 2008; Li, 2007; Slonje & Smith, 2008).

Another clear result of this regional literature review is that cyberbullying is a growing issue in all five countries. A recent report by Helsper, Kalmus, Hasebrink, Sagvari, and de Haan (2013), which used EU-Kids Online II data, showed a somewhat similar picture of the issue. In this study, a hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted for 25 European countries to find the associations between parental mediation practices and online opportunities, risks, and harm experienced by children and adolescents. The findings indicated that countries which have been outlined in this chapter, except Cyprus, were in the "Protected by Restraint" cluster. This cluster included 10 countries (i.e., Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and the UK). These children and adolescents experienced few online risks and they were protected from these risks by restrictive parental mediation. Cyprus was in the "Semi-Supported Risky Gamers" cluster, which also included Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Poland, and Romania (see Figure 1).

The children and adolescents in this cluster showed higher online risks and their parental mediation was less restrictive. Based on this cluster analysis, it might be suggested that most countries in the Mediterranean Sea region share similar online risks, including cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization. However, the role of culture is still ambiguous since neither this report nor cross-national studies discuss this matter. More attention should be given to comparisons that are embedded within cross-cultural theory.

REVISITING THE QUESTION: DOES CULTURE MATTER?

Some researchers stress that culture does not play a critical role in cyberbullying because, similar to traditional bullying, the basis of the problem is universal and linked to human nature (e.g., Görzig & Ólafsson, 2012; Ybarra, Mitchell, & Lenhart, 2010).

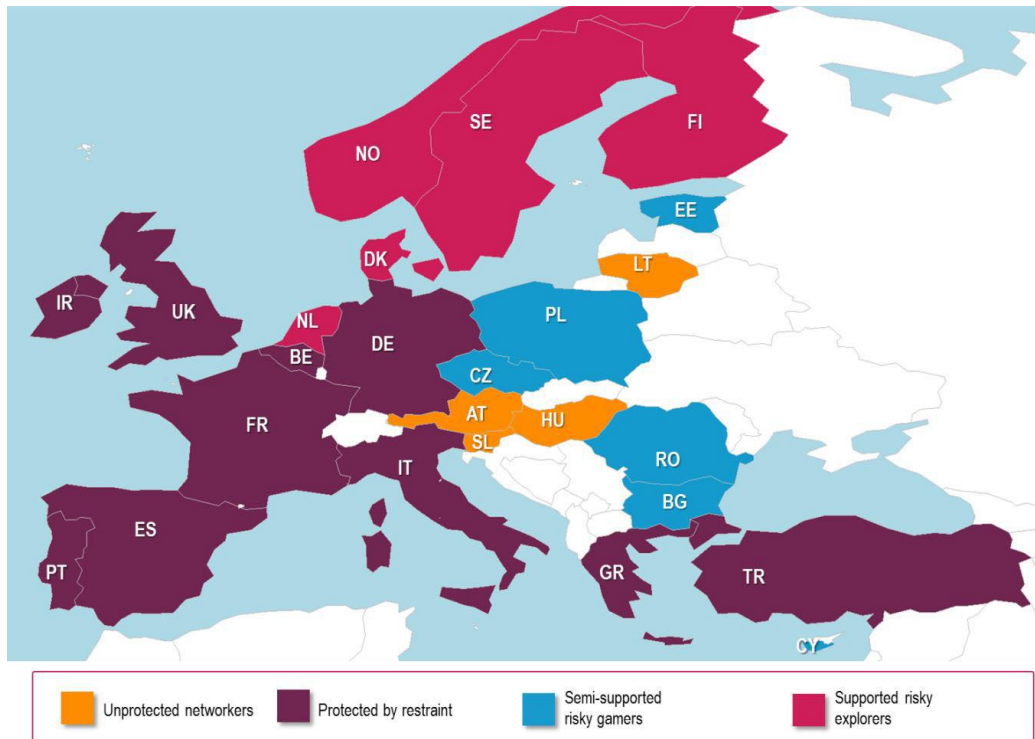
On the other hand, a different line of research indicates that the nature (i.e., definition and perception) of cyberbullying can vary according to cultural factors (Calmaestra, Ortega, Maldonado, & Mora-Merchán, 2010; Menesini, 2012). However, in these studies it was not clear how culture explains the variances in cyberbullying.

Also, it is also almost impossible to measure culture as a high-level sociological construct in any empirical way (Gross & Rayner, 1985).

Therefore, lower-level, culture-related psychological constructs which are theoretically associated with cyberbullying can be measured instead of culture itself (Bayraktar et al., 2014).

In this overview of research on cyberbullying in five Mediterranean countries, none of the studies focused on culture or culture-related psychological constructs except one that focused on relational interdependent self-construal (i.e., Cetin et al., 2012). Cross, Bacon, and Morris

(2000) defined relational interdependent self-construal as constructing the self in relation to close interpersonal relationships, but not in relation to a group or society. At this point, it has to be stressed that relational interdependent self-construal was found to be more common in individualistic cultures (Cross et al., 2000; Cross & Madson, 1997a; Cross & Madson, 1997b; Kashima et al., 1995).



Source: Helsper et al., 2013, p. 35.

Figure 1. Country classification based on opportunities, risks and harm, and parental mediation.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 2001) ecological theory can be used as a foundation for future studies intended to investigate the role of culture in cyberbullying involvement. Ecological theory explains human development as being nested within systems which are interrelated with each other, including the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. The studies in this review generally focused on microsystem variables (i.e., individual himself/herself, family, peers, teachers) and mesosystem variables (e.g., ICT). Although the macrosystem (in which culture is included) might influence the interactions between all other systems, it was neglected by the studies reviewed in this chapter. Therefore, researchers need to move forward and focus on culture or culture-related psychological constructs as risk and protective factors associated with cyberbullying perpetration and cybervictimization. Though not discussed in many of the chapters in this book, another line of research continues to stress the evolutionary and genetic background of traditional and cyberbullying (e.g., Blumenfeld, 2005; Ouellet-Morin et al., 2013; Volk, Camilleri, Dane, & Marini, 2012).

Therefore, these studies might be unknowingly investigating the "bio" part of Bronfenbrenner's theory, with the general conclusion that bullying (and cyberbullying) are

inevitable because of the genetically and evolutionarily determined power relations among human beings. This conclusion creates a pessimist picture of the phenomenon.

Therefore, it is necessary for research to focus on the flexibility and plasticity of human development from a social-ecological perspective.

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Chapter 16

RISKS FACTORS IN CYBERBULLYING: THE MODERATING ROLE OF CULTURE

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INTRODUCTION

Due to technology advancements, communicating with the rest of the world can occur within a few clicks. Although the omnipresent Internet has provided us with many conveniences, it has also allowed bullies to reach to their victims almost at anytime and anywhere, which indicates that victims are exposed to potential attacks even when they are alone. As a growing problem among youngsters, cyberbullying has gained increased amounts of attention in recent years. Numerous studies have been conducted around the world in an attempt to identify general predictors and risk factors of this phenomenon.

However, despite the extensive effort to establish meaningful patterns, research results remain highly mixed, and some are even contradictory, such as the relationships among gender, age and cyberbullying behaviors.

In an attempt to explain these discrepancies, recent studies have proposed to use the theory of planned behavior (TPB) as a comprehensive theoretical framework to approach this problem. Cyberbullying perpetration predicted the three major constructs of TPB, including one's subjective norms, attitudes, and perceived behavioral control of their online bullying behaviors (e.g., Ang, Tan, & Mansor, 2010; Burton, Florell, & Wygant, 2013; Heirman & Walrave, 2012; Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014; Nicol & Fleming, 2010, Williams & Guerra, 2007). Although few of these studies focused on cross-cultural comparisons to examine the moderating role of culture on cyberbullying, systematic differences on risk factors related to the three TPB constructs can be observed when comparing studies from different areas of the world, especially between Western and non-Western cultures.

This distinct pattern implies that culture could have a critical role in moderating cyberbullying perpetration. Therefore, risk factors and consequences of cyberbullying might

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differ across cultures, due to the moderating factor of values and beliefs. The knowledge of culture's role in cyberbullying is necessary for researchers to identify specific risk factors, which could help devise effective interventions for local communities in the future.

Hence, the purpose of the present chapter is to provide a systematic review of the existing cyberbullying research in order to providing a foundation for developing cross-cultural perspective on this phenomenon. Using the theory of planned behavior as the underlying framework, the present chapter will attempt to highlight important cultural differences found in the risk factors associated with cyberbullying. Research implications and future directions will also be discussed.

CYBERBULLYING: A GLOBAL PHENOMENON

Although cross-cultural studies on cyberbullying are rather scarce, there are a number of studies from different parts of the world which show that cyberbullying is indeed a global phenomenon. Cyberbullying has been observed in a number of western countries, such as the United States (e.g., Patchin & Hinduja, 2008), Canada (e.g., Beran & Li, 2006), the United Kingdom (e.g., Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, Fisher, Russell & Tippett, 2008), Spain (Calvete, Orue, Estevez, Villardon, & Padilla, 2010), Australia (e.g., Price & Dalgleish, 2010) and Germany (e.g., Riebel, Jaeger & Fischer, 2009).

Figures from recent studies suggest that cyberbullying is a common problem among children, adolescents, and young adults. Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder and Lattanner (2014) reported in a recent meta-analysis that the percentage of cyberbullying victimization observed in the past decade ranges from 10% to 40%. On top of the high prevalence rates, a number of recent studies reveal an increasing trend of cyberbullying in some countries (e.g., von Marées & Petermann, 2012).

As a growing problem among youngsters, cyberbullying has gained increased amounts of attention in recent years. Studies conducted around the world have attempted to identify general predictors and personal risk factors for this phenomenon. Although few of these studies have included cross-cultural comparisons to examine the moderating role of culture on cyberbullying, systematic differences on and social risk factors can be observed when comparing studies from different areas of the world, especially between Western and non-Western cultures. The distinct pattern implies that culture could have a critical role in moderating cyberbullying perpetration.

CYBERBULLYING IN ASIA

The world's internet penetration rate has increased sharply in the past decade, due to the invention of smart phones and maturation of the telecommunication network. Although regions which reported the highest internet penetration rates are Europe, North America and Oceania (Miniwatts Marketing Group, 2014), the number of internet users in Asia is also growing.

In fact, according to Internet World Statistics (2014), the internet penetration rates in certain region in Asia are now higher than some countries in the west and the total sum of internet users in Asia takes up almost half of the world's internet population (45.7%).

Following the rise, cyberbullying has also been observed in studies conducted with samples from Asia, such as China (e.g., 刘琳, 2014), Japan (e.g., Udris, 2014), Korea (e.g., Yang,

Stewart, J.M. Kim, S.W. Kim, Shin, Dewey, Maskey & Yoon, 2013), Hong Kong (e.g., Leung & McBride-Chang, 2013; Wong, Chan & Cheng, 2014), Macau (e.g., 陈桂敏, 2013), Singapore (e.g., Kwan & Skoric, 2013) and Taiwan (e.g., Chang, Lee, Chiu, Hsi, Huang & Pan, 2013). Table 1 shows the prevalence estimates and characteristics of studies conducted with samples from Asia, which include both cross-cultural studies and local research on cyberbullying from China, Korea, Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong and Macau. Definitions of cyberbullying and assessment methods used for each study were also summarized in the appendix.

As seen in the table, prevalence rate in cyberbullying found in Asia tend to be at the lower end of the range that was reported in Kowalski and his colleagues' (2014) meta-analysis. However, it is important to note that prevalence rates can be influenced by various methodological issues as suggested by various studies, such as the specificity of instructions (e.g., whether the definition of cyberbullying was provided to the participants), the design of scales (e.g., single/multiple items, time frame of behavioral sampling), and the specificity of the online platform where cyberbullying is assessed (e.g., some studies measure the prevalence rate of cyberbullying in a specific online platform, such as Facebook, mobile phone, massively multiplayer online game). Hence it is important to take the definitions and assessment methods into account when comparing prevalence estimates across different studies. Although the different prevalence rates found across cultures should only be taken as rough estimates of their relative standing in cyberbullying involvement, there are a few cross-cultural studies, which can provide support to the claim that members of eastern culture tend to participate in cyberbullying less than their western counterparts. Despite quantitative, cross-cultural studies between western and eastern cultures being scarce (5 were identified in this chapter), four of them reported a significant difference in the cyberbullying involvement between the two cultures, with people from the western cultures being more involved in cyberbullying. Some studies have also identified interactions between cultural contexts and various personal risk factors in cyberbullying.

An interesting example of such interaction was found in one study on cyberbullying involvement differences in Japan and the US conducted by Barlett and his colleagues (2014). The two countries are distinctive in terms of culture (i.e., independent self-construal is dominant in the US while interdependent self-construal is dominant in Japan) and level of technology advancement (i.e., Japan was more technologically advanced). They found that cyberbullying involvement was linked to technology advances and independent self-construal, with participants from the US being more involved in cyberbullying when compared to those from Japan. This shows that cultural contexts have a strong moderating role in one's cyberbullying involvement.

To capture how cultural perceptions affect cyberbullying involvement, the present chapter will attempt to explain differences found between eastern and western cultures using the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB). The theory was originally developed by Ajzen to explain what factors contribute to the intention to perform a specific behavior.

The three constructs in TPB, which Ajzen argued to be the main sources of influence on one's intention to perform a behavior, including attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control. As the theory takes both personal and social factors into account, it is reasonable to argue that it is an appropriate and promising framework to account for cultural

differences in cyberbullying. In the following section, the Theory of Planned Behavior will be introduced in relation to this field of research.

THEORY OF PLANNED BEHAVIOR VS. CYBERBULLYING

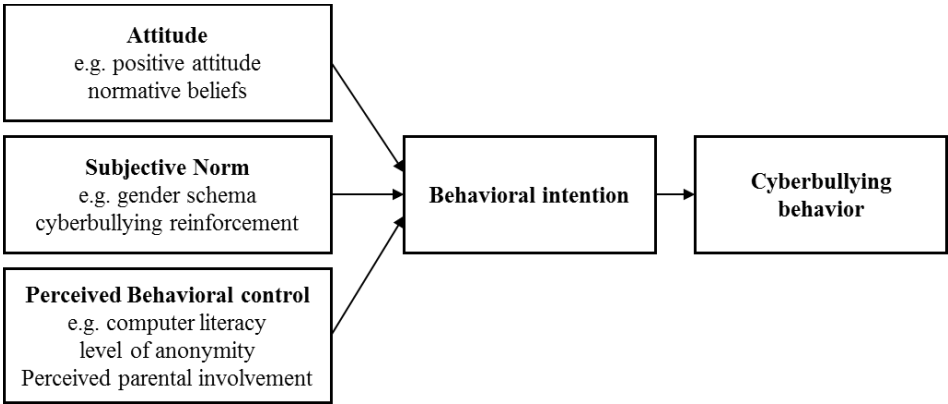
Although there are extensive studies on cyberbullying around the world, recent studies have suggest that this field of research is still lack of theoretical focus (e.g., Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014; Heirman & Walrave, 2012). Because the field lacks a theoretical foundation, research findings on cyberbullying are scattered and lack of cohesion.

This chapter focuses on the theoretical focus of TPB can provide a suitable framework for the research of cyberbullying, especially when accounting for the cultural differences found between eastern and western cultures. The relationships among the three main constructs of TPB and cyberbullying behaviors are illustrated in Figure 1.

As shown in the figure, an individual’s cyberbullying-related attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control each make unique contributions to one’s behavioral intention to engage in cyberbullying.

A recent attempt to apply TPB to cyberbullying found that their TPB model accounted for around 45% of the variance in adolescents’ behavioral intention to engage in cyberbullying perpetration (Heirman & Walrave, 2012), which is quite impressive considering the large amount of different risk factors identified in past studies.

Cultural differences in cyberbullying might be accounted for by the interaction between the three constructs of TPB and the dominant beliefs of the respective cultures. This interaction can be illustrated using the Ecological Systems Theory.



Adapted from Heirman and Walrave, (2012).

Figure 1. Theory of planned behavior and cyberbullying.

One’s behavioral intention to engage in cyberbullying perpetration can be understood as the result of the interaction across different ecological systems and the individual. It was suggested that the Internet can be considered as a system within the ecological model (i.e., “Techno-subsystem”; Johnson & Puplampu, 2008) or a distinct setting which is closely connected to the offline environment (Spears & Zeederberg, 2012). Either way, cultural ideologies found in the macro-system can affect an individual’s online behaviors by influencing their cyberbullying-related beliefs. In the following section, cross-cultural and Asian studies on

cyberbullying in relation to how cyberbullying-related attitudes, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control are manifested in different cultures will be reviewed. By drawing support from different studies around the world, I will attempt to illustrate the unique moderating role of culture in cyberbullying in relation to TPB and suggest future directions for cross-cultural research.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCE AND THEORY OF PLANNED BEHAVIOR

Cyberbullying-related attitudes, which include positive impression of the behavior, and normative beliefs and moral beliefs about online bullying, have been identified as one of the strongest predictors of cyberbullying perpetration in a number of studies worldwide (e.g., Heirman & Walrave, 2012; Yang, 2014). The general finding is that the more positive or appropriate an individual thinks cyberbullying is, the more motivated one is to perform the behavior. A number of studies which investigated into the relationship between “justifications of violence” and involvement in cyberbullying found supporting evidence for this argument, i.e., the more an individual justifies violence, the more he or she is inclined to cyberbully others (e.g., Calvete, Orue, Estévez, Villardón, & Padilla, 2010; Williams & Guerra, 2007).

The predictive power of cyberbullying-related attitudes was also specifically tested under the framework of TPB. Using the Attitude towards Cyberbullying Scale, which asked participants to rate on their thoughts about cyberbullying according to how “disadvantageous,” “unpleasant,” “bad,” and “harmful” they thought the behavior was, Heirman and Wlarve (2012) found a positive relationship between adolescents’ attitude toward cyberbullying and their intention to perform respective behaviors. Results also indicated that adolescents’ attitudes were the most important predictor of perpetration among the three TPB constructs, implying that attitudes toward cyberbullying contribute the most to the behavioral intention to engage in cyberbullying perpetration.

Similar findings were replicated in Asia. In a study conducted in South Korea, Park, Na, and Kim (2014) found that normative beliefs about cyber-aggression were significantly related to cyberbullying perpetration. Specifically, the result showed that the more appropriate one thinks a certain cyber-aggressive behavior was, the more likely it was for him or her to perform such behavior. Another study conducted with a Taiwanese sample also found that positive beliefs about cyberbullying significantly predicted cyberbullying perpetration (Yang, 2014). The results also indicated that positive beliefs were the strongest predictors among all variables tested in the study, which included common predictors such as time spent on the internet and knowledge about cyberbullying.

Results from previous studies seem to suggest that the relationship between attitude and cyberbullying is strong and universal across cultures.

However, there is evidence that the strength of the relationship could vary across cultures, implying a possible cultural moderation effect. A recent longitudinal study, which compared the pattern of growth in cyberbullying behaviors between two culturally distinct groups sampled from Japan and the US, found that cultural contexts moderated the relationship between positive attitudes towards cyberbullying and the actual performance of these behaviors (Barlett et al., 2014). Although positive attitudes toward cyberbullying were related to the increase in perpetration for both groups, the effect was found to be more prominent among the US participants. Therefore, positive attitude toward cyberbullying seem to be a better

motivating factor of cyberbullying for participants from the US. Such differences might be a function of cultural ideologies found in the two countries. In particular, the behavioral intention to engage in cyberbullying perpetration among participants from Japan, which is more collectivistic than the US in general, might be less affected by their personal attitudes toward cyberbullying. This might be because members of a collectivistic culture tend to prioritize group goals over personal attitude or feelings in their decision making processes. Hence, the linkage between personal attitude towards cyberbullying and actual perpetration could be weaker among members of a collectivistic culture. Thus far, no other study has specifically investigated how attitudes or normative beliefs about cyberbullying affect perpetration differently in western and eastern cultures. However, there are studies conducted in Asia, which might help us to understand the “individualist-collectivist divide” found in cyberbullying. Huang and Chou (2010) examined bystanders’ viewpoint of cyberbullying among Taiwanese adolescents. When the participants were asked to provide a reason why they were unwilling to report on or interfere with the cyberbullying incidents they witnessed, many argued that it was “none of their business” and that the victims-under-question were not their friends. Some bystanders even went as far as suggesting that cyberbullying “constitute other’s privacy” and as bystanders, they were not supposed to be involved. Huang and Chou also noted that none of the participants suggested that the fear of being retaliated upon or being the next victim were the reasons for not interfering. Taken together, these findings might suggest that Taiwanese adolescents prioritize group norms ahead of their personal well-being when deciding how to react to cyberbullying incidents. Taiwanese culture is highly collectivistic in which children are taught to obey social norms and follow rules. A person’s own will is often given less priority in collectivistic cultures. Other than studies on cyberbullying, cross-cultural research on moral beliefs and cyber-transgression has also found similar patterns in how members of individualistic and collectivistic cultures differ in their attitudes toward cyber-aggression. Jackson, Zhao, Qiu, Kolenic, Fitzgerald, Harold, and Von Eye (2008) observed cultural differences in morality between the real world and the virtual world in samples recruited from China and the US. Main effects of culture on moral values were found. Specifically, results indicated that having a good moral character was more valued among Chinese than US adolescents, which is not surprising as collectivistic cultures such as China, tend to put more emphasis on values that serve the group. Moral character might be more valued in collectivistic cultures since members tend to view themselves as being dependent on one another. Therefore, moral character is important for the greater good of the group. Although no significant difference was found between the two groups in their level of acceptance toward cyber-transgressions in this study, participants from the US participants believed that perpetration would help to advance their personal goals more than their Chinese counterparts. This result fits with the typical behavioral trend found in individualistic cultures.

As suggested in previous studies on cross-cultural comparisons between individualistic and collectivistic culture (e.g., Triandis & Gelfand, 1998), members of individualistic culture tend to stress values that benefit the individual person. As such, social judgment is guided by person goals rather than group goals.

In addition to the difference found in the relationship between positive attitudes concerning cyberbullying and cyberbullying behaviors between the two cultures, the rate of cyberbullying perpetration was significantly lower in the Japanese sample. Such a finding is interesting because Japanese adolescents are usually more technologically advanced than US adolescents, and advanced technology skills is a risk factor for cyberbullying perpetration (e.g., Erdur-

Baker, 2010). Similar results were found in Li's (2007) study, which compared the patterns of cyberbullying involvement between Canada and Chinese adolescents. Among all the potential predictors of cyberbullying included in the study, such as gender, time spent on the computer, involvement in traditional bullying, and country of origin, country was identified as the most significant predictor of cyberbullying involvement. In particular, after controlling for all predictors, Canadian adolescents were 4 times more likely than their Chinese counterparts to be cyberbullies.

Taken together, these studies suggest that there is some support to culture's unique role in predicting cyberbullying behaviors. Differences found in the frequency of cyberbullying perpetration in the cross cultural studies between US and Japan as well as Canada and China could serve as evidence for the important role of culture as a moderator in cyberbullying. More studies need to be conducted to further test cross-cultural differences in cyberbullying involvement.

CULTURE AND SUBJECTIVE NORMS

Cultural contexts seem to have a unique role in moderating the relationship between attitudes and involvement in cyberbullying. Though the directionality of the relationships between attitudes and cyberbullying perpetration seems to be rather universal, the magnitude of such relationships varies across cultures. Different goal orientation (i.e., personal vs. group) found in individualistic and collectivistic cultures could be one possible factor accounting for the cultural differences found in cyberbullying perpetration. Specifically, personal attitudes about cyberbullying might affect an individual from an individualistic culture more than someone from a collectivist culture due to differences in goal orientation. Further investigation is needed to deepen our understanding of how individualistic and collectivistic cultures contribute differently to cyberbullying behaviors.

Subjective Norms

According to Ajzen (1991), subjective norms are defined as the perceived social pressure to perform (or not to perform) a particular behavior. Therefore, the relationship between subjective norms and behavioral intention is twofold in nature. It can motivate or demotivate someone to perform a particular behavior, depending on whether one thinks the people he or she values would support that particular behavior.

More specifically, the more someone thinks that his or her significant others would support certain behaviors, the more someone is inclined to perform that behavior. Subjective norms can also discourage a person from doing something, if the individual believes that his or her friends and partners disapprove of that behavior.

The relationship between subjective norms and behavioral intention has also been replicated in cyberbullying research. Williams and Guerra (2007) found that cyberbullying perpetration among teenagers were related to their perceptions of whether their peers approve or disapprove of cyberbullying. Similarly, a recent TPB study found that subjective norms regarding cyberbullying were significantly related to the engagement in cyberbullying perpetration (Heirman & Walrave, 2012).

The concept of subjective norms could provide valuable explanations to the cultural differences found in cyberbullying. The different patterns of gender involvement in cyberbullying across cultures seems to indicate how prevalent beliefs in the society can affect one's subjective norms and shape the different bullying patterns across cultures.

Gender Schema and Different Subjective Norms about Cyberbullying across Cultures

Gender differences in cyberbullying involvement have been highly researched. This research reveals mixed findings. Whilst some studies have found that boys were more involved to engage in cyberbullying (e.g., Barlett et al., 2014; Li, 2007), some researchers have found no gender difference in cyberbullying involvement (e.g., Beran & Li, 2005).

Furthermore, there are also a number of studies which have found that girls were more involved in cyberbullying (e.g., Blair, 2003; Nelson, 2003).

Although gender differences found in cyberbullying involvement vary highly across studies in the western countries, research conducted with Asian samples seems to yield more unified results. Table 1 displays studies conducted in Asia (e.g., China, Taiwan, Korea and Japan), with overwhelming findings revealing that boys tend to cyberbully and be cyberbullied more than girls (e.g., Wong, Chan & Cheng, 2014; Huang & Chou, 2010; 陈桂敏, 2013). Though some studies have found no gender difference in cyberbullying involvement (e.g., Tzeng & Huan, 2011), none of the studies have found evidence that girls perpetrate more cyberbullying when compared to boys. A potential explanation for the more unified trend among eastern countries might be due to different gender schemas found in the two cultures.

In a cross-cultural cross-sectional study which compared cyberbullying between adolescents from the US and Japan, Lerner (2011) found few gender differences in both cyberbullying involvement in the US sample. In addition, the US sample shared similar levels of involvement as bullies and victims across all age groups and based on gender. The only significant difference was that girls tend to engage in more exclusion behaviors than boys did. A distinctively different pattern was found in the Japanese sample. Gender differences were found in the choice of indirect and direct aggression. In general, boys tended to cyberbully more and engage in a significantly higher amount of direct verbal bullying behaviors than girls do. The differences observed between the two cultures could be explained by the different gender schemas promoted in western and eastern cultures.

Female members of many eastern cultures, such as Japan, China and Korea, are often taught and praised for acting submissive and gentle in public. Girls who are openly aggressive are often severely degraded, or seen as unattractive in some eastern societies, including Japan. As such, female members of eastern societies might hold subjective norms that discourage their performance of bullying behaviors, especially for direct aggressive behaviors. Western cultures, on the other hand, such as the US, generally hold a more egalitarian view. Therefore, girls from western cultures might feel less pressured to conceal their hostile intent. Cross-cultural studies on how general subjective norms affect cyberbullying behavior are very scarce. In fact, there are only a few cross-cultural studies which investigated the relationship between subjective norms and cyberbullying perpetration. Although research in this area is still limited,

the results found in that study are might shed some light on how cultural contexts can moderate the effect of subjective norms on cyberbullying behaviors.

Cultural Orientation Moderates the Predictive Value of Subjective Norms in Cyberbullying

Results of another study which also compared cyberbullying between samples from Japan and the US indicated that cyberbullying reinforcement (i.e., subjective norms about cyberbullying) was positively related to cyberbullying perpetration for both samples (Barlett, Gentile, Anderson, Suzuki, Sakamoto, Yamaoka & Katsura, 2014). Specifically, it was found that the more an individual felt he or she was reinforced to cyberbully others, the more he or she engaged in cyberbullying two months later at time 2. Although the effect was significant for both samples, it was found to be more pronounced among US participants.

This might seem to be a counter-intuitive result at first glance. Since Japan is more collectivistic than the US, it might be argued that the participants from Japan should be more affected by the opinions of their in-group members. There might be two possible explanations to the counter-intuitive finding. One reason might be related to the nature of the scale used in this particular study. The other reason focuses on vertical collectivism in Japan (described later). Although the 12-item cyberbullying reinforcement-scale used in this study encompassed social reinforcement given by family (1 item) and friends (5 items), half of the items in the scale tapped into intrapersonal reward from cyberbullying perpetration (e.g., "I find it rewarding to cyberbully others online if they deserve it," "I get amusement from sending mean text messages or e-mails to others"). The sum of item ratings comprises the final score of cyberbullying reinforcement. Therefore, finding more pronounced effects of cyberbullying reinforcement in the US sample is consistent as half of the scale stressed the advancement of personal goals in cyberbullying, which fits within the individualistic framework. Japanese participants, on the other hand, might be less affected by intrapersonal rewards as members of collectivist culture tend to prioritize group goals over personal goals.

It can also be argued that the effect of in-group approval might not be as strong in promoting cyberbullying perpetration among Japanese participants due to vertical collectivism. Some studies which investigated this concept suggested that collectivism can be classified as more "horizontal" or "vertical," and Japan is one of the collectivistic countries which promotes the latter (e.g., Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

Similar to members of horizontal collectivistic societies, such as China, people who hold vertical collectivistic values also see themselves as an integral part of their in-group and are compliant with in-group pressure. However, different from horizontal collectivistic societies, vertical collectivistic societies promote hierarchy among members. In-group members are not treated as equal, with some having higher status than the others (e.g., Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

Hence, it could be possible that Japanese might value larger group norms (such as the general societal value to be harmonious) or opinions from higher-status group members more than those of their close friends or family.

To support for this argument can be found based on research concerning the relationship between interdependent self-construal and bullying perpetration, and how these associations differ between participants from the US and Japan (Barlett et al., 2014).

The predictive value of interdependent self-construal developed by Singelis (1994) was examined in this study. The scale measured how much participants identify themselves as being interdependent according to how much they prioritize the welfare of the (smaller) group(s) they belong to over their personal interests.

The results indicated that the interdependent self-construal-scale was negatively correlated with the frequency of cyberbullying behaviors only for the US sample, which suggests that variations in the level of interdependent self-construal only affected actual cyberbullying perpetration among the US participants but not the Japanese participants.

This finding might seem contradictory at first. However, the interdependent self-construal-scale used in this study had items that tapped into the interests of “smaller” groups or “cliques.”

The insignificant relationship between interdependent construal and cyberbullying behaviors found in the Japanese sample might be evidence that members of a vertically collectivistic culture might be relying on other factors (e.g., higher order social norm) instead of the subjective norms of significant others when deciding on whether to engage in cyberbullying.

On the other hand, members of individualistic cultures who identify themselves as highly interdependent might perform less bullying behaviors as their desire to advance personal goals by bullying others might be dampened by their feelings of connections with the people in their cliques.

The directionality of the relationship between subjective norms and bullying behaviors seem to be rather universal across cultures, i.e., the more one thinks that the people he or she values support certain cyberbullying behavior, the more likely the individual will perform that particular behavior. However, due to different gender schemas, specific pattern concerning gender and cyberbullying might vary widely across cultures.

Furthermore, the strength of the relationship between subjective norms and cyberbullying perpetration might be moderated by different cultural orientations (e.g., vertical vs. horizontal and individualistic vs. collectivistic, etc.).

Further investigations are needed to deepen our understanding on how different subjective norms might explain the cultural differences found in cyberbullying involvement in different cultures. Specifically, it is important to further divide the study on cyberbullying reinforcement into intrapersonal and interpersonal dimensions to better capture the interaction between cultural orientations and different aspects of subject norms.

Perceived Behavioral Control

Traditionally, perceived behavioral control (PBC) was studied in terms of how the perceived ease to perform certain bullying behaviors affects one’s behavioral intention to bully others in face-to-face settings (Ajzen, 1991). General findings on PBC indicate that the easier one thinks it is to perform certain bullying behaviors, the more likely he or she will perform those behaviors. Although few studies on cyberbullying have explored the relationship between PBC and actual perpetration with regards to the Theory of Planned Behavior, past studies on computer literacy and anonymity in cyberbullying could shed light on how PBC affects one’s behavioral intention to bully in an online setting.

There might be two aspects of PBC which could affect one’s behavioral intention to bully or cyberbully others. The first aspect focuses on the “mechanical ease” to perform a bullying

behavior. For example, in the traditional setting, an individual might evaluate his or her comparative physiques with the target when considering whether it is easy to bully that person. In the cyber world, as physiques might not matter as much in face-to-face bullying perpetration, one might evaluate the mechanical ease to cyberbully others based on his or her level of computer literacy instead. In fact, computer literacy is consistently related to the frequency of cyberbullying perpetration (e.g., Erdur-Baker, 2010). The other aspect focuses on the “perceived ease to achieve the goals of bullying,” which involves the evaluations of how easy it is to inflict harm on others without the risk of being socially sanctioned. In the cyber world, the higher possibility of being anonymous while bullying others might increase the perceived ease to inflict harm without the risk of being punished socially (Ajzen, 1991).

Not surprisingly, perceived level of anonymity was found to be associated with the frequency of bullying perpetration online. Although some cross-cultural studies have found that adolescents from different cultures might differ in their levels of computer literacy and time spent online (e.g., Barlett, Gentile, Anderson, Suzuki, Sakamoto, Yamaoka & Katsura, 2014), the relationship between these variables and cyberbullying perpetration is rather similar. Specifically, computer literacy, time spent online, and perceived level of anonymity, which are all related to the PBC of cyberbullying, were positively correlated with cyberbullying perpetration in both western and eastern cultures (e.g., Erdur-Baker, 2010; Hinduja, S., & Patchin, 2008; 楊琬琳, 2014). However, it is important to note that the strength of the relationship between PBC and cyberbullying perpetration could be moderated by normative beliefs about cyberbullying (e.g., Park, Na & Kim, 2014; Yang, 2014). PBC seems to moderate behavioral intention to cyberbully similarly in both western and eastern cultures. However, the present chapter proposes that the study of PBC can be expanded to explain cultural differences found in the behaviors of bystanders and victims of cyberbullying. Specifically, PBC can also predict reactions and behaviors of victims and bystanders when experiencing or witnessing cyberbullying.

Perceived Behavioral Control in Victims and Bystanders: Cultural Difference

As PBC is the perception of ease when performing a desired behavior, PBC in victims and bystanders can be defined as how easy they think it is to defend themselves or intervene in a cyberbullying incident. A factor which might take up a significant portion of PBC in cyberbullied-victims and bystanders is the perceived ease of seeking help when experiencing or witnessing cyberbullying. Therefore, perceptions of parental and teachers’ roles in intervening in cyberbullying could constitute a huge part of PBC, especially among children and young adolescents. Cultural differences in the perception of adults’ role in intervening in cyberbullying have been tested using a cross-cultural study conducted by Li (2008). Three variables, namely “Adults stop cyberbullying,” “victim reporting (to teachers or parents),” and “bystander reporting (to teachers or parents),” were included in the analysis of students’ perception of adults’ role in stopping cyberbullying. The first variable refers to how much the participants believed that adults would stop a cyberbullying incident when notified.

The latter variables refer to whether victims and bystanders were willing to tell adults (e.g., teachers or parents) about cyberbullying. Significant cultural differences were found in the perceptions of adults' role in cyberbullying intervention between the two samples.

More Chinese students reported that adults in schools tried to stop cyberbullying when told, implying that more Chinese students believe that adults will help to combat cyberbullying. Chinese cyberbullied-victims and bystanders were also more likely to tell adults about the bullying incidents they experienced or witnessed than their Canadian counterparts. In fact, the percentage of people who would report the incident to adults varies between the two cultures. Whilst 66% of victims and 60% of bystanders from the Chinese sample would tell adults about their cyberbullying experience, only 9% of bullied-victims and 19% of bystanders would do the same among Canadian participants. Chinese adolescents seemed to believe that adults could help them fight cyberbullying more so than the Canadian adolescents did, which could potentially affect PBC in cyberbullied victims and bystanders.

The author suggested that Confucius teaching, which stresses respect for adults and authorities, could be the reason why Chinese adolescents believed in adults' willingness and power to intervene more than Canadian adolescents. The highly interdependent self-construal found in collectivistic cultures might have also promoted trust for other in-group members, such as teachers and parents among Chinese children.

One study focused on different risk factors associated with cyberbullying among Chinese high school students. In this study, Zhou, Tang, Tian, Wei, Zhang, and Morrison (2013) found that 30% of cyberbullied-victims in their sample would choose to talk to their parents or teachers about their experience of cyberbullying, which was a larger amount than cyberbullied-victims from Canada. The higher level of trust in adults among adolescents in Confucius cultures, such as China, might be a protective factor for cyberbullied victims and bystanders as it grants them with more PBC when dealing with cyberbullying.

Cultural differences found in the perception of adults' ability to intervene in cyberbullying might also have potential implications for culturally specific interventions.

CONCLUSION

In this book chapter, a range of cross-cultural studies from around the world were reviewed with the focus on explaining cultural differences in cyberbullying patterns found in eastern and western countries using TPB.

Since TPB incorporate both personal and social risk factors associated with cyberbullying, it could potentially be an effective framework for explaining cultural differences found in cyberbullying.

The present chapter has provided some support concerning the relationship among cyberbullying-related attitudes, subjective norms, PBC, and cyberbullying, and that such relationships could be moderated by different cultural contexts. Heated topics of interests in the field of cyberbullying, such as gender differences, the effect of adult's involvement and in moderating role of individualistic and collectivistic beliefs in cyberbullying were discussed.

I hope I have illustrated that culture has a unique moderating role in cyberbullying. As cross-cultural studies are very scarce, further studies are needed to deepen our understanding of the moderating role of culture.

Table 1. Prevalence estimates and characteristics of studies conducted with samples from Asia

Study	Written in	Sample characteristics			Concept	Prevalence rate (Self-report)*			Gender involvement**	
		Countries	Age / Grade	N		CB (M or %)	CBV (M or %)	CV (M or %)	CB	CV
陈桂敏 (2013)	Chinese	Macau, China	Middle to high school	1086	Cyberbullying and victimization	18% (adopted two or more types of cyberbullying)	/	13% (experienced two or more types of cyberbullying)	<u>Male</u>	<u>Male</u>
张野, 张珊珊, 徐闻文 & 刘琳 (2014)	Chinese	China	Middle to high school	618	Cyberbullying and victimization	25%	/	40%	<u>NS</u>	<u>Male</u>
刘琳 (2014)	Chinese	China	Middle to high school	1018 (2 studies)	Cyberbullying and victimization	22.49%	12.46%	38.51%	<u>NS</u>	<u>Male</u>
尤阳 (2013)	Chinese	China	Bachelor & Master students	731 (3 studies)	Victimization	/	/	M = 1.52 (Range: 1 - 4) ¹	NA	<u>Male</u>
Ang & Goh (2010)	English	Singapore	age 12 to 18	396	Cyberbullying	Male: 19.9% ² (3.7% ³) Female: 14.2% ² (0.9% ³)	/	/	<u>Male</u>	NA
Ang, Huan & Florell (2013)	English	Singapore & US	age 11 to 17	US: 425 Singapore: 332	Cyberbullying	US: 16.8% ² (1.1% ³) Singapore: 15.1% ² (1.3% ³)	/	/	NA	NA
Barlett, Gentile, Anderson, Suzuki, Sakamoto, Yamaoka & Katsura (2014)	English	Japan & US	College	Japan: 722 US: 293	Cyberbullying	Wave 1 (T0) Japan M: 3.18 Japan F: 3.11 US M: 3.92 US F: 3.46 Wave 2 (T+2 m) Japan M: 3.26 Japan F: 3.11 US M: 4.2 US F: 3.43	/	/	Japan: <u>Male</u> US: <u>Male</u>	NA
Chang, Chiu, Miao, Chen, Lee, Huang & Pan (2014)	English	Taiwan	11th grade	2315	Cyberbullying and victimization	8.10%	/	10.60%	<u>Male</u>	<u>Male</u>

Table 1. (Continued)

		Sample characteristics				Prevalence rate (Self-report)*				Gender involvement**		
Study	Written in	Countries	Age / Grade	N	Concept	CB (M or %)		CBV (M or %)	CV (M or %)		CB	CV
Chang, Lee, Chiu, Hsi, Huang & Pan (2013)	English	Taiwan	10th grade	2992	Cyberbullying and victimization	5.80%		11.20%	18.40%		<u>Male</u>	<u>Male</u>
Holt, Fitzgerald, Bossler, Chee & Ng (2014)	English	Singapore	Primary to secondary school	3226	Victimization	/		/	Mobile phone ⁵ : 18% Cyberbullying ⁶ : 19%		NA	NA
Huang & Chou (2010)	English	Taiwan	7 to 9th grade	545	Cyberbullying; victimization and bystander	20.40%		/	34.90%		<u>Male</u>	<u>Male</u>
Jang, Song & Kim (2014)	English	Korea	Middle to high school	1113	Cyberbullying and victimization	Wave 1 (T0) 43%	Wave 5 (T+5 years) 7%	/	Wave 1 (T0) M = 0.14	Wave 5 (T+5 years) M = 0.02	<u>Male</u>	<u>Male</u>
									(Range: 0 - 1) ⁷			
Jung, Leventhal, Kim, Park, Lee, S. H., Lee, M., ... & Park (2014)	English	Korea	5th to 8th grade	4531	Cyberbullying and victimization	3.40%		3.00%	3.30%		<u>Male</u>	<u>Male</u>
Kwan & Skoric (2013)	English	Singapore	age 13 to 17	1597	Cyberbullying	56.90%		/	59.40%		<u>NS</u>	<u>NS</u>
Leung & McBride-Chang (2013)	English	Hong Kong	5th to 6th grade	626	Cyberbullying and victimization (Online games)	Prevalence rate according to mean score level: M > 1: 31.20% M > 2: 12.10% M > 3: 4.00%		/	Prevalence rate according to mean score level: M > 1: 47.30% M > 2: 16.30% M > 3: 5.30%		<u>NS</u>	<u>NS</u>

Study	Written in	Sample characteristics			Concept	Prevalence rate (Self-report)*			Gender involvement**	
		Countries	Age / Grade	N		CB (<i>M</i> or %)	CBV (<i>M</i> or %)	CV (<i>M</i> or %)	CB	CV
Li (2007)	English	China & Canada	Middle school	Canada: 264 China: 197	Cyberbullying and victimization	17.80%	/	28.90%	<u>Male</u>	<u>NS</u>
Li (2008)	English	China & Canada	7th grade	Canada: 157 China: 197	Cyberbullying and victimization	Canada: 9.5% China: 3.5%	/	Canada: 15.9% China: 16.8%	NA	NA
Park, Na & Kim (2014)	English	Korea	age 12-15	1200	Cyberbullying and victimization	20.40%	/	25.80%	<u>NS</u>	<u>NS</u>
Tzeng & Huan (2011)	Chinese	Taiwan	Middle school	628	Victimization	/	/	14.60%	NA	<u>NS</u>
Udris (2014)	English	Japan	High school	887	Cyberbullying	Ever ⁸ : 7.90% 6-months ⁹ : 2.90%	/	/	<u>NS</u>	NA
Utsumi (2010)	Japanese	Japan	Middle school	487	Cyberbullying and victimization	8%	18%	7%	<u>NS</u>	NA
Wong, Chan & Cheng (2014)	English	Hong Kong	6th to 8th grade	1917	Cyberbullying and victimization	31.50%	/	23.00%	<u>Male</u>	<u>Male</u>
Yang & Lee (2014)	Chinese	Taiwan	High school	599	Cyberbullying	$M = 1.84$ (Range: 1 - 5) ¹⁰	/	/	<u>Male</u>	NA
Yang, Stewart, J.M. Kim, S.W. Kim, Shin, Dewey, Maskey & Yoon (2013)	English	Korea	age 10 & 12	1344	Cyberbullying and victimization	12.00%	11.10%	5.30%	<u>Male</u>	<u>Male</u>

Table 1. (Continued)

Study	Written in	Sample characteristics			Concept	Prevalence rate (Self-report)*			Gender involvement**	
		Countries	Age / Grade	N		CB (M or %)	CBV (M or %)	CV (M or %)	CB	CV
Zhou, Tang, Tian, Wei, Zhang & Morrison (2013)	English	China	10-12th grade	1438	Cyberbullying and victimization	34.84%	26.84%	56.88%	<u>Male</u>	<u>Male</u>

Note: *CB = Cyberbullies, CV = Cybervictims, CBV = Cyberbully-victims (i.e., people who are cyberbullies and cyberbullied victims simultaneously); **Gender involvement: the gender which is more involved in cyberbullying or victimization is listed in the table, NS = the gender difference was not significant; ¹4-point Likert scale: 1 (Rare) to 4 (Always); ²Infrequent bullies: reported engaging in cyberbullying acts a couple to a few times in the school term; ³Frequent bullies: reported weekly or more cyberbullying acts; ⁴6-point Likert scale: 1 (Never) to 6 (Everyday/Almost Everyday); m = month, M = male, F = female; ⁵Bullying “via mobile phone text message (SMS)” or “via mobile multimedia messages (MMS)”; ⁶Bullying “in a chat room”; “via emails,” “via computer instant messages (IM),” “on bulletin boards,” “in newsgroups,” or “via blogs”; ⁷Dichotomous variable: ‘1 = yes’ or ‘0 = no’; ⁸Ever = includes participants who have cyberbullied others at least once in their life time; ⁹6 months = include participants who have cyberbullied others at least once in the past 6 months; ¹⁰5-point Likert scale: 1 (Never) to 5 (Always).

Appendix 1. Table of definitions and measurement of scales in each study

			Measure of bullying and victimization		
Study	Countries	Cyberbullying definition*	Scale	Classification criteria**	
陈桂敏 (2013)	Macau, China	Author listed 7 existing definitions for cyberbullying ^a	The response category for each type of bullying behavior was ‘1 = yes’ or ‘0 = no’	Level of cyberbullying perpetration and victimization is calculated based on how many types of cyberbullying incidents the participant is involved in	
张野, 张珊珊, 徐闻文 & 刘琳 (2014)	China	Cyberbullying refers to bullying through the use of information and communication technology (ICT) ^a	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (1 = never to 5 = always)	[Cyberbully]	Cyberbullying scale: $M \geq 4$
				[Cybervictim]	Cybervictimization scale: $M \geq 4$
				[Cyberbully-victim]	Both CB ^b & CV ^b scales: $M \geq 4$
刘琳 (2014)	China	Cyberbullying is an extension of traditional bullying, which is defined as the intentional harm of others (who cannot easily defend themselves) using ICT. It can be carried out by a group or an individual ^a	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (1 = never to 5 = always)	[Cyberbully]	Cyberbullying scale: $M \geq 4$
				[Cybervictim]	Cybervictimization scale: $M \geq 4$
				[Cyberbully-victim]	Both CB ^b & CV ^b scales: $M \geq 4$
尤阳 (2013)	China	The intentional harm of others induced by a group or an individual through the use of ICT ^a	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (1 = never to 5 = always)	Prevalence rate was estimated using the median scores	
Ang & Goh (2010)	Singapore	"Cyberbullying refers to the willful use of the Internet as a technological medium through which harm or discomfort is intentionally and repeatedly inflicted, targeting a specific person or group of persons"	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (1 = never to 5 few times a week in the current school term)	[Non-bullies]	No engagement in bullying
				[Infrequent bullies]	A couple to a few times
				[Frequent bullies]	Weekly or more
Ang, Huan & Florell (2013)	Singapore & US	"Cyberbullying refers to the deliberate use of the Internet as a technological medium to intentionally and repeatedly threaten, harm, embarrass, or socially exclude a specific person or group of persons"	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (1 = never to 5 few times a week in the current school term)	[Non-bullies]	No engagement in bullying
				[Infrequent bullies]	A couple to a few times
				[Frequent bullies]	Weekly or more

Appendix 1. (Continued)

Study	Countries	Cyberbullying definition*	Measure of bullying and victimization			
			Scale	Classification criteria**		
Barlett, Gentile, Anderson, Suzuki, Sakamoto, Yamaoka & Katsura (2014)	Japan & US	"Cyberbullying has been defined as '...bullying and harassment of others by means of new electronic technologies...' (Cost, 2012), which extends the definition of traditional bullying (e.g., Olweus, 1999) by adding a technology component. Individuals can send unkind text messages and emails, post secrets about another for public viewing, and even upload embarrassing photos/videos of others all with the intent to harm others."	<u>6-point Likert scale</u> (1 = never to 6 = everyday / almost every day)	Prevalence rate was estimated using the mean scores		
Chang, Chiu, Miao, Chen, Lee, Huang & Pan (2014)	Taiwan	"Cyberbullying is defined as bullying or harassment through the Internet, cell phones, or other electronic devices (e.g., sending insulting messages, posting digitally altered photos, aggressive comments, sharing someone's embarrassing information, or sending messages that include threats of harm through e-mail, instant messaging, in a chat room, on a web site, or sent to a cell phone) (David-Ferdon and Hertz 2007; Kowalski and Limber 2007)..." This study excluded online sexual solicitation from the operationalization of cyberbullying	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (never, happened a year ago, a few times within a year, a few times a month and a few times a week.)		10th grade survey	11th grade survey
				[No cyberbullying perpetration or victimization]	No involvement in CB or CV	No involvement in CB or CV
				[Emergence of cyberbullying perpetration or victimization]	No involvement in CB or CV	Involvement in CB or CV
				[Cessation of cyberbullying perpetration or victimization]	Involvement in CB or CV	No involvement in CB or CV
				[Persistent cyberbullying perpetration or victimization]	Involvement in CB or CV	Involvement in CB or CV
Chang, Lee, Chiu, Hsi, Huang, & Pan (2013)	Taiwan	"Cyberbullying is defined as bullying or harassment through the Internet, cell phones, or other electronic devices (ie, sending insulting messages, posting digitally altered photos, online fighting, aggressive comments, sharing someone's embarrassing information, or sending messages that include threats of harm through e-mail, instant messaging, in a chat room, on a Website, or sent to a cell phone)"	5-point Likert scale (never, happened a year ago, a few times within a year, a few times a month and a few times a week.)	[Cybervictim-only]	Cyberbullying scale: $M \geq 3$ "a few times within a year"	
				[Cyberbully-only]	Cybervictimization scale: $M \geq 3$ "a few times within a year"	
				[Cyberbully-victim]	Both CB & CV scales: $M \geq 3$ "a few times within a year"	

Study	Countries	Cyberbullying definition*	Measure of bullying and victimization		
			Scale	Classification criteria**	
Holt, Fitzgerald, Bossler, Chee & Ng (2014)	Singapore	"The study defined bullying as any treatment that a person received that was deliberate, intended to hurt, unjustified, repeated, and carried out by a more powerful person or group, in keeping with the larger research literature on this issue"	<u>4-point Likert scale</u> (1= rarely or never to 4 = very often)	Prevalence rate is based on "at least one cyberbullying experience" in the past year	
Huang & Chou (2010)	Taiwan	"The intentional and repeated harm of others through the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices"	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (once, twice in a month, once a week, and several times a week)	[Non-Cyberbully] or [Non-Cybervictim] or [Non-Bystander]	No relevant cyberbullying experience at all
				[Cyberbully] or [Cybervictim] or [Bystander]	At least one relevant cyberbullying experience
Jang, Song & Kim (2014)	Korea	"Cyberbullying has been defined as "an aggressive act or behavior that is carried out using electronic means by a group or an individual repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself" (Slonje et al., 2013, p. 26)"	The response category for each question was '1 = yes' or '0 = no'	Prevalence rate is based on "at least one cyberbullying experience" in the past year	
Jung, Leventhal, Kim, Park, Lee, S. H., Lee, M., ... & Park (2014)	Korea	"It was explained to the youth that cyberbullying was considered to have occurred when someone was intentionally and repeatedly harmed bullied or teased using electronic devices, including phones and the internet (chat rooms, e-mail, and instant messengers)"	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (never, once or twice, a few times, many times, or every day)	Prevalence rate is based on "at least one cyberbullying experience"	
Kwan & Skoric (2013)	Singapore	"Bullying which takes place over communication platforms like email, chat rooms, mobile phones and websites is termed cyberbullying (Campbell, 2005)"	<u>6-point Likert scale</u> (1= never to 6 = more than 10 times since the start of the school year)	Prevalence rate was estimated basing on "at least one form of Facebook bullying" in the past year	

Appendix 1. (Continued)

Study	Countries	Cyberbullying definition*	Measure of bullying and victimization	
			Scale	Classification criteria**
Lerner (2011)	Japan & US	"Cyberbullying has been defined by the same three criteria used in identifying traditional bullying – an imbalance of power, intention to hurt, and repetition over time"	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (lot of the time, often, some of the time, rarely, never)	Prevalence rate was estimated basing on "at least one cyberbullying experience"
Leung & McBride-Chang (2013)	Hong Kong	"Mason (2008) defined it as "an individual or a group willfully using information and communication involving electronic technologies to facilitate deliberate and repeated harassment or threat to another individual or group by sending or posting cruel text and/or graphics using technological means" (p. 323)"	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (1= never to 5 = everyday)	[Cyberbully or Cybervictim with "at least one cyberbullying experience"] $M > 1$
				[Cyberbully or Cybervictim with "frequent cyberbullying experiences"] $M > 2$
				[Cyberbully or Cybervictim with "very frequent cyberbullying experiences"] $M > 3$
Li (2007)	China & Canada	"Cyberbully is defined as harassing using technology such as email, computer, cell phone, video cameras, etc. Bullying occurs when people say mean and hurtful things or make fun of another person or calls him/her mean and hurtful names, completely ignore or exclude him/her from their group of friends or leaves him/her out of things on purpose, tells lies or spreads false rumors about him/her, sends mean notes and tries to make other students dislike him/her, and other hurtful things"	The response category for each question was '1 = yes' or '0 = no'	Prevalence rate was estimated basing on "at least one cyberbullying experience"
Li (2008)	China & Canada	"Cyberbullying refers to bullying via electronic communication tools such as email, cell phone, Personal Digital Assistant (PDA), instant messaging or the World Wide Web"	<u>3-point Likert scale</u> (1-3 times, 4- 10 times and over 10 times)	Prevalence rate was estimated basing on "at least one cyberbullying experience"

Study	Countries	Cyberbullying definition*	Measure of bullying and victimization	
			Scale	Classification criteria**
Park, Na & Kim (2014)	Korea	"Smith et al. (2008) defines cyberbullying as "an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself"	<u>8-point Likert scale</u> (never, less than every few months, once a month or so, once in 2–3 weeks, 1–2 times a week, 3–5 times a week, about once a day & several times a day)	Prevalence rate was estimated basing on "at least one cyberbullying experience"
Tzeng & Huan (2012)	Taiwan	Cyberbullying is defined as bullying or harassment through the internet, cell phones, email, blogger, Facebook or other electronic devices (e.g. insult, make fun, spread rumors, make private information public, sending sexual pictures) ^a	<u>4-point Likert scale</u> (1 = never to 4 = often)	Prevalence rate was estimated basing on whether the participant had "at least one cyberbullying experience"
Udris (2014)	Japan	"Intentional and repetitive harmful behavior through the use of information and communication technologies"	Cyberbullying experience overall and during the past six months was coded as two separate dichotomous variables: 0 = no experience; 1 = being a cyberbully.	Prevalence rate was estimated basing on "at least one cyberbullying experience"
Wong, Chan & Cheng (2014)	Hong Kong	"Cyberbullying is generally defined as an individual or a group using ICT to deliberately and repeatedly harass or threaten another individual or group by sending or posting cruel texts or images"	<u>4-point Likert scale</u> (1 = never to 4 = five or more times)	Prevalence rate was estimated basing on "at least one cyberbullying experience" within a 30-day period
Yang (2014)	Taiwan	Cyberbullying is defined as behaviors which aims at attacking or hurting others, which includes devaluing, harassing, threatening and making a person feel embarrassed ^a	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (1 = never to 5 = always)	Prevalence rate was estimated basing on the median scores of the relevant scales

Appendix 1. (Continued)

Study	Countries	Cyberbullying definition*	Measure of bullying and victimization	
			Scale	Classification criteria**
Yang, Stewart, J.M. Kim, S.W. Kim, Shin, Dewey, Maskey & Yoon (2013)	Korea	"Cyberbullying is defined as a type of traditional bullying which was defined as 'a subset of aggressive behavior that is characterized by over time repetition and an imbalance of power'"	<u>4-point Likert scale</u> with higher scores reflecting greater victimization and bullying	Scores at or above the upper quartile indicated involvement of cyber-bullying
Zhou, Tang, Tian, Wei, Zhang & Morrison (2013)	China	"Cyberbullying is an intentional, repeated, and aggressive act or behavior carried out by a group or individual instrumentally employing information and communication technology (ICT)"	<u>5-point Likert scale</u> (1 = never to 5 = always)	Prevalence rate was estimated basing on "at least one cyberbullying experience"

Note: *Definitions of cyberbullying which are directly quoted from papers are listed in quotation marks; ^aindicates that the text was originally written in languages other than English; **Label of each classification is listed in bracket, e.g., [Cyberbully] and [Cybervictim]; ^bCB and CV are abbreviations of Cyberbullying and Cyberbullying victimization.

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Chapter 17

CYBERBULLYING IN EUROPE: A REVIEW OF EVIDENCE FROM CROSS-NATIONAL DATA

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INTRODUCTION

Involvement in bullying has been shown to result from a complex interplay between individuals and their wider social environment. Many researchers stressed the need to understand the role of factors on different socio-ecological levels, including parents and family, teachers and school environment, institutional and community contexts, as well as factors at the national and cultural levels (Festl & Quandt 2013; Swearer & Doll 2001; Swearer & Espelage 2004). Recognizing that human behavior (e.g., bullying) has multiple causal factors and multiple outcomes, Swearer and Espelage (2004; 2011) used Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner 1977; Bronfenbrenner 1979) as a starting point to create a socio-ecological framework for understanding bullying involvement. The framework conceptualizes bullying behaviors and experiences as a result of a complex and reciprocal interplay between different levels of a socio-ecological system.

Applying the socio-ecological framework of bullying to cyberbullying, this chapter will synthesize findings from the cross-national survey data of the EU Kids Online II project. The goal of this project was to enhance the knowledge base about new media use among European youth, with a specific focus on experiences with online risks, including cyberbullying. During 2010, a survey covering a large array of questions regarding internet access, use, activities, risks (including cyberbullying), parental mediation, coping and vulnerability was conducted. A random stratified sample of approximately 1,000 internet-using youths aged 9–16 and one of

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their parents were interviewed in each of twenty-five European countries¹, yielding a total sample size of 25,142 youths (50% girls). Interviews took place in youths' homes, conducted face-to-face but with private questionnaires completed for sensitive questions. For full details of sampling and procedures, see Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig and Ólafsson (2011a) and Görzig (2012).

Considering the large sample size and the application of a standardized methodological approach across Europe, the EU Kids Online survey data represents a robust comparable evidence base in the European context and offers a unique opportunity for understanding the cyberbullying phenomena. Since 2010, a number of scientific outputs, including articles, books, chapters, reports, and presentations have reported findings based on these data and enabled a deeper understanding of the cyberbullying phenomenon. Each output captured specific segments with regards to cyberbullying, including involvement as a victim or bully, coping with cybervictimization, and harm caused by the experience. This chapter will review these outputs and synthesize the findings across individual, social, and cultural levels in line with a socio-ecological framework of bullying. Upon this synthesis, we aim to offer a complex portrait of the risk and protective factors connected with cyberbullying among European youths.

The socio-ecological approach reflected the need to understand (and work with) different factors which are intertwined with bullying processes. Utilizing an ecological system perspective (Bronfenbrenner 1977; Bronfenbrenner, 1979), these factors were linked with differential levels of the socio-ecological environment, enabling an understanding of the interplay of diverse actors and conditions. In order to understand the complexity of bullying processes among youths, the socio-ecological framework of bullying argues that bullying should be investigated by considering factors linked with the levels of the individual, peers, the family, the school, the community, and the culture (Swearer & Espelage 2011). Most research applying this approach to bullying has differentiated between factors linked with levels associated with the individual, the family, peers, and the school, while fewer have taken into account factors associated with the level of the community or investigated factors that are associated with the cultural level (cf. Swearer & Espelage 2011; Swearer et al., 2006).

The socio-ecological approach has been successfully applied to the research of bullying, while the chapters within this volume depict the application of this perspective in the context of cyberbullying research. Complementing previous research, in our work, we will consider factors associated with cyberbullying within three basic types of levels: the individual, social, and cultural levels. The EU Kids Online model attempts to explain adolescents' online risks and opportunities within a specifically adapted socio-ecological framework (see Figure 1). Guided by this model, the EU Kids Online survey captured variables on the level of the individual as well as their parents, peers, and teachers. In addition, the survey data allows linkage with official country level data, enabling the examination of the *cultural level* of the socio-ecological system². With the youth at the center, we will consider specific factors at different levels of the socio-ecological system.

¹ Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and the UK.

² The authors acknowledge that the term "culture" is not synonymous with characteristics of a country. However, in line with the socio-ecological model of bullying (Swearer et al., 2011), in this chapter variables at the level of a country are used as a proxy for the *cultural level* of the model which is used to reflect the macro-system in the corresponding work by Bronfenbrenner (1979) and will refer to factors associated with a country's culture in the broader sense within the present work.

In the following section, we will provide definitions related to the concept of cyberbullying and describe the assessment of these behaviors within the framework of EU Kids Online. Further, we will map the factors that emerged from the survey to the three types of ecological levels focused on in our synthesis. Due to space limitations, a detailed list of items associated with each of the variables will not be provided. However, the reader is encouraged to refer to Livingstone et al. (2011a) or Livingstone, Haddon, and Görzig (2012) for a detailed list of items and definitions associated with key variables used within the EU Kids Online survey.

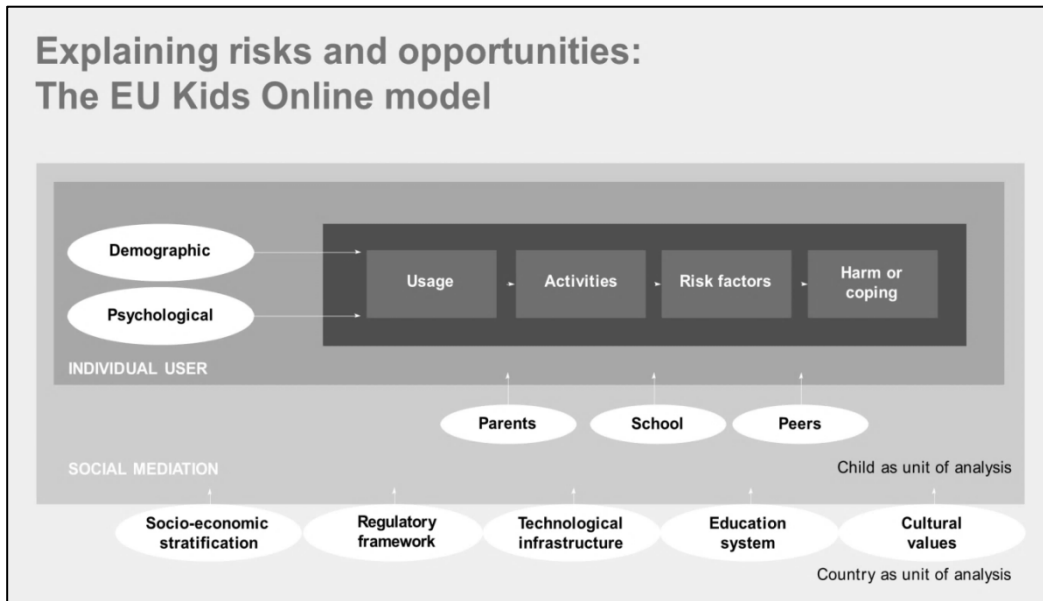


Figure 1. Explaining risks and opportunities: The EU Kids Online model. Adapted from Livingstone et al. (2011b) with the authors' permission.

DEFINING CYBERBULLYING

Despite the lack of consensus in the definition of cyberbullying (e.g., Slonje, Smith & Friséen 2013), most researchers employ definitions similar to that of traditional or face-to-face bullying, namely an act of aggression that is intentional, repetitive, and is directed toward an individual of lower power (Olweus 1993), but they extend it to electronic forms of contact, specifically mobile phones or the internet (Perren, Dooley, Shaw & Cross 2010; Smith et al., 2008). Within the EU Kids Online survey adolescents received the following description of bullying behaviors:

“Sometimes children or teenagers say or do hurtful things to someone and this can often be quite a few times on different days over a period of time, for example. This can include: teasing someone in a way this person does not like; hitting, kicking or pushing someone around; leaving someone out of things.”

Adolescents were asked if someone acted in this kind of “hurtful or nasty way” to them or if they acted in a way that might have felt “hurtful or nasty” to someone else in the past 12 months. Those who indicated that they have experienced this kind of behavior will henceforth be referred to as *victim*, those who indicated to have acted in such a way toward someone else are referred to as *bully*, and those who have indicated to be both a victim and a bully we will refer to as *bully/victim*. Furthermore, adolescents were asked to indicate whether this behavior occurred face-to-face (in person), by mobile phone (e.g., texts, calls, video clips), or on the internet (e.g., email, social networking sites). We will refer to incidences that occurred face-to-face as *face-to-face* or *offline bullying*. Following Smith et al.’s (2008) definition of cyberbullying, within EU Kids Online we employ the term *cyberbullying* to refer to the incidence of bullying via mobile phone and/or on the internet, and *online bullying* to refer to bullying on the internet only. However, when discussing the phenomena in general we will be using the term *cyberbullying* to cover both variables assessed by the survey, online and cyberbullying.

Importantly, drawing on theories of risk (Aven & Renn 2009; Breakwell 2007), we differentiate the occurrence of such behavior, which we refer to as the *risk* (defined as the occurrence of an event which is associated with a probability of harm) from *harm* (defined as actual physical or mental damage as reported by the person concerned) that might be experienced as a result of this behavior. This distinction is reflected in the survey by further follow-up questions for those who had indicated to be a victim. The questions assessed: “how upset did you feel about it (if at all),” representing the measure for *intensity of harm* within the survey. Within the present research synthesis, we will be referring to the occurrence of *harm* if any level of the intensity of harm other than “not at all upset” occurred. Furthermore, the survey assessed the *duration of harm* (i.e., “how long did you feel upset for”) and a *harm index*, which was composite of intensity and duration of harm.

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL FACTORS

The individual level factors incorporate all variables that were directly associated with the young person. These consisted of demographic variables, such as age and gender, as well as psychological factors which included self-efficacy³, sensation seeking⁴, ostracism⁵, and psychological difficulties. Psychological difficulties can further be differentiated into emotional problems, peer problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity (Goodman, Meltzer & Bailey 1998). Furthermore, variables with regards to the young person’s internet use and activities were examined. Among those were the time and the location where the internet is used as well as platforms and devices used for access. Moreover, the young person’s general online activities (e.g., “used the internet for school work”) and risky online activities (e.g., “sent personal information to someone that I have never met face-to-face”) were investigated (Livingstone & Helsper 2007; Livingstone & Helsper 2010). In addition, psychological variables connected to internet use and activities were assessed, such as excessive internet use, and young people’s *online persona*, i.e., whether they found it “easier to be myself” and were

³ Adapted from Schwarzer and Jerusalem (1995)

⁴ Adapted from Stephenson, Hoyle, Palmgreen, and Slater (2003)

⁵ Adapted from Ferris, Brown, Berry, and Lian (2008)

more likely to “talk about different things” and “talk about private things” on the internet than they would offline (Görzig 2011). Variables also included the young person’s digital skills and beliefs about their internet abilities.

Besides the experience of cyberbullying, other risk experiences and behaviors were assessed. These included other online risks, such as sending and receiving sexual messages, seeing sexual images, meeting new online contacts (online and offline), personal data misuse, and seeing negative user-generated content (NUGC). Offline risk activities, such as missing school lessons, getting drunk, having sexual intercourse, getting in trouble at school or with the police were also considered (Currie et al., 2008).

Finally, factors that were linked with the individual’s response to the experience of the risk associated with cyberbullying were taken into account. These included harm from cyberbullying but also various responses of the young person in an attempt to cope with the experience. These coping responses can be differentiated into general psychological and/or behavioral responses (i.e., trying to fix the problem, hoping the problem would go away by itself, feeling a bit guilty about what went wrong, getting the other person to leave one alone, getting back at the other person), seeking support (i.e., talking to a friend, sibling, parent, teacher or another adult), and responses which were specific to the internet (i.e., stop using the internet, deleting any messages from the other person, changing privacy/contact settings, blocking the person, reporting the problem).

SOCIAL LEVEL FACTORS

The social level factors involve variables that relate to the young person’s social background and their social relationships. Their social background is reflected by socio-economic status and has been divided into low, medium, and high status, which was assessed via the household’s main wage earner’s level of education and occupation. Furthermore, the young person’s parents were asked to indicate whether the language used at home is a minority language, whether their child belongs to a discriminated against group, and is considered to have a disability (e.g., physical, mental health, or learning disability). In terms of social relationships, various factors related to the young person’s parents or carers, friends or peers, and teachers were investigated.

With regard to survey responses obtained from parents directly, their general worries concerning their child (e.g., child being bullied or contacted by a stranger on the internet) and their awareness about their child’s experience of cyberbullying or something upsetting online (i.e., harm) have been captured. Parents also reported whether and how frequently they used the internet and about their confidence in using the internet. In addition, the young person reported on parental awareness of their internet activities (i.e., how much they thought their parent(s) knew about what they do on the internet).

Moreover, youths were asked about mediation of their internet use by parents, peers, and teachers. These were differentiated into five main types of mediation: active mediation of internet safety by parents, peers, and teachers (e.g., “suggested ways to behave towards other people online”), active mediation of internet use (e.g., “do shared activities together with you on the internet?”), and restrictive mediation concerning parents and teachers (e.g., allow use of instant messaging), and parental monitoring (e.g., check which websites you visited) as well as

parental technical mediation (e.g., make use of “parental controls or other means of keeping track of the websites you visit”). Lastly, the young person was asked who from his or her social environment provided or who was sought out for support (i.e., who the young person talked to) upon experiencing cybervictimization or after a bothering incident.

CULTURAL LEVEL FACTORS

The cultural level, also referred to as the macro-system, or “cultural blueprint,” comprises abstract influences, such as economic, social, educational, legal or political systems, which can elicit indirect influences upon individuals and other levels of the ecological system they are a part of (Bronfenbrenner 1977). Not much research has examined the influence of the cultural level on bullying. There has been some research investigating the cultural level in terms of an organization’s culture (Espelage, Berry, Merrin & Swearer 2014); however, none to our knowledge has yet examined the role of a country’s culture as was done by EU Kids Online. Within the ecological framework, we review how much (if any) contribution to cyberbullying can be found by factors located at this level and their interplay with factors from other levels. Variables reviewed at this level are the country variables as well as differences among other variables in their association with cyberbullying shown across countries. Furthermore, variables that are aggregated at the country level and census or other publicly available data from cross-national survey research that have been linked with the EU Kids Online data are considered.

PROCEDURE

In order to synthesise the research outputs from the EU Kids Online survey data examining cyberbullying in relation to the factors of the different socio-ecological levels as described above, the following steps were taken. We searched for all relevant outputs written in English, using academic search databases; we also contacted the members of the EU Kids Online network⁶ via their mailing list and asked them to inform us about existing relevant outputs. After compiling a list of outputs to be reviewed (available in January 2015), outputs were coded using non-exclusive categories. The first type of coding indicated whether the output examined the individual, social, or cultural level (all three types could be present) and whether any interaction between variables across levels was assessed. Second, we coded whether specific factors, which have been described above, were present. These codes were divided into nine categories for the individual level (i.e., demographics, internet use and activities, internet skills, other risk experiences and behaviours, offline bullying, associations between victimisation and bullying, general psychological factors, coping responses, and harm), five categories for the social level (i.e., socio-economic status, parental use and activities, parental awareness, mediation by and support seeking from parent, peers or teacher) and four categories for the

⁶ EU Kids Online is a multinational research network. It seeks to enhance knowledge of European children's online opportunities, risks and safety. It uses multiple methods to map children's and parents' experience of the internet, in dialogue with national and European policy stakeholders. It has been funded by the EC's Better Internet for Kids programme.

cultural level (i.e., policy regulations, national statistics, country level aggregates, cultural norms and attitudes). Variables to be associated with each category were agreed upon between coders (both authors) as was the final result of the coding process. After the coding process, findings for each code were reviewed and synthesised with regard to all three levels and all named factors.

RESULTS

Individual Level

The individual level refers to all variables with an immediate link to the young person. Factors considered on this level are possibly those assessed and studied the most in relation to cyberbullying. Given the scope of this section it will be divided into three parts. The first part will refer to the experience of cyberbullying only (the risk) and it examines the links with demographic variables, internet use and activities, other risk experiences, and psychological variables. This will be followed by outlining the responses to cyberbullying victimization, which capture coping responses as well as harm experienced from victimization. Those responses will be linked to similar variables as the risk. Finally, we will outline similar or differential patterns of risk and harm with the investigated variables and (if present) link those further with particular coping responses.

Experiencing Cyberbullying

Overall, 6% of youth who responded to the survey have indicated to be a victim of online bullying while 3% indicated to have bullied others online (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig & Ólafsson 2011b). In terms of demographic variables, both gender and age have been found to be associated with the risk of being involved in cyberbullying. Generally, girls and older adolescents reported being cyberbullied more often than boys or younger youth (Green & Brady 2013; Lampert & Donoso 2012; Laurinavičius, Žukauskienė, & Ustinavičiūtė 2012; Livingstone et al., 2011b; Vandoninck, D’Haenens & Segers 2012). Furthermore, it was shown that the gender differences that are generally prevalent for offline bullying (more boys) are not found in youth reports of having bullied others online (Görzig 2011; Lampert & Donoso 2012). However, bullying others online or per mobile phone increased slightly with age (Lampert & Donoso 2012; Livingstone et al., 2011b).

The relation of time and frequency of internet use with cyberbullying was demonstrated by various analyses. The odds of being bullied online increased for those youth who used the internet daily as opposed to those who did not (Staksrud, Ólafsson & Livingstone 2013; Stald & Ólafsson 2012). The average time spent online each day also predicted the odds of being bullied online (Laurinavičius et al., 2012; Staksrud et al., 2013). In addition, those who exclusively bullied others offline (i.e., face-to-face) as opposed to those who bullied others online and/or by mobile phone spent less time online each day (Görzig & Ólafsson, 2013; Görzig 2011). Not many analyses have been carried out on the physical location of internet use and cyberbullying. One study found that being bullied online was associated with internet use at home in the child’s own bedroom (Stald & Ólafsson 2012), while another showed that private

access to the internet failed to differentiate between cyberbullies and face-to-face bullies (Görzig & Ólafsson 2013).

In terms of internet platforms used, it appears that social networking sites (SNS) and instant messaging (IM) play a prominent role in cyberbullying incidences. When comparing platforms it emerges that youths are mostly bullied on social networking sites (SNS) and by instant messaging (IM), and the least by gaming sites or chatrooms (Livingstone et al., 2011b). It was further shown that about half of those bullied online encountered this on SNS and by IM. Moreover, youths with a SNS profile were twice as likely to be bullied online independent of age, gender, time spent online, and daily use of the internet (Staksrud et al., 2013). In addition, those youths who were involved in online bullying (whether as bully or victim) were more likely to have a social networking profile than those involved in offline bullying only (Görzig 2011). Furthermore, having an SNS profile did increase the likelihood of being a cyberbully as opposed to an offline only bully, particularly among girls (Görzig & Ólafsson 2013). Lastly, being bullied via SNS or IM has been found to be related to mobile technology use; adolescents who had been victims of cyberbullying and used a mobile device to go online were more likely to have been bullied via social networking sites (SNS) and instant messages (IM) than those who did not use mobile devices (Görzig & Frumkin 2013).

In terms of activities, cyber and online bullies could be differentiated from offline bullies by generally engaging in more risky online activities but not by their engagement in risky offline activities. With regards to psychological variables connected to internet use and activities it was found that cyber and online bullies when compared to face-to-face bullies showed higher beliefs about their internet abilities and found it easier to be themselves online as well as found it easier to talk about different and more private things online than they would offline (Görzig & Ólafsson 2013; Görzig 2011). Finally, there was a small but significant association of excessive internet use with bullying others online (Smahel & Blinka 2012).

The experience of online or cyberbullying has been linked with the experience of other online risks. In general, associations of small effect sizes were found with other online risk factors (Galács & Ságvári 2012). Furthermore, youth who were bullied on the internet were found to have experienced misuse of personal data more often than those who have not been bullied (Kupiainen, Suoninen & Nikunen 2012). A study investigating the relation between the role of involvement in cyberbullying (cyberbully, cybervictim or cyberbully/victim) and two aspects of NUGC (i.e., viewing of web-content related to self-harm and to suicide) showed that compared to those not involved in cyberbullying, viewing web-content containing suicide was higher for cybervictims and cyberbully/victims but not for cyberbullies. Viewing of web-content with self-harm was higher for all cyberbullying roles but especially for cyberbully/victims. Furthermore, none of the relationships between cyberbullying role and viewing of suicide-related web-content was shown to be mediated by psychological problems (Görzig 2014). In addition to the association with other online risks, cyberbullying has also been found to be linked with offline risks. A confirmatory factor analysis showed that all online and offline risk experiences of 11-16 year olds in the EU Kids Online sample loaded significantly on a shared general risk factor (Görzig & Livingstone 2014).

Another offline risk experience not included in the group of offline risks as defined by EU Kids Online but with a particular conceptual importance to the experience of cyberbullying is offline or face-to-face bullying. Fifty-six percent of online bullies said they had bullied others face-to-face and 55% of online victims also reported to be victims of face-to-face bullying (Hasebrink, Görzig, Haddon, Kalmus & Livingstone 2011).

Additionally, it was found that among other predictors being bullied offline was the strongest predictor of online bullying as being bullied offline increased the odds of being bullied online 10 fold (Laurinavičius et al., 2012). Moreover, upon investigating various links between the experience of offline risks, offline bullying, and offline victimization with cyberbullying and cyberbullying victimization, the largest associations existed between offline bullying and cyberbullying and between offline victimization and cyberbullying victimization. However, additional associations were found between cyberbullying and cyberbullying victimization (Vazsonyi, Machackova, Sevcikova, Smahel & Cerna 2012).

The latter finding alludes to another link between risk experiences, that is, the link between the experience of cyberbullying as a perpetrator with the experience of cyberbullying as a victim. It has been shown that bullying and being bullied tend to go together (Görzig 2011; Hasebrink et al., 2011; Lampert & Donoso 2012). In general, across online and offline bullying experiences, around 60% of those who bully have been bullied by others (either online or offline). However, of those who have bullied others offline only 10% were bullied online while of those who have bullied others online (only) 18% have been bullied offline. Hence, bullying and being bullied by others mostly occurs through similar modes - either online or offline. Among those who do not bully others, being bullied is relatively rare – 8% offline only, and 4% online (Görzig 2011; Hasebrink et al., 2011). Furthermore, regression analyses controlling for socio-demographic variables and psychological variables showed that being a cyberbully was the strongest predictor for being a cybervictim and being a cybervictim was the strongest predictor for being a cyberbully (Lampert & Donoso 2012).

The experience of cyberbullying has been found to be associated with various psychological factors. Generally, both online or cyberbullying victimization as well as perpetration showed a positive relationship with psychological difficulties, self-efficacy, and sensation seeking (Lampert & Donoso 2012; Laurinavičius et al., 2012). In addition, studies have examined the relationship between the different roles of cyber- or online bullying (i.e., being a bully, a victim or both – a bully/victim) with the various psychological variables compared to those who were not involved. Those who were cybervictims but not bullies showed higher sensation seeking, ostracism and psychological difficulties (i.e., full scale and the subscales conduct, emotional and peer problems). Those who were cyberbullies but not victims also showed higher sensation seeking and psychological difficulties (i.e., full scale and the subscales conduct and emotional problems) but not ostracism. Finally, those who were cyberbully/victims showed higher sensation seeking, ostracism and psychological difficulties (i.e., full scale and the subscales conduct and emotional problems). In addition, online bully/victims showed higher psychological difficulties (full scale) than those who were online bullies but not victims. Moreover, online bullies or bully/victims were higher in sensation seeking than online victims and online victims showed higher ostracism than online bullies (Görzig 2011 2014; Hasebrink et al., 2011). Finally, being cyberbullied via a mobile as opposed to a stationary device, i.e., being cyberbullied on-the-go, was associated with higher sensation seeking and psychological difficulties (Görzig & Frumkin 2013).

Responding to Cyberbullying

There are a number of ways that young people react to or cope with cyberbullying victimization. Overall, young people choose several of these strategies, including general psychological and/or behavioral responses, seeking support (i.e., talking to someone), and responses which are specific to the internet.

Talking to someone was the most popular strategy used by 77% of victims bullied online. In terms of responses specific to the internet, youths most often blocked the person (46%) and deleted hurtful messages (41%). More scarcely, youth stopped using the internet (20%) or changed settings (18%). The least employed strategy was to report the problem (9%). With regards to more general psychological and/or behavioral responses, the most common strategy was trying to fix the problem (36%), 24% of the victims hoped the problem would go away by itself, and 12% felt a bit guilty about what went wrong. Regarding the efficiency of the coping strategies, blocking the sender was evaluated as the most helpful strategy by 78% of victims who were bothered by the victimization, 69% found that stopping to use the internet was helpful, and 58% deleted the message. Most victims (81%) also used a combination of strategies (D'Haenens, Vandoninck & Donoso 2013; Livingstone et al., 2011b; Vandoninck, d'Haenens & Roe 2013).

Several studies have focused on other individual factors that are connected with the choice of specific coping strategies. It has been shown that girls were more likely to talk to someone about the experience than boys. Girls were also more prone to try to fix the problem, yet they more often hoped that the problem would go away and less often reported it than boys (Cerna, Machackova & Dedkova, in press; D'Haenens et al., 2013; Livingstone, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011; Vandoninck et al., 2012; Vandoninck et al., 2013). Younger victims less often blocked the sender, changed the settings, or tried to fix the problem and more often stopped using the internet. Nevertheless, when controlling for other variables in regression analyses, these associations with age and gender tended to change or disappear suggesting that some coping responses are conditional upon other factors (D'Haenens et al., 2013; Vandoninck et al., 2012; Vandoninck et al., 2013).

Coping was also associated with a range of psychological factors. Overall, it has been shown that youths with psychological difficulties were more likely to react in a passive (or even "fatalistic") manner, i.e., they were more likely to stop using the Internet and to hope that the problem would go away, and less likely to talk about their victimization. Specifically, higher emotional problems were associated with hoping that the problem would go away, lower conduct problems were connected with trying to fix the problem, and higher peer problems with trying to fix the problem and stopping to use the internet, while lower peer problems were linked with support seeking. Coping strategies were also associated with sensation seeking, self-efficacy, and digital skills. Those with lower sensation seeking more often talked to someone about the experience. Those with lower self-efficacy were more likely to stop using the internet and to delete the message, while those higher in self-efficacy were more likely to try to fix the problem, seek support, and to change their contact settings but less likely to hope the problem would disappear. The more digital skills reported, the more likely coping strategies specific to the internet were employed, i.e., deleting messages and blocking senders. There was also a connection to online activities of youth: the fewer activities they reported, the more likely they were to talk to somebody or to stop using the internet (D'Haenens et al., 2013; Vandoninck et al., 2012; Vandoninck et al., 2013).

Coping responses were also associated with being a bully/victim, both online and offline. Bully/victims more often felt guilty, tried to get back at the other person, and less often tried to fix the problem than those who were victims only (Görzig 2011; Hasebrink et al., 2011). Finally, coping responses were in all cases also associated with harm. The higher the intensity of harm victims reported, the more likely each of the strategies was employed (Cerna et al., n.d.; Vandoninck et al., 2012; Vandoninck et al., 2013).

Among the surveyed online risks within EU Kids Online, cyberbullying was found to be the most harmful experience. About one third (31%) of online victims reported being “very upset” by the incident while only 15% reported being “not at all upset.” Regarding the duration of harm, most youth (62%) got over it right away; however around 40% continued feeling upset for a few days or longer (Green & Brady 2013; Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig & Ólafsson 2011c; Livingstone et al., 2011b).

While some authors suggested that there is just a slight difference between 87% girls and 82% boys who found bullying at least somewhat (i.e., “a bit”) upsetting (Livingstone, Kalmus & Talves 2013), others stressed larger difference in terms of intense harm (i.e., being “very upset”), with 37% bullied girls reporting this intense harm in contrast to 23% of bullied boys (Livingstone et al., 2011b). The latter was supported by findings showing that girls were more likely to indicate being upset at all than boys (Livingstone et al., 2011c) and further analysis showed that the intensity of harm or the harm index is higher among girls than boys (D’Haenens et al., 2013; Vandoninck et al., 2012; Vandoninck et al., 2013). Findings for the relation of harm with age showed a mixed pattern. While the youngest in the sample (9-10 year olds) reported a lower proportion of those being “not upset at all” (12%) as opposed to the oldest in the sample (15-16 year olds; 17% “not at all upset”), the youngest also showed a lower proportion of being “very upset” (30%) as opposed to the oldest (34%) (Livingstone et al., 2011b). Not surprisingly, depending on the measurement of harm in some studies, authors have found that older victims experienced more harm (Vandoninck et al., 2012; Vandoninck et al., 2013), while in others, they found the opposite (Livingstone et al., 2011), and in some no significant relationship at all (Laurinavičius et al., 2012). Harm was also connected to psychological factors. Those higher in psychological difficulties, lower in sensation seeking, and with lower self-efficacy reported more or higher harm (D’Haenens et al., 2013; Laurinavičius et al., 2012; Livingstone et al., 2011; Vandoninck et al., 2012; Vandoninck et al., 2013). However, it is noteworthy that some authors found that among victims aged 9-10, those with higher self-efficacy reported more intense harm (D’Haenens et al., 2013), while others found no relationship between self-efficacy and harm when controlling for other factors (Laurinavičius et al., 2012).

Harm was associated with lower use of the internet (Livingstone et al., 2011), although this disappeared when controlling for other factors (Laurinavičius et al., 2012). Furthermore, a link of harm to online activities (D’Haenens et al., 2013) or digital literacy⁷ (Vandoninck et al., 2013) could not be found. Moreover, harm was connected with platforms and devices through which cyberbullying occurred. Some found that being bullied via IM was found to be more harmful than via other mediums (Staksrud et al., 2013). This finding was supported by others who found that harm was higher upon being cyberbullied on a mobile device but that this effect was mediated by cyberbullying occurring via IM or SNS (Görzig & Frumkin 2013). Finally, some authors found that those who had been bullied offline as well as those who had experienced less harm upon receiving sexual messages were less likely to experience harm from being bullied online arguing that “habituation” to risk experiences might have played a role (Laurinavičius et al., 2012).

⁷ Digital literacy was assessed by a composite of the variables digital skills and online activities.

Patterns of Cyberbullying Experiences and Responses

In general, the risk of experiencing cyberbullying and the responses to this experience show associations with an abundance of variables on the individual level as well as with interactions between those variables. This complex pattern of associations as presented above might be an indication that the variables on this level are perhaps the most important or else that merely the individual level is the one receiving the most attention by researchers.

Some findings are particularly worth mentioning. It has been shown that cyberbullying victimization as well as perpetration are strongly connected to offline bullying victimization and/or perpetration. Moreover, there is evidence that the roles of involvement in cyberbullying (i.e., bullies, victims and bully/victims) need to be differentiated in terms of their characteristics and behaviors as well as responses to cyberbullying experiences.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that while some variables at the individual level show an equivalent relationship with risk and with harm, for others the relationship to harm is the inverse of their relationship to risk. Additionally, some show further associations with particular coping responses – possibly as a precursor or the result of feeling upset by the experience. There is generally some mixed evidence with regard to age. While older youth are more likely to be cyberbullying victims as well as cyberbullies, upon victimization younger victims were likely to stop using the internet while older victims were more likely to change their settings or fix the problem. For harm the association with age depends on what type of harm measure is being used and whether one focuses on those who are more likely to be the least upset (younger) among those who are upset or on those who are more likely to be not upset at all (older).

Some factors were connected to a higher occurrence of the risk of being victimized as well as a higher likelihood of being upset by the incidence, i.e., higher risk also meant higher harm. Among those were gender (girls), higher psychological difficulties, and use of SNS or IM. Furthermore, upon being victimized girls showed to be more likely to talk to someone while those with higher psychological difficulties were more likely to respond in a “fatalistic” manner. In contrast, other factors were connected to a higher risk but less harm. Among those factors were higher internet use, sensation seeking and self-efficacy, as well as being a victim of offline bullying. Those higher in self-efficacy also showed to be prone to react to victimization by trying to fix the problem. Furthermore, higher digital skills or ability beliefs were associated with a higher risk but also with more internet specific coping strategies. Generally, the more harm that was experienced by adolescents the more coping strategies were employed.

SOCIAL LEVEL

With regard to the social level, the project outputs captured the role of the young person’s immediate social environment. This section will begin reviewing factors associated with cyberbullying that relate to the young person’s social background followed by those associated with their parent or carer. Furthermore, mediation of the young person’s internet behaviors by parents, friends, and teachers and its relation to cyberbullying will be pointed out. Lastly, we review the role of support seeking (i.e., talking to someone upon being victimised) from parents, peers, or teachers.

The risk of being involved in cyberbullying was shown to be associated with various variables reflecting the social background. Generally, the risk of being involved in either online or offline bullying was slightly increasing with higher levels of socio-economic status (SES), although these differences were only small (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig & Ólafsson 2011). However, among youth who were involved in online bullying, either as victim or bully, those with a higher SES were more often involved as a bully, while those with a lower SES were more often involved as victims (Görzig 2011). SES was also associated with harm, young people from lower SES families indicated more and a higher intensity of harm than those from a higher SES background. Finally, lower level of SES was connected with a less likely occurrence of some coping responses, specifically changing internet settings, responding by deleting a message or trying to fix the problem (D’Haenens, Vandoninck & Donoso 2013; Livingstone et al., 2011b; Vandoninck, D’Haenens & Segers 2012; Vandoninck, d’Haenens & Roe 2013). Beyond SES, youth from families which used minority languages at home, belonged to a discriminated against group, or were classified as being disabled showed higher experiences of being bullied online as well as harm when compared to the full sample. Furthermore, those from families which used minority languages reported bullying others online less often while those classified as being disabled bullied others online slightly more often. Moreover, with regard to coping strategies, youth more often sought support upon being victimized if they belonged to a discriminated against group or spoke a minority language at home (Livingstone et al., 2011).

Among the most prevalent parental worries concerning their child was the concern that their child could be bullied - together with concerns about school achievement, road accidents, and crime (Livingstone, Ólafsson, O’Neill & Donoso 2012). Children of parents who worried that their child might be contacted by a stranger or see inappropriate material online also showed higher incidences of being bullied online and subsequent harm. Furthermore, higher incidences of being bullied online and subsequent harm were associated with a parental perception about their child experiencing something upsetting online in general (Livingstone et al., 2011). Overall, 6% of parents and children reported that the youth had been bullied online. However, there were large discrepancies between parental and youth’s report of the young person’s victimization. Among youth who reported being bullied online, just about one third of their parents (29%) were aware of their child’s victimization while more than half (56%) reported that their child was not bullied online, and 15% answered “don’t know” in this matter. This discrepancy did not only concern victimized youth. For instance, 8% parents of non-victimized children thought their child had been bullied online, while the child reported the opposite. Furthermore, parents with a higher SES background showed a higher awareness about their child’s victimization. Parental awareness was also associated with factors from the individual level. Parents knew about the victimization more often if a victim was a girl, and was in the “mid-age” group (i.e., 11-14 years) (Green & Brady 2013; Livingstone et al., 2011b; O’Neill & Dinh 2012). Moreover, parents’ use of the internet was associated with their child’s involvement in online bullying. Children of parents who did not use the internet reported being victims of online bullying less often than was generally the case. However, these children also more often reported harm when they had experienced online bullying. Children of parents with lower confidence in using the internet were more often online bullies; there were no significant differences with regard to victimization or harm (Livingstone et al., 2011). The frequency of internet use reported by parents was also associated with coping strategies victims used. Children of parents who were using the internet less frequently were less likely to hope that the

problem would go away, but they were also more likely to stop using the internet after the victimization and more likely reported the problem online (Vandoninck et al., 2013).

A lot of attention has been given to the link between parental mediation of their children's internet use and encountering online risks and harm. Importantly, mediation strategies could be either underlying factor of but also a response to a young person's victimization experience. It has been shown that restrictive mediation is connected to lower online risks, including cyberbullying (Duerager & Livingstone 2012). Moreover, more intense harm was reported by children with parents who mediated their internet safety, restricted their internet use, used technical mediation, and who were less active in mediating internet use (D'Haenens et al., 2013). Mediation strategies in general were also found to be associated with the coping strategies victims applied. Parental mediation of internet use increased the odds of victims actively trying to fix the problem, but it also decreased the odds of deleting the messages and blocking the sender. Parental mediation of internet safety was connected to both active and passive responses, as it increased the odds of talking to somebody and blocking the sender, but also of hoping that the problem will go away. Parental restrictive mediation lowered the odds of hoping that the problem would go away, but it also increased the odds of changing the settings. Children whose parents applied technical mediation were less likely to delete the messages, change their settings, and more likely to stop using the internet; on the other hand, they also were more likely to talk about the experience to somebody and reported the problem online. Parental monitoring showed the opposite effect, it increased the odds of deleting the messages but decreased the odds of talking to someone about the experience. Peer mediation took place among those who were more likely to talk to their peers about their victimization. While mediation by peers has been associated with higher odds of deleting messages or changing settings as coping responses, mediation by teachers had the opposite association with these two coping responses (Cerna, Machackova & Dedkova, n.d.; D'Haenens et al., 2013; Vandoninck et al., 2013).

Talking to someone or seeking support upon being bullied online is a specific response, which is connected to factors on both the individual and the social level. While we have presented the role of talking to someone at all about the experience as an individual level factor, we will differentiate to whom the young person talked to in this section as it reflects the specific social interaction. However, factors relating to support seeking associated with specific mediation techniques that have been outlined above will not be repeated here. Generally, upon being bullied online a young person was most likely to have talked to his or her parents and peers and less likely to a sibling, another trusted adult, a teacher, or someone else whose job it is to help children (Livingstone et al., 2011b). Furthermore, some other social level factors were also connected to whom youths talked to. Young people who perceived their parents to be more aware of their internet activities were more likely to have talked to their parents when having been bullied online. Moreover, as shown in the individual level section, youths from families which used minority languages at home were more likely to seek support; however, this was shown to be due to the fact that they were more likely to talk to their parents but not more likely to talk to any of the other groups asked about. Furthermore, a general tendency to talk to peers about bothersome experiences was associated with higher odds of seeking support from peers after online victimization, but lower odds of talking to parents about online victimization. Moreover, there were some differences associated with individual level variables in terms of whom youths talked to upon being bullied online. Younger victims were more likely to talk to parents or siblings and less likely to talk to peers, while older victims were less likely to talk to

teachers. Girls were more likely to report talking to friends and were almost twice as likely as boys to talk to both, parents and peers than to no one, even when accounting for age, harm, or parental and peer mediations (Cerna et al., n.d.; Livingstone et al., 2011b).

The importance of social-level factors has been demonstrated via associations with youth's risk experiences and responses to victimization. In terms of social background, there was generally an association of social disadvantage (e.g., low SES, being from a discriminated against group) with the experience of cyberbullying victimization as well as harm from being a cyberbully victim. A higher incidence of risk and harm was also generally associated with higher parental worries or awareness about their children's internet use, risk, and harm. However, a large proportion of parents remain unaware of their children's risk experiences. Parental awareness also varies with socio-demographic factors, of which some are associated with a higher likelihood of the risk (e.g., being a girl, having a low SES). Some parental behavior is simultaneously associated with a lower occurrence of the risk of cyberbullying victimization and a higher occurrence of subsequent harm. This inverse relationship of risk and harm was found for children of parents who did not use the internet and those who applied restrictive mediation strategies. Youths also showed differential patterns of coping responses in association with social level factors, such as SES, factors associated with social disadvantage, frequency of parental internet use, and mediation by parents, peers, and teachers. Moreover, there have been notable differences in whom youths tended to confide in or were able to seek support from upon being bullied online, some of which were associated with other social or individual level variables.

CULTURAL LEVEL

This section commences reporting cross-national differences in the prevalence of risk and harm from cyberbullying. This will be followed by cross-national differences in the strengths or direction of variables' associations with cyberbullying. Lastly, factors that have shown to be correlates of the cross-national differences in cyberbullying prevalence will be presented.

The proportion of youth who have been bullied online or been cyberbullied has been shown to vary across countries. These rates were highest in Romania (14% or 15%) and Estonia (13% or 16%), and lowest in Portugal and Italy (both 2% and 3%, respectively) (Görzig 2013; Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig & Ólafsson 2011; Lobe, Livingstone, Ólafsson & Vodeb 2011). Applying multilevel logistic regression analysis it was shown that the odds of cyberbullying victimization vary significantly across countries and that 7% of the variance in cyberbullying victimization can be explained by aspects at the country level (Görzig 2013). In terms of online or cyberbullying perpetration, there has been a similar variation (Görzig & Ólafsson 2013; Görzig 2011; Lampert & Donoso 2012). A difference in prevalence rates between countries was also shown in terms of harm experienced from online bullying. It was shown that in most countries the proportion of youths who indicated to be upset by the experience out of those who have been bullied online varied between 70% and 90%, while Finland and Bulgaria were exceptions (less than 60% of those bullied indicated to be upset by it). The highest proportions of youth who have been upset due to online bullying were reported in Denmark, the UK, Sweden, and Romania (Lobe, Livingstone, Ólafsson, & Vodeb 2011).

Various analyses conducted on the EU Kids Online data found country differences in the associations of variables with cyberbullying. Country differences were found in the association of cyberbullying victimization and gender. In most countries more girls than boys experienced cyberbullying victimization (Turkey was a notable exception). However, these gender differences were not always significant (see Figure 2) (Görzig 2013).

Moreover, upon conducting the same logistic regression analysis for each of the 25 countries, it was found that in Spain, Finland and Lithuania, the child’s gender (i.e., girls) was the most relevant factor among others⁸ predicting online bullying victimization. In addition, there were differences in the association of internet usage to online bullying across countries; (higher) usage was the most important predictor in Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Slovenia. Moreover, (more) risky online activities were found to be the most relevant predictor in Bulgaria, Denmark, Poland, Portugal, and Sweden (Lobe, Livingstone, Ólafsson & Vodeb 2011). Risky online activities also showed significant cross-country variations as a predictor of cyberbullying. Cyberbullying had the weakest relationship to risky online activities in Romania and the UK, and the strongest in the Netherlands and Bulgaria. It was shown that in countries with fewer cyberbullies, cyberbullying was more strongly related to risky online activities (Görzig & Ólafsson 2013). In terms of platforms used, it was shown that among cyberbully/victims the odds that they had been bullied via a mobile device (“on-the-go”) differed across countries. This was less likely in Bulgaria and Denmark, and more likely in Sweden when compared to the odds across all countries (Görzig & Frumkin 2013).

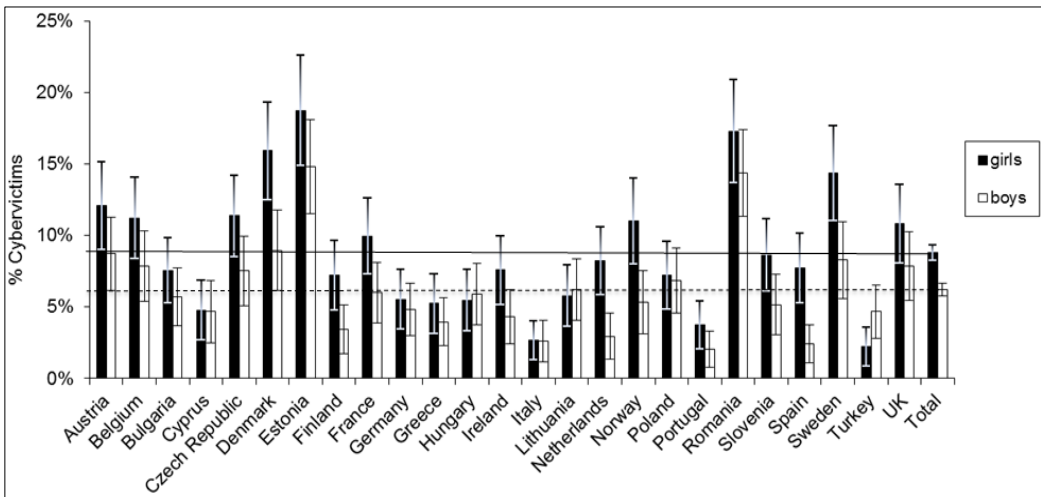


Figure 2. Percentage of cyberbullying victims by country and gender. Data are weighted. Whiskers represent 95% confidence intervals. Gender differences are significant in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and Spain. Adapted from (Görzig 2013) with the author’s permission.

As indicated earlier in this chapter when examining the individual level, victimization and perpetration of cyberbullying go hand in hand. Similarly, as the number of youths who reported having been bullied increases in a country so does the number of youths who admitted to having

⁸ The following variables were included in the analysis: gender, “has sent a nasty or a sexual message”, “I get very angry and often lose my temper”, “time spent on the internet (minutes)”, “risky online activities”, “online persona.”

bullied others. This was demonstrated by a significant country level correlation between bullying and being bullied online. Incidences were highest in Estonia, Sweden, and Romania, and lowest in Italy, Portugal, Turkey, and Greece (Görzig 2011). Whilst controlling for demographic and psychological factors, multilevel logistic regression analysis confirmed that the association between victimization and perpetration varied significantly by country, ranging from the weakest (but still strong) associations shown for Romania and Cyprus to the strongest associations for Italy, Norway, and the Czech Republic (see Figure 3) (Görzig 2013). In addition, in the majority of countries, the factors that were most relevant in explaining online bullying victimization were online bullying perpetration or sending sexual messages to others (Lobe, Livingstone, Ólafsson & Vodeb 2011).



Figure 3. Country variations in predicting cyber-bullying victimisation. OR = Odds Ratio; the bar chart shows the lowest odd ratio across countries in dark grey fill and the highest in light grey fill; the table shows the likelihood ratio test statistics indicating the significance of cross-country variations per variable as well as the countries with the highest and lowest odds ratios upon significant variation; adapted from (Görzig 2013) with the author's permission.

Furthermore, a study investigating the proportions of cyberbullies among bullies in general (i.e., face-to-face, via the internet or mobile phone) found that in Greece, the prevalence of cyberbullies among cyber and face-to-face bullies was significantly lower than the prevalence across all countries, while they were significantly higher in Romania, Belgium, Estonia, and Sweden (Görzig & Ólafsson 2013). In addition, significant cross-country variation in predicting cyberbullying victimization was shown for age, gender, self-efficacy, and psychological difficulties but not for sensation seeking (see Figure 3) (Görzig 2013). These differences in associations across countries for age, gender, and psychological variables with cyberbullying victimization as well as the link between cyberbullying perpetration and victimization have been supported elsewhere (Vazsonyi, Machackova, Sevcikova, Smahel & Cerna 2012).

Finally, in terms of correlates on the social level it was found that parental awareness of their child having been bullied online differed across countries. Parents were least aware in Cyprus, Hungary, Italy, Greece, and Romania, and most aware in the Netherlands and Finland (Livingstone et al., 2011b).

A handful of studies have investigated whether any factors on the country level (e.g., policy regulations, national statistics, cultural norms and attitudes) might be associated with differences in the proportion of cybervictims across countries. Linking with data from the European Social Survey (2008; countries excluded from the analyses: Austria, Italy, Lithuania), it was found that a higher incidence of cyberbullying can be partially explained by country-level variables, such as a country's negative average attitudes towards equality, lower average religiosity ratings, and higher crime rates, with all three factors explaining a significant amount of country variation in cyberbullying (see Figure 4) (Görzig 2013).

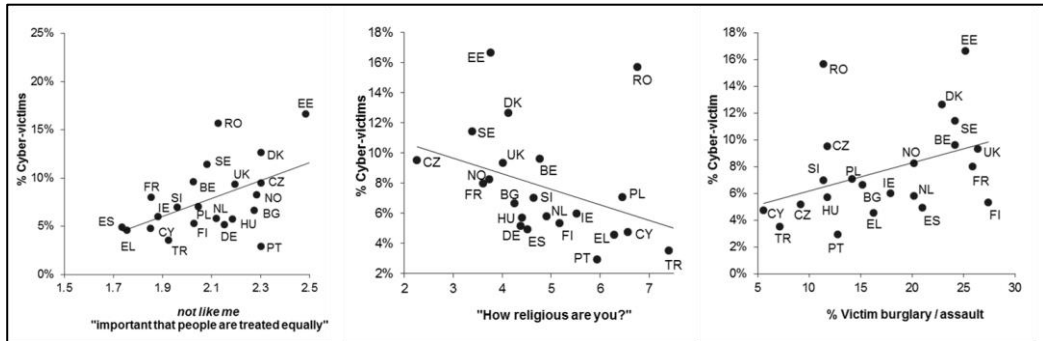


Figure 4. % Cyberbullying victims and country-level indicators by country. Variables explained a significant amount of country variation in cyberbullying (all $\chi^2(1) = 4.5$ to 4.9 ; p 's $< .05$). ISO 3166-1 alpha-2 country codes are used (International Organization for Standardization, 2004). Adapted from (Görzig 2013) with the author's permission.

Another study investigating the sample of 10-14 year old youths from 24 countries (excluding Turkey) found that countries with higher rates of online bullying were more likely to have a higher incidence of unnatural child deaths (e.g., accidental deaths, suicide deaths, various forms of assault). At the same time, the prevalence of exclusively online bullying was not correlated with the national prevalence rate of depressive symptoms nor were depressive symptoms associated with the rate of unnatural child deaths, excluding depression rates as a possible explanation for the link between countries' unnatural child deaths with online bullying (Fu, Chan & Ip 2014).

Furthermore, comparing harm experienced from online bullying, an analysis used a threefold country classification of "high use, high risk," "medium use, medium risk," and "high use, medium risk," based upon daily internet use and exposure to at least one online risk (Livingstone et al., 2011b). It was found that the proportion of youths who reported online bullying to be more severely upsetting was lower in the "high use, high risk" cluster when compared to the other two country clusters (Vandoninck et al., 2013).

Lastly, a study tested whether countries' broadband penetration (i.e., the percentage of households using broadband connections; Eurostat, 2009) and mobile penetration (i.e., mobile phones per hundred inhabitants; Eurostat, 2008) would be related to the proportion of cyberbullies among bullies (i.e., face-to-face and cyberbullies). It was found that countries' mobile penetration could partially explain cross-country variation in cyberbullying; however, this was due to the fact that the relationship between risky online activities and cyberbullying varied across countries in line with their mobile phone penetration, i.e., the relationship between

risky online activities, and cyberbullying was stronger in countries with a higher mobile phone penetration (Görzig & Ólafsson 2013).

In conclusion, we find ample evidence of the variation in cyberbullying and its correlates across countries. While only 7% of the variance in the prevalence of cyberbullying victimization can be explained by the country level, the strengths of other variables that explain further variance in cyberbullying has also shown to vary across countries. These variables consist of demographic factors (age, gender), use and activities (usage, risky online activities, use of a mobile device), psychological factors (psychological difficulties, self-efficacy but not sensation seeking), parental awareness of their child's cyberbullying victimization, and youths being cyberbullies themselves.

We also found that there were some factors that showed a relation to higher prevalence rates of cyberbullying victimization on a country level (i.e., negative attitudes towards equality, lower religiosity, higher crime rates and higher unnatural child deaths). More studies exploring ostensible explanations for the cross-country variations found have yet to be conducted. However, what we can say with certainty is that the cultural or country level does play a role in the occurrence of cyberbullying even if, as indicated by the low explanatory variance across countries, it is one role among other factors and levels of the socio-ecological system.

CONCLUSION

The evidence from the EU Kids Online II project connected several factors of the individual, social, and cultural levels with cyberbullying experiences and the vulnerability to harm following victimization. Factors for which research outputs from EU Kids Online data have demonstrated an association with cyberbullying are listed for each of the levels in Table 1. However, it must be noted that more complex patterns of findings are reported in the corresponding result sections of this paper and that not listed factors do not necessarily demonstrate a lack of association but might rather show a lack of research findings concerning those factors. Hence, the inclined reader is asked to exercise caution when using the table as a stand-alone output of results. A more detailed discussion of the main findings and conclusions follows below.

Concluding this chapter, we will suggest some particularly salient factors that have been identified as risk and protective factors for the experience of cyberbullying across the levels of the socio-ecological system. We will then allude to those factors which were associated with both the risk of the experience and subsequent vulnerability to harm. Next, we will refer to factors that are linked with effective coping responses. Subsequently, we will suggest factors that could aid resilience in terms of vulnerability to harm. We will close by giving some brief recommendations for possible intervention and prevention efforts.

The findings uncovered that online bullying is a rather low-prevalence phenomenon in Europe (6% for victims and 3% for bullies). While these rates are in line with prevalence rates reported by surveys using similar methodologies, the prevalence rates of cyberbullying across other studies have shown large variation depending on the definitions, measurements, samples, and time periods covered, with percentages ranging from 1% to well over 50% (cf. Livingstone & Smith, 2014). The prevalence reported in this review and most of the literature, however, does suggest that contrary to some recent media portrayals, cyberbullying is not occurring at epidemic levels (Sabella, Patchin, & Hinduja, 2013).

Table 1. Factors associated with cyberbullying in research of EU Kids Online data by socio-ecological level

Individual	Gender (girls) Age (older) Daily internet use Time spent online Platforms (SNS, IM) Data misuse Viewing web content with suicide and self-harm Offline victimization Cyberbullying Psychological difficulties Self-efficacy Sensation seeking Ostracism	Age (older) Time spent online ^a Platforms (SNS) ^a Risky online activities ^a Internet ability beliefs ^a ‘Online persona’ ^a Excessive internet use Viewing web content with self-harm Offline risks Offline bullying Cyberbullying victimization Psychological difficulties Self-efficacy Sensation seeking	Gender (girls) Daily internet use (-) Platforms (SNS, IM) Offline victimization (-) Psychological difficulties Self-efficacy (-) Sensation seeking (-)
Social	Socio-economic status (lower) Minority language spoken at home Member of a discriminated against group Disability present Parental worries Parental internet use <i>Parental mediation:</i> Restrictive (-)	Socio-economic status (higher) Minority language spoken at home (-) Member of a discriminated against group Disability present	Socio-economic status (lower) Minority language spoken at home Member of a discriminated against group Disability present Parental worries Parental internet use (-) <i>Parental mediation:</i> Restrictive Internet safety Internet use (-) Technical
Cultural	<i>Cross-country variation in associations were shown for:</i> Age Gender Psychological difficulties Self-efficacy Time spent online Risky online activities Cyberbullying	<i>Cross-country variation in associations were shown for:</i> Risky online activities ^a Cyberbullying victimization	<i>Country clusters :</i> ‘high use, high risk’(-)

Level	Victimization	Perpetration	Harm
	<i>Association with a country's prevalence rate were shown for country aggregates of:</i> Cyberbullying Attitudes towards equality (-) Religiosity (-) Crime rates Unnatural child deaths Mobile phone penetration	<i>Association with a country's prevalence rate were shown for country aggregates of:</i> Cyberbullying victimization	

Notes: If not indicated otherwise the direction of association is positive and the reference group consists of not involved youth. (-) indicates negative associations. ^a indicates factors for which the reference group was offline bullying. The absence of listed factors either indicates that there was no research output or no association has been found. More complex patterns of factors and factors with ambivalent research results are not included in the table. Please refer to the corresponding chapter sections for details.

In terms of the experience of cyberbullying, several risk and protective factors in cyberbullying have been identified. Cyberbullying experiences were more common among older youths, while cybervictimization was more common among girls and no gender differences emerged for the prevalence rates of cyberbullying others. These findings are both supported and conflicting based on evidence from the literature, especially given the mixed findings concerning age and gender differences in cyberbullying (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014; Tokunaga, 2010). This could be due to similar methodological issues as for the prevalence rates in general and/or some of the described differential demographic patterns regarding internet use and activities, which were also uncovered within EU Kids Online or more recently the *Net Children Go Mobile* project (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011; Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014).

In line with previous findings connecting cybervictimization with poorer psychological outcomes, poorer quality of social relationships and/or social disadvantage (Cappadocia, Craig, & Pepler, 2013; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Whittle, Hamilton-Giachritsis, Beech, & Collings, 2013), cybervictimization has been found to be associated with higher ostracism and psychological difficulties as well as with some social disadvantage. However, experiencing cybervictimization was also linked with higher self-efficacy and sensation seeking.

Some of the factors above were also connected to the perpetration of cyberbullying but there were also some differences. Cyberbullies seemed to be somewhat less likely to be socially disadvantaged. Psychological factors were generally similar for cyberbullies and victims; however, cyberbullies did not show enhanced ostracism or more peer problems as cybervictims. Moreover, bully/victims differed from victims and bullies. Confirming previous research for youths involved in both of these roles, psychological difficulties seemed to be generally exacerbated (e.g., Beckman, Hagquist, & Hellström, 2012; Gradinger, Strohmeier, & Spiel, 2009; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004).

While these findings suggest that it is important to differentiate the roles of cyberbullying involvement, they also indicate the similarities between those roles. Indeed, various findings

showed that there is a strong association between bullying perpetration and victimization, online and offline; this is consistent with findings elsewhere (e.g., Festl, Scharkow, & Quandt, 2014; Menesini & Spiel, 2012; Mishna, Khoury-Kassabri, Gadalla, & Daciuk, 2012; Waasdorp & Bradshaw, 2015).

This association between cyberbullying and offline bullying, as well as between victimization and perpetration, indicates a possible common tendency to a general risk of experiencing bullying among adolescents. Given the further findings concerning the association of cyberbullying involvement with other types of risk experiences, online and offline, this tendency to experience risks could be extended to other types of risks. Indeed previous research has suggested that those who are prone to risky behaviors in one domain would also be so in others (Carson, Pickett, & Janssen, 2011; Guilamo-Ramos, Litardo, & Jaccard, 2005; Jessor, 1991). Explanatory accounts in relation to adolescents have linked this phenomena to a combination of a lack of impulse control and enhanced sensation seeking (Steinberg et al., 2008; van Nieuwenhuijzen et al., 2009) - a notion further supported by the evidence given in this review as well as research on internet risks (e.g., Baumgartner, Sumter, Peter, & Valkenburg, 2012).

Despite this association between the offline and the online, for bullying as well as for risk experiences in general, the findings also reveal some behavioral factors that are solely connected to bullying experiences online. Coherent with previous research (e.g., Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Mishna et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2008; Sticca, Ruggieri, Alsaker, & Perren, 2013), it was shown that higher and more frequent internet use were connected with cyberbullying victimization as well as perpetration. However, more online activities as well as related beliefs, such as digital skills or internet ability beliefs, were mainly connected with cyberbullying perpetration. The latter finding elaborate on previous evidence that those with more advanced digital skills might engage in more “deviant” cyber-activities (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009). Furthermore, higher digital skills among perpetrators link with the notion of a *power imbalance* eminent in the definition of bullying, which has been suggested to occur in cyberbullying via differential abilities in digital skills – as opposed to face-to-face bullying where power is often linked to physical strength or peer group popularity (Slonje, Smith, & Frisé, 2012). However, we also find that particular affordances of the internet or mobile devices interact with individuals’ characteristics. For example, while SNS use appears to amplify cyberbullying experiences this is particularly the case among girls, perhaps because cyberbullying via SNS tends to take the form of relational aggression which has been more commonly observed in girls (Beckman, Hagquist, & Hellström, 2013; Coyne, Archer, & Eslea, 2006).

Extending internet use across other levels of the socio-ecological system, we find that not only are youths’ cyberbullying experiences connected to their own (higher) internet use but also to (higher) parental internet use. In contrast, parental restrictions on their children’s internet use were shown to be linked with a decrease in youths’ cyberbullying experiences (see also Mesch, 2009; Navarro, Serna, Martínez, & Ruiz-Oliva, 2012).

Taking the cultural level into account, findings showed that the prevalence of cyberbullying victimization varied across the countries studied in the EU Kids Online survey. The different incidences of cyberbullying experiences could partially be explained by cultural factors, such as overall negative attitudes towards equality, religiosity ratings, or crime rates. However, in line with other cross-national evidence (Genta et al., 2012) differences among individuals were generally considerably larger than the differences across different European countries.

Possibly, the analysis of smaller units of more adjacent cultures (i.e., communities) might yield more explanatory power as has been suggested in the case of bullying research (Swearer et al., 2006). Nevertheless, findings also showed that the differences between certain individual factors varied by country (e.g., age, gender, self-efficacy, and psychological difficulties in predicting victimization). Moreover, country variation has been found for engagement in risky online activities and internet use as well as for the link between victimization and perpetration. Yet, a strong theoretical framework to explain differences in the cultural level is still lacking.

Generally, a large array of factors across the levels of the socio-ecological system has been uncovered in relation to the risk of cyberbullying experiences among adolescents. However, as pointed out earlier in this review, we consider it crucial to differentiate between risk factors and factors underlying the vulnerability to harm (see also, Livingstone & Görzig, 2014; Livingstone & Smith, 2014). According to the EU Kids Online's findings, cyberbullying is one of the most harmful negative online experiences. Yet, not all youths who were victimized were vulnerable to experience harm or more intense harm. There were several common factors connected with both increased risk and harm, e.g., being a girl, having psychological difficulties, and social disadvantage. However, other factors, such as higher sensation seeking, self-efficacy, internet use (parents' and youths'), and being bullied offline as well as less restrictive mediation by parents were related to increased risk but at the same time they were associated with less harm. Further, in countries where youth used the internet more they also experienced higher risk but were less vulnerable to harm.

Hence, it is possible that while some factors increase exposure to risks, the exposure to some (risky) experiences, along with the associated psychological factors, might help to build resilience toward harmful consequences. This notion is supported by the psychological literature suggesting that exposure to risk and positive adaptations are prerequisites for resilience building (Coleman & Hagell, 2007; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). The term "risky opportunities" has been applied in this context (e.g., Hasebrink, Görzig, Haddon, Kalmus, & Livingstone, 2011; Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011), referring to the fact that activities that are related to risks can simultaneously offer opportunities. In relation to internet use, the same activities which might lead to exposure to risk (e.g., cyberbullying) might also provide opportunities (e.g., digital skills) which are further connected with a lower vulnerability to harm and thus aid resilience (Livingstone, Haddon & Görzig 2012; Livingstone et al., 2011c).

More or less vulnerability to harm was also connected to the application of specific coping strategies. It should be noted that the interpretation of this link must be cautious, as harm can be both precedence and consequence of coping. Nonetheless, according to the findings, we could argue that the more harm youths endured, the more they were willing to react to the risk experience, either in an active or in a passive manner. The data demonstrated various links between individual and social level factors and coping responses. Talking about the experience of being a victim of cyberbullying was one of the most prominent (and often recommended; Dooley, Gradinger, Strohmeier, Cross & Spiel 2010) coping responses. Consistent with prior research (Perren et al., 2012), EU Kids Online findings showed that youths most often confided in peers and parents. Overall, less passive responses (e.g., hoping the problem would go away) and more active ones (e.g., trying to fix the problem) were associated with higher self-efficacy and digital skills, and lower psychological difficulties as well as a less likely involvement as a bully/victim – all factors that have also been linked with less vulnerability to harm online (e.g., Livingstone et al., 2011c). Furthermore, "blocking the sender" was reported to be the most

effective internet-specific coping strategy. In addition, “blocking the sender” was associated with more internet activities among youths which – as pointed out above – are further linked with more digital skills and subsequently also less harm.

Notably, it was generally demonstrated that the factors above which were connected with more effective coping responses were often the same factors associated with a lower vulnerability to harm.

Hence, if these factors were addressed this could potentially enhance coping with the risk experience as well as lessen vulnerability to harm. However, there were also some divergences between coping and harm responses. For example, while those higher in sensation seeking also experienced less harm they were less likely to talk to someone after experiencing victimization. This suggests that, although some personal characteristics can decrease vulnerability to harm, they can sometimes also be associated with a reluctance to use strategies which would be otherwise considered helpful.

Overall, we find reciprocal relationships between risky opportunities, coping and resilience which are often reflected in corresponding relations of factors across all levels of the socio-ecological system. Given the presented evidence as well as the support provided by the literature we suggest considering the complex interplay between opportunities, risks, and harm, and their associated factors on and across the different levels of the socio-ecological system to address cyberbullying intervention or prevention efforts. Importantly, as demonstrated in this review, there is considerable variation in factors linked to cyberbullying (risk and harm) on all levels as well as some interactions of factors between levels. Hence, in concert with others (Jones, Mitchell & Walsh, 2013; Swearer & Espelage 2011), we propose that any programs should be tailored to the specific target population taking into account their individual, social and cultural background.

AUTHORS NOTE

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Chapter 18

THE ROLE OF ETHNICITY AND CULTURE IN CYBERBULLYING EXPERIENCES AMONG YOUTH

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INTRODUCTION

Despite growing research documenting that ethnic minority youth (e.g., Asian American and Latino youth) use the Internet and other forms of online communication tools at higher rates than White youth (Madden, Lenhart, Duggan, Cortesi, & Gasser, 2013; Rice and Katz, 2003), there is little research on cyberbullying among groups other than White youth in the United States. Thus, the role of ethnicity, and more broadly, the role of culture in cyberbullying, are not well understood. For example, a critical review of research on cyberbullying published within the last decade synthesized the role of key demographics, such as age and gender, but did not discuss ethnic or cultural issues (Tokunga, 2010). Yet, as young people from diverse ethnic backgrounds are electronically connected to their peers online at increasing rates across the globe, it is important to try to identify the extent to which their online behaviors and experiences are universal versus culturally nuanced. The existing studies that include youth of various ethnic backgrounds are typically comparative studies examining rates of cyberbullying involvement (i.e., perpetration and victimization) across ethnic groups within the US (e.g., Bauman, Toomey, & Walker, 2013). There are fewer cross-cultural and cross-national comparative studies (e.g., Li, 2008). An increasing number of cyberbullying studies, however, are including multiethnic samples. There are also a growing number of studies examining within-group differences and processes with samples from a single ethnic minority group (e.g., examining generation status differences among Asian or Latino youth).

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Together these studies can help us better understand questions such as:

- Are youth from Western countries or particular ethnic groups at higher risk of being involved in cyberbullying as a bully or a victim?
- Do risk factors for cyberbullying involvement have a similar impact across various groups?
- Do presumed protective factors, such as family connectedness and parental monitoring, function similarly regardless of ethnicity and culture?

The overarching goal of the current chapter is to describe current research on the role of ethnicity and culture in cyberbullying experiences among youth. We will start with a rationale of why it is particularly timely to study cyberbullying incidents among ethnic minority and culturally diverse youth. Next, a description of comparative and cross-cultural studies examining differences in cyberbullying involvement rates and trends will be provided. Examples of research focusing on within-group differences among ethnic minority youth and cross-cultural research examining processes involved in cyberbullying outcomes will be reviewed next. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research to better address the role that ethnicity and cultural background plays in cyberbullying behaviors and experiences among youth.

INCREASING USE OF ONLINE COMMUNICATION TOOLS ACROSS ETHNIC GROUPS

For many adolescents, the Internet and electronic devices are a central and indispensable part of their daily lives. Internationally, the percentage of households with a personal computer is rising and overall, young people have increased their online connectivity (Dutta & Bilbao-Orsorio, 2012). In the United States, recent estimates suggest that 95% of teens (ages 12 to 17) are connected online and two-thirds go online every day (Madden, Lenhart, Duggan, Cortesi, & Gasser, 2013). Adolescents spend between eight to nine hours a day using different electronic communication devices (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010). Although youth multi-task across electronic devices and platforms (Carrier, Cheever, Rosen, Benitez, & Chang, 2009), it is evident, that many adolescents spend as much time with technology as they do with their family or school. Although adolescents use communication technology for multiple purposes, such as entertainment and education, communication with peers likely represents the most pervasive use of technology.

In recent years, the digital divide that once existed within the US based on race and socioeconomic status has been shrinking and per some estimates, ethnic minority youth use online communication devices at similar rates as White youth (Chakraborty & Bosman, 2005; Eamon, 2004). In particular, the gap in Internet use between Latino and White adolescents has declined considerably. According to results from a national study of over 2,000 youth, total media exposure is higher for Latino adolescents compared to White teens (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010). Latino youth spend more time talking and texting compared to White youth (2 hours and 19 minutes and 1 hour and 47 minutes, respectively) and spend more overall time on the computer. In comparisons between White and Black youth, White youth are more likely to

access the Internet compared to Black youth (98% versus 92%, respectively). However, Black teens are more likely to access the Internet mostly via their cell phones compared to White teens, which suggests that they may be more likely to be constantly connected online (33% versus 24%, respectively; Madden, Lenhart, Duggan, Cortesi, & Gasser, 2013). Estimates also indicate that compared to White, Black, and Latino youth, Asian and Pacific Islander children and adolescents (ages 3-17) have the highest access to computers and the Internet at home (Child Trends, 2013).

Thus, although the narrowing of the digital divide is promising, inasmuch as it shows some equality across groups in access to technology, it also means that ethnic minority youth are likely to experience the negative “costs” of being connected online (e.g., involvement in cyberbullying).

DIFFERENCES IN RATES OF CYBERBULLYING PERPETRATION ACROSS ETHNIC AND CULTURAL GROUPS

Much like the literature on incidents of school bullying (e.g., Espelage & Swearer, 2003), there is no clear consensus of whether particular ethnic groups within the US are at higher risk of being involved in cyberbullying as perpetrators or victims. However, in cyberbullying research, this lack of consensus is largely due to the limited number of studies that have tested for such differences. For example, there are two studies suggesting that African-American youth were more likely to act as online perpetrators compared to adolescents from other ethnic backgrounds in the US (Low & Espelage, 2013; Wang, Iannotti & Nansel, 2009). Consistent with these findings, one study based on British secondary school students found that those students who self-identified as Black-Black British were more likely to be perpetrators compared to White-British students and Asian-British students (Fletcher, Fitzgerald-Yau, Jones, Allen, Viner, & Bonell, 2014). Although these findings parallel findings of some studies regarding school-based bullying perpetration in the US (e.g., Juvonen, Graham, & Schuster, 2003; Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009), all three cyberbullying studies were based on self-reports of online bullying. Moreover, there is at least one large scale study conducted in England where no reliable ethnic differences were found in cyberbullying perpetration among 11 to 16 year old White, Asian, Black, and Mixed students (Smith, Thompson, & Bhatti, 2012). Thus, it may be premature to conclude whether any one ethnic group within the US or UK might be more likely to aggress against their peers online.

Equally few studies have examined whether there might be cross-cultural differences in levels of cyberbullying perpetration. In one of the first cross-cultural studies on cyberbullying, Li (2008) found Canadian students were more likely to be cyberbullies compared to Chinese students. In a study examining differences between high school students in the US, and Japan, students from the US reported more cyberbullying than students in Japan (Aoyama, Utsumi, & Hasegawa, 2011). Barlett and colleagues (2014) also found that US adolescents reported more cyberbullying involvement as perpetrators compared to Japanese adolescents. Thus, the handful of studies that have examined cultural differences in levels of cyberbullying perpetration have rather consistently shown higher reports from students living in the United States and Canada compared to Chinese and Japanese students or Australian and many European youth. These findings are consistent with research on general aggression rates (e.g., Bergeron & Schneider,

2005) and suggest that cyberbullying perpetration may reflect general patterns of cultural differences.

DIFFERENCES IN RATES OF CYBERVICTIMIZATION ACROSS ETHNIC AND CULTURAL GROUPS

Although some cultures or ethnic groups might be higher on aggression, including cyberbullying, this does not necessarily mean that there are also more victims (few bullies can target lots of others, just as many bullies may target the same few individuals). Indeed, for online victimization, comparative studies show fewer consistent patterns. Among a large sample of over 15,000 adolescents in the US, those categorized as “other” which included, for example, Native Hawaiian and Asian adolescents, reported greater online victimization than White, Latino, and African American teens (Messias, Kindrick, & Castro, 2014).

Another study revealed that White youth were more likely to be victimized online compared to Latino youth (Kupczynski, Mundy, & Green, 2013). Meanwhile, other studies find no differences in rates of online victimization across various ethnic groups. For example in a study that included youth from American Indian, Black/African American, White, and Latino ethnic backgrounds, no differences were found for rates of online victimization and perpetration (Bauman, Toomey, & Walker, 2013; see also Sontag, Clemans, Graber & Lyndon, 2011). Compared to studies examining ethnic differences within a culture, there are even fewer studies testing differences across cultures. In the aforementioned study on Chinese and Canadian students, rates of cybervictimization were found to be similar for both groups of students (Li, 2008). In a study comparing the victimization experiences of English, Spanish, and Italian youth, Ortega and colleagues (2012) found that English adolescents were more likely to be affected (rather than nonaffected, based on cluster analyses) compared to Spanish and Italian youth. Clearly, it is difficult from the limited comparative studies to draw firm conclusions regarding rates of cybervictimization across various ethnic groups within the US and cross-culturally. Moreover, it is unclear why certain ethnic or cultural groups might be targeted more than others.

STUDYING PROCESSES ACROSS GROUPS AND WITHIN-GROUP DIFFERENCES

In addition to examining simple differences in rates of involvement, studies have also investigated whether the impact of cyberbullying varies depending on ethnic or cultural background. For example, do Latino, White, or African American students experience online victimization similarly? Studying the correlates of cybervictimization can also shed light on whether the same factors (e.g., close friends) serve a protective function by alleviating signs of distress across diverse groups of youth. For example, Black youth have been found to have more close friends outside of school compared to White youth (Clark & Ayers, 1992); thus, these out-of-school friendships might protect Black youth from the emotional pain associated with cybervictimization.

Although very few studies have tested these more complex research questions, some potential processes have been examined, including family factors, such as parental solicitation and parental control (Shapka & Law, 2013), and group-level processes such as social reinforcement for cyberbullying (Barlett et al., 2014), as well as individual factors including proactive and reactive motivations for engaging in aggression (Shapka & Law, 2013). We highlight some of these studies to showcase the types of research questions that can be addressed and the potential value of such findings.

One recent Canadian study found different patterns in the ways that parenting behaviors related to cyberbullying perpetration between East Asian and European Canadian youth (Shapka & Law, 2013). Specifically, higher levels of parental solicitation (e.g., extent to which teens tell their parents what they do on the Internet) and lower levels of parental control (e.g., extent to which teens report that their parents limit the things they can do online) were more closely related to cyberbullying perpetration among East Asian adolescents, compared to European adolescents. One conclusion made by the authors is that parental solicitation may not have the same protective effects among adolescents from East Asian descent as has been found with White youth. In fact, when East Asian parents actively gained information through requests to the child, this was linked with increased levels of perpetration. These type of differences suggest that it is important to consider ethnic or cultural differences when trying to understand risk and protective factors for cyberbullying. This view is also consistent with the conclusion by Shapka and Law (2013), who underscore that relying on a one-size-fits-all prevention approach for cyberbullying based on the majority culture may be ineffective for particular ethnic minority groups.

In addition to communication with parents, there is evidence suggesting that online peer dynamics might also vary across ethnic groups. In a short-term longitudinal study among older adolescents, Barlett and colleagues (2014) found that compared to Japanese youth, US adolescents (predominately White) were more sensitive to positive attitudes about and reinforcement for their online bullying. That is, teens who reported more positive reinforcement and who held more positive attitudes toward cyberbullying at wave 1, were more likely to show increases in cyberbullying at wave 2 (two months later). These associations with positive reinforcement and positive attitudes were especially pronounced for the students from the US. The authors note that culture is a variable that is absent from longitudinal analyses on cyberbullying, yet, they do not discuss the implications of their findings. However, given that the study is described in terms of the effects of self-construals on aggression, the findings suggest that helping students adapt their construals from independent (i.e., mainly focused on self and autonomy) to interdependent (i.e., viewing self within the broader social context) may be one avenue for reducing cyberbullying involvement, especially among White youth in the US (Barlett et al., 2014). Taken together, these studies suggest that indeed, the impact of cyberbullying involvement and the factors that ameliorate or exacerbate associations may vary across groups.

Although some studies suggest that it is vital to consider cultural factors to identify distinct processes, there are also findings suggesting that some processes are universal. For example, in a study examining the relationship between proactive and reactive aggression with cyberbullying among adolescents from the US, (predominately White) and Singapore, the results showed no cultural differences (Ang, Huan, & Florell, 2014). Specifically, the authors found that both reactive and proactive aggression were related to cyberbullying in the US and

in Singapore. Thus, for some constructs relevant in cyberbullying involvement, the nature of online interactions may be similar cross-culturally.

Another way to examine the role of ethnicity and culture within cyberbullying research is by conducting studies among a single ethnic minority group to investigate within-group differences. Such within group differences include examination of developmental, gender or socio-economic status differences in cyberbullying involvement or the ways in which protective or risk factors function vary based on gender, for example. Few studies explore differences within one specific ethnic group or culture. One exception is a study by Låftman and colleagues (2013) who found that online victimization was related to poorer subjective health (e.g., headaches, poor appetite, problems falling sleep) more strongly among more recent immigrant adolescents in Sweden compared to adolescents who had lived in Sweden for more than 10 years (or their entire lives). In a study conducted with Latino youth in the US, Espinoza (2015) found no differences based on generational status, but the associations between daily experiences with cybervictimization (based on daily reports across five consecutive days) and feelings of distress and anger differed for boys and girls. Specifically, on any given day that girls reported being victimized online they also reported greater feelings of distress and anger on the same day. No such pattern was found for boys. Thus, these findings suggest that Latina girls are particularly at risk for emotional pain following a single incident of cybervictimization. Girls' greater sensitivity to online victimization has also been found in prior studies with ethnically diverse adolescents in the US (Bauman, Toomey, & Walker, 2013) and adolescents in Sweden (Låftman, Modin, & Östberg, 2013). Such findings are consistent with a larger body of research on social stressors: adolescent girls are typically more sensitive to social stressors and react more strongly to them (e.g., Wagner & Compas, 1990). Thus, studies that rely on one ethnic or cultural group can provide important insights about the nuanced ways in which youth react to cybervictimization.

As research on cyberbullying across the globe continues to grow, we will better comprehend the extent to which cyberbullying is a universal phenomenon and whether such online incidents are experienced differently across cultures. Extending many of the questions addressed in research conducted in the US, recent international studies have examined particular cyberbullying questions in different cultural contexts. For example, the ways in which cyberbullying is related to distress and self-esteem among students from Quebec schools showed that, over and above experiences of peer victimization in school, online victimization was related to more distress and lower self-esteem (Cénat, Hébert, Blais, Lavoie, Guerrier, & Derivois, 2014). These findings parallel studies conducted among adolescents in North America (e.g., Juvonen & Gross, 2008). International studies have also recently tested the link between online disinhibition and cyberbullying behaviors among high school students in Japan (Udris, 2014), whether associations exist between cyberbullying and anger among Italian youth (Lonigro, Schneider, Laghi, Baiocco, Pallini, & Brunner, *in press*), and relationships between cyberbullying and school-related happiness and life satisfaction among children in Spain (Navarro, Ruiz-Olivia, Larrañaga, & Yubero, 2015). These studies are beneficial because the more studies that are conducted on the topic make meta-analyses more feasible. A recent meta-analysis examined whether country of origin moderated relationships between cyberbullying involvement and numerous behavioral and psychological variables (Kowalski, Schroeder, Giumetti, & Lattanner, 2014).

The results revealed that cybervictimization was more strongly linked to higher feelings of loneliness and lower self-esteem among youth from North America than among European and

Australian youth (samples from youth in Asian countries were excluded due to the small number of studies). One explanation the authors offer is that there seem to be more nationwide intervention efforts taking place in European countries compared to in North America. Thus, the intervention effects may confound these apparent cultural differences.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Research aimed at providing a more comprehensive understanding of cyberbullying, its potentially negative consequences, and identification of relevant risk and protective factors is critical. It is important for future research to at least explore the role of ethnicity and culture as the body of knowledge on cyberbullying is increasing. Numerous studies on cyberbullying have not capitalized on the ethnic diversity of their sample by at least exploring such differences (e.g., Hinduja & Patchin, 2013; Williams & Guerra, 2007; Wright, *in press*). Research that both descriptively considers race, ethnicity and/or country of origin, and also research that highlights these factors as a key part of the study (e.g., testing moderation by ethnic background) can help us comprehend which findings are universally robust as opposed to more culturally nuanced. For example, we know relative little about socio-economic status (SES), and indeed need to make sure that ethnic differences are not confounded by SES.

Just as there is a void of research on lower SES youth, there are also other groups largely missing in research on cyberbullying conducted in North America. Only a handful of studies have included Asian youth in their sample (see Goebert, Else, Matsu, Chung-Do, & Chang, 2011). In the absence of studies of Asian youth, schools and school districts with Asian student populations are not in the position to address specific social-emotional needs of these students, inasmuch as cyberbullying is typically linked to higher levels of distress and depressive symptoms (e.g., Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014). Even comparisons on mere rates of cyberbullying and victimization are relevant for intervention. At the same time, if studies continue to show that African-American youth are at greater risk of engaging in cyberbullying, the question might be whether any antibullying program can decrease their negative online behavior. Now that essentially all youth have online access, recognizing that adolescents' online and offline social worlds are increasingly interconnected is important (Reich, Subrahmanyam, & Espinoza, 2012). That is why we need to place research findings in their larger context by recognizing that aggression rates in general show a similar pattern of ethnic differences as do cyberbullying perpetration rates or that the mental health correlates of cybervictimization may be more severe among girls than boys given that girls, in general, are more sensitive to social stressors. It is also important to recognize that there are many challenges in conducting cross-cultural research. It is often difficult to ensure the same meaning of terms. That is, translating the words "bullying" and "cyberbullying" into other languages is at times challenging (Smith, del Barrio, & Tokunga, 2013). For example, in Japan, *ijime*, is the closest term for bullying and it is not an exact parallel as it focuses more on group processes, much like the term "mobbing" that was used in Scandinavian countries (Roland & Munthe, 1997). Thus, although it is easy to consider online communication as a universal phenomenon, it is important to consider the larger cultural context as well as the meaning of the terms used in cross-cultural research when assessing cyberbullying (Strohmeier, Aoyama, Gradinger, & Toda, 2013).

Given these potential limitations in cyberbullying research to execute cross-cultural studies, there has been a push to develop cross-culturally valid scales, although these efforts have been found to be quite challenging (e.g., Strohmeier, Aoyama, Gradinger, & Toda, 2013). Another strategy for avoiding conceptual confusion when conducting cross-cultural research on cyberbullying experiences is to ask about specific behaviors, a recommendation that has also been made for studying school bullying (Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefhoghe, 2002). One of the critical questions is whether there are good theoretical or conceptual reasons to expect electronic bullying to differ across ethnic and cultural groups. We expect that while the rates of the behavior may indeed parallel those documented for general aggressive behaviors, the rates of cybervictimization should not vary in any systematic way across specific ethnic or cultural groups, unless the behavior is motivated by (ethnic) prejudice, a topic that has also received little empirical attention (see Tynes, Giang, Williams, & Thompson, 2008). However, we do expect that there may be differences based on ethnic and cultural backgrounds in the extent to which certain factors serve a protective or risk-amplifying role for youth. As suggested by the current review, cultural differences have been found in the ways that online peer dynamics (e.g., reinforcement for bullying) function for cyberbullying perpetration (Barlett et al., 2014).

Similarly, there is evidence suggesting that the ways in which parental solicitation and monitoring function to curb online victimization might vary across ethnic groups (e.g., Shapka & Law, 2013). These types of research examples underscore the ethnic and cultural nuances of online behaviors and experiences.

Given that school context is relevant for cyberbullying experiences (e.g., Beale & Hall, 2007), and that many online victims report that they know their bullies from school (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Kowalski & Limber, 2007), it may be important for cyberbullying studies to take into consideration the ethnic composition of adolescent's schools. School ethnic composition is relevant to students' feeling of safety within the context of school bullying incidents (e.g., Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2006; Vervoort, Scholte, & Overbeek, 2010) and it may also be relevant for cybervictimization. Moreover, it would be important to understand whether cyberbullying takes place among same-ethnic peers as opposed to between racial or ethnic groups, especially since peer constructs such as social preference matter in cyberbullying perpetration (Wright, 2014).

While the content of online interactions (e.g., racial overtones) can be studied observationally in public domains (e.g., Twitter messages—see Bellmore, Calvin, Xu, & Zhu, 2015), the motivations for engaging in cyberbullying are more difficult to infer.

Recognizing and understanding the role of ethnicity and culture in cyberbullying involvement will become particularly important as efforts towards developing intervention and education programs on cyberbullying continue to grow. Can the same program that was piloted in London be then implemented in Canada? Can an intervention focused on increasing empathy and providing parent education as a means to decrease cyberbullying rates be successful if it is implemented across a school district in a large US city that has schools varying widely in students' ethnic composition?

In sum, adolescents' social worlds are increasingly taking place online, and cyberbullying is clearly an international phenomenon.

Accordingly, research that aims to better understand how ethnicity and race, as well as cultural values and belief systems across various countries influence or alter cyberbullying experiences is much needed.

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Chapter 19

APPROACHES TO REDUCING CYBERBULLYING: CHANGE THE BULLY, CHANGE THE BYSTANDER, OR CHANGE THE VICTIM?

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INTRODUCTION

Cyberbullying can be defined as “willful and repeated harm inflicted through the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices” (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009, p. 5). Studies have shown that cyberbullying victims and perpetrators have experienced mental health problems such as symptoms of depression (e.g., Bonanno & Hymel, 2013), suicidal ideation (e.g., Bonanno & Hymel, 2013; Hinduja & Patchin, 2010), and suicide attempts (e.g., Hinduja & Patchin, 2010). Even as the number of media reports of victims of cyberbullying who have committed suicide has increased, there is still a paucity of cyberbullying preventions and interventions that have been evaluated empirically (e.g., De Nies, Donaldson, & Netter, 2010; Friedman, 2010; Michels, 2008; Smith-Spark & Vandoorne, 2013). We review the prevalence of cyberbullying in the college student population and discuss various approaches that have been taken to deliver preventions and interventions to reduce cyberbullying perpetration among youth and college students. Next, cyberbullying bystander and victim research will be discussed. Then, we propose future directions and ways in which cyberbullying preventions and interventions can become more comprehensive and effective.

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CYBERBULLYING PREVALENCE

The vast majority of studies on cyberbullying have been targeted toward youth (Tokunaga, 2010). Given the fact that children and young adolescents are moving through a developmentally critical time in which cyberbullying tends to peak (e.g., Beran & Li, 2005; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006; Salmivalli, Kärnä, & Poskiparta, 2011), specific attention to this developmental period is clearly warranted. However, prevalence of cyberbullying among college students is also high and the consequences can be just as severe as those experienced by younger populations. Prevalence rates of being cyberbullied vary drastically based on how cyberbullying is conceptualized, measured, and the samples utilized (e.g., 9% to 55%; Aricak, 2009; Dilmaç, 2009; Kraft & Wang, 2010; MacDonald & Roberts-Pittman, 2010; Schenk & Fremouw, 2012; Walker, Sockman, & Koehn, 2011). Our research group has developed and validated with college students arguably the most comprehensive assessment of both cyberbullying victimization and cyber perpetration, the Cyberbullying Experiences Survey (CES; Doane, Kelley, Chiang, & Padilla, 2013), which includes 21 victimization and 20 perpetration behaviors that reflect four distinct types of cyberbullying: deception, malice, public humiliation, and unwanted contact. Using this broad assessment of cyberbullying occurring in the past year, approximately 78% of college students reported experiencing and 53% reported perpetrating at least one form of cyberbullying involving deception, 88% reported experiencing and 78% reported perpetrating cyberbullying involving malice, 73% reported experiencing and 38% reported perpetrating cyberbullying involving public humiliation, and 66% reported experiencing and 29% reported perpetrating cyberbullying involving unwanted contact. According to these estimates, the vast majority of college students have been both a victim and a perpetrator of cyberbullying behaviors in the past year.

CHANGE THE BULLY

In recent years, several cyberbullying prevention programs developed for youth in many different countries have demonstrated effectiveness for increasing knowledge of cyberbullying, improving strategies for stopping cyberbullying, and reducing cyberbullying behavior. With few exceptions, these programs have been designed for youth between the ages of 11 and 14 (e.g., Lee, Zi-Pei, Svanström, & Dalal, 2013; Salmivalli et al., 2011); however, Wölfer et al. (2014) included youth up to age 17 and Menesini, Nocentini, and Palladino (2012) included secondary students ranging from 14 to 20 years old (mean age = 16.29). One of the most notable limitations to current cyberbullying research is that not all cyberbullying prevention programs have incorporated a theoretical framework (Tokunaga, 2010). Given the heterogeneity in cyberbullying perpetration and victimization, one theory may not account for all types of cyberbullying perpetration and cyber victimization. Nevertheless, without strong theoretical frameworks to guide research, any prevention and intervention attempts may be misinformed. With this caveat in mind, in this section, we review the results of several recent cyberbullying programs designed for school-aged children and our own cyberbullying work with college students. In a study testing the effectiveness of a cyberbullying prevention program (i.e., Media Heroes) for German adolescents, Wölfer and colleagues (2014) utilized the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB; Ajzen, 2012) which is a more recent, expanded version of the Theory of

Reasoned Action (TRA; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). TRA was first introduced in 1969 by Ajzen and Fishbein to identify antecedents to various behaviors. TRA posits that attitudes toward a behavior (i.e., the degree to which a behavior is positively or negatively evaluated) and perceived norms [perception of others' approval or disapproval of performing a behavior (injunctive norms) or the perception that others actually engage in the behavior (descriptive norms)] influence behavioral intentions (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). Behavioral intentions are proposed to have a direct effect on the behavior itself. In addition to TRA constructs (i.e., attitudes and perceived norms), TPB includes perceived behavioral control (i.e., the degree to which individuals believe that one can successfully execute the behavior) as a predictor of behavioral intentions (Ajzen, 2012).

Wölfer et al. (2014) developed a program (i.e., Media Heroes) that is based on several developmental and psychological constructs that also reflected some basic TPB core constructs. In a test of the Media Heroes program, students between the ages of 11 to 17 participated in 10 weekly 90-minute sessions (long intervention) or 4 90-minute sessions on a single day (short intervention). Media Heroes incorporates teaching the definition and legal rights associated with cyberbullying and increasing perspective-taking and empathy, changing existing norms regarding social responsibility, and increasing students' behavioral control such as online protective behaviors and strategies to confront cyberbullying. A number of teaching techniques are utilized including role playing, peer tutors, student-to-parent teaching, and reflection. Both the long and short intervention programs decreased cyberbullying behavior, increased perspective-taking skills and reduced non-cyberbullying specific instrumental and reactive aggressive behavior at nine months post-test compared to a control group; the short and long intervention groups did not differ significantly from one another.

Based on social constructivism, scaffolding theory, and collaborative learning theory, Lee and colleagues (2013) developed a student-administered, web-based, exploratory-oriented, eight-session cyberbullying prevention course (i.e., 360 minutes that took part over the course of four consecutive weeks) for Taiwanese students. The program targets student knowledge and attitudes toward cyberbullying as well as reduction in cyberbullying behavior. Although the program did not improve students' attitudes toward cyberbullying, as compared to those in the control group, those who took part in the web-based cyberbullying prevention program demonstrated greater knowledge of cyberbullying and reduced intentions to cyberbully immediately following program completion and two weeks after the conclusion of the program. Benefits of the Lee et al. program include the ability of students to problem solve and complete tasks by interacting with peers online and that the program can be completed by students themselves. The KiVa Antibullying Program (KiVa), developed by a team of Finnish researchers (Salmivalli et al., 2011), focuses on enhancing empathy, self-efficacy, and antibullying attitudes of bystanders. KiVa, a 20-hour program, is delivered in two 1-hour classroom lessons per month for elementary school children or four times during the school year for middle school children. KiVa instruction focuses on the complex dynamics of bullying and cyberbullying, including bystander roles. It includes step-by-step instruction for the curriculum lessons which are delivered by trained teachers. Furthermore, KiVa incorporates a parent guide which contains information on what parents can do about bullying/cyberbullying (Salmivalli & Poskiparta, 2012). In a test of the program for Finnish youth in grades 4 through 9, as compared to students in the control condition, students who took part in KiVa reported reduced cyberbullying victimization at posttest (Williford et al., 2014). The effect of the program on cyberbullying perpetration, however, was conditional based on student age.

Specifically, the program was effective for students who were one standard deviation below the mean age (i.e., 11.30 years) but not effective for students at (i.e., 12.88 years) or above (i.e., 14.46 years) the mean participant age. Importantly, the researchers also found classroom effects such that cyberbullying perpetration and victimization were more common in some classrooms.

In two studies, Menesini et al. (2012) evaluated the effects of the “*Noncadiamointrappola*” program (translated: “*Let’s Not Fall into a Trap*”) designed to reduce bullying and cyberbullying in secondary schools in Italy. Based on the longstanding view that peers learn from liked and trusted group members [i.e., a peer education model (e.g., Turner & Shepherd, 1999)], Study 1 compared students who were highly involved (i.e., took part in training and worked on an activity in a real or virtual community; $n = 63$) to students who received an intervention based on raising awareness of cyberbullying ($n = 126$) to those in the control group ($n = 47$). A significant reduction in cyberbullying was shown only for those who served as peer educators, particularly for male peer educators. Study 2 included stronger attention to the victim’s role and support for victims, greater effort to involve bystanders, face-to-face instruction by peer educators which was supported by classroom teachers that included a short movie on cyberbullying and guide for safer e-mail and social network use, and the creation of a Facebook group where online peer educators posted links and served as group administrators. Results of Study 2 revealed a significant Time by Group effect such that traditional bullying perpetration, bullying victimization, and cyberbullying victimization, but not cyberbullying perpetration, decreased for students who took part in the experimental as compared to the control group. Collectively, these studies show the importance of more extensive involvement as opposed to global information regarding cyberbullying and that peer educators can serve as instruments of change in promoting reduction of cyberbullying victimization among their peers.

Based on the idea that traditional bullying and cyberbullying have overlapping risk and protective factors, Gradingier, Yanagida, Strohmeier, and Spiel (2015) tested whether a general antibullying program would have benefits on cyberbullying among Austrian children grades 5 to 7. In the first semester of the two-semester program, teachers receive training on school level intervention and prevention. In the second semester, teachers provided 13 lessons that cover bullying prevention and instruct students on working together to reduce classroom bullying. Importantly, students carry out a class project with the intention of creating an encouraging, structured, and friendly environment in which it is believed bullying is less likely to occur. Results of a longitudinal randomized control group design revealed that the program reduced both cyberbullying perpetration ($d = 0.39$) and cyberbullying victimization ($d = 0.29$); however, some differences were noted in program effectiveness depending on age, gender, and pre-test cyberbullying perpetration and victimization. Specifically, higher cyberbullying perpetration at pretest was associated with decreases in cyberbullying perpetration in the control and intervention group. Girls showed a stronger decrease in cyberbullying perpetration than boys in the intervention group; as compared to younger students, older students showed a stronger increase in cyberbullying perpetration. The mean change in cyberbullying victimization was related to pretest cyberbullying victimization and gender. Higher cyberbullying victimization at pre-test was associated with greater decline in cyberbullying victimization in both the control and intervention groups, and girls showed a greater decline in cyberbullying victimization in the intervention group compared to boys.

Led by researchers at four Australian universities (i.e., Barbara Spears, Phillip Slee, Marilyn Campbell, and Donna Cross) in 2010, the Australian Universities’ Anti-bullying Research Alliance (AUARA) was formed. From this initiative, four independent programs of

research were developed to address youth cyberbullying perpetration and cyberbullying victimization. The “*Keep it Tame*” program is an antibullying, social marketing campaign co-created by youth, marketing, and research experts (Spears & Zeederberg, 2013). The *Cyber Friendly School Project* (Cross et al., 2003) engages students, teachers, parents, and the community and focuses on providing students with information and skills to increase empathy toward victims, cope with cyberbullying, and to react assertively and non-aggressively to cyberbullying. Led by Marilyn Campbell at Queensland University of Technology, an additional two-fold program has been designed to examine the knowledge and attitudes of the school community to legal responses for cyberbullying and to develop and test legally-informed resources to these findings (see Cross, Campbell, Slee, Spears, & Barnes, 2013 for a discussion). Finally, a fourth program, developed at Flinders University, provides teacher training and shows students a DVD (i.e., *Coping with Bullying*; Slee, Murray-Harvey, & Wotherspoon, 2008), which includes scenes of online bullying and focuses on coping strategies depending on a mix of personal and situational variables. While results of these programs are preliminary, current evaluations of these programs have been positive (see Cross et al., 2013). Our work has utilized the TRA (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) as a framework for understanding cyberbullying perpetration among college students (Doane, Kelley, & Pearson, in press; Doane, Pearson, & Kelley, 2014, 2015). Studies measuring empathy in general (Schultze-Krumbholz & Scheithauer, 2009) and empathy specifically related to cyberbullying (Steffgen, König, Pfetsch, & Melzer, 2011) have found higher levels of empathy to be associated with lower levels of cyberbullying. For this reason, we included empathy as a distal antecedent to cyberbullying.

Prior to a series of studies examining the utility of TRA (Ajzen, 1985) for understanding college student cyberbullying behavior, we developed the four-factor Cyberbullying Experiences Scale to assess past-year experiences with cyberbullying (CES; Doane, Kelley, Chiang, & Padilla, 2013). The CES assesses four dimensions (i.e., malice, public humiliation, unwanted contact, and deception) of cyberbullying perpetration and victimization. Importantly, the CES allows for tests of TRA constructs on different classes of cyberbullying behaviors common among emerging adults (i.e., 18 to 25; Arnett, 2000).

In our first application of TRA as an explanatory framework for cyberbullying behavior among college students (Doane et al., 2014), we extended earlier work by Heirman and Walrave (2012) conducted with Belgian adolescents. Using the TPB (Ajzen, 2012), Heirman and Walrave found that attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control predicted cyberbullying intentions, which in turn predicted cyberbullying behaviors. Although TPB includes perceived behavioral control, because our research focuses on college students, 98% of college students use the Internet (Pew Internet & American Life Project, 2013), and 97% of individuals in our targeted age range use their phone for texting (Duggan & Rainie, 2012), college students have the ability to execute cyberbullying behaviors; thus, we believed TRA model was more appropriate for our work. Importantly, we matched each attitude, injunctive norm, and descriptive norm to each cyberbullying behavior item.

More specifically, our intent was to examine the degree to which attitudes toward cyberbullying, injunctive norms, and descriptive norms predicated cyberbullying intentions, which were expected to predict cyberbullying behaviors. In addition, we hypothesized that empathy toward cyberbullying victims on cyberbullying intentions would be mediated by the TRA constructs (i.e., attitudes toward cyberbullying, injunctive norms, and descriptive norms).

Using path analyses, Doane et al. (2014) tested the TRA model across all four types of cyberbullying (i.e., malice, public humiliation, unwanted contact, and deception). The TRA-based model accounted for a substantial portion of variance in cyberbullying intentions and cyberbullying behavior (see Figure 1). As expected from previous research (e.g., Heirman & Walrave, 2012), attitudes toward cyberbullying was the best predictor of all four forms of cyberbullying intentions examined. Furthermore, empathy toward cyberbullying victims had indirect effects on cyberbullying behaviors through TRA constructs.

Although several recent cyberbullying prevention programs have been developed for youth, few such programs are available for emerging adults. Building on our earlier work and guided by the TRA, we developed a video-based program for college students designed to increase cyberbullying knowledge and empathy toward cyberbullying victims, decrease favorable attitudes regarding cyberbullying, diminish positive injunctive and descriptive norms about cyberbullying, and decrease intentions to cyberbully and cyberbullying behaviors (Doane et al., in press). The content of the video was developed from a review of the literature, an interview study with 43 college students who indicated they have been the target of cyberbullying (Doane, Kelley, & Cornell, 2009), and content experts. From these sources, scripts were developed, which were then reviewed by a cyberbullying expert not associated with the research, faculty members, and graduate students. The scripts were then refined and piloted.

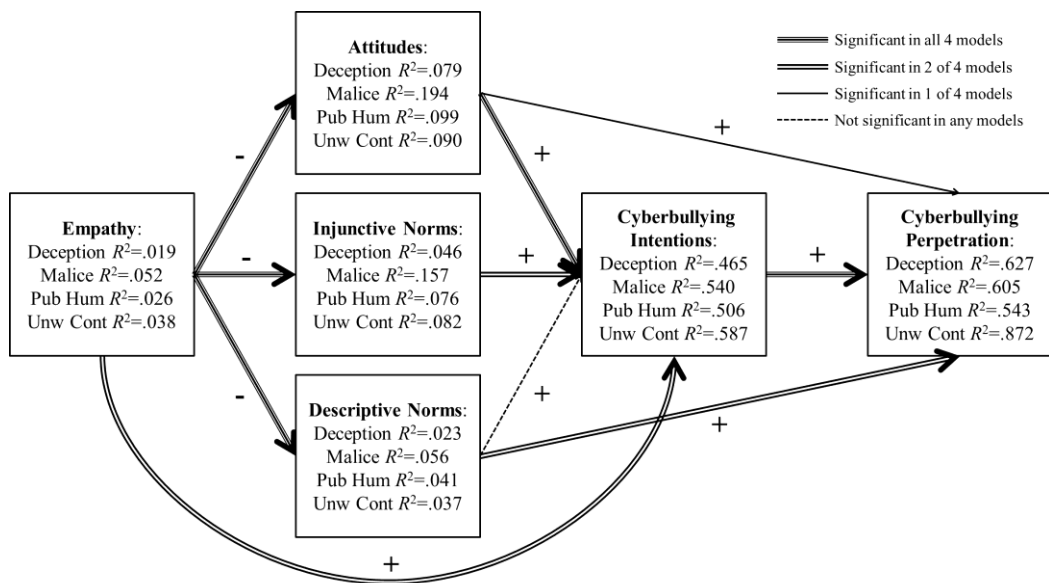


Figure 1. Summarizes the results from four fully saturated models for each type of cyberbullying behavior: Deception, Malice, Public Humiliation (Pub Hum), and Unwanted Contact (Unw Cont). Attitudes, injunctive norms, and descriptive norms were significantly positively correlated with each other across all 4 models; demographic covariates (age and gender) were modeled as predictors of all other variables in the model; these paths are not shown for reasons of parsimony.

Once the scripts were finalized, student actors were recruited and supervised, and the video was filmed and edited. The video was comprised of six brief cyberbullying scenarios enacted by the actors. The common cyberbullying events were interspersed with brief attention-grabbing slides with voiceovers regarding well-publicized cyberbullying events involving

adolescents and emerging adults as well as short, key information regarding cyberbullying. To generate empathy toward cyberbullying victims, the scenarios illustrated how upsetting cyberbullying can be to victims (e.g., a student in her dorm room receiving constant hurtful instant messages). To target decreasing positive injunctive and descriptive norms, various actors discussed and commented on how “immature” and “stupid” cyberbullying was as well as on how other students may perceive cyberbullying as wrong. In one scenario, a student confronted a cyberbully when he asked her to assist him and explained why she intervened. Results of a randomized pre-test, post-test, 1-month follow-up design revealed that compared to pre-test, those in the video prevention condition reported immediate benefits for attitudes and injunctive norms for all four forms of cyberbullying behaviors examined. In addition, the video prevention decreased descriptive norms of selected forms of cyberbullying (i.e., malice and public humiliation), increased empathy for victims of selected forms of cyberbullying (i.e., malice and deception), and increased cyberbullying knowledge. At the one-month follow-up, malice and public humiliation behaviors, favorable attitudes toward unwanted contact, deception, and public humiliation, and injunctive norms for public humiliation were significantly lower for the experimental group relative to the control condition. Thus, results suggest a brief cyberbullying video may have short-term benefits for cyberbullying knowledge, constructs associated with cyberbullying (e.g., injunctive norm, descriptive norms, and empathy toward cyberbullying victims), and cyberbullying behavior.

More recently, Doane et al. (2015) tested the efficacy of an in-person video-based cyberbullying prevention program [using the same video as Doane et al. (in press)] and a student-led, skit-based prevention program for the reduction of cyberbullying behavior. Both programs were developed to test TRA. In Study 1, we examined the efficacy of an in-person cyberbullying video prevention program with 335 college students. Immediately after the program ended, attitudes toward and injunctive norms for all four types of cyberbullying (i.e., malice, deception, unwanted contact behaviors, and public humiliation), intentions to engage in malice, willingness to engage in malice and deceptive behaviors, and empathy toward victims of all four forms of cyberbullying significantly improved. Also, subjects reported less malice, deception, and public humiliation perpetration at one-month follow-up. In Study 2, the theory-based prevention program was tested using a pre-post design via student enacted skits that depicted several cyberbullying scenarios. Students also presented information about cyberbullying. Attitudes and injunctive norms toward malice, deception, and public humiliation behaviors as well as intentions and willingness to engage in malice behaviors decreased. Furthermore, knowledge of cyberbullying increased from pre- to post-test.

CHANGE THE BYSTANDER

Although most cyberbullying research has focused on victimization and perpetration, recent studies have begun to address the role of bystanders (i.e., witnesses of cyberbullying) in the context of cyberbullying (e.g., DeSmet et al., 2014; Van Cleemput, Vandebosch, & Pabian, 2014). Some cyberbullying prevention and intervention programs have targeted changing norms and/or addressed bystander behavior with the purpose of reducing cyberbullying perpetration and/or victimization (e.g., Doane et al., in press; Doane et al., 2015; Menesini et al., 2012; Williford et al., 2014). However, no published cyberbullying programs, to our

knowledge, have tested for changes in bystander behavior. Nonetheless, some programs that have addressed bystander behavior have been successful in reducing cyberbullying victimization (e.g., Menesini et al., 2012; Williford et al., 2014) and perpetration (e.g., Doane et al., in press; Doane et al., 2015; Williford et al., 2014). Thus, the bystander role should be further examined in tests of cyberbullying prevention and intervention programs. Due to the lack of research on cyberbullying bystander prevention programs, this section will review studies on cyberbullying bystanders more generally, including its prevalence and predictors, and conclude with future directions for changing cyberbullying bystander behavior.

As with cyberbullying victimization and perpetration, the prevalence rates of cyberbullying bystander behavior have also varied, due in part to differences in methodology (e.g., responses to scenarios, self-reported past behaviors, age, modes of communication, time window of assessment). Based on self-reports, the percentages of individuals who have witnessed cyberbullying have ranged from approximately 28% to 57% (Li, 2010; Van Cleemput et al., 2014; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Whittaker & Kowalski, 2015). Two studies examined the types of cyberbullying incidents participants witnessed. In a sample of 837 students grades 5 to 12 in Taiwan, Yang, Lin, and Chen (2014) found that the most common types of cyberbullying students witnessed were “ignoring posting” (36.0%), “instigating friends to exclude someone” (33.2%), and “mocking or making fun using sexually discriminatory wording” (32.3%). Based on Belgium youths’ reports, Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2009) found that the most common cyberbullying behaviors witnessed were “deception, pretending to be someone else” (50.9%), “making threats or insults by email or mobile phone” (49.3%), and “spreading of gossip by email or mobile phone” (41.1%).

Several studies have examined specific self-reported bystander reactions. For example, in a qualitative study of Canadian students in grades 7 to 12, most students (70.2%) viewed the cyberbullying without joining, and more than one-fourth removed themselves from the situation (Li, 2010). Fewer students participated in the cyberbullying (13.3%) or encouraged the bully (12.6%). About one-third (35.1%) attempted to support the victim and 23.2% indicated they confronted the bully directly. Only 9.3% reported the event, and 8.6% protested to individuals other than the bully. In a recent study of Flemish adolescents ages 9 to 16, only 4.6% reported assisting the perpetrator, 45.1% reported assisting the victim, and 58.6% did nothing (Van Cleemput et al., 2014). The three most common explanations for doing nothing were “because it is not my business,” “because I could get bullied myself,” and “because I did not know how to help the victim.” In a younger sample of Swedish students grades four to nine, Slonje, Smith, and Frisén (2012) found that of the 149 students who were identified as bystanders, most (72%) did not pass on the cyberbullying information, 13% attempted to help the victim by informing the victim of the incident, 9% passed the information to friends, and 6% attempted to extend the bullying by showing the victim the information. In the US, Freis and Gurung (2012) measured the reactions of 37 undergraduate women ages 18 to 23 to a scripted Facebook discussion with confederates who bullied someone based on sexual orientation. The majority of the participants (90.6%) intervened, of which most confronted the bully, about half changed the topic of conversation, and fewer tried to comfort the victim or made direct comments. Across these studies of self-reported bystander behavior, it was found that the majority of cyberbullying bystanders do nothing. Although fewer participants responded to cyberbullying incidents, of those who did react, more reported helping the victim than assisting the bully.

Given that most individuals do not respond when witnessing cyberbullying incidents, the identification of cyberbullying bystander predictors is essential to inform prevention and intervention efforts. Cyberbullying studies have examined both individual characteristics of bystanders and contextual predictors of bystander behavior. However, measures of bystander behaviors have varied, including qualitative (e.g., DeSmet et al., 2014), self-reported bystander behavior (e.g., Macháčková, Dedkova, Sevcikova, & Cerna, 2013), and manipulated scenarios and situations (e.g., weight-based Facebook comments on a photo, Anderson, Bresnahan, & Musatics, 2014; altered picture of a boy, Barlińska, Szuster, & Winiewski, 2013; insulting comment versus photo of person using the bathroom on Facebook, Bastiaensens et al., 2014; same-gender hypothetical blog scenario written by victim describing a fake Facebook page that was made up about him/her, Holfeld, 2014).

In focus groups of 61 adolescents in Belgium, DeSmet et al. (2014) found that bystander behavior depends on the context. For instance, adolescents reported being more likely to tell an adult when the bullying was repeated or severe (i.e., physical threats), and that those who have more social support (e.g., being popular) were more likely to confront the bully. In addition, adolescents considered peers who reinforce the bullies' behavior as "fake friends or trying to fit in" and defenders as "popular" or "strong" (p. 209-210). However, friends doing nothing was considered acceptable, as adolescents believed that their peers would expect bystanders to comfort the victim but not confront the bully. "Loners" (i.e., those who behave "differently," p. 210) were blamed for being victims and were viewed as not deserving to be defended by bystanders.

In a self-report study of bystander behavior among Czech youth ages 12 to 18, Macháčková et al. (2013) found that having a good relationship with the perpetrator was related to being less likely to support the victim (e.g., offering advice or comfort). In contrast, participants higher on prosocial behavior, having a relationship to the victim, feeling upset about seeing the incident (the strongest predictor), and the victim asking for help predicted high levels of support toward the victim. Self-esteem and peer rejection did not predict supportive behavior.

Studies employing cyberbullying scenarios have examined a variety of bystander predictors. In a study of US college students, Anderson et al. (2014) manipulated others' weight-based comments on a Facebook photo in three conditions: dissenting (i.e., among negative weight-based comments, some comments were supportive of the victim or against the bully), conformity (i.e., all negative comments), and no comments. Students who viewed dissenting comments made more positive comments than participants in the conformity or no comments groups. Dissenter effects were stronger for men such that men in the dissenting condition made the most positive comments and were least likely to rate the victim as unhealthy. In addition, Barlińska et al. (2013) found that Polish students (ages 11-18 years) were more likely to select negative bystander responses (e.g., "forward to a peer," "put it up in the school's hall," p. 42) in online and private contexts compared with face-to-face and public contexts. In a study of Flemish adolescents, when manipulating contextual factors (i.e., severity, others reinforce the bully or defend the victim, relationship to other bystanders) in Facebook scenarios, Bastiaensens et al. (2014) found that intentions to help the victim were higher in the more severe scenario (i.e., private photo posted) than the less severe scenario (i.e., insulting comment). In the less severe situation, participants reported higher intentions to comfort and give advice to the victim when the other bystanders were acquaintances than when the others were good friends. On the other hand, participants had higher intentions to comfort and give advice to the victim in the more severe situation when the other bystanders were their

good friends than when the other bystanders were their acquaintances. Participants had higher intentions to reinforce the bully when the other bystanders engaged in behavior similar to the bully and were their good friends compared to when the bystanders were their acquaintances. However, when the other bystanders defended the victim, participants reported lower intentions to reinforce the bully when the other bystanders were their good friends than when they were their acquaintances. In sum, bystander responses to scenarios have varied as a function of several factors including individual characteristics and the context.

Multiple studies have examined empathy in the context of bystander behavior. Anderson et al. (2014) found no differences in empathy toward the victim between the dissenting conditions (dissenting, conforming, and no comments). Barlińska et al. (2013) attempted to activate affective empathy in one study by showing a two-minute video illustrating the effects on and feelings of a victim and cognitive empathy in another study by showing the same video but asking participants to focus on a) the victim's emotions, b) the victim's behavior, or c) the background. They found that affective and both types of cognitive empathy activation resulted in a lower likelihood of selecting a hypothetical negative bystander response (i.e., forwarding a message) compared with the control groups. In Van Cleemput et al.'s (2014) study, empathetic concern was a significant predictor of previous bystander behavior, such that higher levels of empathy were associated with helping the victim and lower empathy levels were related to doing nothing and helping the bully. Similarly, college students who were high in extraversion, empathy, and favorable attitudes toward homosexual individuals were more likely to intervene in the sexual orientation bullying scenario (Freis & Gurung, 2012). Thus, across most of these studies, higher levels of empathy were associated with positive bystander behaviors. However, more studies examining the relationship between empathy and bystander behavior are necessary.

In addition to empathy, gender and age have been common variables in cyberbullying bystander research. For instance, Yang et al. (2014) found that boys and older students were more likely to have witnessed cyberbullying than girls and younger students. In addition, Bastiaenssens et al. (2014) found that compared to boys, girls had higher intentions of helping the victim by giving advice, providing comfort, and defending the victim. However, boys reported higher intentions than girls to tell the perpetrator that the incident was funny. Among middle school students, Holfeld (2014) found that boys held the victim more responsible and placed more blame on the victim for the cyberbullying incident than girls. In the Van Cleemput et al. (2014) study, although gender did not predict previous bystander behavior, older adolescents were more likely to join the bully or do nothing and less likely to help the victim. In a study of Portuguese students ages 10 to 18, older students and boys had more negative attitudes toward defenders (Almeida, Correia, & Marinho, 2010). Although more research is needed, based on these studies, older youth and boys may need cyberbullying bystander prevention and intervention programs more than younger youth and girls.

CHANGE THE VICTIM

It is important to note that nearly anyone using electronic communication can experience cyberbullying victimization. Thus, we must be careful not to blame the victim. It is important, however, to understand factors related to increased likelihood of being the victim of

cyberbullying so that prevention programs integrate this information. Although some broad bullying programs reviewed above showed reduction in cyberbullying victimization (e.g., Gradinger et al., 2015; Menesini et al., 2012; Williford et al., 2014), in this section, we summarize work on the characteristics and behaviors that place individuals at increased risk of cyberbullying victimization and targeted programs to reduce this risk.

Several studies with early to late adolescents have found that frequency of Internet use is positively related to cyberbullying victimization (Erdur-Baker, 2010; Helweg-Larsen, Schütt, & Larsen, 2011; Mesch, 2009; Mishna, Khoury-Kassabri, Gadall, & Daciuk, 2012; Mitchell, Wolak, & Finkelhor, 2008; Navarro & Jasinski, 2012; Vandebosch & Cleemput, 2009). In a sample of college students, Lindsay and Krysik (2012) found that social networking frequency was associated with increased 'online harassment' by someone known to the participant. Rather than simply pointing to the fact that increased exposure to electronic forms of communication places individuals at increased risk of cyberbullying victimization, it is important to examine specific behaviors that individuals engage in that place them at increased risk of cyberbullying victimization.

Although there is a degree of inconsistency across studies in terms of specific risky electronic communication behaviors that have been examined and their predictive validity, several specific risky electronic communication behaviors have been identified as predictors of cyberbullying victimization. These behaviors include agreeing to meet or inviting someone met online to meet in person (e.g., Mitchell et al., 2008), sharing personal information (e.g., Mesch, 2009), sharing passwords (e.g., Mishna et al., 2012), communicating with people known only online (e.g., Helweg-Larsen et al., 2011; Vandebosch et al., 2009), and using specific media (i.e., social networking websites, video sharing websites, and chatrooms; e.g., Mesch, 2009; Navarro & Jasinski, 2012).

The converse of risky electronic communication behaviors, or safety electronic communication behaviors, have been promoted as ways to reduce cyberbullying victimization. For example, Parris, Varjas, Meyers, and Cutts (2012) interviewed 20 high school students about their recommendations regarding protective strategies against cyberbullying. Twelve students (60%) suggested discussing interpersonal matters in person to avoid miscommunications that may lead to cyberbullying. All of the students recommended increased use of security strategies and awareness of Internet safety, such as not sharing passwords, frequently changing passwords, setting social networking profiles to private, not accepting friend requests from people with no mutual friends, being respectful of others, and being aware of cyberbullying in general.

Although some interventions designed to reduce cyberbullying victimization by targeting the victim have been attempted among youth, they have limited efficacy. As reviewed by Mishna, Cook, Saini, Wu, and MacFadden (2011), these psychoeducational Internet safety interventions for youth were somewhat associated with increasing Internet safety knowledge (Chibnall, Wallace, Leicht, & Lunghofer, 2006), but not effective at changing risky online behaviors (Chibnall et al., 2006; Crombie & Trinneer, 2003; Salvatore, 2006). Given the limited efficacy of these interventions, an important next step for prevention and intervention work is to understand the antecedents to risky (or safety) electronic communication behaviors. In a sample of adolescents in Singapore (ages 12-19), Lwin, Li, and Ang (2012) examined motivations behind intentions to adopt 'online safety behaviors' based on Protection Motivation Theory (PMT; Rogers, 1975, 1983). PMT posits that threat appraisal (i.e., perceived severity and perceived susceptibility) and coping appraisal (i.e., response efficacy and self-

efficacy) are cognitive processes aroused when one is confronted with a threat, which in turn are related to engagement in behaviors aimed to reduce the threat. Lwin et al. found support for PMT as perceived severity of cyberbullying, response efficacy, and self-efficacy (but not perceived susceptibility) regarding online safety behaviors were significant predictors of online safety behavioral intentions. In a sample of college students, Doane, Boothe, Pearson, and Kelley (2015) demonstrated that PMT variables were predictive of both risky electronic communication behaviors and cyberbullying victimization. These studies suggest the promise of PMT variables in mobilizing safe or reducing risky electronic communication behaviors in adolescent and young adult populations.

Like PMT, the Extended Parallel Process Model (EPPM; Witte, 1992) is another theoretical approach that focuses on perceived severity, perceived susceptibility, response efficacy, and self-efficacy as key mechanisms through which individuals respond to fear-based appeals. Guided by the EPPM, Roberto, Eden, Savage, Ramos-Salazar, and Deiss (2014) tested the effectiveness of the Arizona Attorney General's 45-minute Social Networking Safety Promotion and Cyberbullying Prevention presentation for middle school children. Approximately two-thirds of the presentation is focused on social networking safety, and one-third is focused on cyberbullying prevention. The key goals of the program were to change perceived severity, perceived susceptibility, response efficacy, self-efficacy, attitudes, and safe social networking behavioral intentions (e.g., not friending strangers, not posting photos, not meeting face-to-face). Two weeks prior to the presentation, the presenter sent a 'friend' request to student participants who were members of the middle school's Facebook page. The presenter began the presentation with information on the number of students who 'friended' the presenter and showed students the amount of personal information they were able to get from student's profile pages as well as how they were able to use this information in tandem with other information (e.g., Google maps) to increase student vulnerability. Compared to the control condition, those who took part in the program reported higher perceived severity, response efficacy, and safer social networking behavioral intentions. Unfortunately, the design did not permit an examination of actual changes in these behaviors and/or whether these changes decreased the incidence of cyberbullying victimization.

Overall, there is some evidence that prevention and intervention approaches based on a sound theoretical framework have promise for decreasing risky electronic communication behaviors. However, the endpoint in these studies was the risky and protective behavioral intentions or behaviors themselves, rather than cyberbullying victimization, which is an assumed consequence of these risky and protective electronic communication behaviors. Additional research is sorely needed that comprehensively examines cyberbullying victimization as the outcome, and continued examination of potential mediators or mechanisms through which such prevention/intervention approaches result in such differences is critical to tailoring and optimizing the effectiveness of these programs.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

We strongly believe that the most promising interventions will be rooted in sound theory. One underdeveloped area in cyberbullying research is understanding the most salient antecedents to cyberbullying perpetration, bystander behavior, and cyber victimization. It is

imperative that we rigorously test distinct predictive models against each other to determine which models have the most predictive utility. We have reviewed studies above examining the Theory of Reasoned Action, Theory of Planned Behavior, Protection Motivation Theory, and the Extended Parallel Process Model. Although each of these models has some support, other theoretical models may be important. For instance, to explain and organize the factors identified in their meta-analysis of cyberbullying perpetration and victimization, Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, and Lattaner (2014) discussed the general aggression model (GAM; Anderson & Bushman, 2002) as it applies to cyberbullying. GAM is a comprehensive theory of general aggression in which the effects of personality and situational variables are expected to be mediated by cognition, affect, and arousal. As described so aptly throughout this book, Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1999) reminds us that individual development does not occur in a vacuum; rather, individuals develop while being nested into specific contexts that range from microsystems to macrosystems. Thus, cyberbullying occurs to individuals who are nested within specific home, family, and peer environments as well as more "macro" level school systems, communities, and cultures; thus, it may be important to understand how these different systems interact to promote or prevent cyberbullying. A broader application of models currently being utilized and other models could enhance the theoretical basis of cyberbullying interventions and hopefully improve overall efficacy.

In addition to a need for theory-based cyberbullying programs, intervention and prevention efforts that target all cyberbullying roles (i.e., victims, perpetrators, and bystanders) are needed. Cyberbullying victim, perpetrator, and bystander roles have been found to be significantly related (e.g., Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Yang et al., 2014). Across three studies, Barlińska et al. (2013) found previous engagement in cyberbullying perpetration predicted negative bystander responses. When examining previous traditional bullying or cyberbullying behavior as predictors of cyberbullying bystander behavior, Van Cleemput et al. (2014) found that previous victimization experiences for both forms of bullying predicted higher levels of helping behavior; previous traditional bullying victimization experiences predicted a lower likelihood of doing nothing. The title of our chapter poses a question regarding whether we ought to change the bully, change the bystander, or change the victim. Given the significant overlap in cyberbullying victimization, perpetration, and bystander behavior, it is important for prevention and intervention programs to target these three roles collectively. In doing so, evaluation of these programs requires comprehensive assessment of change in behaviors related to each of these roles. Thus, our review leads us to the conclusion that cyberbullying prevention/intervention can best be improved by focusing on the big picture: changing the bullies, changing the bystanders, *and* changing the victims.

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Chapter 20

CYBERBULLYING REQUIRES MORE THAN A VIRTUAL RESPONSE: SUGGESTIONS FOR PREVENTION

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INTRODUCTION

The dynamic between bully and victim has been a staple of coming-of-age films for decades—from Biff in *Back to the Future* (1985) to Regina in *Mean Girls* (2004)—each generation of films immortalizes this iconic relationship. This relationship continues to captivate filmgoers because it's so relatable; the bully-victim dynamic continues to be a ubiquitous part of the social fabric of schools, even as the methods of bullying have changed with the times. Although depictions of bullying are present in literature dating back to ancient Greece (e.g., Creon in Sophocles' *Antigone*), research on bullying did not begin in the United States until the 1990's (Berger, 2007).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FACE-TO-FACE BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING

Traditionally, there are three characteristics that distinguish bullying from other forms of aggressive behavior among peers. To be considered bullying, there must be: (1) Intent; the perpetrator must intend to cause harm to the victim, (2) Chronicity; the behavior must be repeated and chronic in nature, and a (3) Power differential; there must be some difference of power between the victim and the perpetrator (Solberg & Olweus, 2003). This general definition of bullying covers a broad spectrum of aggressive behaviors, which may be primarily

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verbal, relational, physical, or any combination of these types of behaviors (Wang, Iannotti & Nansel, 2009).

In our previous review, we highlighted the lack of a “gold standard” definition for cyberbullying, and questioned whether traditional bullying criteria should be used for conceptualizing cyberbullying (Wingate, Minney & Guadagno, 2013). Recent research has addressed this question; however, there is a lack of consensus about how cyberbullying is related to traditional bullying (Olweus, 2012). A number of studies, mainly cross-sectional in design, have shown that traditional and cyberbullying behaviors, as well as victimization, sometimes co-occur (e.g., Beran & Li, 2007; Cross et al., 2009; Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Kowalski, Morgan & Limber, 2012; Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2007; Smith et al., 2008; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009). A meta-analysis of empirical research on cyberbullying confirmed there is a consistent significant relationship between cyberbullying and traditional bullying; individuals who bully face-to-face tend to also engage in cyberbullying (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder & Lattanner, 2014). Other research has found that cyberbullying seems to function in much the same way as traditional bullying, at least in regards to the deleterious effects it has on students’ self-esteem (Olweus, 2012). Because of the overlap in face-to-face and cyberbullying behaviors, programs aimed at reducing traditional bullying may also reduce cyberbullying (Salmivalli, Kärnä & Poskiparta, 2011).

The findings reviewed above are consistent with Olweus’s (2013) assertion that cyberbullying is just a new spin on an age-old behavior. One proposed model for understanding the relationship between cyberbullying and traditional bullying considers the medium (face-to-face or cyber) as a dimension of aggressive behavior (Mehari, Farrell & Le, 2014). In this model, there are two dimensions: (1) type: verbal, relationship and physical, and (2) medium: cyber or in-person. This proposed conceptualization acknowledges that there may be characteristics unique to cyberbullying, such as the potential anonymity of the perpetrator, but also recognizes that cyberbullying shares many behaviors and consequences with traditional forms of bullying (Mehari et al., 2014).

While there is undeniable overlap between cyberbullying and traditional bullying, there are features unique to cyberbullying that must be considered and addressed by any successful intervention or prevention program. A series of studies by Pieschl, Kuhlmann, and Porsch (2015) included the three traditional bullying criteria (intent, power differential, and repetition) as well as three features potentially specific for understanding cyberbullying: (1) media: whether the bullying was in written or pictorial form, (2) publicity: whether the incident was private (e.g., a private message on Facebook), semi-public (e.g., a post in a closed Facebook group), or public (e.g., a public post on Facebook), and (3) type: denigration (spreading rumors), exclusion (from online groups and activities), harassment (threats, insults, slurs, etc.), impersonation (bullies passing themselves off as someone else), or outing (revealing secrets to others). In these studies, students rated attributes for each of the six factors in terms of how much distress they imagine a victim of cyberbullying would feel. Results revealed that the type of bullying incident, how public the incident was, and the frequency of cyberbullying were the most important factors for distress (Pieschl et al., 2015). Increased frequency was associated with increased distress, as was increased publicity (the more public an incident, the more distressing it was perceived to be); outing of secrets to others was consistently rated as the most distressing type, but not all students considered outing to be cyberbullying (Pieschl et al., 2015). When asked about what they considered cyberbullying, up to 25% of students did not consider private communications to be cyberbullying. Additionally, in one study, students rated

incidents by anonymous perpetrators as more distressing than unpopular or popular perpetrators, but this pattern of results was not consistent across the three studies (Pieschl et al., 2015). It may be that the identity of the perpetrator interacts with another factor, such as type, or that these inconsistent results were the result of cohort effects (samples in studies 2 and 3 were older). Future research should address whether anonymity is more distressing for certain types of cyberbullying; for example, when secrets are being revealed, the victim may logically assume the perpetrator is a close friend, and the inability to identify an anonymous source could be immensely distressing.

Research continues to emerge that suggests a comprehensive understanding of cyberbullying needs to move beyond the three traditional criteria for bullying. While the status of the bully still remains a relevant criterion, an anonymous perpetrator could be as distressing to a victim as a high status one. Additionally, the degree of publicity involved is clearly important for understanding the magnitude of the distress caused by cyberbullying. Given that up to 25% of students in the Pieschl et al. (2015) studies did not consider private communications to be cyberbullying, future psychoeducational approaches should consider addressing this as part of the curriculum.

MOTIVATIONS FOR CYBERBULLYING AND VICTIM SELECTION

Peoples' normative beliefs and values are shaped by the influence of those in their social network (Farmer, Pearl & Acker, 1996). Students who engage in bullying behavior do so because people in their social network reinforce the behavior. Some have suggested that bullies target their victims because they are mimicking behaviors seen as part of a troubled home life, but recent research has shown that the primary motivation for bullying is to increase social status (Faris & Ennett, 2012; Sijtsema, Veenstra, Lindenberg & Salmivalli, 2009; Veenstra, Lindenberg, Munniksma & Dijkstra, 2010). Many bullies have well-developed social skills and can even be popular—the movie cliché of the “popular bully” reflects what research has shown (Sutton, Smith & Swettenham, 1999).

Aggression tends to increase as students climb the social ladder, and peaks just before the top of the social hierarchy (Faris & Felmlee, 2011). Popular students may use relationally and physically aggressive tactics, such as bullying a potential social rival, to maintain their social dominance (Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004; Garandeau, Ahn & Rodkin, 2011; Juvonen, Graham & Schuster, 2003; Luthar & McMahon, 1996). However, students at the very top of the social hierarchy have been found to be among the least aggressive students, perhaps because there is no further social status for them to gain (Faris & Felmlee, 2011). Research has also found that there is greater peer pressure for students near the top of the social hierarchy; students may feel pressured to use bullying and other aggressive strategies to maintain their social status (Cillessen & Schwartz, 2011; Faris & Felmlee, 2014; Haynie, 2001; Schwartz & Gorman, 2011).

There are two different strategies used by bullies to select victims: normative and instrumental targeting. Normative targeting occurs when bullies target peers based on characteristics of the victim; this has the additional effect of reinforcing social norms. Biff (from *Back to the Future*) engages primarily in normative targeting when he bullies the nerdy, scrawny George McFly. Research has shown that certain socially stigmatizing characteristics

increase the likelihood that students will be victims of bullying. Some common examples of socially stigmatizing characteristics are: acne (Sweeting & West, 2001), having a disability (Rose, Monda-Amaya & Espelage, 2011), being overweight or underweight (Wang, Iannotti & Luk, 2010), or being less developed physically (mainly males) (Batsche & Knoff, 1994; Olweus, 1993). Students who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgendered (LGBT), or are perceived to be LGBT, are significantly more likely to be victims of bullying (Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2012). One study found that 38% of non-heterosexual female students and 30% of non-heterosexual male students were victims of cyberbullying at some point, while only 24% of heterosexual females and 15% of heterosexual males experienced cyberbullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2011). While LGBT students may be victimized as a result of normative targeting, bullies may use cyberbullying of these students to gain or maintain social dominance, which is characteristic of instrumental targeting. In contrast to Biff, Regina (from *Mean Girls*) engages primarily in instrumental targeting; she bullies to maintain her social dominance, and her victims do not necessarily have targetable attributes (Brown & Hearnstein, 1975; Cairns, 1979; Faris & Ennett, 2012). Although this has not been studied empirically, anecdotal evidence suggests that victims of cyberbullying are chosen through a combination of normative and instrumental targeting.

Another process that contributes to victim selection is social contagion; victimization can spread through friend groups, so students who associate with victims can become victims themselves (Faris & Felmlee, 2014). Sometimes, to avoid being victimized themselves, students will cyberbully their friends. This seems to occur more frequently within female friend groups than in male friend groups, which is consistent with research showing that females use relationally aggressive tactics more often than physical ones (Cassidy, Brown & Jackson, 2011; Cassidy, Jackson & Brown, 2009; Cassidy, Faucher & Jackson, 2013; Patchin & Hinduja, 2012).

CHALLENGES TO PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION FOR CYBERBULLYING

Cyberbullying presents several unique challenges for researchers and others looking to develop effective programs to reduce and prevent it. First of all, cyberbullying can be covert; parents and teachers may not be aware that a student is being cyberbullied, or how severe it is. However, what is more problematic for the development and implementation of effective interventions is teachers' attitudes towards cyberbullying. A recent study of high school teachers at an urban high school in the United States found that nearly 25% of teachers were neutral or disagreed with the statement "Cyberbullying has long-lasting negative effects," and the same percentage were neutral or agreed with the statement "cyberbullying prepares students for life" (Stauffer, Heath, Coyne & Ferrin, 2012). More than half of the teachers were unsure or opposed to a formal cyberbullying prevention program being implemented at their school (Stauffer et al., 2012). This presents a significant barrier to implementation because teacher cooperation and participation is essential for program integrity and effectiveness.

In contrast, most students consider cyberbullying to be just as harmful as traditional bullying (Slonje & Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2008). A recent study even found that students perceive cyberbullying as worse than traditional bullying, perhaps because of the potential for

a much larger audience (Sticca & Perren, 2013). Researchers manipulated features of bullying scenarios and asked students to rank the scenarios in order of severity; students reported perceiving public scenarios as worse than private ones, and anonymous scenarios as worse than ones that were not anonymous (Sticca & Perren, 2013). This research sheds crucial light on how the unique features of the cyber medium (potential anonymity and audience) contribute to students' perceptions of the severity of a bullying incident. Cyberbullying has consistently been associated with negative outcomes for both bullies and victims; it can result in anger and frustration (Hinduja & Patchin, 2007, 2010), depression and fear (Kowalski, Limber & Agatston, 2008; Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2007), and can unfortunately even serve as a catalyst for suicide (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Kowalski et al., 2008). Given that students perceive cyberbullying as a problem, and the growing body of research demonstrating it has long-lasting negative consequences for students, the development of effective programs to prevent and reduce cyberbullying is essential.

Another consideration for intervention and prevention is the age when cyberbullying behaviors first occur, and at what age these behaviors tend to peak, in order to determine when prevention and intervention programs will be the most effective (Kowalski et al., 2014). Research regarding when cyberbullying begins and escalates is mixed, but there is some consensus that it begins in earnest after elementary school. Some studies have found cyberbullying is highest among 15-17 year olds (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004), while others suggest cyberbullying is highest among middle school students, relative to high school students (Slonje & Smith, 2008). Still others have found that cyberbullying behaviors increase in frequency with age, starting in middle school (Kowalski & Limber, 2007).

Although the consensus is that cyberbullying rates are highest in the adolescent and pre-adolescent years, some researchers have suggested that prevention programs be implemented earlier because cyberbullying has also been reported in elementary schools (Tangen & Campbell, 2010). Early intervention in elementary school could decrease the incidence of cyberbullying and reduce its impact in middle and high school. Results are conflicting as to the optimal age for anti-bullying interventions. Traditional anti-bullying interventions have been shown to be most effective with younger students (Rigby & Slee, 2008); however, a recent meta-analysis by Ttofi and Farrington (2011) revealed that anti-bullying interventions increase in effectiveness as students age. Unfortunately, regardless of initial results, changes to student behavior do not persist over time as a result of traditional anti-bullying programs (Ferguson, Miguel, Kilburn & Sanchez, 2007).

TRADITIONAL ANTI-BULLYING PROGRAMS

One approach to combatting cyberbullying is to use existing anti-bullying programs and include content specifically addressing cyberbullying; another approach is to use a program specifically designed to prevent and reduce the incidence of cyberbullying. We will briefly review and summarize the research on traditional anti-bullying programs, and discuss what can be learned from these programs about prevention and intervention for cyberbullying.

A whole-school approach to bullying prevention constitutes everyone in the school's ecology (e.g., students, parents, community, teachers, staff) working together to combat bullying. For traditional bullying, whole-school interventions *might* be the most effective way

to address existing bullying, and prevent further bullying, by utilizing a joint prevention and intervention approach that will not stigmatize students (Cross, Brown, Epstein & Shaw, 2010; Rigby & Slee, 2008; Smith, Ananiadou & Cowie, 2003; Stevens, Bourdeaudhuij & Van Oost, 2001; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). However, the effectiveness of such programs can vary widely depending on implementation fidelity (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009b; Urbis Proprietary Limited, 2011). A meta-analysis of 44 school-based anti-bullying programs from 1983 to 2009 found, on average, such programs reduced traditional bullying by 20-23%, and reduced victimization by 17-20% (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011). The most important elements for reducing victimization were collaborative group and peer work, parent training, disciplinary measures and educational videos (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011). Program elements that were identified as crucial to reducing bullying were classroom rules and management, parent training and information, videos, school assemblies, disciplinary measures and heightened playground supervision (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009a, 2009b).

SCHOOL-BASED ANTI-CYBERBULLYING CURRICULUMS

A significant body of research has suggested that effective programs to reduce and prevent cyberbullying need to be school-based and include education for school employees, as well as students (Agatston, Kowalski & Limber, 2012; Cassidy et al., 2011, 2012, 2012b; Collier, 2012; de Santo & Costabile, 2012; Donlin, 2012; Grigg, 2010; Jackson, Cassidy & Brown, 2009; Jäger, Amado, Matos & Pessoa, 2010; Marczak & Coyne, 2010; Patchin & Hinduja, 2011; Perren et al., 2012; Sakellariou, Carroll & Houghton, 2012; Tangen & Campbell, 2010; Topçu & Erdur-Baker, 2012). Two surveys of middle and high school students asked what they thought would be the best way to reduce cyberbullying; in both surveys, students ranked education on what cyberbullying is and what its effects are among their top suggestions (Cassidy et al., 2011). Their parents agreed; the parent survey revealed they want schools to implement a cyberbullying education program and facilitate a dialog with their children about cyberbullying and its effects (Cassidy, Brown & Jackson, 2012a). Other researchers have suggested that cyberbullying curriculum should include information about how students should conduct themselves online to protect their privacy and reputations (Agatston et al., 2012; Collier, 2012; Grigg, 2010; Marczak & Coyne, 2010; Perren et al., 2012). This seems beneficial considering one study found that only 15.4% of students who were considered digitally literate and had knowledge about e-safety learned it at school (Yilmaz, 2011).

In this section, we will review the research on some of the available curriculum-based school programs specifically designed to address cyberbullying: i-SAFE Internet Safety Program (i-SAFE Inc., 1998), “Let’s Fight It Together: What We All Can Do to Prevent Cyberbullying” (Childnet International, 2007), Cyberbullying: A Prevention Curriculum (Kowalski & Agatston, 2008, 2009), and Sticks and Stones: Cyberbullying (Wilson, 2009). Unfortunately, our literature review yielded limited research supporting any of these interventions as being effective methods of reducing or preventing cyberbullying.

i-SAFE Internet Safety Program

The i-SAFE Internet Safety Program is a cyberbullying prevention curriculum for students in kindergarten through 12th grade. It is primarily professional development training, available via a subscription service, which teaches authorities (e.g., school personnel, community leaders, parents) how to teach the curriculum (i-SAFE Inc., 1998, 2009). The i-SAFE curriculum varies based on developmental cohort. The youngest cohort (grades K-4) learns vocabulary about the Internet and participates in hands-on safe Internet use. The middle cohort (grades 5-8) is exposed to preventive and intervention methods of cyberbullying by engaging in discussions and applicable activities. Finally, the oldest cohort (grades 9-12) includes the same concepts as the younger cohorts, but the discussions and activities about safety and intervention and prevention are built around videos (Webcast) (i-SAFE Inc., 1998, 2009). i-Safe was one of three short-term cyberbullying intervention programs included in a review of classroom-based anti-cyberbullying programs. Although it did not result in a change of attitudes or behaviors related to cyberbullying, it did result in increased student knowledge about online safety (Mishna, Cook, Saini, Wu & MacFadden, 2009). Our literature search found no other empirical studies on the efficacy or effectiveness of i-SAFE in reducing or preventing cyberbullying; however, it is a comprehensive education program about Internet safety and cyberbullying, and future research may support its use.

Cyberbullying: A Prevention Curriculum

Cyberbullying: A Prevention Curriculum is an eight-session program for students in grades 6 through 12 on cyberbullying (Kowalski & Agatston, 2008, 2009). Sessions include the ramifications of being a cyberbully, and how students can provide help to victims if they see cyberbullying happen. It includes support materials such as posters, a CD-ROM, handouts, and video vignettes that are given to parents to elicit discussion. There is also a version for lower grades that was created a year after the initial launch of the prevention curriculum (Kowalski & Agatston, 2008, 2009). This program is based on the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, and can be included as part of a broader effort to reduce all types of bullying (Limber, Kowalski & Agatston, 2009). Although we did not find any empirical data supporting this program's effectiveness in reducing or preventing cyberbullying, a meta-analysis of traditional anti-bullying programs found that the most effective programs were the ones based on the Olweus curriculum (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011).

Other Cyberbullying Programs

With the broad media attention paid to cyberbullying, a number of less widely known programs have cropped up, seemingly overnight. Unfortunately, as with the programs reviewed above, no data was available to support the effectiveness of these programs in reducing or preventing cyberbullying. These programs are briefly described below.

Sticks and Stones: Cyberbullying is for grades 9-12 which consists of a film that shows a student being cyber victimized. It comes with a discussion guide for teachers to help facilitate a dialog with students about the film (Wilson, 2009).

“Let’s Fight It Together: What We All Can Do to Prevent Cyberbullying” is a cyberbullying curriculum developed for students aged 11-14 years old, but can be used for ages 10-18 years old. It is a curriculum comprised of video segments to be viewed with peers in a classroom, or larger school setting, and is accompanied by discussion guides and lesson plans for teacher to guide follow-up (Childnet International, 2007).

The Anti-Defamation League has created lesson plans online for high school students (Cyberbullying and Online Cruelty: Challenging Social Normals; Anti-Defamation League, 2008a, 2008b), for middle school students (Dealing with the Social Pressures that Promote Online Cruelty; Anti-Defamation League, 2008b), and even elementary school students (“Building a Foundation for Safe and Kind Online Communication”; Anti-Defamation League, 2008a). There were also workshops created for parents, school administrators, and teachers: “Youth and Cyberbullying: What Families Don’t Know Will Hurt Them” (Anti-Defamation League, 2008b) and “Trickery, Trolling, and Threats: Understanding and Addressing Cyberbullying (Anti-Defamation League, 2008c).

Strategies for Improving School-Based Education about Cyberbullying

Some school administrators and teachers may know less than their students about technology and social networking (Cassidy et al., 2012b), so it may be helpful for school systems to incorporate media education into the curriculum (Cassidy, et al., 2013). As media and technology continue to develop, this curriculum would need to develop with it to address media’s new characteristics, such as personalization, the portability of devices, and increased social media access (de Santo & Costabile, 2012). One way to ensure a flexible curriculum that meets students’ current needs is to actively include students in creating the media education curriculum; this could improve students’ buy-in and their perception of the curriculum’s relevancy (Cassidy & Bates, 2005).

Another strategy for combatting cyberbullying is to address the unique features of cyberbullying indirectly. This could include better psychoeducation for students on how to protect themselves in a digital world (Collier, 2012). One unique characteristic of cyberbullying is the distance between the bully and victim, which prevents the bully from seeing the consequences of the bullying behavior. In traditional bullying, the victim’s reaction can evoke empathy in the bully, which can mitigate the severity of the bullying—this does not occur in cyberbullying (Topçu & Erdur-Baker, 2012). Some research has suggested that if students are made aware of how victims of cyberbullying suffer, they are less likely to engage in cyberbullying (Davis & Nixon, 2012). Interventions that include specific empathy education as a component may be more effective than psychoeducational approaches alone (Topçu & Erdur-Baker, 2012); however, for empathy education to be successful it is crucial that students see empathy modeled for them by teachers and school administrators (Cassidy & Bates, 2005; Noddings, 2002, 2005).

ALTERNATIVES TO CURRICULUM-BASED CYBERBULLYING PREVENTION

Although curriculum-based programs seem to be the most common approach to combatting cyberbullying, there are several alternatives worth mentioning. Relative to traditional bullying, there are likely to be far more bystanders witnessing cyberbullying, and some researchers have focused their efforts on these bystanders, rather than the bullies or victims. Other programs are peer-led, and emphasize student participation instead of teacher-delivered content. A final approach is legislative, and focuses on advocating for legal protection against cyberbullying, and avenues to prosecute perpetrators.

Bystander Interventions to Reduce Cyberbullying

There are several ways students can be bystanders of cyberbullying behavior—they can see the hurtful messages on a website, a hurtful message could be forwarded to them, or they could be physically present when the message is sent by the bully or received by the victim (Li, Smith & Cross, 2012). Several empirical studies have been conducted to assess when and how bystanders intervene in cyberbullying (i.e., Bastiaensens et al., 2014; Desmet et al., 2012; Dillon & Bushman, 2015). From these studies, it appears that students are more likely to directly intervene with the victim by giving advice or offering comfort, rather than intervening directly with the bully. This type of social support may be comforting to the victim, but does not decrease the likelihood of future victimization. Rates of bystander intervention were higher when the cyberbullying incident was perceived to be more severe, especially if the bystander's close friends also witnessed the incident (Bastiaensens et al., 2014). In one study, participants engaged in an online chat with several confederates, one who was purportedly the chat monitor, and one who was the victim. The chat monitor bullied the victim-confederate during the chat. At the end, participants were given the opportunity to evaluate the chat, and the chat monitor (bully); poor ratings of the monitor and/or chat was considered indirectly intervening with the bully (Dillon & Bushman, 2015). This is analogous to reporting an offensive or harassing post on Facebook because the bully remains unaware of who reported the incident, but the offensive post is likely to be removed by Facebook administrators. This sort of indirect intervention is low-risk to the bystander, but offers no direct support to the victim.

Victims of cyberbullying often disclose the bullying to their friends, so if students are given adequate education about how to intervene in cyberbullying they could provide valuable social support to victims (Cassidy et al., 2009, 2011; Smith, 2012). Bystander education should include both direct and indirect methods of intervention, as well as strategies to protect themselves from retaliation (Perren et al., 2012). By offering social support to victims, and reporting bullying behavior to appropriate authorities, bystanders can mitigate the effects of bullying and potentially prevent future incidents (Cassidy, et al., 2013; Salmivalli, 2010).

Peer-Led Programs to Reduce and Prevent Cyberbullying

Change in social norms and behavior are most likely to be achieved when the perceived leaders of the target group are directing the change (Maticka-Tyndale & Barnett, 2010; Naylor

& Cowie, 1999; Turner & Shepherd, 1999). Student involvement in program development could prove invaluable in creating effective programs to combat cyberbullying with high student buy-in (Wong, Zimmerman & Parker, 2010).

Empirical studies of an Italian intervention program to reduce and prevent cyberbullying (*Noncadiamointrappola*; Menesini & Nocentini, 2012) have found promising effects for peer-led intervention, including significantly decreased traditional victimization, cyber victimization, and bullying. In this program, some students were designated as peer educators, and attended training as interventionists. These student leaders actively facilitated change in their classrooms through leading discussions and activities, and creating a supportive Facebook group (Menesini & Nicentini, 2012; Palladino, Nocentini & Menesini, 2012). The program also resulted in changes in the coping strategies employed by students, specifically higher rates of problem-solving and less avoidance (Palladino, et al., 2012). The intervention did not result in significantly increased social support for victims, but cyber victimization did decrease (Palladino, et al., 2012).

Anti-Cyberbullying Legislation

Legislation addressing cyberbullying should not be considered a substitute for prevention and intervention; however, if intervention and prevention efforts have failed, it offers a legal mechanism for prosecuting perpetrators.

Snakenborg, Acker and Gable (2011) summarized the state of the legislation that has passed in the United States regarding cyberbullying. Congress passed legislation called “Protecting Children in the 21st Century” in 2008, and it includes provisions about cyberbullying. According to the Anti-Defamation League (2009) and National Conference of State Legislatures, 44 states have passed varying legislation on intimidation, harassment, and bullying in schools. Because of the definitional problem for cyberbullying and what constitutes cyberbullying behaviors, some states have implemented broad legislation to address any behaviors that could potentially be considered cyberbullying. In 2009, North Carolina made cyberbullying a misdemeanor with the “Protect Our Kids” bill. In Missouri, engaging in cyberbullying can result in penalties ranging from being fired from a job, to jail time (Stroud, 2009). Ohio, Virginia, and other states have addressed cyberbullying by manipulating already existing legislation on bullying to account for cyber forms of bullying (Snakenborg, et al., 2011).

To assist the states in creating their own cyberbullying policies, The Anti-Defamation League created a model the states can use. This model includes the following infractions: privacy breach (disclosure of a private piece of information to the public), defamation, lying about an individual to make him/her look bad publicly, and purposefully causing emotional strain (see Snakenborg, et al., 2011). Although legislation addressing cyberbullying is a positive development, the lack of consistency across states in terms of what constitutes cyberbullying and punishments for the behavior can evoke confusion in victims. Cyberbullying victims understand that their abuse was hurtful, but they would also have to evaluate the cyberbullying to infer whether it constitutes legal action.

STRATEGIES FOR VICTIMS TO COPE WITH CYBERBULLYING

There seems to be a lot of *unhelpful* advice out there for students on how to cope with cyberbullying. The following is a list of strategies that are *not* recommended:

1. Telling cyber victims to not worry about it, and to avoid the website where the cyberbullying is happening, or suggesting the victim change their username/email address (Tokunaga, 2010). These kinds of avoidance strategies do nothing to prevent future victimization and do not teach students appropriate coping skills.
2. Suggesting the victim directly confront the bully, either by telling the bully to stop, or suggesting the victim intends to report the bully (Tokunaga, 2010). This strategy has been shown to exacerbate the problem, rather than solve it (Perren et al., 2012).
3. Encouraging the victim to talk about cyberbullying and the cyberbully on message boards or anonymous websites, or even to cyberbully the perpetrator (Monks, Robinson & Worlidge, 2012; Smith & Slonje, 2010). There is a lack of clear empirical evidence that any of these options actually work, and encouraging retaliatory aggressive behavior is likely to *increase* future victimization, rather than decrease it (Perren et al., 2012).

Coping strategies that increase the victims' feelings of control in cyberbullying situations are more likely to be successful, and facilitate the development of appropriate social skills (König, Gollwitzer & Steffgen, 2010). Healthy strategies for coping with cyber victimization should focus on increasing the victim's competencies and resiliency, rather than avoidance of the situation or retaliation against the perpetrator.

Resilience is the ability to function through life's trials in an adaptive way, which can thereby become a pattern (Masten, Best & Garmezy, 1990; Wright & Masten, 2005). *Online resilience* refers to being equipped to handle negative online experiences through active problem solving rather than passivity, avoidance, or retaliation (Vandoninck, d'Haeneas & Roe, 2013). Research has shown youths cope adaptively with negative experiences online by seeking out friends' support (Nycyk, 2011), being digitally literate about protecting themselves (Vandoninck, d'Haemeas & Segers, 2012), sharing information about the harmful communication (Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002), and talking to an adult about cyberbullying incidents (Livingstone, Hadden, Görzig & Ólafsson, 2011).

A SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO CYBERBULLYING PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

The Social Ecological Framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) conceptualizes bullying as a group phenomenon that occurs when several factors interact with each other across time. In this nested model of factors, the individual is the innermost system, followed by the microsystem, which consists of family, peers and the school. The third level is the macrosystem, which includes the student's larger community; the outermost level, the exosystem, includes socio-cultural influences (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). A key assumption of the Social Ecological Framework is that systems have reciprocal effects on each other. Students both influence their

environment through their interactions with peers, school staff, and family, and also are influenced by these interactions.

Swearer et al. (2006) conducted tests of a social-ecological model of bullying; in their model, bullying is the result of the combined influence of individual, peer, family, school, and community factors. Individual factors (i.e., negative affect, depression, and aggression) have reciprocal effects on others in the students' social networks, while peer factors (i.e., prior victimization, and peers rewarding bullying with status) and family factors (i.e., bullying at home and socioeconomic disadvantage) may act to reinforce bullying behaviors (Swearer et al., 2006). School factors (i.e., perceiving a negative school climate), and community factors (i.e., crime statistics, and being bullied en-route to and from school) may create a culture where students do not feel safe and aggressive behaviors are actually adaptive for survival (Embry, 2004). In an initial test of this model, researchers found that students who engage in bullying and/or are victimized reported more positive attitudes about bullying, and perceived their school climate as being more negative (Swearer et al., 2006). Subsequent research has provided further support for a social-ecological model for understanding bullying.

In a large study of 27 schools, bullying perpetration and victimization was moderated by a positive school climate, and predicted by substance use and depression (Espelage & Swearer, 2009). Less bullying perpetration was associated with having a positive peer group and caring parents; however, for students who reported low parental caring and low positive peer support, a positive school climate served as a buffer against the negative effects of these influences (Espelage & Swearer, 2009). For students who do not have positive peer or parent models, having positive relationships with teachers and a sense of academic efficacy may lower their likelihood of perpetrating bullying. To reduce the levels of bullying perpetration and victimization, Espelage and Swearer (2009) recommend the implementation of school-based interventions that specifically focus on creating a positive school climate, improving students' sense of closeness with teachers, and nurturing academic competencies.

The prevailing logic of current bullying prevention programs, both curriculum-based and peer-led, is that educating students about bullying and cyberbullying will result in changes in students' knowledge and behavior. However, these programs do nothing to modify the environmental variables that contribute to bullying. Such psychoeducational approaches are inconsistent with the recommendations cited above by Espelage and Swearer (2009), and these approaches treat bullying as the problem itself, rather than the result of multiple influences in students' environments. An ecological approach to bullying prevention would necessarily be long-term, and involve parents, students, teachers, and the community at large. The goal would be to create a school culture that promotes pro-social behaviors, and discourages bullying by not rewarding it with increased social status and peer approval.

One example of a social-ecological approach that has been shown to reduce bullying is the PAX program. PAX is a school-based program that has been recognized for its cost-effectiveness, as well as for the broad, long-lasting impact it has on students (Embry & Richardson, 2012). The PAX program uses evidence-based kernels (individual units of behavioral change) to modify the school environment of children from kindergarten through sixth grade, with effects lasting through adolescence, and creates a school culture that facilitates pro-social behavior and improves student outcomes. Data on the effects of the PAX program from studies conducted at Johns Hopkins has revealed that it resulted in decreased aggression and antisocial behavior, including bullying, reduced rates of substance abuse, and reduced symptomology of Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder and Oppositional Defiant Disorder

(Embry, 2009). Positive outcomes of the PAX program included improved reading skills, and lifetime academic achievement, including higher rates of high school graduation and college entry (Embry, 2009). Some of the active program elements that may specifically act to reduce bullying include “Tootles” or “PAX-it Notes,” (similar to a Post-It note) which are written peer-to-peer praises for pro-social and on-task behavior that are posted in a public area at school. There are other opportunities for public social recognition; for example, students can be named as PAX Leaders and help coach their peers toward appropriate behavior (Embry & Richardson, 2012).

A core element of the program is the PAX game, formerly known as the Good Behavior Game, which utilizes group-based contingencies to improve classroom behavior. In this way, peer pressure becomes a force for positive change; students want to win the game, so they encourage appropriate behavior, and refrain from encouraging negative behavior (Embry, 2009). So, for example, if a student was to engage in bullying, bystanders would be less likely to participate or “egg on” the bully, because that would result in additional marks against their team, and they would lose the game. When peers ignore negative behavior and fail to reinforce it, the motivation to engage in such behavior again is greatly reduced (Embry, 2004; Embry & Richardson, 2012).

The evidence-based kernels employed in the PAX program could be widely implemented by parents, and in the community at large to result in broad changes to students’ social ecology, and increase the effectiveness of the program (Embry, 2004). For example, parents could employ “Tootles” (written praises for specific behaviors) at home, and the “Tootles” could be posted on the refrigerator as public reinforcement. An example of a community-based behavioral kernel is replacing traditional placemats in family-oriented restaurants with “table-talk” placemats that have topics for conversation and games for the whole family (Embry, 2004). In one study, table-talk placemats increased rates of social and educational conversations, reduced coercive comments from parents, and child distraction (Green, Hardison & Greene, 1984). These types of low-intensity interventions are also low-cost, but have the potential to considerably impact children if instituted in every facet of their environment. See Embry (2004) for a complete list of suggestions on how parents and communities can easily implement behavioral kernels to produce lasting change.

It is noteworthy that the PAX program never directly addresses bullying behavior, but remains a highly effective prevention program. To successfully prevent all forms of bullying and improve outcomes for all students, programs must move beyond psychoeducational models to ecological ones that modify the environment.

CONCLUSION

It is not our intent to discount the value of psychoeducational approaches to combat cyberbullying. Interventions that focus on improving students’ digital literacy, and teaching them how to protect themselves in an increasingly digital world, may impart important life skills to students. However, by itself, psychoeducation about cyberbullying is akin to treating strep throat with a cough drop—it treats the symptom, rather than the core problem. Cyberbullying and bullying are just some of the negative consequences resulting from the interaction of negative school climate, low parental caring, and the lack of positive peer support.

It is our assertion that interventions which *solely* target cyberbullying and/or bullying are not ambitious enough. If we focus our attention on bullying, and ignore the environmental and cultural factors that reinforce and maintain it, we are short-changing our children. Social-ecological programs, such as the PAX program, reduce bullying by targeting the underlying environmental factors (Embry, 2004). Because these underlying environmental factors are common to a multitude of poor outcomes (i.e., depression, substance abuse, low education achievement, violent crime and incarceration), one social-ecological program can affect change in multiple domains (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, 2009). Instead of schools having a program to prevent substance abuse, a program to prevent bullying, and a program to prevent depression, they can implement a single program.

Future research should evaluate the effectiveness of programs grounded in a social-ecological framework by specifically addressing cyberbullying perpetration and victimization. An additional consideration for research is to examine if the addition of psychoeducational components focused on bullying and cyberbullying increases the effectiveness of social-ecological programs. The development of several cyberbullying prevention and intervention strategies reflects the importance of reducing this harmful form of communication, and accumulating literature evaluating these strategies is pointing us in the direction of effectively addressing cyberbullying.

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Chapter 21

IN SEARCH OF A SIMPLE METHOD: IS A HUMAN FACE AN EFFECTIVE, AUTOMATIC FILTER INHIBITING CYBERBULLYING?

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INTRODUCTION

The Internet has become an indispensable part of everyday life, especially among adolescents, with 78% having a cell phone, 95% using the internet, and 37% having a smartphone (Lenhart, Purcell, Smith, Zickuhr, 2010; Madden et al., 2013). The almost inevitable consequence of young peoples' social functioning in cyberspace is the occurrence of both positive and negative experiences, including cyberbullying. Cyberbullying has been identified as a growing problem among adolescent internet users throughout the world (Smith, 2007; Smith, 2011; Dehue, 2013). The developmental tasks associated with adolescence make teenagers particularly susceptible to antisocial behavior on the Internet, including high egocentrism (Piaget & Inhelder, 1962), weak motivation for decentration (Piaget & Inhelder, 1962), reflection about oneself and one's behavior (Hoffman, 2000), moral relativism and the testing of moral principles (Kohlberg, 1976), unformed personal identity (Erikson, 1968), and the strong influence of peers (Hurrelmann, 1994).

This phenomenon has also proved difficult to define (Langos, 2012). Due to the ever-changing characteristics of new technologies, the classical criteria of bullying as including repetition and power imbalance become ambiguous in cyberspace (Dooley, Pyżalski, Cross, 2009). This makes the task of providing the precise definition even harder. One of the most commonly cited definitions of cyberbullying is "an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself" (Smith, 2007 p. 376).

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Recently, increasingly emphasis has been given to the importance of bystanders as powerful moderators in the process of both online and offline peer aggression (Ball, 2007; Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2013; Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2015; Kraft, 2011; Macháčková, Dedkov, Sevcikova & Cerna, 2013; Slonje et al., 2012; Salmivalli, 1999). Peers play a dominant role in the socialization of youth in both the offline and online environments (Hinduja & Patchin, 2013; Steinberg & Monahan 2007). Several authors have also stressed the need for considering bullying in terms of a group process (Gini et al., 2008; Caravita, Di Blasio & Salmivalli, 2009; Sutton & Smith, 1999; Salmivalli et al., 1996; Salmivalli, 2010). The focus on group processes further highlights the importance of bystanders as a powerful social influence when creating positive anti-bullying behavioral models and promoting positive choices in cyberbullying incidents. A program actively focused on bystanders, with an emphasis on their role and ways they react toward bullying seems to be an important element in preventing and reducing cyberbullying.

CYBERBYSTANDER TYPOLOGY

The behaviors of witnesses of bullying are never completely neutral (Garandeau & Cillessen, 2006). In a number of studies, bystanders have contributed to violence in various pro-bullying ways, such as acting as outsiders not helping the victim, and assistants or reinforcers that encourage the bully (Salmivalli et al., 1996; Andreou & Metallidou, 2004; Menesini, Codecasa & Benelli, 2003; Sutton & Smith, 1999). Such bystander actions further contributing to victims' harm aren't odd. Gini (2008) found that around 20-30% bystanders silently witness bullying episodes and do nothing. In another study, Sallmivalli and colleagues (1996) found that 20–30% of students in their study encouraged the bully, acting as assistants or reinforcers.

Bystanders to cyberbullying can also take an active role by participating in the victimization, especially by forwarding hurtful and denigrating content. Although data shows that the material is further distributed only by a minority of bystanders, technological advances allow for a single act of cyberbullying to be repeated many times by others, and to be experienced many times by the victim (Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2013; Barlińska, Szuster, Winiewski, 2015; Slonje et al., 2012). Bystanders' contribution to the repetition of cyberbullying acts creates the need to emphasize the indirect nature of these behaviors. In cases of indirect cyberbullying, the sender has no control over to who is forwarded the original communication (Langos, 2012). This makes it difficult to clearly differentiate between perpetrators' and negative bystanders' behavior (Boyd, 2007; Hinduja & Patchin, 2008).

In addition, the unique contribution of bystanders' ability to share a single incident of cyberbullying multiple times makes it different to understand the bystanders' role (assistant or reinforcer) in the incident. The role of the bystander is also complicated because some bystanders might choose to be inactive by deleting denigrating content and not reporting it. However, this action further contributes to victims' harm.

BYSTANDER REACTIONS IN COMPUTER MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

A consequence of computer-mediated communication is online anonymity of both the actor and the potential partner of the interaction (McKenna & Bargh, 2000; Christopherson, 2007). Anonymity on the Web facilitates deindividuation and reinforces self-presentation, while diminishing the sense of responsibility (McKenna, 2008). This leads to internet disinhibition (Joinson, 1998), which consists of the loss of self-control and the absence of restraints in socially unaccepted behavior typical of direct interactions (Suler, 2004). Consequently, people tend to act on the Internet in ways they would not in the face-to-face context. For instance, they might respond to aggressive messages by becoming offensive themselves, which fuels further aggression on the Internet.

Certain features of computer software induce impulsivity, which combined with the experience of computer games, forums, chat rooms, and social networking websites, causes adolescents to expect interactivity and being noticed, even at the cost of transgressing moral standards (Willard, 2006). This is only a small step from objectifying and exploiting others.

Behavior toward the “invisible” other lacks visual cues, which could modify the interaction (Suler, 2004). A lack of access to a whole host of information available in the face-to-face environment, such as facial expression, gesticulation, vocalization, eye contact, and physical distance, impairs automatic activation of empathy as an inhibitor of aggressive behaviour in cyberspace (Hoffman, 2000; Leather, 1997; Steffgen & König, 2009; Steffgen et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2008). Aggression is further escalated by limited feedback regarding the impact of online activity on other users, which produces the so-called “cockpit effect” (Heirman & Walrave, 2008). Online communication proceeds in distinctive conditions, which encourage incognizant aggression, often with the cyberbystander reinforcing cyberbullying by being unaware of the actual harm caused to the victim.

The Role of Cyberbullying Perpetration

Violence in cyberspace, just like in the real world, has an impact on the behavior of others. Many studies emphasize the links between offline and online bullying (Ybarra, Diener-West & Leaf, 2007; Erdur-Baker, 2010; Twyman, Saylor, Taylor & Comeaux, 2010). The perpetrators of cyberbullying were more likely to engage in offline violence and also participate in traditional bullying (Raskauskas, Stoltz, 2007; Slonje, Smith, 2007; Juvonen, Gross, 2008; Dehue, Bolman, Völlink, Pouwels, 2012; Sticca, Ruggieri, Alsaker, Perren, 2013; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2007). Furthermore, the various cyberbullying roles are related to bullying roles offline as well (Dehue, Bolman, Völlink, Pouwels, 2012, Smith et al., 2012, Smith, Slonje, 2010; Law, Shapka, Hymel, Olson, Waterhouse, 2012.). Sometimes the roles versus such that cyberbullies are often victims of online violence, while victims might also become online perpetrators (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004; Walrave & Heirman, 2011).

As research on cyberbullying is fairly new, more information is known about violence and aggression in non-virtual environments. Past involvement in the perpetration of violence reinforces aggressive behavior through operant conditioning and modeling (Bandura, 1973). Additionally, if the violent behavior leads to any reward e (e.g., reduction of unpleasant mental states), it generally tends to become intensified. Exposure to online content might be a potential

new form of aggression, increasing the probability of enacting forms of violent behavior different from those presented by the model and raising the overall tolerance of violence (Parke, Slaby, 1983). The results of one of the few longitudinal studies on cyberbullying showed that engaging in behaviors that violate social norms predicted engagement in cyberbullying (Ybarra, Mitchell, 2004; Sticca, Ruggieri, Alsaker, Perren, 2013). In addition, cyberperpetrator has a profound impact on predicting cyberbystander behavior reinforcing cyberbullying (Barlińska, Szuster, Winiewski, 2013).

Bystander Behavior and Gender

The empirical findings of the relationship between gender and bystander behavior is mixed. Some research has revealed that girls tend to act more supportively and are more often nominated as defenders of face-to-face bullying than boys (e.g., Goossens et al., 2006; Menesini et al., 1997; Menesini et al., 2003; Oh & Hazler, 2009; Rigby & Slee, 1992; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman & Kaukiainen, 1996; Trach, Hymel, Waterhouse & Neale, 2010). Other research suggested that there are no gender differences in peer interventions in traditional bullying (e.g., Ball, 2007) or in cyberbullying (Li, 2006; Machácková, Dedkova, Sevcikova & Cerna, 2013; Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2013; Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2015).

Empathy and the Internet

Patricia Agatson (2014) claims that the key to solving the problem of cyberbullying is to establish digital citizenship in which a basic task would be to teach how to be good to one another. The interest in empathy fits in with the implementation of this idea.

Over one hundred years of philosophical reflection and psychological research on empathy has established empathy as a unique mechanism regulating social relations (e.g., Hume, 1739/1968; Smith, 1759/1976; Katz, 1963; Davis, 1996; Eisenberg & Steyer, 1987; Hoffman, 2000; Singer, de Vignemont, 2006). In addition, the eminent primatologist, Francis de Wall (2006), argues that chimpanzees demonstrate a nascent form of empathy as well. The foundation of empathy is intended communication the aim of which is to transmit, receive, and understand information about affective states of others. Most recent empirical findings have shown that as many as ten neural circuits in the brain are involved in processing empathy (Baron-Cohen, 2011). Research on empathy disorders has revealed the complexity of its underlying neural mechanisms. The symptoms of empathy deficiencies are different in borderline personality disorders, autism, Asperger's syndrome, and psychopathy, since it depends not only on individual circuits, but also on interconnections between them.

Empathy (both affective and cognitive) occurs “when we suspend our single-minded focus of attention, and instead adopt a double-minded focus of attention” (Baron-Cohen, 2011, p. 31). The majority of approaches today insist on the distinction between the person perceiving and receiving emotions and the person actually experiencing it, as well as the active quality of the process of empathy. This is what makes empathy different from the basic phenomenon of “emotional contagion,” although the latter is an important component of the former. There is, however, more to empathy: it introduces certain “filters” between one’s own and somebody else’s emotional state (Eisenberg & Strayer, 1987; de Waal, 2006).

The innate, automatic capacity to respond with empathic arousal to the discomfort of others is a basic, species-wide human trait. We do not learn to perceive another person's sadness or joy. Direct contact ensures access to species-universal information: stimuli that activate the mechanisms of affective empathy. In terms of development, the earliest mechanisms of empathic arousal are the circular reaction and motor imitation. Later, responses to another person's circumstances become increasingly governed by cognitive factors – and cognitive empathy develops. Defined as the ability to understand the beliefs, feelings, and intentions of others (Decety & Jackson, 2004), cognitive empathy involves more complex cognitive processes (Hoffman, 2000), and, consequently, mechanisms of triggering empathy. Through classic conditioning and association, other people's perceived emotions can be related to our own past experiences by virtue of similarity. With language-mediated association, empathic arousal becomes independent from present or past contact with another person. The most advanced mechanisms are role-taking and cognitive sense of others. The former requires the observer to make conscious effort to imagine how they would feel in a similar situation. The latter enables cognitive representations of others to be formed in the mind. These representations are the prerequisite for responding with empathy to others, recognizing them as sovereign individuals equipped with unique traits, beliefs, experiences, and internal states. These attributes of others are independent of a particular set of circumstances. They enable us to generalize from specific situations and to make predictions about other people's experiences in life. We are able to anticipate the consequences our actions have for other people. Cognitive empathy is a source of affect, but of a different, post-cognitive nature, due to the differences in information processing on the neural level between affective and cognitive empathy. Affective empathy triggers bottom-up processing, while cognitive empathy activates top-down processing.

Affective empathy is to a large extent genetically determined (Matthews, Batson, Horn & Rosenman, 1981; Rushton, Fulker, Neale, Nias & Eysenck, 1986; Zahn-Waxler, Robinson & Emde, 1992). By contrast, the development of cognitive empathy is driven primarily by environmental factors (Baron-Cohen, 2011). It is likely that cognitive empathy responses, especially role-taking, are shaped by environmental factors, e.g., parental influence. Modeling, the use of induction and perspective-taking are often mentioned as parenting techniques that facilitate the development of cognitive empathy (Hoffman, 2000). And while affective empathy is part of our human "standard equipment," cognitive empathy is an ability that may but does not have to be developed.

Perhaps the most frequently mentioned aspect of empathy is its social significance. A large body of empirical data confirm the benefits of dispositional and situation-dependent empathy. It has been associated with morality, altruism, fairness, prosocial behavior, and cooperativeness (Batson & Shaw, 1991; Eisenberg & Morris, 2001; Hoffman, 2000). Empathy has been shown to promote positive attitudes towards members of stigmatized groups, such as AIDS sufferers, homeless people, criminals, and minorities (Batson, 1997; Clore & Jeffrey, 1972; Vescio, Sechrist & Paolucci, 2003). Empathy makes us more aware of the needs of others, while prompting us to consider long-term consequences of offering help. As a result, the support of individuals with higher dispositional empathy is less dependent on immediate situational factors, such as the ease of reinterpreting the circumstances of others and mood (Batson, Dyck, Brandt, Batson & Powell, 1988; Batson et al., 1989). Situational arousal of cognitive empathy (with the "imagine...." cue) reduced negative stereotyping based on age (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000).

Empathy is positively correlated with the regulation of emotions and emotional behavior (Eisenberg, 2000), and negatively with the severity and frequency of negative emotions (Davis, Conklin, Smith & Luce, 1996). It provokes the sense of guilt, which in turn can enhance prosocial attitudes (Hoffman, 2000).

Empathy is important in reducing aggression, propensity for crime, and bullying (Davis, 1996). There is substantial evidence for the association of antisocial behavior with low empathy (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2004) and a weak, negative correlation between general empathic predisposition and violent behavior (Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Correia & Dalbert, 2008; Endresen & Olweus, 2001; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006), including in the long-term (Olweus, 1994). Triggering of empathy results in fewer aggressive responses to provocation (Richardson, Green & Lago, 1998). It has also been included in intervention programs (Chalmers & Townsend, 1990; Chandler, 1973; Twemlow, Fonagy, Sacco, Gies & Hess, 2001; Robinson & Maines, 1997), where it proved effective in promoting altruism and reducing bullying in schools. Furthermore, empathy is useful in enhancing students' communication and negotiation skills (Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin & White, 2008).

Human Mind in Cyberspace

For the empathic arousal to be triggered in the first place, another person is needed. This fact raises important issues relating to the digital sphere, in particular cyberbullying, such as: what factors stimulate it and how can it be suppressed? Further questions followed. Is empathy evoked in face-to-face contact (offline) the same as the one triggered by the medium of the Internet? Can the effects of its activation, such as inhibition of violence and aggression observed in research on offline behavior be generalized to cyberspace?

In his seminal work, *Understanding Media*, McLuhan (1964) pointed out that from a long-term perspective the communication of messages proved to be less important than the medium itself and the way it affects our thoughts and actions. More recent findings have also confirmed the insights of two great psychologists, Freud and James, who marvelled at the incredible property of the human brain, particularly its plasticity. Plasticity means that our brains are constantly changing in response to our experience and behavior, reorganizing neural circuits. The hitherto functioning circuits are constantly changing with every stimulus received, every movement, reward signal, action plan, or any change in our consciousness (Pascual-Leone et al., 2005). The way we think, perceive, and act, rather than being determined entirely by our genetic makeup and experience, changes under the influence of the tools we use (Carr, 2010).

Popularization of the print media, followed by the Internet, has transformed the way we read. Specific areas of the brain have been developed that specialize in quick text recognition. They are designed to represent important visual, phonologic, and semantic information, and seek them out with an incredible speed. As a result, the brain can easily decode text and can devote more resources to its understanding and interpretation. These neurophysiological changes in the process of reading have freed up readers' intellectual abilities (Carr, 2010).

Similarly, frequent use of tools offered by the Internet (e.g., browsers) results in new changes at the neurological level. Distinct new neural pathways are also formed (Small & Vorgan, 2008). Reading online is said to be different from traditional print. The former, focused on decoding, limits the ability to form numerous connections, while the latter invites more in-depth reading. Thus, our potential to make multiple connections (formed with in-depth reading)

remains largely unexploited with online browsing. A more direct case of neural and psychological differences between online and offline modes relates to the reduction of aggression. Daniel Goleman (2006) noted a principal incompatibility between the "wiring" of the parts of our brains responsible for our social contacts and the interface used in online interactions. The way we communicate online may confuse our brains' social centers located in the prefrontal cortex. These circuits are constantly and automatically monitoring both the behavior of the subject and the other person during real interactions in order to eliminate interference and inhibit hostile, inappropriate, or dangerous behavioral impulses. To operate efficiently, this mechanism requires real-time feedback from the partner of the interaction. The Internet, however, does not allow for the exchange of that information to occur (in contrast to other audio-visual channels). The brain circuits responsible for inhibition become "confused," due to the lack of feedback from the other person. This leads to disinhibition (unchecked impulsiveness), usually associated with intensely negative states.

The phenomenon of disinhibition widely known since the advent of the Internet, is manifested in the form of "flaming," i.e., the tendency to post offensive messages. Cyber-disinhibition appears to be particularly perilous for young people as the circuits responsible for inhibition do not fully mature until 20 years of age. The result is a basic developmental mismatch between a poorly developed impulse inhibition and fully matured emotional impulsiveness. One of the symptoms of this developmental gap in adolescents is cyberbullying.

Empathy on-line. Can empathy activated online successfully decrease cyberbystander reinforcing cyberbullying behavior? There are empirical data that confirm its beneficial consequences in online context (Machácková et al., 2013).

From the perspective of the present study, the results of a broad online, experimental research program simulating computer-mediated communication as particularly interesting (Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2013; Barlińska & Szuster, 2014; Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2015). One of its main goals was to test the influence of situationally activated affective and cognitive empathy on the behavior of bystanders to cyberbullying by measuring the frequency of forwarding messages containing information embarrassing to a peer. The method for activating empathy followed dozens of offline studies. In order to activate affective empathy, a 2-minute video recording presenting a story of a cyberbullying victim was used.

The video presented the course of the event, the feelings of the victim, and the consequences. In order to activate cognitive empathy, the same video with the induction task was used. Participants were instructed to identify with the situation depicted in the video, and then to select from the list of characteristics those which reflect the emotions or behavior of the victim by checking the relevant boxes. The results have shown that the arousal of both affective and cognitive empathy is an effective method of limiting behavior reinforcing cyberbullying in adolescents. Exposure to the suffering of another person (affective empathy) as well as activation of perspective taking by focusing on emotions and actions of the victim (cognitive empathy) significantly decreased the frequency of forwarding a message with information embarrassing to the victim.

In Search of a Simple Method: Description of Research

In most of the studies aimed at activating empathy (including on-line research), prepare purposefully-made materials in the form of more or less complex narratives or images

presenting a number of complex stimuli suggesting the discomfort of the person depicted. This method amounts to a direct transfer of the offline methods to cyberspace. As demonstrated by empirical findings, it proved to be effective in activating empathy in order to inhibit cyberbystander reinforcing cyberbullying behavior. However, its viability as an online tool may be limited as it requires focus and concentration, not only to decode, but also to integrate and interpret the cues presented. Thus, it is more-time consuming. A method that is effective in a laboratory setting (simulating an online contact) may not prove to be equally efficient in actual online reality.

The challenge is to develop an empathy-triggering method appropriate for the cyberspace context. The specifics of “stimulus decoding on the Internet” dominated by the activation of circuits responsible for decoding rather than deep processing,

The purpose of the present research was to investigate responses to human faces as a method for inhibiting support for cyberbullying. The face is a unique, universal social stimulus. Its special status is confirmed by the existence of an independent neural system that processes facial information. Considering our innate ability to decode facial expressions of basic emotions (including the subliminally presented ones - Murphy & Zajonc, 1993), and their effects on evaluation processes, it seems reasonable to use them in research on curbing cyberbystander reinforcing cyberbullying behavior.

The research using Magnetic Resonance Imaging shows that mere exposure to facial expressions of various emotions resulted in increased arousal in the parts of the observer’s brains which were involved in producing those expressions (Carr et al., 2003). Based on those findings, Preston and De Waal (2002) proposed a perception-action model of empathy, according to which both the observation of and imagining what another person feels automatically triggers the neural pathways responsible for representing the affective states of the observed person. With these mental representations it is possible to recognize others’ emotions and express them. The existence of common affective neural pathways may explain how other people’s emotions can be experienced by us as our own.

Other studies on neural mechanisms underlying empathy have shown that the exposure to the face expressing sadness or pain is enough to activate mirror neurons which once presented with a more complex situation involving another person’s needs are also responsible for empathy arousal (De Vignemont & Singer, 2006). This suggests two forms of evidence for the effectiveness of empathy activated by the exposition of a single stimulus - a sad face. The first is that the presentation of a face with a facial expression alone activates the same areas in the observer, and the second that these areas are also involved when more complex situations associated with discomfort are dealt with. We can assume that the affective mirroring can also explain the effectiveness of exposure to a sad face as an empathy-triggering stimulus. It was, therefore, expected that exposure to a face expressing sadness would significantly decrease support for cyberbullying behavior. Another question was what effects will be achieved in comparison to empathy activation with the use of complex stimuli.

METHOD

A study of an experimental character was conducted using a web application created for the purpose of the study. It simulated a popular online communication tools among teenagers, a community service, and a messaging service. Independent variables were the activation of

empathy (specific vs. non-specific for a given situation), experiences as a perpetrator of cyberbullying, and gender. The dependent variable was a cyberbystander's choice between neutral or cyberbystander reinforcing cyberbullying behavior.

Participants

Participants were junior high school students ($N = 292$, comprising 177 boys and 115 girls) from three polish districts. All students were between the ages of 11-17.

Procedures

Before participants were enrolled in the study, the consent of the headmaster, parents, and pupils was obtained. The study was anonymous and conducted in groups and on school premises. In order to control the access to the website, each participant logged in using a unique, one-time password. The first task was different for particular groups. In the first group students were shown the pictures of sad faces (I), in the second group participants watched a two-minute film (the story of a victim of cyberbullying) (II), and the control group viewed no expositions (III). Students were randomly assigned to control and experimental groups. Then, the participants in all groups received the second task "Message from a friend".

After reading the message, they were asked to choose how to act: send vs delete (see Table 1). Next, they completed a questionnaire to measure the severity of the experience of cyberbullying. At the end of the study, students, teachers, and parents were provided with general feedback.

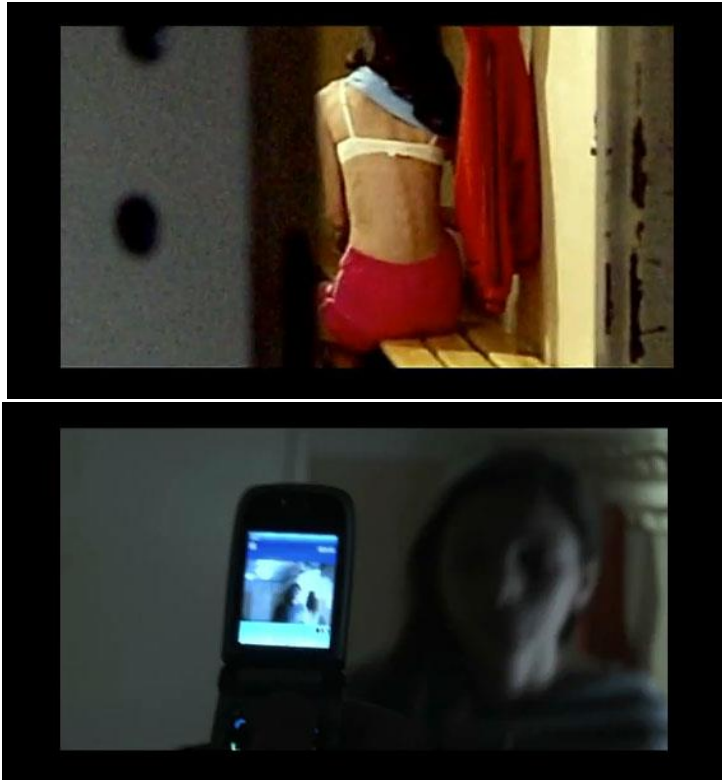
Table 1. Study design I - conditions and indicators

Study conditions	Behavior of a cyberbystander		Experiences as a perpetrator of cyberbullying
	Cyberbullying reinforcing behavior	Neutral behavior	
Activation of non-specific empathy	Send	Delete	
Activation of empathy (specific for a given situation)			
Control group			

Measures

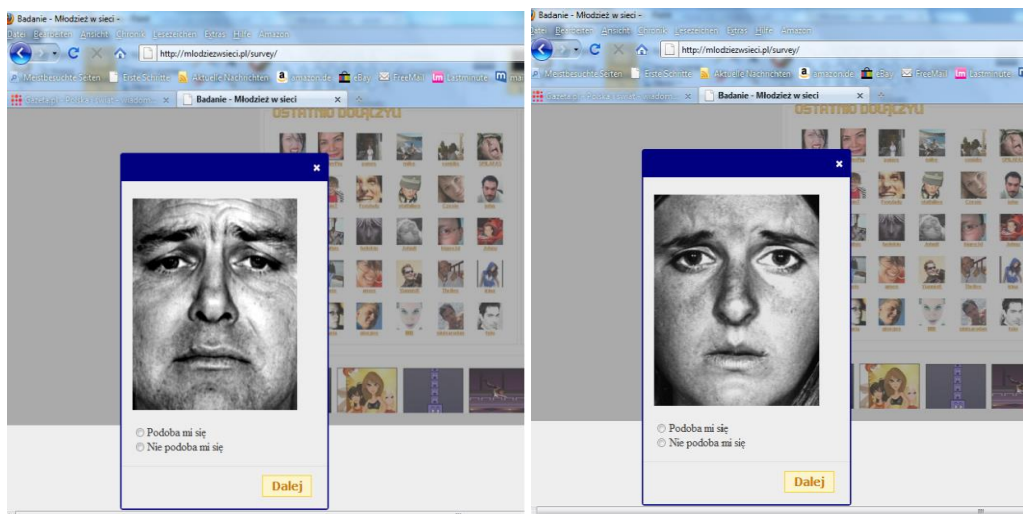
"Film." In order to activate empathy (specific for the cyberbullying situation) a two-minute film was shown. It presented the story of a young girl who was a victim of cyberbullying. She was filmed by a school colleague while she was dressing for P.E. in a locker room. The film showed the course of events and consequences by presenting a cyberbullying victim's behavior. It also included a statement expressing her feelings and experiences. The video was posted on the web and gradually gained popularity so she became a figure of fun. She experienced strong negative feelings and emotions like shame, humiliation, ridicule and fear. This situation also had an impact on her behavior: isolation from contemporaries, not going out (from home), and school absenteeism.

Screenshots from the film are presented below:



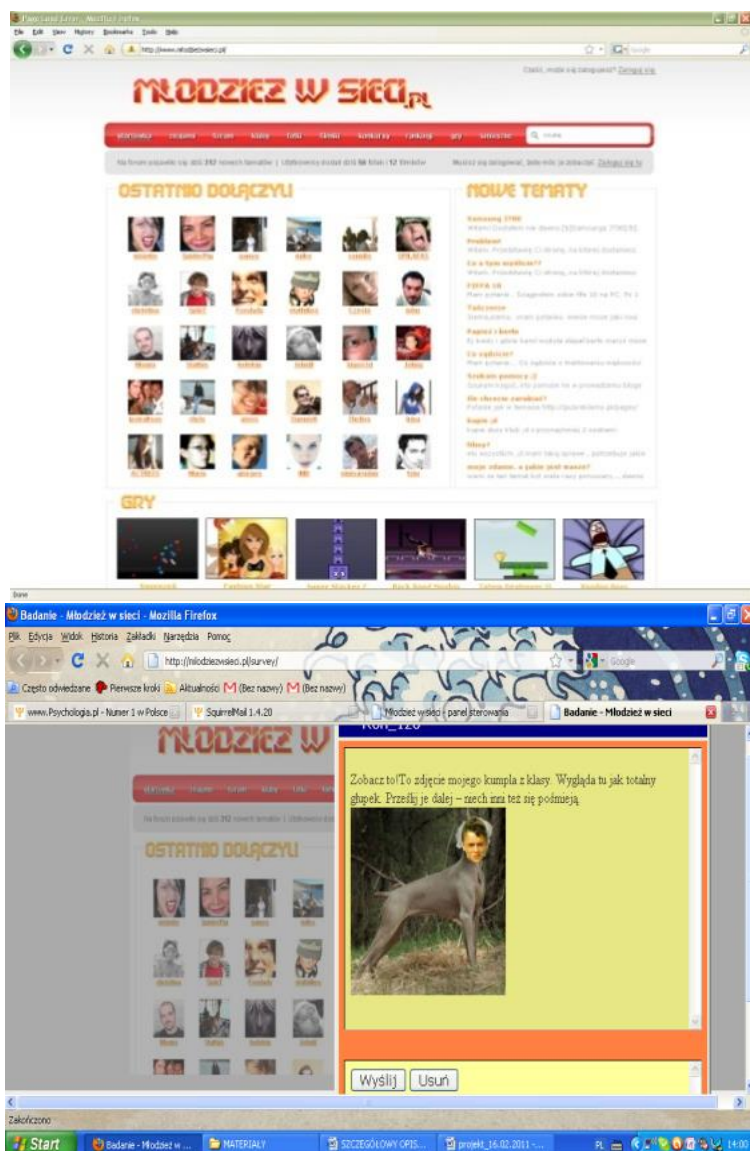
“Faces.” In order to activate non-specific (for a cyberbullying situation) empathy, an online platform task was prepared. Each participant was shown 14 faces which expressed sadness (6 male and 8 female faces). Photos came from the Pictures of Facial Affect (POFA) set made by Ekman and Friesen (1976). The facade task assigned to the adolescents during the expositions was to determine whether they like the presented faces or not. After selecting one of the two options, another photography appeared.

Screenshot from the “faces” tool is presented below:



“Message from a friend.” In order to introduce interaction in the task, a web application was used. A “Message from a friend” tool was created, with its main element in the form of a picture presented as a message from “a peer.” It contained a manipulated debasing image showing a boy’s face on the body of a dog with the following comment: “Hi, this is my classmate, he looks like a total fool.” The situation was inspired by some cases reported to the helpline.org.pl website which as part of the Safer Internet project that provides support to the victims of Internet threats. In order to activate the online interaction setting, the “Message from a friend” was provided via a web application similar to a text messenger which was a part of the purpose-made online community. Participants were asked to choose one way of acting by either selecting “send” to a friend on the messaging service (cyberbystander reinforcing cyberbullying behavior) or “delete” (neutral behavior).

Screenshot of the application is presented below:



Cyberbullying questionnaire. A questionnaire of the cyberbullying experience (Barlińska & Wojtasik, 2008) was employed. It consisted of two parts, one for cybervictimization and the other for cyberperpetration. The cyberperpetration subscale was used for this research. It contained five questions related to this kind of experience, for example: "Have you ever posted or sent material that was false or embarrassed someone?" Responses were indicated on the 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *several times*). It proved to be internally consistent, $\alpha = .74$ (M perpetrator = 1.74, $SD = .68$). The scores were used in further analyses.

Plan of Analysis

Logistic regression analyses were conducted in order to evaluate whether empathy reduces the likelihood of such cyberbystander behavior that reinforces cyberbullying. Additionally, it was considered whether the previous experiences as a perpetrator of cyberbullying influenced the frequency of choosing the above mentioned kind of behavior, and what impact gender had on the violence enhancing actions.

RESULTS

A little over 15.4% ($n = 45$) of the sample selected a behavior that reinforced cyberbullying. A logistic regression analysis was conducted, with selected behavior (0 = neutral: 1 = cyberbullying reinforcing behavior) as the dependent variable (see Table 1). Table 2 presents the figures of the odds ratio coefficients with 95% confidence intervals, Wald statistic with the level of significance for each variable at each stage of the analysis, overall model match statistics, and the selected detailed parameters. The model suggested a good match (Likelihood ratio test = 95.98; score test = 21.97) and reasonably good predictive abilities (Cox & Snell $R^2 = .08$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .14$).

On the basis of the obtained relevant odds ratio coefficients, it can be concluded that the probability of a cyberviolence enhancing behavior of a cyberbystander in the activation of empathy conditions (the film presentation) is considerably lower than in the control conditions (odds ratio coefficient $OR = .31$). Similarly, the activation of non-specific empathy (face images) decreases the probability of a cyberbullying reinforcing behavior of a bystander (odds ratio coefficient $OR = .20$). On the basis of the obtained relevant odds ratio coefficients it can be concluded that the probability of a cyberbullying reinforcing behavior of a bystander increases with the intensity of the experiences of the Internet violence perpetrators (the odds ratio coefficient, $OR = 1.40$).

The influence of gender was insignificant. The analysis of frequency revealed that in the experimental conditions I (non-specific empathy activation) 14.3 % ($n = 14$) of the participants chose a cyberbullying reinforcing behavior, in the experimental conditions II (activation of empathy specific for given situation – film) 8.2 % ($n = 8$) chose this behavior, and 23.7% ($n = 23$) in the control group chose likewise.

Table 2. The results of the logistic regression analysis for the activation of empathy (specific vs. non-specific for a given situation)

Predictor	B	SE β	Wald's χ^2	Df	p	OR (95% CI)
Experimental conditions			11.77	2	.003	
Act. of empathy (Faces)	-1.61	.60	7.70	1	.007	.200
Act. of empathy (Film)	-1.16	.44	0.22	1	.009	.314
Exp. cyber perpetrator	.34	.10	3.99	1	.001	.402
Gender (1 = girls)	-.34	.38	5.41	1	.362	.710
TEST	χ^2		Df		P	
Overall model evaluation						
Likelihood ratio test	95.983		1		.001	
Score test	21.97		4		.001	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer & Lemeshow	8.61		7		.282	
Cox & Snell $R^2 = 0,08$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0,14$.						

The results show a strong impact of previous experiences as a cyberperpetrator on reinforcing cyberbullying as a cyberbystander. These findings are consistent with previous studies (Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2013; Barlińska & Szuster, 2014; Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2015). Additionally, there is a substantial effect of the experimental conditions (film vs exposition of sad faces) which significantly decreased the frequency of a cyberbullying reinforcing behavior of a cyberbystander.

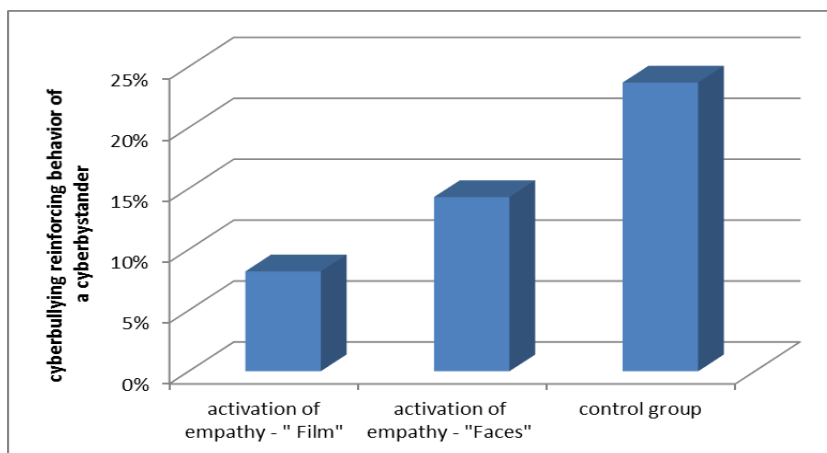


Figure 1. Cyberbullying reinforcing behavior of a cyberbystander in various conditions.

DISCUSSION

The results of the presented study indicated that empathy is activated not only by a complex stimulus. Also a mere exposure of a face significantly limits cyberbystander reinforcing bullying behavior. Furthermore, the results suggested that gender does not affect a cyberbystander's behavior, which is consistent with the results of other research (Ball, 2007; Li, 2006).

The obtained findings, which indicated empathy as an effective protective factor, have proved to be in line with different data referring to the relationship between empathy and cyberbullying, especially with data stating that children in probullying roles seem to lack empathic understanding of victims (Salmivalli, 2010). On the other hand, withdrawal from and staying away from bullying situations is positively associated with empathy (Gini, Albiero, Benelli & Altoe, 2008; Salmivalli, 2010), which was also confirmed by the presented study.

Our results are coherent and consistent with the findings of other studies focused on the role of empathy (Hoffman, 2000) and perspective taking (Clore & Jeffrey, 1972), which confirms their validity. The findings also extend the current knowledge on the associations between cyberbullying and empathy by showing that the situational activation of empathy may also limit behavior supporting online aggression. Empathy, being the most natural aggression inhibitor for adolescents, plays a significant role in preventing the negative bystander behavior that supports cyberbullying. The ability to "mentalize," underlying this behavior modification (Frith & Frith, 2003), is a unique characteristic of the cognitive aspect of empathetic responses. It encourages a deeper understanding of the other person's circumstances while, at the same time, preventing pro-cyberbullying activities.

It appears noteworthy to understand the results in the perspective of empathy activating processes. In the second condition, empathy was aroused through the use of material directly corresponding with cyber-violence. Therefore, the considerable reduction of behaviors supporting the on-line harming of others in the second task is not surprising. In the first condition, a face with an expression of sadness was exposed. So, the stimulus contents did not directly refer to the context of cyber-violence. Notwithstanding, it turned out to be similarly effective in reducing the supporting of cyber-violence perpetuating behavior of cyberbystanders. Arguably, the film activating the contents corresponding with the context of cyber-violence increased accessibility of the victim's perspective and, consequently, curbed the behaviors supporting discomfort of others. The change was also of analogous nature. The exposure of face had a non-analogous impact in the sense that it was not directly related to the contents of the stimulus. It may well be presumed that a human face acts more like an automatic filter that increases mindfulness and focuses attention. This is also confirmed by the unique character of this stimulus which is an object of a most universal meaning. Doubtlessly, validity of such interpretation requires further research that should in turn make use of subliminal exposures of a human face.

Several specific implications for the prevention of cyberbullying behaviour naturally follow from the results of this study. Online aggression can be reduced by empathy activation. Despite its effectiveness, limitations due to the strength of the effect and exposition of one's appearance online can be reduced, although its effectiveness in limiting cyberbystander reinforcing bullying behavior shall be maintained. Empathy activated in this way can prevent uncontrolled cyberbullying acts, which may lead to some consequences. First, it may limit the

victimization impact as the cyberbullying act is less experienced by the victim (Smith, 2011). Second, if fewer children reinforce the bully an important reward and motivation for bullying others would be lost and finally the bullying may likely be stopped (Salmivalli, 2010). A program devoted to a consequent empathy activation can play an important part in reducing online bullying.

The vast majority of both types of bullying acts are carried out in the presence of the audience (Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2013; Barlińska, Szuster & Winiewski, 2015; Craig & Pepler, 1997; Craig, Pepler & Atlas, 2000; O'Connell, Pepler & Craig, 1999); Salmivalli, 2010). However, this presence is different depending on the type of environment – offline *versus* online. Because of computer-mediated communication the online presence of a bystander generates a very specific form of appearance and yields certain consequences. Appearance is the leading cause of concern for adolescents. Research on body dissatisfaction clearly shows that a sort of imbalance in a person's self-concept has a negative impact both on his or her personal wellbeing as well as social relationships (Rumsey & Harcourt, 2012). An analogous imbalance is created by cyberspace characteristics. Computer-mediated communication, with its reduced social and contextual cues, lacks affective feedback (Kiesler, Siegel & McGuire, 1984). Online human presence is schematic and devoid of emotional signals which creates a paradox. On the one hand, it causes absence of restraints in social behavior typical of direct interaction (Suler, 2004).

It creates distinctive conditions that encourage unwitting aggression reinforcing cyberbullying. On the other hand, it generates the need for self-exposure and disinhibited self-presentation while diminishing the sense of responsibility (McKenna, 2008). In such contexts, devoid of emotional signals, empathy activation using the human appearance, such as the face seems to meet this is need. At the same time, it may help adolescents to develop aggression free online relationships.

CONCLUSION

The word "method" used in the title evokes two meanings of the term. The one that comes immediately to mind denotes the method that can be used in the prevention of cyberbullying. The second has certain philosophical connotations. It refers to universal methods used in the pursuit of truth. Although Descartes recognized the importance of reasoning, he was not fully aware of the traps the minds sets up. He could hardly sense how significant the tools of our perception are for the way we see reality. They determine its contents. It was with the advent of computers and the Internet that we have come to recognize the full extent of that mechanism. Does our mind process and respond to the face presented by the medium of the Internet? Are the methods used by our minds changing with the tools we use? Probably. Our online activities are dominated by superficial, non-linear processing of stimuli, increased eye saccades, and scanning. However, even in these circumstances, the human face appears to be a salient enough stimulus that its processing remains unaltered.

Our findings may be the starting point for further research aimed at developing new and improving existing methods of triggering empathy, which proved successful in reducing negative behavior in cyberspace. The main objective of future research should be to better adapt methods for arousing empathy (and, in future, such other aspects as self-control and social norms) to the "language" of the Internet. There is no doubt that the Internet changes the way

we receive and process information, especially among adolescents, whose social functioning has been from the very beginning defined by their presence online.

It was predicted that research on the consequences of exposure to the human face in cyberspace is devoid of direct contact with another person and all its psychological outcomes. In particular, it could serve as a basis for developing new, simpler prevention methods using, in a variety of contexts, the face as a universally recognizable stimulus eliciting universal responses. Planned placement on the Internet would enrich available prophylaxis.

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Chapter 22

AN ANALYSIS OF CYBERBULLYING VICTIMIZATION CASE STUDIES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOCIAL- ECOLOGICAL THEORY

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INTRODUCTION

Nowadays adolescents are fully immersed in electronic technologies. There is a dark side to their usage of these technologies: Cyberbullying. Cyberbullying is an extension of traditional bullying and it involves bullying behaviors using electronic technologies, such as email, instant messaging, Facebook, and text messaging through mobile devices. The ability to remain anonymous is one potential factor contributing to adolescents' involvement in cyberbullying. This chapter begins by defining bullying and cyberbullying as well as describing the victims of cyberbullying. Next, we review various case studies involving victims of cyberbullying by describing the situations leading up to the cyberbullying and the cyberbullying incidence. The chapter concludes by applying the social-ecological theory to each of these cases in order to highlight how multiple individuals are directly and indirectly involved in cyberbullying.

DEFINITIONS OF BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING

Olweus (1994) introduced the current definition of bullying. In order for an act to be considered bullying, it needs to meet three criteria: (a) the act must be intentional, (b) the act must be based on an imbalance of power, and (c) the act must be repeated (Levy, Cortesi, Gasser, Crowley, Beaton, Casey & Nolan, 2012; Olweus, 1994). Intentionality is differentiated from random or accidental actions which could also harm someone; the behavior needs to be

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purposeful. An imbalance of power accentuates the differences between victims and perpetrators in regard to not only the perpetrators' physical strength, but of their social position in relation to the victim, including intelligence or popularity. Finally, repetition means that the harmful intentional actions reoccur over a period of time. Cyberbullying is bullying, using the above definition, but it involves information and communication technologies (ICTs) or other types of Internet technologies. Using these definitions, lawmakers are increasingly viewing cyberbullying as a legitimate and dangerous form of harassment which requires legislative remedy (Feldsher, 2015).

CYBERBULLYING GOES MOBILE

Because of the relatively recent rise of both the availability of cellular communication devices, the explosion of capabilities these devices can offer, and the decreasing cost of obtaining and maintaining said devices, the majority of parents have purchased these devices for all members of the family. These devices have quickly become not only the primary means of conversation but they have also helped define social standing in the children's world. After the introduction of smart phones, services such as texting have been joined by social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Vine. These services allow for the free flow of communication between individuals. In addition, conversation applications such as Ask.fm, Kik, Yik Yak, Whisper, Secret, and Voxel allow users to post anonymously or through a username, often creating a perfect avenue for cyberbullies (Alvarez, 2013). Additionally, more and more anonymous apps are being created and introduced each year. (Alsapach, 2015; Perez, 2015) This increasingly puts parents and school administrators at a disadvantage because they are always playing catch up to the next new thing.

WHO ARE THE CYBERBULLIED?

Cyberbullying is not location dependent; however it may be device dependent. In particular, cyberbullying can occur through electronically-mediated communication at school and outside of school as well (Tokunaga, 2010). Cyberbullying also is dependent on the social groups which are involved. What behaviors an adult might consider cyberbullying, some teenagers might see only as "Drama" (boyd, 2014). Drama is define as social and interpersonal, involving relational conflict that is often reciprocal and gendered (Marwick & boyd, 2011). It might also be magnified by networked publics. Teenagers between the ages of 12 to 14 appear to be the most vulnerable to cyberbullying victimization (Tokunaga, 2010). This coincides with the ages of those vulnerable to offline bullying. Cyberbullying is more prevalent in middle school than high school and is most likely to occur when starting middle school or starting at a new school (Espelage & Horne, 2008).

Victims of cyberbullying generally report that they feel more dependent on the Internet, and they usually take more Internet-related risks, such as meeting online strangers offline in person (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009). Many cyber victims are rejected by and do not get along with their peers (Wright & Li, 2013). They also have problems concerning emotional

closeness with their parents (Katzer, Fetchenhauer & Belschak, 2009). Many victims are also likely to engage in unusual behaviors, daydreaming, and impulsivity.

Cyberbullying victimization relates to offline problem behaviors, such as the use of alcohol, skipping school without an excuse, and cheating on a test (Hinduja & Patchin, 2007). Additionally, victims also experience anxiety, depression, and negative self-image (Katzer, et al. 2009; Schultze-Krumbholz & Scheithauer, 2009). Many times, cyber victims fear for their safety at school, and have academic achievement problems (Wright, 2015; Ybarra & Mitchel, 2004).

PRESENT STUDY AND METHODS

Data on cyberbullying victims was collected from secondary sources using a variety of means as part of a larger study on hackers, hacktivists, and cyber security issues. Most of the information came from electronic news sources which were collected each day through the use of Google Search terms. Search terms related to this paper's development included cyber, cyberbullying, Anonymous, hacktivist, and hackers. This data formed the bulk of the material collected; however, other sources of information were also used when applicable. These other sources included items, such as print newspapers, print magazines, radio and television broadcasts, and motion picture documentaries. Each week the Google Search term feeds were reviewed and applicable articles were binned into appropriate categories which included cyberbullying in general, specific cases of cyberbullying, and hacktivists' responses to cyberbullying cases. Over time, this amounted to several hundred document sources on several cyberbullying events with thousands of pages of actual reported information.

In order to condense such a huge amount of raw information and consolidate it into a coherent story, the case study method of research was utilized. Yin (2009) described two criteria for using this method. First, a case study methodology is useful in order to understand a real-life phenomenon in depth, and secondly, a case study handles technically distinctive situations where there are many more variables of interest than data points and multiple sources of evidence. Yin defined three principles of data collection, including using multiple sources of evidence, creating a database of these sources, and maintaining a chain of evidence. Using these criterial and principles, an analysis of the binned categories of sequentially sorted articles was conducted to identify trends, themes, issues, and results. The result of that analysis follows. Later, the cyberbullying victimization cases are analyzed in relation to the social-ecological theory. The social-ecological theory has been used as a framework to understand bullying (Espelage, 2014). Therefore, the theory suggests that bullying and victimization are outcomes of interactions between individuals and their environments. The theory can also be used as a foundation for understanding cyberbullying. According to the theory, cyberbullying might occur because of the interaction among individual characteristics (e.g., age, gender, personality) and various systems, including the microsystem (e.g., family, peers, schools), mesosystem (interaction between microsystems), exosystem (e.g., mass media, neighbors, industry), and macrosystem (e.g., ideologies of the culture).

The purpose of applying this theory to these cases of cyberbullying victimization is to provide an understanding of cyberbullying as a phenomenon affecting youths themselves but also their families, schools and teachers, and communities.

RECENT CASES OF CYBERBULLYING VICTIMS

Audrie Pott

Audrie Pott, a fifteen-year-old Sophomore at Saratoga High School in Silicon Valley, California, hung herself in her bathroom and died on September 10, 2012 (Stebner, 2013). Just the week before, Audrie and a friend told her parents that they wanted to have a sleepover at the friend's house. After being dropped off, Audrie and her friend went to another friend's house where a party was underway. At the party, there were eleven teens downing shots of vodka, rum, and tequila. Audrie was making out with one boy then passed out and was taken upstairs to a bedroom by three male friends and a female teen. The girl left Audrie alone with the boys when they started to remove her clothes and draw on her body with Sharpies.

In interviews with police later, [the boys] admitted, to varying degrees, coloring half of [Audrie's] face black, then pulling down her bra, taking off her shorts and drawing scribbles, lines and circles on her breasts and nipples. [One of the boys] wrote "anal" above her ass with an arrow pointing down. At some point [later, the girl] returned to find Audrie in her underwear and put a blanket over her, then left the room again. With Audrie still sprawled out on the bed and unresponsive, the boys allegedly fingered her and took pictures on their phones (Burleigh, 2013).

The next morning, Audrie woke up disoriented and scared, her body covered in green and black ink which she frantically tried to scrub off her skin. She called her mother to come pick her up. Over the next few days Audrie tried to piece together what had happened from friends and classmates. She quickly realized that the entire school might have seen the pictures and videos.

In conversations on Facebook, "Audrie wrote that the 'whole school knows. . . Do you know how people view me now? I fucked up and I can't do anything to fix it. . . And I now have a reputation I can never get rid of. . . My life is over. . . I ruined my life and I don't even remember how'" (Burleigh, 2013). Audrie left no suicide note, gave no warning of her pain and her plan, after her mother picked her up from school and they returned home, Audrie locked herself in the bathroom and hung herself with a belt from the shower head. Her mother found her 20 minutes later, her face stained by the mascara that ran down her face. After calling 911 she attempted CPR, awaiting the paramedics' arrival. When they arrived, they could not revive her (Burleigh, 2013). After an investigation into the case, on April 11, 2013, the three teen boys who assaulted Audrie were finally arrested for sexual battery against her (Dahl, 2013).

Amanda Todd

Fifteen-year-old Amanda Todd hung herself in her Port Coquitlam, British Columbia, Canada home at 6 p.m. Wednesday, October 10, 2012, one month before her 16th birthday and just five weeks after she posted a heartbreaking video on YouTube which detailed how she was harassed and bullied online. The video is titled "My Story: Struggling, bullying, suicide and self-harm" (Dufour, 2012; Shaw & Culbert, 2012). The video shows Amanda telling her story of cyberbullying and harassment through flash cards.

When Amanda was in 7th Grade, in an online video conversation with an unknown man, after being bated with lavish praise telling her how beautiful she was, she was asked to flash her breasts; unfortunately, she did. The person had recorded the conversation and now had a screenshot of that moment. A year later, she was contacted by the man through Facebook. He threatened that if she didn't put on another show for him, he would send the photo of the screenshot to her family, friends, and schoolmates. He had all her personal information: Facebook profile, address, school name, names of family members, names of friends, etc. She refused to do it. Over Christmas Break, the police showed up at her door at 4 a.m. with a photo of the screenshot in hand asking if she had forwarded it. Apparently, the photo had been sent out to all her family and friends just as the man had threatened. As a result, she grew depressed and anxious, turning to alcohol and drugs in order to try to cope (Thesomebodytoknow, 2012).

Amanda ended up switching schools, but the cyberbullying followed her. The man who had threatened her, created a Facebook page of her with the picture of Amanda's breasts as his profile picture. Her schoolmates began to turn on her; they made fun of her and picked on her, calling her names. She started to cut herself. She was moved to yet another school where she made friends with a boy who told her that he liked her. While the boy already had a girlfriend, one day he confided that his girlfriend was on vacation and that she should come over to see him; they had sex. A week later, Amanda was confronted by the girlfriend, the boy, and a large group of teens in front of her school and beaten up by the girl. The attack was filmed; she was left beaten up in a ditch. Amanda's father came to pick her up afterwards to take her home. Despondent, Amanda tried to kill herself by drinking bleach. She was rushed to the hospital and survived (Thesomebodytoknow, 2012).

After her suicide attempt, many of her Facebook friends posted cruel comments about how she deserved it, asking if she got the mud out of her hair with the bleach and adding that they hoped she was dead. She moved in with her mother in a new city and a new school and she thought things might get better, but her tormenters followed. Comments on her Facebook page continued to taunt her toward suicide. Photos of bleach bottles and ditches were tagged with her profile. Now she rarely left the house; she was prescribed antidepressants and started counseling. After an overdose which required a two day stay in the hospital, she decided to make the video of her experience with bullying (Thesomebodytoknow, 2012).

The YouTube page included the following introduction which she penned:

I'm struggling to stay in this world, because everything just touches me so deeply. I'm not doing this for attention. I'm doing this to be an inspiration and to show that I can be strong. I did things to myself to make pain go away, because I'd rather hurt myself then [sic] someone else. Haters are haters but please don't hate, although im [sic] sure I'll get them. I hope I can show you guys that everyone has a story, and everyones [sic] future will be bright one day, you just gotta [sic] pull through. I'm still here aren't I? - Amanda Todd (2012) (Thesomebodytoknow, 2012).

Jessica Laney

On December 9, 2012, Jessica Laney, a sixteen-year-old Fivay High School student from Hudson, Florida, hung herself. Friends told authorities investigating the suicide that she had been cyberbullied through the Latvian-based question and answer website, Ask.fm (Murray, 2012; Roberts, 2012). While Laney's ask.fm account page, Jessicamariee1, had a fair share of

innocent comments about which boys in school she liked and people telling her how pretty she was, there were also a number of posts attacking her, telling her she was fat and a loser.

"Classmates... say she was pretty and bubbly. Still, cruel comments could be found on her Ask.fm webpage. "Nobody even cares about you," reads one anonymous post. "Can you just kill yourself," says another. Close friends, Cheyenne Ellsmore and Lisa Arthur, say people would post the mean messages anonymously. "You get compliments sometimes but it's those negative comments that bring you down," Ellsmore said. "There's just things you should say and things you shouldn't," said Arthur. "And on Ask.fm, none of that should be said." The girls believe the comments got to be too much for Laney, who took her own life Sunday night." (McVey, 2012)

Jessica had transferred to Fivay High School because of bullying at her previous school. A friend of Jessica, Valerie Canales, wrote on Jessica's Facebook tribute page, which was established after her death, that the abuse that she received on Ask.fm was what pushed her to take her own life.

"...last night, my friend Jessica Laney took her life. She was constantly bullied and bullied. And she was pushed and pushed to the point where she couldn't handle it anymore. And if you could spread the word about the website ask.fm & how it needs to be shut down, that would be amazing too. Ask.fm is a website where people can ask anonymous questions to anyone they want. And that's [sic] how Jessica was constantly put down and bullied. She was a beautiful girl & everyone loved her. She's [sic] gonna [sic] be missed. We have to put an end to bullying. Please help..." (Roberts, 2012)

Rehtaeh Parsons

Rehtaeh Parsons, a seventeen-year-old Cole Harbour District High School student, attempted suicide by hanging on April 4, 2013, at her home in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, Canada. She did not succeed which led to her falling into a coma. On April 7, 2013, her family made the decision to remove her from life support; she died the same day (The Huffington Post, 2013). In November of 2011, Rehtaeh was at a small gathering of friends when she was photographed while having sex with one of the boys. Her mother, Leah Parsons, described the events of the night and the subsequent abuse on a Facebook memorial page dedicated to Rehtaeh:

The person Rehtaeh once was all changed one dreaded night in November 2011. She went with a friend to another's home. In that home she was raped by four young boys . . . one of those boys took a photo of her being raped and decided it would be fun to distribute the photo to everyone in Rehtaeh's school and community where it quickly went viral. Because the boys already had a 'slut' story, the victim of the rape, Rehtaeh, was considered a slut. This day changed the lives of our family forever (Visser, 2013).

The cyberbullying and harassment against Rehtaeh continued unabated. Her mother said, "She was never left alone. She had to leave the community. Her friends turned against her. People harassed her. Boys she didn't know started texting her and Facebooking her asking her to have sex with them. It just never stopped" (The Huffington Post, 2013). The family moved

to nearby Halifax but the harassment did not stop. As a result, Rehtaeh began to suffer from depression and anger and at one time had to be admitted to a hospital on fears that she would harm herself. A yearlong investigation by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) concluded that there was not enough evidence to charge and convict any of the boys with rape. Shortly after her death in April, members of the hactivist group, Anonymous, threatened to release the identity documents or dox of the boys involved unless the RCMP brought about charges (Visser & Cross, 2013). Initially, upon Rehtaeh's family's request, the boys' names and identities were not released (CBC News, 2013).

Ultimately, the attention and pressure brought by Anonymous helped to persuade other witnesses to come forward with new information. This convinced the RCMP to reopen the investigation on April 11, 2013 (Prentiss, 2013). In July, citing inactivity by the RCMP, Anonymous made the names of the boys public. (Morris, 2013a) Finally, in August of 2013, two of the teens involved were arrested and charged with child pornography, but not with rape. The RCMP commented, "What some people may believe occurred and what can be substantiated in a police investigation through verified evidence and what can finally be proved in court are often very different things. We, as police officers, cannot act on innuendo or speculation. We do not cultivate facts. We verify them" (Morris, 2013b).

Rebecca Ann Sedwick

On September 9, 2013, Rebecca Ann Sedwick, a twelve-year-old Crystal Lake Middle School student, jumped to her death from a tower at an abandoned concrete plant less than one mile from her home in Lakeland, Florida. She had been the victim of cyberbullying for months. Rebecca was reported missing about 7 p.m. that Monday by her mother after she failed to return home from school. Authorities later learned she left her home without her school books that morning and never boarded her school bus (Stennett, 2013). After an investigation, two girls from her school were eventually arrested. They were part of a group of 15 girls who were accused of tormenting Rebecca. The arrests came after one of the two girls tweeted, "Yes IK [I know] I bullied REBECCA nd [sic] she killed her self [sic] but IDGAF [I don't give a fuck]" (Quigley & Gorman, 2013). The torment began after one of the girls began dating a boy Rebecca had dated earlier and she didn't like that Rebecca and the boy remained friends. That girl even turned the other girl who was also arrested, formerly a good friend of Rebecca's, against Rebecca.

Witnesses told investigators she sent messages to Rebecca, calling her ugly, telling her to "drink bleach and die," and encouraging her to kill herself. Rebecca's computer searches revealed she had searched for ways to commit suicide and asked questions like, "What is overweight for a 13-year-old girl." One of the Florida girl's screensavers also showed Rebecca with her head resting on a railroad track. [Rebecca] changed one of her online screen names to "That Dead Girl." She messaged a boy: "I'm jumping." Polk County Sheriff Judd said Rebecca had been "absolutely terrorized" by the other girls. "We can see from what we've been investigating so far that Rebecca wasn't attacking back," Judd said. "She appeared to be beat down. She appeared to have a defeatist attitude. And quite frankly, the entire investigation is exceptionally disturbing" (Quigley & Gorman, 2013).

Even when her mother took Rebecca out of school, the bullying continued online. Rebecca's mother deleted her Facebook account, but kept finding other social apps that she had downloaded to her phone where the cyberbullying still continued. In December of 2012, Rebecca was hospitalized for three days after slicing her wrists saying that it was because of the bullying.

"She put on a perfect, happy face. She never told me," [said her mother, Tricia Norman]. "I never had a clue. I mean, she told me last year when she was being bullied, but not this year, and I have no idea why." Once police checked [Rebecca's] cell phone they discovered that the bullying had not stopped, especially on Kik Messenger, Instagram and Ask.fm. "They would tell her she's ugly, stupid, nobody liked her, go kill herself," Ms Norman said (Quigley & Gorman, 2013).

The two teen girls who were arrested were released and eventually charges were dropped for lack of evidence, however, Rebecca's mother filed wrongful death lawsuits in the civil court. She also began to petition the State of Florida to enact tougher anti-bullying laws (Kemp, 2013).

CONCLUSION

A major purpose of this chapter was to review case studies of cyberbullying victims, with specific focus on the events related to the cyberbullying incidences and the outcomes. Another goal was to connect these case studies to the social-ecological perspective by examining how multiple systems were influenced by cyberbullying victimization. Each of the case studies involved peers (the microsystem) as well as the interaction between peers and schools (the mesosystem). For example, many of these case studies involved cyberbullying perpetrated by peers outside of school, with knowledge of the event "spreading" to peers at the victims' schools. Knowledge of the incidences were spread via social media (the exosystem) as well as the school environment. The involvement of the school environment for further perpetuating cyberbullying victimization indicated an interaction between peers outside of school and the school environment, representing the mesosystem, an interaction between two microsystems – in this case, schools and peers outside of school. The microsystem of family was clearly impacted by the deaths of the victims included in these case studies. Many of the families established laws and charitable foundations in the names of their children. The establishment of laws and charitable foundations involves the community, which is part of the exosystem. Establishing laws could also be considered part of the macrosystem as the hope of such laws is to alter the ideologies concerning bullying of society as a whole, which would then also become part of children's ideologies to not bully. The community was further involved in some of the cases as well. In particular, Jessica Laney's friend, Valerie Canales, appealed for her community to take action against cyberbullying by calling for "... putting an end to bullying" (Roberts, 2012). Furthermore, the victimization and suicide of Rehtaeh Parsons triggered Anonymous to take action by releasing the perpetrators' information to the community. Taken together, the case studies include the microsystem (i.e., peers, schools, families), the mesosystem (i.e., interaction between peers and schools), the exosystem (i.e., communities, laws, charitable foundations), and the macrosystem (i.e., laws). Therefore, cyberbullying

involves various systems in the victims' lives, indicating the need to understand this phenomenon as a concern for everyone, not just victims themselves.

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Chapter 23

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING CYBERBULLYING

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Before putting together this book, I knew that there would be some noticeable gaps in the literature regarding investigations focused on the role of parents, peers, teachers and schools, and communities in cyberbullying. After organizing the chapters for the book, it was clear that an overwhelming amount of literature focused on individual-level predictors of cyberbullying. Given the newness of cyberbullying research, such a focus is consistent with researchers aiming to understand the risk factors and protective factors associated with this behavior in an effort to develop prevention and intervention programs.

Pendergrass and Wright (Chapter 23) suggested, after their review of cyber victimization cases studies and the application of the cases to the social-ecological approach, that cyberbullying is not just a concern for children and adolescents themselves, schools, or parents, but that everyone in our society should be involved in solutions aimed at reducing these behaviors. Therefore, it is imperative that researchers investigate the role of other context, such as parents, schools, teachers, and peers in children's and adolescents' cyberbullying involvement. Although less attention has been given to these contexts, there is a variety of research evidence that implicates their influence on cyberbullying among children and adolescents.

The noticeable gaps in the literature appear when it comes to the mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. Based on the review of the literature, there appears to be two types of interactions among the systems. For instance, Arslan and colleagues (2012) found that parental unemployment was linked to cyberbullying. They explained that such work-related stress negatively impacted the family environment, which subsequently affected children's and adolescents' behaviors, leading to cyberbullying. Pendergrass and Wright (Chapter 23) argue

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that many of the cases involving cyberbullying victimization involved an interaction between peers and schools.

In particular, they explained that some cyberbullying incidences occur outside of school, involving neighborhood-level peers or school-related peers, “spills over” into school, further perpetuating the cycle of victimization. At the exosystem, den Hamer and Konijn (Chapter 13) propose that exposure to risk content via media influences children’s and adolescents’ cyberbullying perpetration. They have empirically tested this model in various studies (see den Hamer & Konijn, 2015; den Hamer, Konijn, & Keijer, 2014). The establishment of laws concerning cyberbullying also relates to the exosystem as well since the goal of such laws is to reduce cyberbullying and penalize the perpetrators. Out of the systems mentioned in this paragraph thus far, the macrosystem has a bit more empirical connections supporting its role in cyberbullying perpetration.

This research focuses on cross-cultural differences in cyberbullying involvement, typically between individualistic and collectivistic societies, with findings revealing greater levels of perpetration and victimization among individualistic countries. The chronosystem has been less examined, and there is no chapter in this book that taps into this system’s role in cyberbullying among children and adolescents, except Chapter 1, which proposes factors related to this system that might impact involvement in these behaviors. Anonymity is one variable that has emerged as having a connection with the chronosystem. It is connected with the chronosystem as new information and communication technologies make it increasingly possible to remain anonymous when perpetrating cyberbullying when compared to traditional face-to-face bullying.

This does not indicate that traditional face-to-face bullying acts do not ever include anonymity, but that there is a greater potential to remain anonymous in the online environment. In addition, the online disinhibition effect is also something that is characteristic of our digital age. This effect suggests that the online environment includes increased anonymity and lacks visual and auditory cues, making people more disinhibited and leading them to do and say things that they never would in the offline world (Suler, 2004). The gaps in the literature lead to a variety of future directions when applying the social-ecological framework to cyberbullying involvement.

Despite ample literature focusing on the individual-level predictors of cyberbullying involvement, many of these studies utilize concurrent research designs. Follow-up research with longitudinal designs is needed. To address the gaps in the literature, future research should also focus on the contextual predictors of cyberbullying involvement. Chapters 19 through 21 focus on the prevention and intervention of cyberbullying involvement among children, adolescents, and college students. Wingate and Minney (Chapter 20) specifically address the need for a social-ecological approach to apply to the development of prevention and intervention programs aimed at reducing cyberbullying. In order to develop programs with long-term implications, programs must involve parents, students, teachers, and the community. Theory-based and empirically tested prevention and intervention programs need to be developed or revised with the desire to reduce cyberbullying through involving all members of our society.

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Chapter 24

PRESCHOOL TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE DEFINITION AND MANIFESTATIONS OF BULLYING IN EARLY CHILDHOOD SETTINGS

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the present research is to explore preschool teachers' perceptions about what constitutes bullying and the types of bullying behavior that they observe in early childhood settings. The sample of this research was 164 preschool teachers from Greece. They were administered a questionnaire that was based on previous research. Results indicate that the participants in this study recognize all forms of bullying (physical, verbal, relational). The results indicate that the preschool teachers of the sample have observed all types of bullying, verbal, physical and social exclusion. Destruction of children's property and spreading rumors was less frequent bullying behavior according to their responses. The data can contribute to the international literature as they record the manifestations of bullying in Greek early childhood settings, the frequencies of the various forms of bullying, the places where bullying occurs and the number of children involved in these incidents. Moreover, the findings indicate that early prevention of bullying is essential as the teachers of the present research argue that children exhibit all forms of bullying in preschool age.

Keywords: preschool teachers, school bullying, manifestations

INTRODUCTION

School bullying is a prevalent social phenomenon, which posits a global concern for the international school community. It is a group phenomenon which is manifested in early

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childhood settings (Reunamo et al., 2015). Moreover, all forms of bullying are displayed in preschool contexts (Davis, 2015). It is a form of aggressive behavior which is repeated over time and has the intention of hurting the victim. It also includes an imbalance of power (Olweus, 1993). Bullying episodes include acts of physical and relational aggression (for example, social exclusion) as well as verbal harassment and damage of property (Merrel & Isava, 2008). Espelage (2004) highlights that bullying is an ecological phenomenon which emanates from the complex interplay between the children, their families and peer groups, school communities and culture.

Early prevention and intervention are crucial for children's emotional and social adjustment as well as for their mental health. The aim of the present research was to explore preschool teachers' perceptions regarding the manifestation of bullying in early childhood. According to Gillies-Rezo & Bosacki (2003) prevalence rates of bullying in preschool age should be based on teacher ratings rather than self-ratings. The consequences of bullying include poor school adjustment, academic performance, and delinquency in adulthood (Shetgiri, 2013).

Perren and Alsaker (2006) assert that bullies and victims are characterized by distinct social behavior patterns. Bullies display high levels of aggressive behavior, are less cooperative and sociable and have a leadership role. Victims have low sociability, submissive social behavior, withdrawal and they lack leadership skills. They cannot assert themselves and they are vulnerable to victimization.

ETIOLOGY OF SCHOOL BULLYING

The social ecological model (Espelage, 2014) posits that behavior is influenced by the complex interactions among the various environmental structures containing the child. The microsystem refers to the interaction of the child with the immediate settings (family, school, peer group). The mesosystem is associated with the interrelations among two or more microsystems for example, between family and school. The effect of the exosystem is indirect. Neighborhood safety is a factor of the exosystem that affects children's behavior. The macrosystem is associated with culture social norms, such as state legislation (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Individual characteristics of children such as age, gender, race ethnicity, health status, psychological functioning, depression, disability status are risk factors for school bullying. Family characteristics, such as consistent parental monitoring, exposure to family conflict, history of abuse and inconsistent parenting are also considered risk factors. On the other hand, supportive family relations and positive parent-child interactions can deter school bullying.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH STUDIES

Tepetas et al. (2010) argue that teachers define bullying incidents mostly as physical violence and disobedience and rarely consider verbal and psychological forms of bullying. Bullying episodes mostly occur in the classroom.

Humphrey (2013) conducted interviews with preschool teachers. They reported incidents that they considered bullying. Their responses included the following themes: exclusion,

aggression, teasing and gossiping. The reasons they gave to children's social exclusion were related to children's inability to do something, and the children's appearance and clothing. According to their answers bullies exclude the victims from the play group in order to get the objects they want, to gain power or control of the group, or gain popularity. They attributed physical bullying to lack of social skills (such as conflict resolution skills). They also reported teasing and name calling based on looks and possessions. The reasons they gave included the appearance of the child and that they could not do something. To sum up, they reported that the causes of bullying are status gain, lack of social skills, media violence and attention seeking. According to Humphrey, preschool teachers reported more often relational bullying.

Repo's research (2015) found that early childhood professionals find it difficult to distinguish between bullying and quarreling between children. Their answers to the interviews conducted, indicated that they are aware of the repetitiveness and power imbalance, which are the key characteristics of bullying. They also take into account the subjective experience of bullying and victims' difficulty to withstand different actions towards them. The most common form of bullying was social exclusion. The psychological forms of bullying (such as threatening) were also more frequent than physical bullying. Perren's research study (2000) also indicated that social exclusion was the most common form in preschool settings.

Preschool teachers in Davis's research (2015) observed three types of bullying (verbal, physical and relational bullying) and bullying roles in early childhood settings. They had some knowledge of all forms of bullying and demonstrated empathy towards the victims of all forms of bullying. They were also willing to intervene in bullying incidents. Teachers were more likely to intervene to incidents of verbal bullying and less likely to relational bullying, although their responses indicated that they were willing to respond to all bullying scenarios and display empathy for the victims. Moreover, they stated that they had little professional training. The rate of verbal bullying incidents reported was higher.

Psalti (2017) suggested that verbal bullying was evaluated as the most serious form of bullying in preschool settings followed by physical bullying and social. Her research also indicated that early childhood teachers expressed more sympathy towards the victims of physical and verbal bullying than the victims of social bullying and were more likely to intervene in physical bullying incidents. She pointed out the need of sensitizing early childhood teachers about the seriousness of all forms of bullying. Vlachou, Andreou, Botsoglou and Didaskalou (2011) argued that aggressive behavior is displayed twice as frequently in the playground rather than in the classroom, and the occurrences at the playground are longer in duration. Several characteristics of the playground, such as the ration of playground supervisors to children, active supervision, and playground rules affect children's behavior. Planning and arranging the layout of each learning center in preschool classrooms contribute to children's positive social interactions.

Trigka-Mertigka (2015) argued that preschool teachers regard that family characteristics such as marital problems, insecure attachment between parents and children, negative school experiences, lack of services for children with emotional and behavioural difficulties within school context are among the risk factors for bullying episodes according to preschool teachers.

Vlachou et al. (2011) asserted that the percentages of bullies and victims vary depending on the source of collecting data. The prevalence of victimization is higher according to self-reports, whereas the role of bully is more frequent according to peer nominations. Teachers are considered a more reliable source of information during preschool age, although they find it difficult to distinguish bullying from other types of conflict.

METHOD

The participants of this research included 164 preschool teachers from Greece. 23.2% of the participants were aged between 22 and 30 years. Out of the 164 participants, 90.2% (148) were females and 9.8% (16) were males. 35.4% of the participants were aged between 31 to 40 years, 32.9% between 41 and 50 years and 8.5% of them were above fifty years. 44.5% of the respondents have had between 1 to 10 years of experience, 28.7% had 11 to 20 years and 14% more than 21 years.

The data collection tool was a questionnaire which was based on previous research (Psalti, Kassapi & Deligianni-Kouimtzi, 2012). The first section of the questionnaire included demographic data regarding the highest level of education, the teaching experience, the age and gender of the participants. The second section included ten vignettes describing children's aggressive behaviors and teachers were asked to assess whether the behavior described could be classified as bullying. Then they were asked to record the frequency of various types of bullying observed at their school, the place that bullying took place and the number of children involved in bullying episodes. The data presented in this research paper are part of a wider research Table 1 shows the demographic data of the current research study.

Table 1. Distribution of frequencies of the demographic factors of the sample

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Frequency N=164</i>	<i>Percent (%)</i>
<i>Male</i>	16	9,8
<i>Female</i>	148	90.2
<i>Age</i>		
22-30	38	23.2
31-40	58	35.4
41-50	54	32.9
>50	14	8.5
<i>Work experience</i>		
1-10	73	44.5
11-20	47	28.7
>21	23	14

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Various scenarios regarding bullying incidents were presented to the preschool teachers of our sample. Then they were asked whether the scenario that described the behavior is considered to be bullying. They had to give a "Yes" or "No" answer. The first scenario was the following: "Child A is approaching child B which is one year younger, he takes his toys and tells him that if he speaks, he will hit him. This happens every day". 147 teachers (89.6%) responded that this is a bullying behavior, whereas 17 (10.4%) responded that this is not bullying.

Table 2. Distribution of frequencies of teachers' responses to the bullying vignettes

Vignette	Responses for "Yes"		Responses for "No"	
	<i>N</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1. "Child A is approaching child B which is one year younger, takes his toys and tells him that if he tells, he will hit him. This happens every day".	147	89.6	17	10.4
2. "Child C and his friend, almost every day wait for child D at the school's entrance, they surround him and start pushing him around and throwing his bag and jacket".	145	88.4	20	11.6
3. "Child D takes from child Z the album with his stickers to see it and tears it".	95	58.5	69	41.5
4. "Child H takes from child J the sticker album to see it and it tears it by accident. Child H is very sad about it".	27	16.5	137	83.5
5. "Child L makes fun of child M for his new haircut. Child M gets sad".	96	58.5	67	40.9
6. "Child N makes fun of Child X for his new haircut and then both of them begin to push each other and laugh".	58	35.4	106	64.6
7. "Child O plays quietly at the yard of the kindergarten with his peers, when a group of children is approaching them. One of these children, Child P, says: Do not talk to O, he ingratiate himself with the teacher, do not play with him. His playmates leave and he stays alone".	125	76.2	37	22.6
8. "Child P is spreading rumors and saying bad things about Child S to the class. Most children in the class make fun of Child S and he stays alone most of the time".	143	87.2	21	12.8
9. "Child P is spreading rumors and saying bad things about Child S to the class. Most children in the class make fun of Child S and he stays alone most of the time".	143	87.2	21	12.8
10. "Some students do not let a classmate play with them, because he is a boy".	46	28	118	72
11. "Some students do not let a classmate play with them, because she is a girl".	47	28.7	117	71.3
Note: N=164 Total Sample				

The second scenario that was presented to the teachers was the following: "Child C and his friend almost every day wait for child D at the school's entrance, circle him and start pushing him around and throwing his bag and jacket". 145 teachers (88.4%) answered that this was a

bullying incident, whereas 20 (11.6%) answered that was is not. The third scenario describes that “Child D takes from child Z the album with his stickers to see it and tears it”. 95 (58.5%) responded that this is a bullying behavior, whereas 69% (41.5%) responded that it is not.

According to the fourth scenario, “Child H takes the sticker album from child J to see it and tears it by accident. Child H is very sad about it”. 27 teachers (16.5%) recognized this as bullying, whereas 137 (83.5%) did not. The fifth scenario described the following behaviour: “Child L makes fun of child M for his new haircut. Child M gets sad”. 96 teachers (58.5%) identified this is a bullying behavior, 67 (40.9%) did not, whereas 1 (0.6%) did not respond.

The sixth scenario described that “Child N makes fun of child X for his new haircut and then both begin to push each other and laugh”. 58 teachers (35.4%) confirmed this as bullying behavior, whereas 106 teachers (64.6%) did not.

According to the seventh scenario “Child O plays quietly in the kindergarten playground with his peers, when a group of children approaches them. One of them, child P, says: Do not talk to O, he sucks up to the teacher, do not play with him. His playmates leave and he stays alone”. Most teachers, 125 (76.2%) considered this a bullying incident, whereas 37 (22.6%) responded negatively.

The eighth scenario describes that “Child P is spreading rumors and saying bad things about child S to the classmates. Most children in class make fun of child S and he stays alone most of the time”. Most teachers (143, 87.2%) responded positively that that was bullying, whereas only 21 teachers (12.8%) responded negatively. The ninth scenario stated that “Some students do not let a classmate play with them, because he is a boy”. Most teachers 118 (72%) responded that this was not bullying episode, whereas 46 teachers (28%) responded that they considered it to be bullying. The tenth scenario stated that “Some students do not let a classmate play with them, because she is a girl”. 117 (71.3%) considered this a bullying behavior, whereas 47 (28.7%) replied that it was not.

The responses of the preschool teachers of the sample indicated that they were aware of all forms of bullying and that they took into account the repetitiveness of the bullying behaviors, the power imbalance as well as the intention of the perpetrator. The vast majority of the sample was capable of recognizing all forms of bullying. Verbal bullying was recognized by the higher percentage of the participants. In addition, physical bullying was identified by a large percentage of the respondents. Spreading rumors was also identified by a very high percentage of the participants as well as social exclusion.

Preschool Teachers' Responses about the Frequency of Bullying Behaviors

Preschool teachers were asked to report the frequency of several bullying behaviors. They were given the description of the bullying behavior and they responded how many times they noticed these behaviors. The first description of bullying was the following: *A child or some children said bad words, made fun of or baited another child or some other children* (first vignette). As Table 3 shows, 12.2% (20 teachers) of the sample replied that this incident had never occurred at their school. The higher percentage 34.1% (56) responded that it occurred 1-2 times and 23.8% (39) responded that it occurred two or three times. 9.1% of the participants (15), that it is happening once a week and 20.7% (34 teachers) answered several times.

A Child (or some children) deliberately did not play with another child (or some other children), excluded it from play or completely ignored it (second vignette). As Table 4 shows,

17.1% of the respondents (28 teachers) replied that they had never observed such an incident at their school. 32.9% (54 teachers) responded that they had observed this incident 1-2 times and 17.1% (28 teachers) responded once a week. 13.4% (22 teachers) answered several times.

Table 3. Distribution of frequencies of teachers' responses to the first vignette

<i>"Child A is approaching child B which is one year younger, he takes his toys and tells him that if he speaks, he will hit him. This happens every day".</i>		
	Frequency	Percent
<i>Never</i>	20	12.2
<i>1-2 times</i>	56	34.1
<i>2-3 times</i>	39	23.8
<i>Once a week</i>	15	9.1
<i>Several times</i>	34	20.7
<i>Total</i>	164	100.0

Table 4. Distribution of frequencies of teachers' to the second vignette

<i>"A Child (or some children) deliberately did not play with another child (or some other children), excluded it from play or completely ignored it".</i>		
	Frequency	Percent
<i>Never</i>	28	17.1
<i>1-2 times</i>	54	32.9
<i>2-3 times</i>	32	19.5
<i>Once a week</i>	28	17.1
<i>Several times</i>	22	13.4
<i>Total</i>	164	100.0

Table 5. Distribution of frequencies of teachers' to the third vignette

<i>"A Child (or some children) hit, kicked or pushed another child (or some other children)".</i>		
	Frequency	Percent
<i>Never</i>	21	12.8
<i>1-2 times</i>	53	32.3
<i>2-3 times</i>	28	17.1
<i>Once a week</i>	30	18.3
<i>Several times</i>	29	17.7
<i>Total</i>	161	98.2
<i>Missing</i>	-9	3
<i>Total</i>	164	100.0

A Child (or some children) hit, kicked or pushed another child or some other children (third vignette). Table 5 shows that 12.8% (21 teachers) replied that they had never observed such an incident. The higher percentage, 32.3% (53 teachers) responded one or two times, 17.1% (28 teachers) two or three times, 18.3% (30 teachers) responded once a week and 17.7% (29 teachers) several times.

A Child (or some children) lied or spread bad rumors about another child (or children) and tried to make others not to like this child or children (fourth vignette). As table 6 shows, 46.3% of the sample (76 teachers) replied that this incident had never occurred, 28% (46 teachers) responded one or two times, 5% (27 teachers) two or three times, while 5.5% (9 teachers) replied once a week, and 3.7% (6 teachers) several times.

Table 6. Distribution of frequencies of teachers' responses to fourth vignette

<i>"A Child (or some children) lied or spread bad rumors about another child (or children) and tried to make others not to like this child or children"</i>		
	Frequency	Percent
<i>Never</i>	76	46.3
<i>1-2 times</i>	46	28.0
<i>2-3 times</i>	27	16.5
<i>Once a week</i>	9	5.5
<i>Several times</i>	6	3.7
<i>Total</i>	164	100.0

A child or some children took the toy or other things of another child (or some other children" or destroyed things of another child or children (fifth vignette). Table 7 shows that 26.8% (44 teachers) replied that they had never observed such an incident at their school, 32.9% (54 teachers) responded one-two times, 27.4% (45 teachers) responded two- three times, 7.3% (12 teachers) responded once a week, while only 4.9% (8 teachers) replied several times.

Table 7. Distribution of frequencies of teachers' responses to fifth vignette

<i>"A child or some children took the toy or other things of another child (or some other children" or destroyed things (of another child or children)"</i>		
	Frequency	Percent
<i>Never</i>	44	26.8
<i>1-2 times</i>	54	32.9
<i>2-3 times</i>	45	27.4
<i>Once a week</i>	12	7.3
<i>Several times</i>	8	4.9
<i>Total</i>	163	99.4
<i>Missing</i>	-9	0.6
<i>Total</i>	164	100.0

A Child (or some other children) threatened another child (or some other children) or forced another child (or some other children) to do things they did not want do (sixth vignette). As table 8 shows, 56.7% (93 teachers) reported that it had never occurred at their school, 26.2% (43 teachers) that it occurred one or two times, 4.3% (7 teachers) responded two or three times, 11% (18 teachers) once a week, 1.2% (2 teachers) several times.

Table 8. Distribution of frequencies of teachers' responses to sixth vignette

<i>A Child (or some other children) threatened another child (or some other children) or forced another child (or some other children) to do things they did not want to do.</i>		
	Frequency	Percent
<i>Never</i>	93	56.7
<i>1-2 times</i>	43	26.2
<i>2-3 times</i>	18	11.0
<i>Once a week</i>	7	4.3
<i>Several times</i>	2	1.2
<i>Total</i>	163	99.4
<i>Missing</i>	-9	1
<i>Total</i>	164	100.0

The higher percentage of preschool teachers 81.1% (133 teachers) report that these bullying episodes are taking place in the school yard, whereas 18.9% (31 teachers) disagree as table 9 shows. This is in line with previous research that asserts that most bullying incidents occur at playground (Tepetas et al., 2010; Vlachou et al., 2011). This finding may indicate that increased supervision could limit the phenomenon of bullying.

Table 9. Distribution of frequencies of teachers' responses about the bullying incidents at school yard

<i>Bullying incidents took place at the schoolyard during the break.</i>		
	Frequency	Percent
<i>False (not valid)</i>	31	18.9
<i>True (valid)</i>	133	81.1
<i>Total</i>	164	100.0

As table 10 shows, 86% (141 teachers) reported that these incidents did not occur in the restroom, whereas 14% (23 teachers) disagree. The majority 69.5% (114 teachers) asserts that these incidents did not occur when the teacher was in the classroom, whereas 30.5% (50 teachers disagree) as table 11 shows. These findings are in line with previous research which supports that bullying incidents are displayed in the playground (Vlachou et al., 2011; Tepetas et al., 2010). Moreover, these data highlight the value of supervision of all areas of the school environment, as a high rate of teachers argue that the bullying episodes did not occur when the teacher was in the classroom.

Table 10. Distribution of frequencies of teachers' responses regarding the bullying incidents that took place at the toilets of their school

<i>"The bullying incident took place in the restroom".</i>		
	Frequency	Percent
<i>False (not valid)</i>	141	86.0
<i>True (valid)</i>	23	14.0
<i>Total</i>	164	100.0

Table 11. Distribution of frequencies about the bullying incidents that took place while a teacher was present

<i>"The bullying incident occurred inside my classroom while a teacher was present".</i>		
	Frequency	Percent
False (not valid)	114	69.5
True (valid)	50	30.5
Total	164	100.0

As table 12 shows, the majority stated (42.7%, 70 teachers) that a group of 2-3 children participated in bullying episodes, 25.6% (42 teachers) stated that different groups of children participated each time 3.7% (6 teachers) stated that it was a group of 4-9 children and 25.6% (42 teachers) replied that only a child was the perpetrator.

Table 12. Distribution of frequencies about teachers (teachers') responses regarding the number of children involved in bullying

<i>How many children participated in bullying incidents?</i>		
	Frequency	Percent
Mainly 1 child	42	25.6
A group of 2-3 children	70	42.7
A group of 4-9 children	6	3.7
Not the same children or group of children every time	42	25.6
Total	160	97.6
Missing	-9	4
Total	164	100.0

The above results indicate that the preschool teachers of the sample have observed all types of bullying, verbal, physical and social exclusion. Destruction of children's property and spreading rumors was less frequent bullying behavior. These findings are in line with previous research (Davis, 2015), which suggested that preschool teachers observed all types of bullying in early childhood settings.

CONCLUSION

The present study indicated the presence of bullying in Greek early childhood settings. Preschool teachers reported that physical, verbal and social exclusion occurred at preschool contexts. They were also capable of distinguishing bullying from other forms of behaviors which include direct or indirect aggressiveness based on the criteria of repetitiveness, intention and the subjective feeling of the victim. Preschool teachers' capacity to detect bullying as early as possible is crucial, as bullying has short-term and long-term consequences for both bullies and victims and the whole kindergarten group (Perren & Alsaker, 2006). Children's right to be educated in caring, respectful and safe school environments is highlighted by the United Nations Convention (1989).

Teachers are key agents in anti-bullying efforts, therefore their awareness and knowledge of all forms of bullying and their effects is fundamental to the effectiveness of bullying prevention and intervention (Yoon & Bauman, 2014). The recognition of bullying behaviors, knowledge about the types, the prevalence, signs and consequences of bullying are considered the first step of successful intervention (Marshall, 2012). In addition, it is critical that the teachers incorporate the discussion of bullying into their daily instruction and record bullying incidents. Professional development opportunities could expand their knowledge and train them in effective prevention and intervention.

Moreover, it was found that preschool teachers regard teacher training, classroom activities for diversity tolerance, the development of empathy as well as the collaboration between school and family as essential measures for bullying prevention (Nikolaou & Markogiannakis, 2017). The occurrence of bullying at early years has significant implications for the design and the implementation of interventions, which should be tailored to the needs of each early childhood context. Moreover, school bullying is associated with the peer group context (Repo, 2015), thus the whole kindergarten group should be trained to detect the various types of bullying and intervene when bullying occurs. School-Family collaboration and the implementation of socio-emotional programs is of utmost importance for bullying prevention according to teachers (Stamatis & Nikolaou, 2016). Their contribution to preventive initiatives is vital. Bullying is a systemic phenomenon which requires the participation of all stakeholders of the school community to policy development, prevention and intervention.

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Chapter 25

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

The present study examined teachers' attitudes towards three forms of bullying i.e., physical, verbal and relational. Eighty two teachers from different educational levels (preschool, primary school and high school) completed a vignette based inventory measuring seriousness of the bullying incident, causes, feelings of responsibility and self-efficacy and coping strategies. Although it seems that teachers consider physical bullying as the main form of bullying, they do not show any differences in their emotional reactions and feelings of responsibility and of self-efficacy towards the three forms of bullying. However, differences were observed in teachers' reactions towards the victim and the perpetrator. Discussion highlights the necessity for in-service training in order to raise awareness among teachers that both perpetrators and victims may need some form of intervention.

Keywords: physical bullying, verbal bullying, relational bullying, self – efficacy, victim, perpetrator

INTRODUCTION

Bullying is recognized as one of the major problems facing schools worldwide today. Bullying is not considered as synonymous to violence or aggression (Harachi et al., 1999), but is a particular form of both and is identified through the following traits: the intention of offending or harming the victim, the persistence of the abusive behaviors in time, the asymmetry of power (actual or perceived), and the social nature of the phenomenon, that is, the presence of witnesses who may intervene, siding with the victim or adding to the bully's

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behavior (Olweus et al., 1999; Sharp & Smith, 1994). Three main forms of bullying can be distinguished, i.e., physical, verbal and relational. Physical and verbal bullying are characterized as overt forms, while relational bullying is characterized as covert form of social aggression (Power-Elliott & Harris, 2012). While physical bullying tends to decrease with age, relational bullying tends to persist (Crick et al., 2002).

Although bullying has been a problem in schools for generations, it has been studied systematically since the 70's (Ross, 1996). A large – scale cross national study of bullying and victimization among adolescents in 40 countries (Craig et al., 2009) revealed that exposure to bullying varied across countries, with estimates ranging from 8.6% to 45.2% among boys, and from 4.8% to 35.8% among girls. Adolescents in Baltic countries reported higher rates of bullying and victimization, whereas northern European countries reported the lowest prevalence. Boys reported higher rates of bullying in all countries, while rates of victimization were higher for girls in 29 of 40 countries. Rates of victimization decreased by age in 30 of 40 (boys) and 25 of 39 (girls) countries.

In Greece the most extended research was carried out in 2010 in a sample of 4.944 adolescents (6th grade primary school, 2nd grade junior high school and 1st grade high school) recruited from 306 school units. According to the findings, 8.5% of the adolescents reported that they had been bullied 2 to 3 times per month in the last two months, with boys and older students reporting more incidents. A percentage of 15.8% reported that they bully other students, with boys reporting this behavior three times more often (23.4%) compared to girls (8.8%). It was also shown that both victims and perpetrators come from dysfunctional families with high rates of psychopathology and parental unemployment.

It is consistently documented that bullying causes serious short – and long – term problems in personality as well as social and academic functioning of both victims and perpetrators. Specifically, it has been found that bullying is associated with internalizing problems, such as anxiety and depression and externalizing problems, such as disruptive disorders and attention deficits, peer rejection, early school dropout, involvement in crime, and adult psychopathology (Reid et al., 2004; Twemlow et al., 2001; Craig, 1998; Crick, 1995; Parker & Asher, 1987).

School bullying also affects seriously school climate and has become a major concern for teachers, since they face the challenge to deal with a perpetrator and a victim (Yoon & Kerber, 2003). Teachers clearly can play an important role in tackling school bullying by helping to develop and implement a school policy, working with children, liaising with parents of children involved, and cooperating with professionals. However, in order to achieve this goal teachers need to be well-informed about bullying and confident in dealing with it.

Poulou and Norwich (2002) proposed a model which interprets the factors that may affect teachers' decision to take action in order to deal with a problem in their class. This model suggests that teachers may use a variety of strategies such as referral to external agents (i.e., specialists, parents) and the use of positive and negative incentives or other teaching approaches. Nevertheless, the actual use of these strategies was shown to be influenced by teachers' emotional responses towards children, judgements of their self – efficacy as well as their perceptions of others' expectations in relation to children's problems. In Ajzen & Fishbein's (1969) terms these perceptions are called subjective norms. In turn, teachers' emotions, feeling of self – efficacy and subjective norms are supposed to be influenced by the causal attributions. Following this ecological perspective, this study attempts to explore factors not only deriving from the child herself, but also factors deriving from her immediate environment such as the family, and the wider environment formed by teachers and school.

Given that teachers are the individuals most likely to handle bullying incidents, their responses should be carefully examined. However, there are relatively few studies focusing on teachers' attitudes towards bullying in Greece. Amanaki and Galanaki (2014) examined definitions of school bullying and perceived seriousness of bullying in 522 preservice teachers. Results showed that a considerable percentage of prospective teachers regarded bullying as a serious problem. In their definitions of bullying, they placed emphasis on physical and verbal bullying, on the perpetrators' intention to produce harm and on the victim's suffering (empathy).

However, other important facets of bullying, such as duration, repetition, imbalance of power between bully and victim, the unjustified, unprovoked and group nature of bullying behavior, were much less frequently reported. Also, prospective teachers had a considerable difficulty to include in their definitions references to social exclusion as a specific form of bullying. Similar results are also reported by Pateraki & Houndoumadi (2001), Athanasiadou & Psalti (2012) and Markogiannakis, Nikolaou & Karagianni (2016).

Nevertheless, to our knowledge there is no published study in Greece examining teachers' feeling of responsibility and self – efficacy in coping with different forms of bullying, their reactions towards the victim and the perpetrator as well as the actions they take, in order to deal with the problem. The present study aims to contribute to the relevant literature by highlighting these issues.

METHOD

Participants

In the present study participated 82 teachers, 27 (33%) men (mean age 40.9 years) and 55 (67%) women (mean age 38.0 years). Forty participants (49%) were primary school teachers, 29 (35%) were preschool teachers and 13 (16%) were high school teachers. The vast majority, 67 (82%) teachers, were employed in the public sector, while 15 (18%) teachers were employed in the private sector. Teachers had on average 12.5 years of experience (range 2 – 31 years).

Measures

For the data collection three inventories were used consisting of a vignette. Vignettes are widely used in attitudinal research, because they may mitigate social desirability effects by placing the issue outside the respondent's personal experience (Wilks, 2004; Barter & Renold, 1999). Also, this method may eliminate potential observer effects, since observation of teachers by researchers is likely to influence their behavior (Gould, 1996). Poulou (2001) notes that vignettes are the most appropriate method for understanding teachers' cognitive and affective responses to specific incidents, which provide essential information for designing effective training programs.

The vignette in each questionnaire described a different form of bullying. Vignettes were adapted from the Bullying Attitude Questionnaire (Craig et al., 2000), using three scenarios

regarding each form of bullying i.e., physical, verbal and relational. The scenarios are described below.

Scenario 1 [Relational Bullying]

During project time you overhear one student saying to another: *“If you don’t let me have the purple marker, I won’t invite you to my birthday party.”* This is not the first time you have heard this student saying this type of thing.

Scenario 2 [Physical Bullying]

Your class is getting ready for the break time and the students are in line at the door. You hear one student saying to another: *“Hey, give me your lunch money or I’ll give you a fat lip.”* The student complies at once. This is not the first time this has happened.

Scenario 3 [Verbal Bullying]

During project time you overhear one student calling another student *“bespectacled.”* The later child tries to ignore it, but finally he/she frowns.

The inventories included a questions about the seriousness of the bullying incident and a question on the gender of the children involved in it as victims and perpetrators. The rest of the inventory was adapted from the inventory developed by Poulou and Norwich (2002) for the study of teachers’ perceptions and includes three parts. The first part refers to the possible causes of bullying and consists of 23 items, the second part refers to teachers’ reactions and consists of 16 items, while the third part refers to teachers’ actual coping strategies and consists of 18 items. Teachers were asked to note on a five point Likert scale how possible a specific statement to be true for them is, as regards both the victim and the perpetrator. Items measuring the same feature were grouped together and a mean was calculated. Means were classified in three categories indicating low, moderated and high possibility (<2.5 , $2.5 - 3.5$, >3.5 respectively). Also, there were questions about demographic characteristics of the sample. Twenty six teachers completed the vignette with scenario 1, 30 teachers completed the vignette with scenario 2 and 26 teachers completed the vignette with scenario 3.

Procedure

Researchers administered the instrument, together with an information letter and a consent form. Teachers completed the questionnaire at school, leaving them in dedicated boxes that had been left in different spots of the building, specially designed to guarantee privacy and anonymity. Response rate was 63%. On the box there was a label indicating the title of the study, the expected collection date and contact details of the researchers. The questionnaires were collected 8 working days later.

RESULTS

An ANOVA test with LSD post hoc comparisons was carried out, in order to explore teachers’ perceptions about the seriousness of each bullying form. According to the findings, both physical and verbal bullying were considered as very serious, while relational bullying

was considered as moderately serious. In addition, physical bullying was considered as the most serious form of bullying ($F = 32.6$, $p < 0.001$). Chi square test demonstrated that teachers related different forms of bullying with boys and girls. In particular, boys were more often considered to provoke physical and verbal bullying, while girls were more often considered to provoke relational bullying. Moreover, girls were shown to accept intimidation more often compared to boys ($\chi^2 = 61.1$, $p < 0.001$).

As regards causes of bullying for the perpetrator, results showed that it was highly possible for teachers to attribute physical bullying to the family and moderately possible to attribute it to the child, the teaching staff or the school. On the other hand, both verbal and relational bullying were moderately possible to be attributed to the family, the child, the teaching staff or the school (Table 1).

Table 1. Possible causes of bullying for perpetrators

Possible causal factors	Forms of bullying		
	Physical	Verbal	Relational
Family	3.6	3.3	2.7
Child	2.9	2.8	2.7
Teacher	2.7	3.1	2.5
School	3.3	3.1	2.8

In relation to the causes of bullying for the victim, results show that it is moderately possible for teachers to attribute physical bullying to factors related to the school and the teaching staff, while it is least possible to attribute physical bullying to the family or the child. Similarly, verbal bullying was moderately possible to be attributed to the school and the teaching staff, but least possible to be attributed to the family and the child. Relational bullying was moderately possible to be attributed to the school and least possible to be attributed to the family, the child or the teaching staff (Table 2).

Table 2. Possible causes of bullying for victims

Possible causal factors	Forms of bullying		
	Physical	Verbal	Relational
Family	2.4	2.3	2.1
Child	1.9	2.0	1.9
Teacher	2.5	2.9	1.7
School	3.0	2.9	2.6

As regards emotions, it was highly possible for teachers to express negative emotions for the perpetrators and moderately possible to express negative emotions for the victims in all three conditions. This difference was statistically significant ($t = 6.88$, $p < 0.001$). Negative emotions for perpetrators was significantly positively correlated with causal attribution to the child ($r = 0.443$, $p < 0.001$). On the other hand, it was highly possible to express sympathy for perpetrators, but moderately possible to express sympathy for the victims ($t = 4.9$, $p < 0.001$). Teaching experience was significantly positively correlated with expression of sympathy for perpetrators ($r = 0.349$, $p = 0.003$).

Moreover, it was moderately possible for teachers to feel responsible and self-efficient to deal with the problem for both perpetrators and victims ($t = 0.2$, $p = 0.820$ and $t = 1.6$, $p = 0.114$ respectively). It is also worth noting that these feelings did not differ according to the form of bullying. However, it was moderately possible to undertake action in order to cope with perpetrators, but it was least possible to undertake action for victims and this difference was statistically significant ($t = 4.6$, $p < 0.001$). In addition, it was highly possible for teachers to ask external agents for cooperation in order to deal with perpetrators, but it was moderately possible to ask other individuals and sectors for cooperation for victims. This difference was also statistically significant ($t = 4.6$, $p < 0.001$). Teachers' intention to ask external agents for cooperation did not differ according to the form of bullying for perpetrators. However, it was more highly possible to ask external agents for cooperation in order to deal with the victims in incidences of physical bullying than in incidences of relational bullying ($F = 3.6$, $p = 0.034$).

Pearson r correlation coefficient tests showed that teachers' action in order to deal with perpetrators was significantly positively correlated with their feelings of responsibility ($r = 0.428$, $p < 0.001$) and self-efficacy ($r = 0.404$, $p < 0.001$) as well as with their negative emotions for the child ($r = 0.300$, $p = 0.009$). Also for these children teachers' willingness to ask external agents for cooperation was significantly positively correlated with their perception about the severity of the incident ($r = 0.269$, $p < 0.001$), their feelings of responsibility ($r = 0.347$, $p = 0.002$) and self-efficacy ($r = 0.420$, $p < 0.001$) as well as the sympathy for the child ($r = 0.360$, $p = 0.001$). For victims teachers' coping strategies were also significantly positively correlated with their feelings of responsibility ($r = 0.477$, $p < 0.001$) and self-efficacy ($r = 0.491$, $p < 0.001$) as well as their feelings of sympathy for the child ($r = 0.513$, $p < 0.001$). Also, for these children willingness for cooperating with external agents was significantly positively correlated with their perception about the severity of the incident ($r = 0.270$, $p = 0.016$), their feelings of responsibility ($r = 0.431$, $p < 0.001$) and self-efficacy ($r = 0.370$, $p = 0.001$) as well as the sympathy for the child ($r = 0.344$, $p = 0.002$).

DISCUSSION

The aim of the present study was to investigate teachers' perceptions about different forms of bullying as well as their emotions and reactions towards both the perpetrators and the victims. For the investigation of these issues an inventory presenting vignettes was distributed in preschool teachers, primary school teachers and secondary school teachers.

According to the findings, teachers at all levels of education in this sample perceived physical bullying as more serious than verbal and relational bullying, while they perceived relational bullying as the least serious form of bullying. This finding is in agreement with findings from studies carried out in other Western countries (Craig et al., 2011; Boucan & DelRio, 2006) and in Greece (Stamatis & Nikolaou, 2016) and reveal that although students are equally distressed by all forms of bullying, schools tend to respond to physical and some verbal bullying and to ignore indirect or relational bullying. However, as Nishina and colleagues suggest (Nishina & Juvonen, 2005; Nishina, 2004) these results are alarming, since relational bullying has also harmful long – lasting effects on perpetrators and victims.

Moreover, in accordance with findings from other studies (Wang et al., 2009; Owens et al., 2000; Bjorkvist, 1994), it was demonstrated that boys and girls express aggression in different

ways; boys engage more in physical or verbal bullying, whereas girls use spreading rumors and social exclusion as bullying tactics. Gender differences in direct and indirect forms of bullying may be related to differences in socialization between the two genders.

As regards causal factors of bullying, results of the present study revealed that teachers attribute different causal factors for the same forms of bullying in perpetrators and victims. In particular, teachers reported that perpetrators may exercise physical, verbal or relational bullying mainly due to family factors such as low socio – economic status or parental style, and secondarily due to traits of personality or some form of developmental disorder. On the other hand, teachers of this sample believe that some children become victims of physical, verbal or relational bullying due to factors related to school, such as lack of services for children with problems, curriculum that does not respond to children's interests, large number of students in a class and poor school organization, or due to factors related to the teaching staff, such as teaching method or teachers' personality and behavior. In a similar vein, Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004) reported that perpetrators could not be classified on the basis of school variables, while victims could not be classified on the basis of family variables. Although this finding has not thus far been explained adequately, it is possible that children's aggressive behavior is attributed to family or child dysfunctioning. On the other hand, teachers believe that victimization is the outcome of school climate and organization and is not related to family dysfunctioning, child's personality or any form of developmental psychopathology.

However, relevant studies reveal that victims report high levels of anxiety and depression. Also, it is worth noting that in some cases victims turn to perpetrators and reversely and the bully-victims often manifest disruptive disorders or depression (Kumpulainen et al., 2001). If this proves to be the case, both victimization and bullying behaviors may be a sign of underlying psychopathology that may assist in the identification of children in need of psychological interventions.

In addition, teachers avoid to express negative emotions for both perpetrators and victims. However, negative feelings for perpetrators are more intense in cases teachers attribute the cause of the behavior to characteristics of the child, such as personality, level of intelligence or developmental disorders (e.g., Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder or Autism Spectrum Disorder). An interesting finding was that teachers expressed more sympathy for perpetrators than for victims, in all conditions of bullying, namely physical, verbal and relational. Therefore, it seems that when teachers deal with perpetrators, they experience more intense emotional reactions, either positive or negative, than when they deal with victims. This apparently contradictory findings may be explained if one takes into account teachers' causal attribution. Indeed, teachers may dislike students who hinder the lesson, but at the same time they may sympathize them, because they feel they need some form of intervention. In contrast to the present finding that teachers experience similar positive feelings for victims in all conditions of bullying, Yoon and Kerber (2003) report that empathy for victims was significantly less for relational bullying than for physical or verbal bullying.

Moreover, the present study showed that teachers feel equally responsible and self – efficient to deal with both perpetrators and victims in all forms of bullying. However, they showed greater intention to undertake action themselves or ask external agents for cooperation in order to deal with the perpetrators. Other studies (Byers et al., 2011) reveal that teachers with higher levels of self– efficacy were more likely to intervene in overt bullying incidents i.e., verbal and physical, but not covert incidents i.e., relational. Additionally, a greater percentage of the teachers handled bullying incidents by focusing on the bully and ensuring that the bully

was suitably punished. Teachers' perceived self-efficacy in handling bullying is an important factor to be taken into consideration with responding to and handling bullying. Research revealed that some teachers did not feel confident in their ability to resolve bullying incidents and that this had an effect on their willingness and ability to involve themselves in dealing with bullying (Mishna et al., 2005; Boulton, 1997).

Conclusively, in accordance with other studies, the present study demonstrated that although teachers consider physical bullying as the main form of bullying, they do not show any differences in their emotional reactions as well as feelings of responsibility and self – efficacy in dealing with each incident. However, differences were observed in teachers' reactions towards the victim and the perpetrator. In particular, teachers experience more intense feelings, positive and negative, for the perpetrator than they victim and they are more willing to take actions or ask external agents for help, in order to copy with them. These results reveal the necessity for in-service training aiming to raise awareness among teachers that both victims and perpetrators need some form of intervention, since both may suffer from some form of psychopathology.

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Chapter 26

BULLYING VIA VIOLENT COMMUNICATION BY EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION TEACHERS DURING TEACHING PROCESSES: TWO OBSERVATIONAL STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

The teaching process is actually a multi-communication process like a puzzle picture consisting of numerous communication interactions among participants. The teaching process may be interesting or not, pleasant or unpleasant, friendly or hostile etc. depending mainly on the teacher's attitude, his/her verbal expressions and nonverbal behavior in the classroom. Especially the words teachers utilize while teaching students of early childhood, the tone of their voice and body language may create positive or negative classroom conditions which affect the relationships developed among the teacher and the attending children.

This chapter, based on two observational studies of teachers' communication behavior during teaching processes, focuses on the way they prefer to communicate in the classroom. It also examines teachers' verbal expressions in classroom as well as their body language, a basic nonverbal communication aspect, affecting the relationships among classroom participants especially in early childhood school units. Moreover, emphasis is put on teachers' verbal expressions and nonverbal behavior that may help lead children in addressing bullying and oral violence as teachers are usually considered role models especially for early childhood pupils.

Keywords: bullying, violent communication, kindergarten, early childhood, teaching/instructional style

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INTRODUCTION

Are you a teacher of early childhood children or do you have any teaching experience regarding that age group? If the answer is yes, you may know that you have to deal with many difficulties on a daily basis apart from the many enjoyable and cute moments especially when the children are being collaborative following the common rules of teaching like active listening, participating, silent attending etc.

Also, you may know that using negative remarks to correct a child's misbehavior such as speaking and laughing loudly, during the lesson is considered to be unproductive. In such cases, teachers may remark and reprimand the child as well as sternly looking at them. Moreover, a teacher could normally discourage inappropriate behavior that disrupts the teaching by using different facial expressions. When the child does not stop the behavior that is disrupting the class, teachers usually become upset and express negative feelings towards him/her, hurting their relationship and reducing the initial confidence, the child may have established with his/her teacher.

Situations like that previously mentioned, present a very simple example which shows a kind of violent communication expressed by the teacher in an early childhood classroom, even though teacher as s/he is a beloved person for the children should never develop such a behavior; even more during classroom teaching processes. On the other hand, communication in relationships between teachers and students, as shown by a large number of related studies, must be characterized at least by calmness, courtesy and mutual respect. Violent communication has no place and role in teaching processes. Teachers should never show such hurtful behavior which is considered to be a hidden violence equal to verbal and nonverbal bullying (Stamatis, 2011; Kodakos and Stamatis, 2002; Edwards and Edwards 2001; Richmond and McCroskey, 1997).

The relevant bibliography stresses that both the process and the content of communication developed between a child of early childhood and a teacher in the classroom, as well as other factors such as interpersonal relationships, communicative style, tone of voice, posture and body language in general, along with the vocal shades and sound fluctuations of the teacher or the pupil, may create the special communication feature of every pedagogical interaction (Vrettos, 2014; Kodakos & Polemikos, 2000; McCroskey, 1996). This feature may positively or negatively contribute to the classroom climate development. It may even exude or be inspired by positive or negative emotions that improve or hinder the effectiveness of classroom communication. In general, it is well known that effective communication during the teaching process generates considerable results in learning, relationship building and academic performance of children (Hadzigeorgiou, 2014; Stamatis, 2013).

On the contrary, the lack of effective communication usually causes tension, irritation and conflict among classroom interactants which may lead to school bullying or even to four types of child abuse, namely, *physical*, *emotional*, *sexual*, and *neglect* (Tell et al., 2006). Physical abuse is the threat of or act of physical violence against the child by another person. Emotional abuse involves coercive verbal and nonverbal behavior such as insults or slamming doors, not directed at the child's physical body but at their emotions and feelings of self-worth. Sexual abuse is forced or coerced sexual behavior imposed on the child by an older person. Neglect is the denial of basic human care that is required by the child in order to live a healthy life. Neglect can be either emotional or physical.

Any type of violence or abuse may be defined as the ability to impose one's will on another person through the use of verbal or nonverbal acts, or both, in a way that violates socially acceptable standards inflicting physical or psychological pain, injury, or suffering. The range of abusive behavioral patterns includes mild forms of verbal intimidation, severe beatings, and extremely violent rapes and homicides. Violence ranges from carefully planned attacks to sudden emotional outbursts inflicting injury on other persons. Abuse is usually marked by a power differential with the abuser in a superior position of power over the abused (Cahn & Lloyd, 1996).

Within this framework, violent communication or communication which includes violence could be defined as a form of communication which restricts liberty, denies recognition of needs, diminishes a person's worth and/or blocks compassion. This kind of communication is often the result of manipulative or coercive language that induces fear, guilt, shame, praise, blame, duty, obligation, punishment, and/or reward. Bearing in mind that communication is a social skill which aims at good human relationship establishment, violent communication or communication enclosing apparent or hidden violence through verbal or nonverbal processes is not a genuine form of communication after all. Actually, it could be characterized as "para-communication" which, in this case, involves evil intentions and purpose or hypocritical communication and miscommunication, as well. Referring to the relationship between violence and communication, Blumenthal (2006) aptly argues that "violence is a communication at such a primitive level that it bypasses thought altogether, and consequently the dialogue between the victim, the perpetrator and society occurs largely at a level that is beyond awareness." p. 4.

Violent communication usually occurs, when someone utters offending words or phrases aiming at hurting someone else. Violent communication may be present even while thinking, through self-talk or imagined conversations; and during the process of listening, when someone abuses the ears of another person due to loud voice. As correctly mentioned in a paper recently published by Heartland Community College, common ways that violent communication occurs are through:

- a) *Moralistic judgments and evaluations of others* which include insulting, putting people down, labeling, criticizing, diagnosing, or viewing someone as "wrong."
- b) *Denial of responsibility for our own feelings, thoughts, and actions* which includes blaming our feelings, thoughts, and actions related to others, vague and impersonal forces, authority, policies, rules, regulations, social or gender roles, or uncontrollable impulses instead of our own choices and needs.
- c) *Demands* which include an implied or explicit threat of blame, punishment, or reward, and
- d) *Blocking compassion* when someone's behavior revolves around intellectual understanding leading to an effort to "fix" a situation by providing feedback which advises about one's ups and downs, sympathizes with, educates, consoles, tells a story, corrects, explains, or interrogates a person.

Basic human needs are similar to those presented in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, namely, physical well-being, connection, honesty, entertainment, peace, autonomy, meaning, etc. (Maslow, 2011). There are basic human needs that we all share as opposed to specific actions we would like others to take. Violent communication does not belong to the basic human needs.

On the contrary, what humans need is nonviolent communication which suggests that people must contribute to their own and others' well-being at any time with no hesitation or personal profit. The development of nonviolent communication, especially in early childhood classroom environments, increases the likelihood of mutual giving and receiving because it assists children and teachers on recognizing and fostering the joy one feels when he/she meets the basic human need of contributing to their own and others' well-being. In that way, people who accept nonviolent communication as a better way of living, keep themselves far away from any kind of abuse or bullying, so as we can use a modern and alternative term for describing aggressiveness in school and society.

In case that a worldwide acceptable definition about nonviolent communication should be reached, one can take into consideration what Rosenberg (2015) has stressed about this topic: "Nonviolent communication is a 'compassionate' communication process, is communication that maximizes liberty, enhances understanding of the relationship between feelings and needs, promotes equality, and creates compassion. It involves understanding that our feelings are a result of our basic human needs being met or unmet. When our needs are met, we feel 'positive' emotions, such as joy, delight, confidence, inspiration, etc. When our needs are unmet, we feel 'negative' emotions, such as annoyance, tension, fatigue, yearning, etc."

Teachers of early childhood students know that not only nonviolent communication but also social skills development in the classroom like emotional intelligence, collaborative learning strategies etc., can be regarded as the corrective aspect of discipline, thus, preventing inappropriate behavior of learners (Van der Merwe, 2016; Stamatis, 2015). If someone speaks in a violent way to others, they may do what the former demands because of fear, guilt, shame, praise, blame, duty, obligation, punishment, or reward. Although someone could control others' behavior in this way, it is always preferable to communicate nonviolently with them. Furthermore, it is proper to communicate every time with calmness, compassion and politeness avoiding bullying patterns provided unwillingly or/and subconsciously (Stamatis & Nikolaou, 2016). That might easily happen, in cases of teachers in early childhood education dealing daily with children at a sensitive age on the personality development process.

It is well known that in-school violence and bullying are being studied in various forms in contemporary academic reality worldwide. One such form is related to the communication behavior that teachers develop through verbal or nonverbal communication during teaching. Another one relates to the communication behavior children express to teachers, classmates or their parents. By investigating or studying violent communicative behavior and bullying situations that occur in schools, educators and psychologists reveal various factors related to those behavior, which are mainly dependent on the psychological and emotional state of individuals who develop such manners. Also, experts examine the levels of stress that may be experienced by students and teachers due to the increasing demands of the educational system, the parental expectations for their children's academic and social excellence, or the desired achievements for teachers or the school unit where educational fees are required.

Violent communication gives birth to bullying. Instead, effective and nonviolent communication interactively and positively affects interpersonal relationships of each school's community members and consequently the school climate, academic performance, and many other parameters and activities of the educational process. Therefore, the issue of violence manifested in in-school communicative behaviors at all educational levels (preschool, primary, secondary and tertiary education), becomes particularly interesting among all researchers in the scientific fields of psychology, sociology, pedagogy and communication education. It becomes

even more intriguing for scholars, when it is linked to bullying and violent communication developed by verbal expressions and nonverbal behavior of early childhood teachers during the process of teaching.

Considering what has already been mentioned within the framework of the above theoretical issues, two observational studies provide evidence about violent communication and bullying presented through verbal expressions and nonverbal behavior of early childhood teachers during teaching processes. Study 1 aims to shed light on some types of communication behavior which are developed by preschool and early primary school teachers examining whether violent communication and bullying take place, consciously or not, during teaching processes. The summary of this study which was initially published in 2017 in the *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*, volume 6, pages 166-171 is presented below. Study 2 inspects some forms of nonverbal communication behavior developed by preschool teachers in regard to communication violence and bullying during the teaching process of a painting activity.

STUDY 1

Purpose

This study, based on observations of teachers' communication behavior during teaching processes, focuses on the way they choose to communicate with children as well as their verbal expressions regarding the classroom climate conditions (Stamatis, 2017). In addition, the study examines the teachers' nonverbal behavior, which affects the relationships among classroom participants in the school environment. Emphasis is put on verbal expressions and nonverbal behavior of teachers that may lead to violent communication and bullying since teachers (and parents), more than anyone else, can be behavioral patterns/models, especially for children of early childhood.

Method

This study was conducted by P. J. Stamatis in May 2017. The whole project was based on the principles of research ethics and on techniques of an observational study as the present study could be classified. The *sample* of this study consisted of six (6) preschool teachers working in six kindergarten classrooms, where one hundred and fourteen (114) preschoolers (aged 4-6, 52 boys, 62 girls) attended the lessons and four (4) elementary school teachers working in primary school classrooms, where ninety (90) pupils (aged 7-8, 47 boys, 43 girls) attended the lessons. All teachers were women. All kindergartens and elementary schools of this study were situated in the City of Rhodes Island in Greece. The *data collection* instrument of the study was based on observations of the preschool and elementary school teachers concerning their communication behavior during the teaching process. Basic elements of teachers' communicational behavior were included on a specific data sheet where the researcher marked the appropriate communication behavior which could appear in any face-to-face interaction among a teacher and a child.

The researcher had to tick the appropriate box, recording the communication behavior of the teacher related to violence such as: (a) using words that offend children or sound sarcastic or ironic (verbal violent signs), (b) pinches, hits, pushes, pulls or angry facial expressions and mood (nonverbal violent signs); and (c) speaking loudly or nervously, screaming etc. (para-verbal violence signs). The teachers' behavior observation was decided to be the main methodology for the present research data collection. The whole concept was based on a cross-sectional study technique which took place in ten classrooms focusing on the communication behavior of every teacher-participant during ten teaching processes each lasting thirty (30) minutes. Teachers were informed about the theme of the present study and the terms of its conduction. The anonymity of the teachers was assured. The final conclusions were mainly based on the analysis and interpretation of the gathered quantitative and qualitative data produced by observations, as the following results show.

Results and Discussion

As the quantitative data analysis shows, only a few of each violence signs category (verbal, nonverbal, para-verbal) has been disclosed in every classroom. Most of these violent communication signs are related to nonverbal communication, followed by para-verbal and finally verbal communication. Bearing in mind that during a time period of thirty (30) minutes at least sixty (60) interpersonal interactions may be developed, someone could assume that the number of violent communication signs observed in teachers' communication behavior is not very high. Of course, if this number is compared to pedagogical concerns demanding zero violent communicative behavior in the classroom, it can be claimed that it becomes extremely and unexpectedly high. These kind of issues cannot be approached only by a quantitative point of view but also a qualitative one, which –even though it has been carried out- is not presented at the results of this chapter. Many of the results presented later in this chapter include statements' configuration based on the interpretation of all research data combined with communicative behavior displayed in the classrooms. The research on communication behavior issues faces many difficulties, as is well documented. One of them is the interpretation of body signs and messages.

According to the related bibliography about the ways of nonviolent communication behavior development through interpersonal interactions, every communicator should consciously choose the right words, body language and vocal signs to send out messages to the other person so as to effectively communicate with each other (Miller, 2015; Cahn & Abigail, 2014; Evans 2010). Especially in a school environment where teachers and children of all ages develop thousands of interpersonal interactions during the day, everybody –mostly the teachers- should be extremely careful about the way they express themselves. Knowing that even a word, a glance or an inappropriate voice tone may cause an immense trauma to the soul of a child, every single teacher should hinder his/her violent communicative behaviors and consequently the development of violent communication in every way (Stamatis, 2013). If a teacher working with early childhood students avoids to restrain his/her behavior in such a way they may traumatize the children, destroying trustfulness and any positive feeling they had already developed (Stamatis, 2015).

An interesting finding during the classroom observation has been the types of reactions developed by the teachers when realizing the inappropriateness of their verbal, nonverbal and/or para-verbal behavior. Teachers seemed to try hard to erase that bad moment from the children's minds –especially the one involved in a bad interaction- by making positive comments, jokes, funny grimaces, facial expressions and vocal changes to sound friendlier and even hilarious. They obviously regretted the violent communication moment they had permitted to develop. Both quantitative and qualitative results of this research may lead to the following conclusions taking into consideration the limitations and strengths mentioned below.

Conclusion

The analysis and interpretation of this research's results shows that all teachers convey violent communication behavior signs during their interpersonal interactions with children and classroom activities even at low levels. Such behavior is usually displayed to children who are not really collaborating with the teacher or their classmates, or those children who do not follow teacher's instructions at once. Hence, according to the study's findings and analysis, all teachers consciously or spontaneously show some kind of violent communication which is conveyed by violent communication signs created verbally, nonverbally or/and para-verbally. Most of them are nonverbal signs related to eye contact, facial expressions and grimaces. Verbal violent signs were less when comparing to the signs of the other two categories. This is possibly due to the fact that teachers usually better understand the use of speech than that of body language. Even more significant is the expression of para-verbal violent communication signs related to vocal characteristics. Those characteristics are quite evident in Arabian, Latin and Mediterranean cultures including the Greek one.

The experienced teachers seemed to regret disclosing their violent communication signs knowing that in this way they harm the interpersonal relationship in the classroom, and in general the climate quality. Thus, as it was observed, once they understood their mistaken behavior they tried to change it by showing a friendlier and pedagogically acceptable one. During short discussions carried out after every observational procedure between the researcher and the participant teacher, it was made quite clear that teachers absolutely dislike using inappropriate words or making ugly grimaces and screaming to rebuke children, especially to those in early childhood. Sometimes, teachers develop such behavior because of some children's inappropriate behavior. They do not feel ready enough to manage difficult situations within the classroom when some children are not collaborative. Thus, they lose the control of their communication behavior temporarily.

Despite what teachers believe about violent communication in everyday classroom activities, research in this field is extremely interesting and useful. Since teachers are communication patterns/models for children, if they underestimate the communication behavior they display every day, they may harm some children for the rest of their lives by teaching them the wrong way to communicate. It is clear that the wrong way of communication is the one which gradually provokes violence and bullying which is exactly what educators, parents and society are trying to prevent all over the world.

STUDY 2

Purpose

The second study examines nonverbal communication behaviors developed by preschool teachers in regard to violent communication and bullying during the teaching process of a painting activity, thus the main purpose was similar to that of the first one. Specifically, the researcher tried to investigate whether or not preschool teachers develop nonverbal violent communication within the classroom while participating in the most beloved activity of young children, that of painting.

Method

This survey was conducted in eight (8) public kindergartens in the city of Rhodes, Greece, where eight (8) preschool female teachers participated. The average number of preschool children per classroom was eighteen (18). The *sample* of the study consisted of preschool teachers and children. The researcher, after consulting with the principals of kindergartens and obtaining permission from the local education authorities, attended eight (8) painting teaching activities (sessions) –one per classroom– focusing on the observation of the nonverbal communication behavior of preschool teachers at three different levels. At the first level, the observation examined the processes of organizing the activity, namely preparing and providing instructions for its implementation, focusing on the use of voice (vocalics). At the second level, the observation was focused on postures and movements of the body (proxemics and kinesics). At the third level, the observation was centered on the assessment of children's paintings, specifically on facial expressions of preschool teachers as well as the expression of their emotions. The duration of each activity was forty (40) minutes. The investigator kept notes about the levels of observations and the most prominent evidence of nonverbal behavior as expressed during each teaching activities. Observations were recorded in a special observation key-sheet (*data collection instrument*), which was constructed by the researcher, and included only quantitative reports about the expression of nonverbal behaviors at each stage of the teaching process. At the next stage of the research procedure (*data collection procedure*), after the teaching process termination, the researcher noted down the occurrence of any nonverbal behavior of the preschool teachers regarding the use of their voice, the movements and postures of their body and their facial expressions. In this way, research data were gathered and analysed. The findings and conclusions are presented below.

Results and Discussion

Several related studies conclude that preschool teachers express themselves nonverbally in a better way than teachers at higher levels of education (White, 2016; Stamatis, 2014). Therefore, what the researcher of this study anticipates to find out is whether this view is also verified by his own observation of the nonverbal expressions of preschool teachers regarding the three main stages of teaching activities as stated above. Thus, the researcher focused on the

way the preschool teachers use their voice, postures and movements of their bodies along with the expressions of their faces. As shown in Table 1, which depicts the quantitative data gathered concerning nonverbal cues expression and their time duration and intention. The preschool teachers in all three phases of the teaching process express themselves nonverbally, with great ease and comfort. As far as the use of voice is concerned, it has been observed that, as they appeal to early childhood kids, they speak slowly and calmly, coloring their tone of voice when needed, in order to make what they say more comprehensible and sufficiently understood.

Table 1. Descriptive data of preschool teachers' nonverbal cues shown during the teaching process of painting activities – Estimation of time duration in minutes

Nonverbal cues per 30 min. teaching	PT* 1		PT 2		PT 3		PT 4		PT 5		PT 6		PT 7		PT 8	
Interpretation of cues	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N
Voice & vocalics	18	1	15	3	24	5	21	2	24	3	18	2	20	1	19	1
Posture & kinesics	25	2	23	1	28	3	24	2	22	1	22	2	17	2	25	3
Facial expressions	18	4	24	2	19	1	20	3	19	2	25	1	23	1	17	1

PT: Preschool Teacher

P: Positive feelings according to interpretation of cues.

N: Negative feelings according to interpretation of cues.

In regards to the attitude and movements of the body, it was clear that preschool teachers were constantly mingling with the children, approaching, guiding and encouraging them to continue their painting while responding to their questions. Considering the facial expressions during the phase of paintings assessment, preschool teachers were using positive comments showing pleasant and supportive feelings, diligently avoiding any negative criticism. Their faces communicated great joy, admiration and satisfaction for the quality of every child's painting. These comments apply to almost all preschool teachers, although few exceptions were discovered.

Conclusion

As the results indicate, all preschool teachers effectively express themselves through a variety of nonverbal expressions during their teaching, trying to communicate with preschoolers in a comprehensive way. Thus, they utilize their voice in an attractive way to the children, speaking calmly and with clarity, changing the tone and pitch of their voice whenever necessary. At the same time, they move their bodies constantly walking among children, approaching them, touching and sitting next to them when children ask for their help. Moreover, they constantly express their feelings with facial expressions. It seems that the voice, the posture, the movements and the facial expressions of preschool teachers constantly emphasized their positive intentions and interest towards preschoolers, creating the conditions for a teaching process without communicative violence. All preschool teachers repetitively showed willingness for excellent communication development among mutual interactions, thus

providing a good example of communication to the children, teaching them how to cooperate by communicating calmly without any type of violence. Developing collaborative relationships in the classroom under these communicative conditions is a fundamental lesson for the children against school bullying.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

As it is known, an observational study produces inferences from a sample where the independent variable is not under the control of the researcher because of ethical concerns or statistical constraints. Furthermore, a cross-sectional study, which is related to an observational study, involves data collection from a population, or a representative subset, at one specific point in time. Bearing in mind both of these issues, everyone could effectively imagine the limitations and strengths of the above presented studies. As it has been noticed, although observational studies cannot be used as reliable sources to make statements about the "safety, efficacy, or effectiveness" of a practice, they can still be useful for several reasons such as providing information about the "real world" practice and formulating research questions to be tested in subsequent experiments etc. Thus, the enrichment of both the above studies with an observation of variables such as training of teachers on teaching processes, on instructional communication and nonviolent expressive practices (verbal and nonverbal) could provide a significant contribution to enriching the findings of educators' communication behavior in the classroom during teaching.

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Chapter 27

NONVERBAL EXPRESSIONS RELATED TO VIOLENT COMMUNICATION AND BULLYING IN KINDERGARTEN

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to examine the aggressiveness expressed by preschoolers in kindergarten and is manifested as school bullying. Specifically, this paper aims to record the main bibliographic references of nonverbal and vocal expression of preschoolers in anger situations and how those references are substantiated through surveys. The bibliography claims that school bullying doesn't occur unexpectedly, but there are apparent signs in behavior of preschoolers, that could be prevented before they occur.

This paper aims to record the reasons that positively contribute to the expression of aggressive behavior in preschoolers, the different forms of bullying and its causes. Additionally, they aim to propose indicative methods of treatment. In this way, knowing the causation of an attitude could become easier and more efficient to prevent and efface that attitude. Many researchers conclude that parents and nursery teachers should have to cooperate and constantly communicate with each other in order to significantly help preschoolers who display aggressive behavior in order to change it from becoming a violent one for the rest of their lives. Such conclusions are under consideration and discussion in present study.

Keywords: bullying, preschoolers, kindergarten, nonverbal communication, vocalics

INTRODUCTION

Over the last few years, an intense concern about school bullying has risen among preschoolers, pupils and adolescents. School bullying is directly related to people's inherent

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need for survival, while simultaneously being a feature of human behavior and an element of human nature. Already, since the beginning of human existence, in order to secure the basic needs of life, survival has been linked to the feeling of competitiveness (Donegan, 2012). The term “school bullying” has been established worldwide. Initially, this term was used as a description of aggressive behavior among students. However, nowadays, the term has been linked to violence and delinquency at school (Artinopoulou, 2002). In English, the term “bully” has been in use since 1530 describing the behavior of someone who was trying to scare a weak person. Bullying is the outcome of a bully’s aggressive behavior characterized by violence. According to Bouchard et al. (1996, p. 10), aggressive behavior is defined as “any act which, during an engagement, violates or threatens to violate the physical or psychological integrity of an individual”.. Initially, bullying is viewed as a person’s attempt to impose and dominate over someone else, as a repetitive and systematic act with a variety of harmful actions, such as pushing and destroying personal objects, but also as a deliberate and conscious desire to hurt and oppress someone, either occasionally or in the long run.

At present times, there are numerous definitions for bullying. A common parameter of individual definitions is the assumption that any act of behavior intended to physically or mentally harm the recipient is defined as an offensive act (Dodge, Coie & Lynam, 2007). Despite the fact that there are many similar definitions, all of them conclude that there are specific features of bullying. Those are:

- The existence of motives (intent)
- The impact of the act (pain)
- Duration (repetition)
- Strength (body build, but also family and social background)
- Provocation (provocative victims) (Lee, 2006).

Nowadays, school bullying is a new and modern social problem, which is in need of immediate intervention, in view of its eradication, as it significantly affects the early development of a child. This phenomenon has not occurred recently, but it has already existed since the beginning of mass education. Due to globalization it has sparked interest in recent years. This chapter seeks to present school bullying, occurring in kindergarteners, taking into consideration bibliographical references and surveys that have been conducted on this issue. However, both bibliographic references and studies on this subject are comparatively less than those related to older adolescents. According to studies, in both infancy and childhood, aggressive attitudes, (especially physical) are more frequent, but is gradually decreasing as age increases (Coie & Dodge, 1998). Furthermore, the main forms of school bullying, the causes of the phenomenon and finally, indicative ways of treatment are proposed.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC AND RESEARCH OVERVIEW OF THE PHENOMENON

According to researches, during infancy and childhood more aggressive behaviors are observed, which are dramatically raised during adolescence (Stamatis & Nikolaou, 2016). When children enter school reality, they are called to compete with their classmates, making the best possible school performance. On one hand, this practice introduces them into an

activation and mobilization process to project their best and to demonstrate their abilities, aiming to their superiority within the school environment. On the other hand, this situation produces opposite results, as children use unacceptable methods to characterize themselves in the competitive and social environment, resulting to these methods and practices of intimidation and bullying.

Between the ages of 2 to 5, children have low to moderate levels of aggression, characterized as normal and expected at this age (Alink et al. 2006; Tremblay et al., 1999). However, there is a percentage of 3 10% that will face high levels of aggression over time (Campbell et al., 2006; Broidy et al. 2003). Those children, who show high levels of aggression from a very young age, increase the rates to continue this kind of behavior throughout their childhood, adolescence and into adulthood (NICHD, 2004; Tremblay, 2000).

The first study published worldwide for school bullying was in 1970 by the Norwegian psychologist Daniel Olweus, who also created an intervention program with positive results. According to Olweus (1993; 1991), intimidation is a series of aggressive acts and/or behaviors that take place on a continuous basis and afflict a weak person. School bullying is characterized as a situation in which one student is exposed - repeatedly and for a long period of time - to negative and undesirable acts and situations caused by a student or a group of his or her classmates intended to cause some injury, harm or even negative emotions. All these negative behaviors include, actually, harmful communication processes and are based on violence.

According to Murphy's study, 22% of students are afraid of meeting specific classmates that will bully them. Thus, they avoid being in three or more specific places at school (2009). Also, 5% of pupils are absent from school one or more times a month in order to avoid victimization.

What is more interesting to study and record, is the way infants manifest their aggression, causing school intimidation. School bullying can occur in various forms. According to Coie and Dodge (1998) and Crick and Grotpeter (1995), it can be either physical or verbal. More specifically, physical intimidation can be manifested by bumping, biting, punching, hair pulling and spitting. On the contrary, verbal intimidation - as a more direct and frequent form of intimidation - is manifested through abusive or derisive expressions, with rude comments, ironic, sarcastic expressions, mockery, insulting teasing, nicknames and other attitudes related to violent communication. Violent communication contributes to the development of various forms of aggression and bullying (Stamatis, 2017).

According to Guerra et al. (1995) and Goldstein, Tisak and Boxer (2002), who have studied the phenomenon of apparent aggression at preschool age, this form of aggression is more common. This age is the most appropriate time for early prevention and treatment of the phenomenon so that it does not continue and above all, spread.

What is more interesting, however, is the aggressiveness that takes place non-verbally at this age, yet to be recorded. Moreover, studying the threatening signs that children may be demonstrating at this tender age would be interesting, but above all, the way that their anger is manifested should be recorded. According to Ekman & Friesen, anger is one of the six basic feelings (1971) and according to Russell, anger differs from culture to culture in how it is expressed (1991). However, the non verbal expression of anger can be universally comprehensible, since the pain it causes cannot be overlooked in any civilization.

Most research that has been conducted is focused on the apparent aggression in preschoolers. Apparent aggression is defined as the actions of physical aggression, such as hitting, pushing, biting, throwing objects, kicking and threats to carry out the above operations,

in order to harm a person, using physical expedients (Coie & Dodge, 1998; Crick & Grotpeter, 1995). Apparent aggression is by definition the use of insulting words against another infant in order to cause pain (Goldstein, Tisak & Boxer 2002).

As preschoolers spontaneously, without hesitation and wicked thoughts, express their feelings, apparent aggression increases among preschoolers, compared to other ages (Stamatis, Papavasileiou & Ntouka, 2013). The research conducted by Guerra, Tolan, Huesmann, Van Acker and Eron (1995), and Goldstein, Tisak and Boxer (2002), has shown that children displaying apparent aggression in kindergarten maintain this behavior as they grow, forestalling the difficulties that these children will face later in their social life. The apparent aggression that occurs in infancy does not require the development of linguistic and cognitive skills and thus its manifestation is easily observed (Renouf, Brendgen & Perent, 2010; Bonica et al. 2003).

SCHOOL BULLYING IN KINDERGARTEN

School bullying could not unfortunately leave the area of Kindergarten unaffected. Besides, according to the research of Hasan, Drolet and Paquin, the highest incidence of aggression is at the age of three (2003). Children, after three to four years of exclusive residency at home, are asked to adapt to a new place, away from the family's safety. In the Kindergarten area, they must learn to share objects, coexist with their classmates and participate in group activities, activities that they did not do before. According to Estrela, both the problematic and the disobedient behavior of children are a reaction strategy to the classroom conditions and the behavior of the nursery teacher (1986). In this way, they want to declare their desire for meaningful interpersonal communication with the nursery teacher.

The problematic and the aggressive behavior can greatly influence the smooth development of teaching. Often, such behaviors are manifested by disobedience to the nursery's instructions and the indifference to participate in school activities. Preschoolers express their anger mainly through disagreements, they speak harshly either to their peers or even to their nursery teacher. They purposely provoke with their behavior, being disobedient and irritable. They behave in a hostile way, are willing to destroy various objects around them and they have outbursts of niggling and negativity. They do not ask for permission to talk, but the "pop in" at the nursery's questions, disturbs and interrupts his/her peers when they speak and get involved in verbal debates.

In some cases, preschoolers also express their anger by using nonverbal expressions. In these cases, anger occurs mainly by frowning, tightening or gritting of the teeth and there are cases where anger reveals itself with constant staring on the eyes (Papadaki-Michaelides, 2008). Also, the inner points of the eyebrows are pulled together downwards with the eyes really open and with the lips are either pressed or opened and exposing teeth. In fact, children at this age are quite assertive and react rather strongly if something that they claim is denied to them. At this age they know how to cause pain and harm, regularly using their teeth, wiping and injuring other children, or destroying a toy. They also do not intend to cooperate and participate in collective activities, while trying to disturb other children of the class.

Less interest in attending school is usually observed, or even denial in order to avoid unwanted meetings. Preschoolers who have been bullied, refuse to engage in any activity and are attached to their nursery teacher or other teachers during the break time. In some cases,

preschooler – victims develop psychosomatic problems such as headache and bellyache, without pathological causes. Even preschoolers, who simply observe a bullying episode, feel fear and anxiety, in view of the fear that something similar may happen to them. They also feel guilty, because they did not do anything to help their classmate. Some of these preschoolers may develop bullying behaviors in the future, since they imitate at this age (Stamatis & Nikolaou, 2016).

The nursery teacher may understand that a child is being bullied by other signs. Many times children-victims are characterized by low self-confidence and feel they do not deserve respect and acceptance. These preschoolers often remain alone during the break time and they just observe their classmates. They do not claim objects in the classroom, which is something normal for their age, they show increased introversion and lack of social skills, such as fluency and social discussions (Ntouka, 2017).

There are also signs of aggression, which are considered to be normal at this age. These are signs of the physical aggression of this age, which are eliminated as the preschooler grows. These signs are biting, kicking, stinging, pushing, pulling others' hair and taking others' place on the playground. The most worrying signs are when they pretentiously mock, reveal others' secrets, exclude their peers from plays, collective games and activities, use nicknames and finally the embarrassment of public humiliation (PrevNet).

However, aggression is often confused with disobedience, opposition and contradiction. Preschoolers usually become disobedient when they are tired, stressed or upset, which are situations that are part of the normal maturation of preschoolers. Nevertheless, when disobedience evolves into frequent objections and contradictions, it can arise problems in relationship among the preschooler and their nursery teacher, their classmates and their parents, but also to themselves and gradually develop intense aggression which will lead to school intimidation.

On the other hand, aggression can be expressed in two forms, the direct and indirect - element aggression. As direct aggression is defined as hostile aggression that deliberately hurts others, validating its dominance. Preschoolers express their aggression because they want to hurt their peers and in general they have an aggressive attitude. Indirect - element aggression is defined as the situation in which a preschooler provokes indirect harm to other preschoolers while trying to acquire and mention exclusive sovereignty over an entitlement or object, such as a toy (Cole & Cole, 2001).

According to Hinshaw et al. (1992), a preschooler's school performance is associated with attention and academic performance problems in elementary school. It can also be associated with antisocial attitude and behavioural disorders.

SCHOOL BULLYING FORMS

There is no universal manifestation of school bullying. On the contrary, it can obtain a variation of forms. According to Rigby, there are three forms of school bullying, which can take place either directly, through the interpersonal contact of the victim and the victimizer, or indirectly, without any personal conflict (2005). Those three forms are verbal bullying, physical bullying and the use of gestures. Verbal form of bullying takes place with the use of offensive vocabulary, the use of nicknames, humiliation, hideous teasing and intense mockery. Indirect

verbal bullying happens by introducing a third person to insult or even exploit another child. Spreading false rumors, making anonymous phone calls with offensive vocabulary, sending threatening messages, etc. are some expressions of indirect verbal communication bullying (Stamatis, 2017). The direct physical expression of bullying involves physical attacks by kicking, spitting and throwing objects, while indirect physical expression takes place by deliberately and unfair exclusion of their classmates from activities, as well as abduction and hiding personal belongings. Lastly, the direct expression of school bullying through gestures involves threatening moves and persistent glances, while the indirect expression of this, involves the repeated aversion of the person or gaze, in such a way that the child - victim may feel as an intruder.

International literature makes the following divisions of school bullying:

- *Verbal*. It is one of the most direct and common forms of school bullying. It includes the use of abusive and mockery expressions, nicknames, threats, teasing, rude and ironic comments, etc. However, it is a form of bullying that is difficult to be settled, as there is not enough accumulative evidence, but only testimonies by attendees (Van Niekerk, 1993).
- *Emotional*. This is an indirect form of bullying, including threats and extortions, the spread of false and unsubstantiated rumors, and even derisive comments for a child's nationality, race and religion. It also includes the deliberate distancing of friends and isolation (Neser et al., 2003).
- *Psychological*. It is also an indirect form of bullying where child-victims repeatedly and deliberately experience exclusion from social and group activities and exclusion from games during the break time. Similar to the emotional bullying malicious remarks and mockery of the victim(s) are taking place (Krige et al., 2000).
- *Physical*. This is the most direct form of school bullying, involving physical violence, bumps, bites, strokes, theft of personal property, etc. This form is directly related to muscle strength and the physical build of the child – victimizer. For this reason, smaller children are often being bullied by children from older classes (Leach, 1997).
- *Social*. In social bullying children are intentionally excluded from social activities and this kind of bullying may be either direct or indirect. The former refers to the systematic exclusion, indifference and isolation of the victim, while the latter is perceived by the victim only if they attempt to participate in any group (Coloroso, 2003).
- *Racist*. In this form, bullying is expressed verbally, emotionally or physically. The main purpose of this kind of bullying is the victim's insult due to either the origin or social class or the financial situation of his family. It generally refers to the difference between the child - victim and the majority of the children.
- *Bullying with bullying*. Another form of bullying that occurs in kindergarten and is expressed by destroying the victim's material objects and by detaching his/her objects. Those actions are accompanied by threats and extortions and by forcing them to participate in undesirable antisocial acts (Tsiantis, 2008).

- Finally, there are also *cyber* bullying and *sexual* bullying, two forms of bullying that do not fall within the research interest of this article, since they appear extremely rare in kindergarten.

CAUSES OF SCHOOL BULLYING

An important parameter is also the recording of the causes that provoke the aggressive behavior of preschoolers. Some of these causes are:

- Potential family problems and/or changes: financial problems, divorce, removal, bereavement, even the birth of a new member.
- Pursuit of attention: preschoolers seek the attention of either their parents or nursery teachers in any way, which may even be an aggressive act.
- Imitations of standards: the family, school and social environment with which the preschooler is in contact, comprise (constitute) the institutes from which the preschooler will copy and adopt patterns and behaviors.
- Psychological characteristics of preschoolers: the personality of each preschooler plays a key role in whether they will receive school bullying or not.
- Social and Cultural Criteria: preschoolers are often the most rigorous judges, targeting children of lower social class with obvious changes in their appearance, as well as children of different cultural groups.
- Lack of participation in extracurricular activities: children often suffer from intense anxiety, which is vented into their classmates, if this anxiety is not decompressed in creative activities.
- Gender: the victimizer is usually a boy.

Thus, it seems that preschoolers express their anger in order to avoid painful situations and feelings that may be caused by low self-esteem, isolation, anxiety and failure, i.e., situations in which preschoolers do not have any control. Also, the outburst of anger can be a result of regret or even depression.

INDICATIVE METHODS OF BULLYING TREATMENT

Often, many parents and preschool teachers who interact with aggressive preschoolers wonder about the methods and ways in which these children could be supported, by limiting and eliminating those behaviors. Initially, the primary concern of those who wish to help is to honestly want to help and not to punish the child. Also, any positive action of the kids should be welcomed and strengthened, ignoring and not commenting on their negative and bad behavior.

Nursery teachers, as the first persons who will observe an aggressive episode, should immediately intervene. They should try to strengthen the self-confidence of a child-victim and

to develop strategies which will help those children. They should also design a personalized approach plan with alternative approaches, such as paintings and role-playing games, in order to express their feelings and anger in a health way. They should try to strengthen friendship and solidarity among classmates and discuss with the children about the appropriate ways of verbal and nonverbal expression, thus preventing any aggressive behavior.

An essential role is also played by the effective contact with the preschoolers. A touch or a friendly pat on the back are capable of positively boosting the preschooler and giving him the attention he/she needs. Also, verbal expression of preschoolers should be enhanced to discuss their feelings and problems by avoiding negative behaviors. Even setting limits is a positive practice of helping preschoolers effectively, while parents and nursery teachers should be positive role-models for children.

The collective organization of the class and the collective formulation of rules for routine procedures may also play a positive role in the prevention of the phenomenon. The preschool teacher should still try to actively involve these preschoolers in the learning process and develop positive interpersonal relationships in the classroom. Creative preoccupation of preschoolers, either by building a visual work or by preparing a theatrical performance, can positively influence the behavior of more aggressive preschoolers.

Finally, the active involvement of the preschoolers' parents and their good communication with preschool teachers, is a vital part of the effort to reduce or even eliminate school bullying. Parents should be actively engaged in the educational process; for instance, by developing seminars and lectures as speakers on topics they know and which may be about their profession, personal interests or even their talents.

CONCLUSION

It should be said that the preschool age is the most appropriate age for early prevention, recognition and dealing with the phenomenon of school bullying, so as to avoid perpetuation and its deterioration (Rubin et al., 2003; Denham et al., 2002; Huesmann & Moise, 1999; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1998). According to Walker, Colvin and Ramsey, an intervention program, which is appropriately designed to reduce and eliminate the phenomenon, is more likely to have an effect if it occurs until the age of eight (1994). If it is not resolved until this age, preschoolers run the risk to grow and become part of antisocial and delinquent situations.

In conclusion, there are preschoolers in need of help rather than be labeled "bad" preschoolers. All of this aggressive behavior that manifests and leads to school bullying, is the result of interactions within their environment, while combining their individual characteristics. What should be said and comprehended is that each preschooler is a separate case and needs to be assessed by a personalized intervention program. Not all behaviors should be treated in the same way, nor do they show aggression in the same manner. Nonviolent communication is considered to be the key of bullying control in every educational environment, and even more in kindergarten. The way that preschool teachers and parents talk to preschoolers, accompanied with the nonverbal behaviors and attitudes they show to them, is very critical for their present and future perception about bullying behaviors and the consequences it has to themselves and others. Treatment of such behaviors should be an educational target and the whole school unit

should deal with it collaboratively. The prevention and intervention techniques of such problematic situations should be used systematically, rather than being treated fragmentarily when aggressive behavior is already shown.

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Chapter 28

CLASSROOM NOISE AND MISCOMMUNICATION AS MODERN FORMS OF VIOLENT COMMUNICATION AND BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

Classroom noise is a key parameter of teaching efficiency and learning because it is related to the classroom climate. On the one hand, the teacher's request to teach in a calm environment without being disrupted by noises of any origin, and on the other hand the students' right to attend the lesson in a quiet environment without voices and other distracting noises, are fundamental factors for ensuring qualitative and effective teaching. Over the course of time, the issue of classroom noise has raised concerns among teachers and the global academic community, which has scientifically and thoroughly highlighted its dimensions and negative effects on educational, psychological and biological aspects. This paper discusses the implementation of communication rules in a kindergarten can gradually achieve noise reduction in the classroom by eliminating miscommunication and para-communication. Kindergarten teachers and parents of early childhood children in expressing their views on this issue claim that communication rules should be implemented in early childhood classrooms especially during the teaching processes. Similarities and differences regarding to teachers' and parents' opinions are discussed, to better understand context in which both educational partners are going to establish a collaboration for addressing the problem.

Keywords: classroom noise, miscommunication, violent communication, bullying, kindergarten, early childhood, communication

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INTRODUCTION

A few decades ago, teacher-centrism was a prevalent teaching process, some pedagogues, inobserving the classroom climate compared the classroom conditions to those of a “cemetery,” due to the total silence on the pupils’ part. Only the voice of the teacher who was constantly speaking could be heard, in his/her attempt to explaining the lesson in several tones of his/her voice, that is, by shouting, threatening or even insulting the students while trying to create and maintain a sense of order in the classroom. Whenever such behavior was inadequate, the teacher’s attempt was reinforced by corporal or other forms of punishment. Students did not dare to speak in the classroom without teacher’s permission. They were just silent attendants, listening to the speaking teacher without asking any questions for clarification or expressing their thoughts and feelings. Despite a few exceptions, this teaching climate prevailed for many centuries.

After a change in our perceptions regarding teaching, and with the prevalence of paidocentrism, the teaching climate changed completely, it was almost transformed. Pupils are thus encouraged to speak in the classroom during the teaching process in order to express their views, ask the teacher questions, or communicate with their classmates in the context of collaborative projects, etc. As a consequence, in the contemporary educational system, the role of the teacher has changed. It has become peripheral rather than central and quite different from what it traditionally was. The modern teacher organizes the teaching process, animates and guides pupils in order to facilitate the discovery of knowledge (Wong et al., 2014; Marzano, Marzano & Pickering, 2003).

Today, in most Western and Eastern countries, more and more students of all ages are encouraged to actively participate in the teaching process. More specifically, students are encouraged to speak, ask and express themselves rather than silently participate in instructional sequences. In short, they are encouraged to become active rather than passive attendants of what is taking place in the classroom. In some countries, children are trained from a very young age to acquire social and communication skills in order to render the learning process more effective and develop excellent interpersonal relationships in the future (Simon & Coopers, 2011; McCroskey, Richmond & McCroskey, 2006). As some surveys have shown, children with acquired social and communicative skills, generally show better academic performance than children without them (Linsin, 2013). Also, children with developed social skills become more acceptable and beloved by their teachers and classmates; they are more assertive and get less involved in situations of conflict and bullying (Stenberg & Williams, 2009).

Consequently, due to modern perceptions, schools no longer resemble a quiet cemetery but rather a bustling beehive, where, although countless bees come in and out and work incessantly, each of them undertakes the proportionate work in the most effective way, without bothering one another and raising any problem. Does this situation also apply to modern classrooms or does the generated noise by the communicative teachers and children disturb and create various problems during the teaching process? Does the lack of communication strategies, the avoidance of implementing communication rules in the school classroom help create an “anarchical framework” of communication which fosters misinterpretation, inconsistency and ultimately a modern “communicative Babel,” a communicative chaos within the classroom and education in general? In case this is true, with what educational dimensions can it be related and what problems can be raised within the school and its external environment as well?

Does communication confusion “fit” to the modern teaching processes and learning principles? Does this situation match the contemporary teacher’s role and educational objectives? Can the unregulated ability to communicate in the classroom be considered as a useful pedagogical strategy appropriate for the 21st century school or rather a modern form of para-communication which ultimately turns against both educators and pupils or even against education itself? Is it now high time the issue of communicative bullying was openly discussed as a covert form of verbal and nonverbal violence which helps develop aggressive or fearful personalities by promoting undemocratic perceptions in an indirect way, even in children of early childhood? This paper attempts to provide answers to the above questions, based on a relevant literature review along with an empirical study conducted in kindergartens.

BASIC PARAMETERS OF TEACHING CLIMATE FORMATION

The quality of the classroom climate is one of the most crucial factors contributing to the effective implementation of teaching strategies. Numerous relevant studies have highlighted the importance of this factor, stressing, as they did, the key role of interpersonal relationships - a positive contributor to the good climate in the classroom, in the case of both successful teaching and academic performance. Studies also report some additional aspects positively affecting the classroom climate such as appropriate teacher’s preparation, content, form and structure of subject matter, educational material’s suitability, physical arrangement of the classroom, and the teacher’s behavior in general, age and the readiness of students to attend a specific school subject, school culture, number of students attending each classroom, educational framework according to legislation, etc. The aspect of discipline within the classroom should also be considered, both during the development of teaching activities and pupils’ work (Nelsen, Lott & Glenn, 2013; Berg, 1987).

In school units where organization is not a fundamental prerequisite for the qualitative implementation of teaching and educational work, as is the case, for example, in many developing countries around the world, where, in the name of populist views about progressivism and democracy, discipline during the teaching process is considered to reflect a “fascist” perception that aims at oppressing children and transforming them into fearful and subdued personalities. Even the word “discipline” has been incriminated in terms of the educational language, as an obsolete word almost identical to the concept of fascism and anti-democratic perceptions. One could reasonably wonder at which point discipline and organization turn into negative concepts aspects for education. On the contrary, most surveys show that education without discipline and organization would provoke much more problems (Canter, 2009).

Concepts such as classroom management, classroom discipline, classroom assessment, discipline problems, etc. are key words for developing a variety of theories, teaching strategies and techniques for classroom’s control and ultimately for the improvement of interpersonal relationships in the classroom and the development of the social skills of self-discipline and broader discipline related to all commonly accepted rules inside and outside the classroom (Wong et al., 2014). Relevant studies have shown that effective classroom management results in positive outcomes for both pupils and teachers as it establishes and maintains an orderly classroom environment, increases meaningful academic learning and facilitates social and emotional development of children (Emmer & Sabornie, 2015; Crone, Horner & Hawken,

2004). Furthermore, effective management reduces negative behavior like disciplinary problems and increases time spent specifically for academic purpose. Chaotic classroom environments are a great issue for teachers and can contribute to high teacher stress and burnout rates, especially when there is no access to support by specialists, within work environment. Such specialists can be school psychologists, special education teachers, school counselors, school head masters and parents (Slavin, 2014; Brophy, 2006).

Despite discipline and respect for rules, an effective teaching process requires quietness, order and a constant focus on what is said and done in the classroom. When this is not the case, that is, when pupils are indifferent and get distracted during the lesson, the teaching process gets interrupted. Thus quietness and pupils' attention are absent from the educational process. In case pupils speak any time they want to with their classmates and mock each other, then the teacher has to intervene, setting aside the teaching activity. If teachers know how to manage such situations, they can restore peace and quietness, otherwise tension may increase, irritation can be created, the teaching process may get interrupted and the teaching process will probably fail leading to disappointed and frustrated teachers. Therefore, the level of classroom peace, which depends on the noise intensity during teaching, plays a vital role in teaching quality, good classroom climate development and, hence, effectiveness. Noise and disorder in the class favor the development of communication aggression, communicative violence, miscommunication and a climate which feeds school bullying. Not only is communication an extremely unpleasant situation that drastically inhibits the development of mutual understand and cooperation among the members of a working group, but it also contributes to conditions of rivalry, aggressiveness and conflict among pupils and/or teacher in the classroom environment.

CLASSROOM NOISE: A LITERATURE AND RESEARCH APPROACH

Noise is generally defined as unwanted sound since it can be perceived as unpleasant or bothersome; it interferes with activities or can even be physiologically harmful in a way (White, 2016). Noise is produced within the classroom where almost twenty five (25) pupils and a teacher are all working together with modern teaching methods much different from the traditional lecture-based methods. Nowadays, teaching methods focus on problem-solving. Students must be more interactive and work in groups during projects, thus, modern teachers should change their traditional role towards the one of a supervisor, guiding not lecturing (Boothroyd, 2011). Due to these changes most of the noise is likely to originate from human activities such as chatter and laughter and moving chairs and tables. Classroom noise is always a serious problem during the teaching process. A specific type of noise exposure in the classroom is produced by footsteps, chairs, tables, doors and building structure (structure-borne noise). Noise may be caused by indoor and outdoor sources, affecting pupils' and teachers' behavior (Landström et al., 2002).

Research has additionally proved that teachers working in classrooms with louder ambient noise, speak louder than those with lower noise levels. Voice varies generally less among teachers working under loud activity noise than others under lower noise levels. Ambient and activity noise affect teachers' voice use. Teachers seem to speak habitually loudly under loud ambient noise and their ability to react deteriorates under loud activity noise levels (Rantala, Hakala & Sala, 2015). Furthermore, it seems that noise can have detrimental effects upon

children's performance at school, including reduced memory, motivation, and reading ability. External noise was found to have a significant negative impact upon performance, with greater effect on older children (Shield & Dockrell, 2008). Children get particularly influenced by the noise generated by individual external events. Another research suggests that quieter noise can have varied effects upon students' learning and memory since low-level classroom noise distracts pupils' concentration from what teachers say (Sparks, 2015). Consequently, neither high-level classroom noise nor low-level one is suitable for effective teaching. Thus, a medium-level classroom noise might be more appropriate.

Classrooms are learning environments where children gather more than 70% of information through the process of listening alone (Pellow, 2004). Thus, it is not surprising that the better the listening to the teacher, the easier the learning. In classrooms around the world, noise has been identified as a problem for most pupils and teachers. As stressed in many related studies, when classrooms are too noisy there is a negative implication on effective communication among pupils and the teacher (Blake & Busby, 1994). In fact, if the background noise is louder than teacher's voice, it can sometimes render listening and learning very difficult especially for children with hearing impairments and learning disabilities (McLaren & Dickinson, 2009). Children's brains are not fully developed in terms of listening until they reach their early teenage, so early childhood pupils find it much harder to hear and understand their teachers especially when their voice gets mixed with various classroom noises. Contemporary teaching methods, namely group work and incidental learning, contribute to noise levels increase in the classroom as mentioned above. Open-plan learning can cause problems for all children, regardless of their hearing ability. Noise can interfere with concentration and speech perception, impairing educational outcomes. Research shows that young children need a quieter setting than adults in order to recognize speech. They cannot properly develop basic literacy and numeracy skills within an environment where they miss hearing key words, phrases and concepts.

Classroom acoustics interfere with effective communication along with hearing protection which is vital at a young age, to avoid a hearing crisis in the future. Thus, school architects must design or renovate classrooms in such a way so as to provide good listening conditions and regulate classroom noise. The best way to solve acoustic problems is prevention. During the design process, acoustic problems can usually be avoided with a bit of forethought and different building materials arrangement. Renovation of poorly designed classrooms is much more expensive. To protect children from all types of classroom noise teachers should better:

- Add acoustic surfaces. By placing carpets on the floor and acoustic tiles on walls, particularly on the ceiling, teachers can achieve impressive results related to noise and classroom sound quality control.
- Create some quiet zones. By using mats, removing tables and other sound-reflecting surfaces, hanging heavy curtains or replacing common windows' glasses with double glazing, noise-resistant zones can be formulated to protect classrooms from external noise.
- Manage the "café effect." Café places are too noisy as people speak loudly all together in an attempt to hear one another. In contrast, in the classroom everybody must speak quietly in the classroom so that they can all be pleasantly heard by their communication partners. Teachers should get children's attention by speaking calmly and quietly and

similarly, pupils have to be quiet so they can hear the teacher. Teachers must be informed about the benefits of quietness not only in the classroom but in the home as well.

- Adjust the program. Teachers may restrain from active and noisy teaching activities and adopt quieter ones explaining the benefits of speaking quietly and quietness at school and home.

The discussed issues of classroom acoustics are relevant throughout the world, so the claim of Berg, Blair and Benson (1996, p. 16) can perfectly sum up the existing literature: “classroom acoustics are generally overlooked in American education. Noise, echoes, reverberation, and room modes typically interfere with the ability of listeners to understand speech. The effect of all of these acoustical parameters on teaching and learning in school needs to be researched more fully. Research has shown that these acoustical problems are commonplace in new as well as older schools, and when carried to an extreme, can greatly affect a child's ability to understand what is said. The precise reason for overlooking these principles needs to be studied more fully. Recently, however, acoustic principles have been clarified, and technologies for measuring room acoustics and providing sound systems have become available to solve many of the acoustical problems in classrooms. Solutions are noise control, signal control without amplification, individual amplification systems, and sound field amplification systems.”

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

As Dreossi and Momensohn-Santos (2005) have stressed that “a lot has been spoken about noise, sound pollution, psycho-physic alterations in the human being due to the noise and, therefore, a lot of school professionals have been asking about the noise impact over the day-by-day educational activities developed in the school. Several mass communication means, such as newspaper, magazines, have published in their articles discussions and approaches about the disorders provoked by the noise on people who are daily in contact with noise. Most interestingly is that we don't even notice that we live with moderate noise daily and that it becomes our body's enemy. We can realize that even during pleasure activities we are exposed to strong intensities of noise and that people assume a passive posture, seeming not to be aware of its harmful effects and to avoid it.”

Within this framework and considering the fact that not adequate research into classroom noise in early childhood classrooms has been conducted, this study aims to investigate the opinions of kindergarten teachers and parents of preschool age children about the possibility or necessity of communication rules implementation during teaching activities. In this way it is expected that classroom communication will improve while miscommunication and para-communication among pupils and the teacher will diminish, resulting in high teaching quality standards. Any classroom without communication rules seems like an unorganized context where communication violence and communicative bullying can easily develop.

METHOD

This study was conducted in Greek public kindergartens, situated in different prefectures of the country. It commenced in October 2015 and was completed in January 2018. The study

was conducted within the framework of a research course titled: “Forms of communication in kindergarten: Psycho-pedagogical dimensions.” The course takes place during the winter semester in the Department of Sciences of Preschool Education and Educational Design of University of the Aegean under the surveillance of this paper’s author. The students who attended this course undertook the gathering of the present study data. The *sample* of the study consisted of one hundred and twenty (120) early childhood teachers and two hundred and twenty five (225) parents of children in early childhood. Most of the teachers who participated in the study had mainly teaching experience of twelve (12) years. The majority of them were women aged 36-40 years old. Most of the parents were mothers (N=198, 88%) aged 31-35 years old, housekeepers of middle-level education. The majority of fathers (N=27, 12%) were among 36-40 years old, middle-level educated and employees in private sector.

Teachers and parents were provided with a common questionnaire/statement sheet which was actually the main *data collection instrument*. It was designed by the researcher/author of this paper and consisted of thirty six (36) closed-ended questions/statements in total. Eighteen (18) of them were related to the expressive/spoken communication behavior of a child, seven (7) were related to the audience/listening communication behavior and eleven (11) were related broadly to communication behavior of the child inside the classroom. All statements dealt with a communication rule that could be implemented by pupils in the classroom, especially during the teaching process and activities. Some additional data related to personal traits of the sample was required. For the participating teachers this kind of data involved the gender, age and years of teaching experience. For the participating parents such data included the gender, age and number of children. The statement sheet is presented below in Table 1. Participants could choose between two choices, Agree (A) and Disagree (D), to express their opinion. All the answers were confidential.

Table 1. Communication Rules in Early Childhood Education – Statement sheet

Additional data for teachers and parents

Tick (✓) the appropriate empty square below:

Teachers												N=120
Gender	M	0	W	120								
Age	25-30	0	31-35	12	36-40	85	41-45	15	46-50	8	51-55	0
Teaching Experience	0-5		6-10	15	11-15	93	16-20	12	21-25		25-30	0
Parents												N=225
Gender	M	27	W	198								
Age	25-30	32	31-35	159	36-40	25	41-45	7	46-50	2	51-55	0
Children	1	46	2	141	3	28	4	8	5	2	6	0

During the *data collection stage*, the university students kindly asked from teachers and parents to voluntarily complete the questionnaire/statement sheet explaining them the purpose of the study, its significance, and procedure details without asking for the participants’ name as it was not required. The completion of the sheet was scheduled to take approximately 10 minutes, so as the participants would show undiminished interest while completing it. Participants could choose to complete the statement sheet either outside the kindergarten place

or at home, returning it to the students on the next day. Participants had the alternative to receive the statement sheet via email in order they have plenty of time for thinking about each statement content and provide an appropriate answer without time pressure.

Teacher's statements ○

Parent's statements ○

Tick (✓) the right box to state whether you Agree (A) or Disagree (D) with each statement below:

Part 1. Child's expressive/spoken communication behavior in the classroom

P1 RQ	In the classroom, during teaching a child should/must...	Teachers %		Parents %	
		A	D	A	D
1	speak only when appropriate.	25	75	55	45
2	speak only when it is his/her turn to speak.	53	47	77	23
3	speak calmly/quietly.	85	15	92	8
4	speak courageously.	86	14	94	6
5	speak politely.	87	13	96	4
6	speak after s/he raises a hand for teacher's permission.	85	15	87	13
7	request permission first and after its reception s/he can ask whatever s/he is interested to know.	84	16	87	13
8	ask further questions for anything s/he does not fully understand.	99	1	82	18
9	say what s/he believes slowly and clearly.	80	20	94	6
10	express what s/he feels slowly and clearly.	75	25	89	11
11	not say something that will annoy/harm a child or other children	63	37	58	42
12	be allowed to say something that may annoy/harm his/her teacher.	61	39	60	40
13	be allowed to say something that may annoy/harm his/her parents.	65	35	67	33
14	be allowed to mock, to revile and say «bad» words.	1	99	12	88
15	feel ashamed and fearful whenever s/he is going to speak.	1	99	10	90
16	think well what will say before s/he speaks.	40	60	60	40
17	be allowed to laugh loudly.	63	37	63	37
18	be allowed to scream.	13	87	25	75
19	listen carefully to what is being said at any time.	99	1	96	4

Part 2. Child's audience/listening communication behavior in the classroom

P2 RQ	In the classroom, during teaching a child should/must...	Teachers %		Parents %	
		A	D	A	D
20	listen carefully to what his/her teacher or classmates say.	99	1	99	1
21	look another person straight in the eyes when they talk.	60	40	66	34
22	think about what his/her teacher say.	97	3	94	6
23	think carefully about what his/her classmates say.	75	25	66	34
24	think carefully about what his/her parents say.	99	1	96	4
25	not laugh all the time when s/he communicates with another person.	73	27	77	23

Part 3. Child's broader communication behavior in the classroom

P3 RQ	In the classroom, during teaching in general, a child should/must...	Teachers %		Parents %	
		A	D	A	D
26	show respect.	99	1	96	4
27	think very well when being asked whether to provide an answer to a question or not.	72	28	77	23
28	know that it is important to collaborate with all classmates.	92	8	94	6
29	know that it is important to do what his/her teacher asks during the teaching process.	98	2	82	18
30	express his/her feelings non-verbally, using body language.	84	16	87	13
31	laugh when s/he listens to something hilarious.	87	13	77	23
32	express his/her feelings and laugh when s/he looks at beloved or friendly pupils.	89	11	94	6
33	not laugh with no reason.	75	25	84	16
P3 RQ	In the classroom, during teaching in general, a child should/must...	Teachers %		Parents %	
		A	D	A	D
34	be quiet and not bothersome in the classroom during teaching.	89	11	96	4
35	not be stubborn, attending silently the lesson inside the classroom.	73	27	87	13
36	not be furious without any important reason, not either hit or ever swear any child even when furious.	89	11	82	18

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 presents certain percentages which depict relative frequencies. These percentages analytically refer to the total results of the responses given by the participants in the current study (nursery school teachers and parents) about a number of issues to be introduced and implemented as communication rules in nursery classrooms. The interpretation of these percentages could lead to interesting conclusions regarding the introduction of specific communication rules in Greek public kindergartens. The present study has mainly exploratory and diagnostic character examining the views of nursery teachers and parents about issues related to communication behavior of preschoolers and the context of communication in a nursery classroom in general.

The study has shown that almost the overwhelming majority of kindergarten teachers agrees with the implementation of the proposed communication rules concerning all three levels of investigation, namely expressive/spoken communication behavior, audience/listening one and broad communication behavior of a child developed within the classroom. Most of parents seem to agree with most of the views expressed by kindergarten teachers. The views of nursery teachers about issues related to communication of preschoolers inside the classroom are expected to be more objective than parents' views as the former are mainly shaped due to the experience acquired in classroom. Parents' views are primarily shaped by their desires and expectations which are subjective factors, taking also into consideration the sensitive nature of early childhood education in the nursery classroom experienced possibly for the first time in their lives. Within this framework, the comparison between the two groups of participants, that is between teachers and parents cannot produce reliable results. However, the comparison of their responses with the provided percentages of Table 1 can illustrate the most dominant trends within both groups.

During the results' interpretation phase, it was observed that kindergarten teachers and parents agree strongly or very much with most of the statements and the percentage difference between them does not exceed 10%. For some statements, for example 17 and 20, a complete agreement was recorded. In several other statements, such as 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30 and 32 the percentage difference ranges from 1-5%. This means that a high-level agreement exists between teachers and parents with those statements. All the above-mentioned cases indicate that the corresponding communication rules are mutually accepted almost at an absolute level and could therefore be easily and directly applied in the nursery classroom. Regarding some statements, teachers and parents disagree at a moderate level as the difference between their statements varies from 6-10%. Statements 3, 4, 5, 21, 23, 31, 33, 34 and 36 are included in this case. In all other statements, namely 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 29 and 35, the difference is higher than 10%. This means that more dialogue and actions are needed to bridge the gap between teachers' and parents' opinions. The slower this happens the slower classroom's communication framework gets regulated for a good classroom climate, while noise, mess and communicative bullying increase.

As a significant number of studies indicate (Linsin, 2013; Stenberg & Williams, 2009), cooperation between teachers and parents is the most important factor in addressing modern educational problems. The same factor plays a vital role in dealing with noise inside the classroom by establishing and, above all, implementing mutually acceptable rules of communication behavior. Children should learn from an early age that they must respect and therefore abide by fundamental communication rules, especially at home or within school environment (Senechal, 2012). If this happens, teaching conditions will get improved and become more humane and social, leading to a gradually more effective, meaningful, fruitful and reliable education.

CONCLUSION

Classroom noise during the teaching process, when deliberately created by teachers and students, contributes to communicative violence, because if it takes place in a violent way without consent, it removes, deprives or cancels the right to freely express opinions and/or emotions. When a child deliberately produces noise in the classroom during the teaching/learning process, with the purpose of interrupting the teacher or distracting the classmates, this annoying behavior is equivalent to exercising communicative violence that offends pupils, harms classroom climate quality and reduces the quality and effectiveness of the educational work.

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned framework, kindergarten teachers and parents agree to an extremely large extent that the implementation of communication rules in the nursery classroom is pedagogically necessary. The present study specifically provided evidence that teachers and parents totally or almost totally agree that a child in the classroom during the teaching process, regarding expressive/spoken communication behavior rules implementation should: 1) speak after s/he raises a hand for receiving teacher's permission and then ask whatever s/he wants to know, 2) not say something that will annoy/harm another child/children, teacher or parents and 3) know that s/he is not allowed to laugh loudly. Within the context of audience/listening communication behavior rules implementation a child should: 1) listen

carefully to what is being said at any time by the teacher, classmates or parents and 2) not laugh all the time when s/he communicates with another person. Within the context of broad communication behavior rules implementation a child should: 1) show respect and think very well whether to provide an answer or not for a question and 2) know that collaboration with all classmates and non-verbal expression of feelings without sarcastic laugh are very important.

Moreover, from the study's results it was shown that teachers and parents agree at a high degree (very much) that a child in the classroom, regarding expressive/spoken communication behavior rules implementation should speak calmly, quietly, courageously and politely. Within the context of audience/listening communication behavior rules implementation a child should: 1) look every time straight in the eyes the person who officially speaks in the classroom (teacher or another pupil) and 2) think carefully about what classmates say. Within the context of broad communication behavior rules implementation a child should: 1) laugh when s/he listens to something hilarious but 2) not laugh without any reason during teaching. On the contrary, a child should 3) be quiet and not bothering, 4) not be furious without any important reason and 5) not either hit or belch any child in case s/he becomes furious.

As it can be seen by the provided statements of the participants (i.e., teachers and parents) of this study, they strongly disagree that a child in the classroom, regarding expressive/spoken communication behavior rules implementation should only speak when appropriate and when his/her turn comes to speak. On the other hand, a child should ask further questions for anything s/he does not fully understand, say what s/he believes slowly and clearly and express what s/he feels slowly and clearly knowing that mocking, reviling and saying "bad" words are not allowed. Teachers and parents also disagree that a child should feel ashamed and fearful whenever s/he is going to speak. Moreover, there is a dispute about a child's right to scream. Regarding audience/listening communication behavior rules implementation, no disagreement has been noted. Finally, within the context of broad communication behavior rules implementation a child should know that it is important to do what his/her teacher asks in terms of the teaching process, and should not be stubborn attending the lesson all the time.

The views expressing an agreement with the questionnaire's statements indicate that most of the proposed communication behavior rules are acceptable and quite ready to be implemented in early childhood classrooms. Those expressing a disagreement imply that more discussion and further research is needed to understand the real reasons leading teachers and parents to disagree on some classroom communication issues. As mentioned above, classroom noise creates miscommunication and para-communication which constitute hidden bullying forms of modern education. An agreement on the part of both teachers and parents with all proposed communication rules shown in table 1 and their implementation in kindergarten classrooms especially during the teaching process will probably assist on addressing bullying in early childhood. As it is well known, teacher-parent collaboration is considered extremely crucial nowadays not only for addressing violent communication and bullying but also other educational issues, including teaching activities. Teacher-parent collaboration is essential especially for kindergarten effectiveness.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Despite the relatively large sample of the present study, there may be some limitations as the study is based only on perceptions of teachers and parents who share common culture

elements. Classroom observation in real time is estimated that could positively contribute to further findings and concluding statements as well. The strengths of this study are obvious. Based on previous relevant studies it provides further information regarding classroom noise and its impact on classroom communication, interpersonal relationships among teacher and/or pupils, classroom interactions, and teaching effectiveness. As the study focuses on early childhood communication behavior, useful information about how children and teachers perceive noise in the classroom is gathered for communication rules implementation, regulating classroom behavior of pupils and reducing classroom noise along with all negative kinds of behavior connected to such noise. Communicative bullying is considered the most serious one.

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Chapter 29

OBSERVING KINESICS OF VIOLENT COMMUNICATION AND BULLYING IN EARLY CHILDHOOD CLASSROOMS

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ABSTRACT

Early childhood studies and teachers' reports show an increase in violent behaviors and bullying in the classrooms. This phenomenon is of interest to researchers and early childhood teachers who seek to ensure and maintain a safe and functional classroom environment. It is crucial for the researcher to identify, capture, and analyze the nonverbal violent signs that may occur in the classroom, while it is important for the early childhood teachers to be able to identify and prevent these behaviors from happening. This theoretical study underlines the need for observing nonverbal violent communication and bullying related to kinesics as an essential step for addressing these issues. This study discusses observation planning, several methods and techniques of observation, the proper means of analyzing data, and finally, the documentation of these findings.

Keywords: observation techniques, nonverbal communication, kinesics, coding systems, violent communication, bullying, communication

KINESICS, NONVERBAL VIOLENT COMMUNICATION AND BULLYING: AN INTRODUCTION

According to Vrettos (2003), neither verbal nor nonverbal communication channels suffice on their own. Nevertheless, in this paper, the focus is on the characteristics of communication,

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rather than on its content. Communication within the classroom may be either formal or informal (Cosmopoulos, 2006). As analyzed by the clinical psychology professor Robert Mellon (2002), non-verbal communication is broadly defined as any type or form of communication other than words. Thus, from a psychological point of view, the production of communication requires the exercise of all parts of the human body and not only the utterance of verbal symbols (Wylie, 1985). Correspondingly, Cormier and Cormier (1985) note that all parts of the body are required to transfer emotions and behaviors. Furthermore, in a multidisciplinary approach to psychology and education, both behavior and feelings are key features of the learning process, as analyzed in emotional intelligence (Cook, Greenberg & Kusche, 1994).

Preliterate children are right-brain dominant and only switch to left-brain dominance as they develop writing and reading skills. A child who is able to understand nonverbal signs during infancy, develops a wide range of vital social skills (such as making friends) by correctly interpreting the expressions and gestures of their classmates. This demonstrates the importance of nonverbal communication to the acquisition of verbal proficiency. Nonverbal communication is learned well before the process of verbal communication (Miller, 1988), including expressive signs, signals, cues, and hand gestures. It aims at going beyond simple verbalization into a communication process that regulates and enables a more holistic flow of interaction amongst individuals (Trehnolm & Jensen, 2008). Moreover, 93% of face-to-face communication is nonverbal (Mehrabian, 1968), whilst about 70% of the information communicated during a conversation is conveyed by the expressions and gestures we use to accompany our words, meaning that we can communicate both verbally and non-verbally at the same time. Nonverbal communication is exhibited either consciously or unconsciously. For example, actions such as winking are learned, whilst others like blushing are innate (Zoric et al., 2007). Nonverbal messages and actions are considered to be more genuine and deception-free, as they are used to express feelings which may otherwise be too disturbing, or more uncomfortable to share (Miller, 2005). Due to their communicational limitations in early childhood, children express their feelings, emotions and behaviors nonverbally with body language. According to Wallbott (1982), kinesics could provide legitimate data about social actions, emotions and interpersonal behavior, as opposed to other functions. Observation seems to be the key element in order to understand children's development stage and their well-being (Palaiologou, 2016).

When it comes to the classroom environment, it is of great significance for an educator to be able to notice and understand a student's nonverbal cues, as unconscious actions and reactions portrayed by the children are manifestations of statements that they feel and are unable to otherwise express. According to Stamatis (2005), nonverbal communication in children of early childhood, seems to be the primary and more direct channel of communication. Via parent/teachers' nonverbal communication, young children are provided with body language blueprints upon which they draw in order to develop many of their own nonverbal communication skills. By encouraging the use of such skills, it is ensured that the child uses body language regularly and fluently, which is ultimately fundamental for the growing child's social success (Lewis, 2015).

Language and social skills are crucial in typical early childhood development. Indeed, non typical development in these areas may be a warning sign for aggressive behavior later on (Jenkins, Mulvey & Floress, 2017), such as alienation from peers, and other problematic behaviors (Miles & Stipek, 2006). Foundational social communication skills –involving both

verbal and nonverbal communication—typically develop during preschool years through social reciprocity with caretakers during the first two years of life (Owens, 2012). In the classroom environment, at this stage of development, verbal communication will primarily evoke cognitive meanings for the student, whereas the more pervasive, nonverbal communication will stimulate feelings and attitudes (McCroskey, Richmond & McCroskey, 2006).

Moreover, it seems that nonverbal communication, including kinesics, plays a big part in the overall classroom environment in order to maintain a functional and positive atmosphere (Argyle, 1975). Thus, it is of critical importance for teachers to be mindful of the students' outward nonverbal language as well as of their nonverbal cues. Through observing and interpreting the students' body language and facial expressions, the teacher can discern whether it is necessary to repeat information, provide more assistance, or assign more practice (Webb et al., 1997). In fact, Kontakos and Polemikos (2000) claim that kinesics are less controllable than facial expressions. According to Castañer et al. (2010) nonverbal and verbal communication should be combined in a functional way in order to achieve the efficacy of education and that it has been shown that novice teachers seemed to be more effective than expert ones in this specific procedure.

Though various nonverbal communication taxonomies can be found, researchers (Zoric et al., 2007; Miller, 2005; Knapp & Hall, 1992; Smith, 1979) offer comprehensive and scientific categorization, including chronemics, haptics, vocalics, oculosics, olfactics, physical appearance, proxemics, silence, symbolism and kinesics. It is important to note that each category of nonverbal communication does not occur individually. Rather, they occur simultaneously and in clusters. For the purpose of the present chapter, the focus will be placed on kinesics. Kinesics refers specifically to the skeletal body movement, including the head, torso, limbs, and excluding gaze and facial expressions (Birdwhistell, 1952). According to Messiou (2006), it is underlined that those children who are marginalized gradually adopt an aggressive or even victimized behavior. Messiou (2006) adds that the path to reintegration of these children into the educational system rests on the ability of teachers to identify through the “hidden voices” of the marginalized children. In addition, according to an enlightening study of psychological and educational interest in the school context, it has been shown that inadequate feedback may often provoke the students' aversion towards the educational process or the students' adoption of aggressive behavior (Motte-Stefanidis et al., 2000).

The term bullying will be utilized to encompass all aspects of behaviors, defined either technically or legally, by intimidation, harassment, stalking, or hazing. This term will specify behaviors that include a variety of actions intended to belittle, demean, injure, or deny the rights of others (Roberts, 2017). Children who bully today use more covert than overt means than in the past. They are more likely to be seen engaging in nonverbal violent communication. Bullying commences during elementary school and typically peaks in middle school (Unnever & Cornell, 2003), but evidence demonstrates that predictors of bullying emerge during preschool, between the ages of 3-5 years, which is the first formal context for consistent, systematic peer interaction (Vlachou et al., 2011). Bullying refers to the intentional repetition of aggressive behavior toward an individual over time (Olweus, 1993).

Gaining deeper understanding about the presence of nonverbal violent behavior, considering the importance of each child's safety in the classroom environment, seems to meet all three of the criteria that presuppose the significance of a research topic. Specifically, Miller and Nicholson (1976) note that the first criterion is the theoretical significance, the second is social importance and the third is personal interest. Therefore, we notice that this research topic

can provide further knowledge about observing nonverbal violent communication and bullying behavior, and that it is also occupying social interest, as it is a matter of enormous fascination nowadays. Furthermore, it is a matter of personal interest for both the researcher and/or the teacher from different perspectives and for different reasons mentioned henceforth.

OBSERVATION IN THE CLASSROOM

Observation is a complex procedure with specific requirements from both the educator and the researcher, especially when it concerns the domain of preschool education. Palaologou (2016) identifies educational observation as a systematic and structured procedure with which early childhood teachers record the children's behaviors and reactions, in order to be able to interpret them with the intention of shaping the assessment of their evolution as well as drawing up a future action plan. From this point of view, we understand that it is the teacher's duty to observe the pupils, especially when the teacher's main purpose is the early anticipation of violent communication and bullying in order to deal with and eliminate these behaviors quickly and effectively. The necessity of observing children is found in various theoretical approaches of preschool education. Stemming from the 19th century, both in Froebel's pedagogy and in the Montessorrian approach, the value of observation always had a structural importance in education. In the 20th century, the Walford education system, the pioneering Reggio Emilia training, and the Swedish education program Educare, all underline the need for observation throughout the pedagogy spectrum.

All the aforementioned are being implemented in Europe. Of course, the Bank Street School, High Scope, and Head Start programs are also taking place in the United States, where they also utilize the benefits of observation. Currently, the same situation is observed in New Zealand, wherein Te Whariki is the main element of education, since in addition to pupils and educational staff, both parents and children are involved. Finally, modern education systems such as experiential education consider observation to be necessary, which is why it is included in the UNESCO guidelines (1994). The above-mentioned approaches seem to be in line with the psychological approaches of education with respect to observation. In particular, psychoanalytic theories, behavioral theories, attachment theory, social learning theory, systemic theory, and cognitive theory, are all applied and evaluated mainly based on observation.

Although observational methods are applied differently in the individual programs, these methods are a basic and structural element in all education systems, both from the educational and psychological points of view, and additionally contribute greatly to the evolution of these approaches to this day.

Since observation is critical and distinct in its nature, one must look at its basic elements. In order to apply a functional and effective observation, one needs to know what one wants to evaluate specifically and focus on that topic. On the other hand, one must choose the tool with which one will make the evaluation. For instance, measuring kinesics for the evaluation of nonverbal violent communication and bullying.

Regarding the observation techniques, the following is mentioned: unstructured observation, semi-structured observation, and structured observation. Unstructured observation can be conducted by the teacher as it does not require much preparation, but is based on the

memory and judgment of the learner himself. Semi-structured observation can also be conducted by the department's educator. Its purpose, meaning what one observes, is distinct but the methodology is free and it is certainly necessary to cross-check data from a wider observation team. Structured observation is usually non-participatory, but the purpose and methodology are specific, and the results of the observation are absolute and objective.

OBSERVATIONAL CODING SYSTEMS

Having selected the appropriate observational technique in any given research question, the next step would be to conduct an appropriate coding system. Observational coding is based on explicit operational definitions of a defined set of behavior codes and follows a fixed coding procedure. Codes and procedures are part of a coding system, which is a standard protocol for describing behavior (Bakeman & Gottman, 1987).

Descriptions based on observational coding provide the benefit of measuring body movements by eliminating unnecessary observer inference. According to Stamatis and Kodakos (2008), there are several coding systems presented regarding the classification in analysis of nonverbal behavior in terms of kinesics, some of those are mentioned hereafter: (a) The instant coding system by Rosenfeld (1965), (b) The kinesics analyzing system (Birdwhistell, 1970), (c) The Facial Action Coding System (FACS) entailing detailed rules for coding unit boundaries and phases (onset, apex, and offset) of facial muscle movement (Ekman & Friesen, 1978), (d) The Body Action and Posture Coding System (BAP) is built on body posture units and body action units (Harrigan, 2005).

Considering the BAP system, a posture unit symbolizes the general alignment of one or a set of articulators (such as the head, trunk, or arms) to a resting configuration, which exhibits periodic changes (known as posture shifts; an individual leaning backward, arms crossed). An action unit is a local excursion of one or a set of articulators (mostly the arms) outside a resting configuration with a very discrete onset, a short duration, and a precise offset where the articulator returns to a resting configuration such as a head shake, pointing, arm gesture (Dael, Mortillaro & Scherer, 2012).

Codes describing postures and actions are categorized in two integrated levels. On the first level, BAP codes describe which body part is actively moving, or anatomical articulation, following well-established kinesiological standards (Neumann, 2002). It enables the coding of articulation of the neck (head), trunk (spine and chest), upper and lower arms (shoulders, elbows, wrists, fingers), and the lower limbs (knees).

Specifically, BAP codes apply solely to spatial movement caused by muscle contraction and not passive displacement of any connected articulator (Dael, Mortillaro & Scherer, 2012). On the second level, BAP codes apply to the form of the movement of the active body part. That is, the direction and orientation in a three-dimensional space by adopting an anatomical and external reference frame (Rosenfeld, 1982).

Actions are described on a functional level that is parallel to the anatomical and form description level. Functional BAP codes include Ekman and Friesen's (1972) three behavioral categories: emblems, illustrators, and manipulators. Emblems are conventionalized actions that have exact meanings, of which symbolic actions are cultural-specific and can be used regardless of speech. Manipulators are actions wherein one part of the body manipulates another body

part, or another object for some type of body contact, such as scratching or rubbing. Illustrators are conversational actions that support accompanying speech. They illustrate the rhythm or content of verbalized information. Contrary to emblems, they are associated with speech and have no fixed meaning.

There has been evidence of four methodological benefits of the BAP for emotion research, which could also result from bullying or a nonverbal violent communication situation. The first methodological benefit entails that the BAP coding system has a reliable observation protocol which limits the probability of observer inference in describing emotional expressions and facilitates replication and comparison of results across studies. The second methodological benefit involves action and posture descriptions resulting from the BAP coding system which are independent of other modalities, and particularly speech. The third methodological benefit focuses on the behaviors that can be studied using the BAP coding system which range from head to leg movement, including postures, gestures and other observable body actions. Subsequently, the fourth, underlining that the BAP coding system provides reliable data on occurrences, frequencies, and temporal properties of BAP like timing and duration. All in all, the BAP coding system is designed for, but not limited to, the study of multiple emotions (Dael, Mortillaro & Scherer, 2012).

DISCUSSION/OBSERVATIONAL DESIGN

Therefore, for the purposes of this chapter, the appropriate process of observation first requires the clarification of the operational definitions of ‘violent communication’ and ‘bullying’, which are both variables that are going to be measured. To do so, authors will utilize the information provided about kinesics, from which data is collected via the coding and decoding kinesics’ tools. The technique one follows may either be semi-structured or structured observation. More specifically, the authors should define who the observer will be. If the observer is a researcher, then the authors will apply the structured observation process, but if the observation is applied by the teachers themselves, then the semi-structured observation is more appropriate. Of course, the authors must not forget that both techniques are equally important, because they can provide important data from different approaches. This is also noted by Palaiologou (2016) who states that observation depends on its context. In particular, she states that observation may be applied as part of a research study or as part of a training act. Moving forward to the coding procedure, the categories that could be considered as forms of nonverbal violent communication and bullying in terms of kinesics may be gestures, including pointing and/or lifting the legs or the arms in a threatening manner, etc.

Stamatis (2015) states that body language signals are able to provide information regarding the emotions that a child is experiencing at the moment. Additionally, if bullying and violent behavior are assumed to cause crying, detachment, disappointment, frustration, anger, and violent responses in general, then one would be able to examine any pre-recorded evidence or measurements, in order to analyze and further understand which form of kinesics caused such behaviors. However, Harrigan (2005) underlines that the drawback which occurs in early coding systems for body movement, are that they are very time-consuming systems, there are very large amounts of data to be learned, there is a display of arbitrary symbols and that isolated coding prohibits measuring behavior as a unit.

Once the coding system has been established, a record must be kept of this data. Beyond the traditional methods of record keeping, video recording may provide a wider range of subcategories of kinesics, derived from existing coding systems, or a scale of the observers own making. It would also be used in order to view either multiple threatening communication attempts happening simultaneously or more covert signs of bullying. As previous studies have shown, video recording provides the advantage of instant and objective capture of behavior that could be stored, analyzed and cross-referenced at any time (Tobin et al., 2009; Stamatis & Kodakos, 2008). For example, the Anvil software (Kipp, 2007) is used as a coding procedure for video rendering and time-locked coding and could provide satisfying data, overcoming these challenges. Anvil executes the coding scheme into an intuitive graphical user interface through which the coder can assign codes to the body movements specifying the beginning and the end of the behaviors (Dael, Mortillaro & Scherer, 2012). Video recording also presents some ethical implications such as the need for an informed consent form, the purpose of record keeping, the use of record keeping, the participants in the process of record keeping, who will have access to the records and the sharing of the observations that should be carefully managed (Palaiologou, 2016). Specifically, in the United States, it is mandatory as a communication researcher to follow the guidelines set by the Office for Human Research Protections in order to ensure research ethics (Keyton, 2015). However, in contrast to other means of observational research, it is obvious that collecting such data via video recordings remains an accurate and proper way of observation (Mukherji & Albon, 2015).

As Vrettos (2003) concluded, early childhood educators are not able to observe, record and analyze sufficient amounts of data at one time, as it is impossible to focus on the behaviors of each individual child. A teacher tends to be more preoccupied with the sum of the classroom, as the collective group of the classroom is more easily observable. From the teacher's perspective, a record could be kept using a simple list of observable actions like nervous hand gestures, sudden or unprovoked movements, threatening leg or arm movements, threatening trunk movements, etc. This task is much easier for a researcher merely observing these behaviors, than it is for the early childhood teacher who must interact with the children. A researcher would focus on these observable behaviors and gather information without being concerned with the consequences of such behaviors to the classroom environment. Whereas, a teacher who would observe such behaviors should take action to stop and prevent them in order to keep the classroom environment safe and functional for the children. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the teachers contribution in observation is obsolete or not important, as the teacher is the only one responsible and able to foresee and prevent nonverbal violent communication and bullying in the classroom.

The observation of violent communication and bullying with early childhood children, in the classroom, is a fundamental matter. Researchers and education professionals should aim at identifying those at risk of becoming bullies so that early intervention programs can be developed to target children who show early signs of such bullying symptoms (Jenkins, Mulvey & Floress, 2017). The proper observational techniques and tools (such as BAP) will be selected by the observer, but the data collected should not be interpreted at this stage. Video recordings would provide sufficient evidence for the observer to analyze and interpret the data collected, which is the next step after recording. Finally, the focus should move to how the observation findings will be shared. The researcher would probably publish those findings that could be extremely useful for all early childhood teachers. The teachers should be trained to accurately

encode and decode elements of the students' nonverbal communication (Muchemwa, 2013), with respect to these findings in order to maintain a non-threatening classroom environment.

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Chapter 30

CURRENT THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS ON CHARACTERISTICS OF CYBERAGGRESSION, SCHOOL MISCOMMUNICATION AND BULLYING IN EARLY EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Traditional bullying has long been a concern for children, teenagers or others who fit the characteristics often tied to targeted victims. Cyberbullying, a relatively new and ever-changing online phenomena, may pose a larger threat in the health and safety of children as it is still being explored with new theoretical lenses and preventative programs and approaches. This chapter discusses a number of concerns surrounding bullying phenomena, suggests a number of theoretical perspectives that researchers should consider when trying to understand cyberaggression among young children. Current research among children with special needs is also reviewed with closing remarks on concerns of miscommunication among school staff, teachers, and parents.

Keywords: bullying, cyberbullying, theory, special education

CHARACTERISTICS AND CONCERNS OF BULLYING

Traditional (face-to-face) bullying has long been a concern for decades as caregivers would send their children off to school into unparented arenas (e.g., the playground) wherein verbal or physical attacks could be directed at their child(ren) at any given moment. One unique factor in the traditional sense is that children could generally consider home a safe space in which

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bullies were not present. Comparatively, cyberaggressive messages could potentially enter any room of the home at any time on any device directed at a child, teen, or adult who connects online on any platform. We know from Olweus (1999) and other researchers (Hainewald, 2013; Beckman, Hagquist & Hellstrom, 2012; Gradiner, Strohmeier & Speil, 2009) that bullies and victims alike often suffer from several psychosocial and psychological problems in both traditional bullying and cyberbullying behaviors. Modecki and colleagues (2014) provided an extensive meta-analysis review of both types of bullying involvement and found that traditional bullying is still quite prevalent (about twice as common as cyberbullying). The researchers also discovered high comorbidity rates in that many individuals are involved in both forms of bullying and can be bullies and victims simultaneously! Other individual studies (Oblad & Trejos-Castillo, 2017) have also found support for this. Perhaps it should not be surprising that an individual who may be small in stature could become prey in the face of a power imbalance but electronically, could hide any distinguishing features, mask themselves with anonymity and retaliate and take revenge on their would-be school bully (König, Gollwitzer & Steffgen, 2010; Wolak, Mitchell & Finkelhor, 2007).

Over the last 10 years, researchers have tried to study the new phenomena of bullying, growing social media, all coupled with the ever-still present risk of traditional bullying. Extensive research indicates involvement typically peaks around 12-15 years of age (Wade & Beran, 2011; Calvete et al., 2010). But studies do indicate that involvement in all forms of bullying may happen from early childhood to late adulthood. Perhaps due to the nature of the adolescent age most bully research tends to focus at this stage in life. In any case, there is a need to review empirical studies that address cyberaggressive behaviors among young children as well as special populations such as children with special needs.

There are at least a handful of valuable studies that focus on early learning ages and are vital to providing an important range of understanding for educators and parents. Jansen and colleagues (2011) for example, conducted a longitudinal investigation that followed preschoolers until ages 11 and 13. Children with anxiety during preschool were less likely to become bullies or victims. Whereas children with preschool aggressiveness, more likely to bully, be a victim or even both! The researchers also discovered children with two parent families were likely to be uninvolved in bullying activities all together. Perhaps this leads to more questions than answers but from this study we recognize the importance of marking early education behaviors and how family situations can help predict bullying involvement at later ages.

In Australia, one comprehensive study provided by Price and Dalgleish (2010) investigated the impact of cyberbullying on pre-teen and teen youth (N = 548) across a myriad of important factors (e.g., well-being, familial/peer relationships). In terms of preliminary results, their initial look at prevalent results indicated that as pre-teens, just under half had been cyber victims (49%) with a slight increase with 13-14 year olds (52%) and among 15-16 year olds, only 29% reported being victims of cyberbullying. Most cyberbullying incidents were self-reported as happening through email, online chatrooms, social networking sites and mobile phones. The researchers also reported that among 10-12 year olds, the majority of online attacks were through chatrooms (48%) or email (41%). Name-calling and abusive comments were the highest reported means of cyberbullying for all age groups.

For children in early education, this information alone can be helpful in protecting children from unwarranted online aggression that many preteens, tweens, or teenagers are faced with. This influential age is very important for normative and healthy development. Given the high

likelihood of interfacing with strangers online or via social media platforms, parents and teachers alike should be thoughtful and strategic in helping children avoid social network platforms or chatrooms that are not age-appropriate, to help them be ready and understand that such unwanted/unwarranted behaviors may happen and most importantly, know what to do when faced with abusive comments or solicitations.

Price and Dalglish (2010) also sought to reveal coping methods to provide insight into how serious the emotional impact of cyberbullying may be. Unsurprisingly, self-confidence, self-esteem were most heavily impacted following loss of friendships. Over one-third (35%) lost focus in school as their grades began to decline as well as regular attendance. 19% felt a strain with family relationships. The authors also found an extensive variety of emotions were felt (e.g., sadness, anger, jealous, annoyed). While feelings are a form of coping, some feelings may lead to maladaptive behaviors (e.g., severe depression, suicidal ideation and self-harm) and is thus important to address early on. With primary school-aged children in mind, the authors shared strategies most commonly used by 10-16 year olds in the study: speak out and address it; ignoring; avoiding; remain positive; and retaliation. These were the most common responses but the most effective (in terms of helpfulness) method was telling a friend or parent. Other strategies included staying offline, confronting the bully, calling a helpline, etc.

Parents and educators should be aware of the risks of online bullying via means of gaming, visiting websites/chatrooms, or having/using social media accounts. Cyberbullying may happen on campus or off-campus, and if care providers are aware of research results such as those that have been discussed above, children and teenagers will already have the tools and knowledge necessary to avoid the negative impact, negative coping methods, and negative outcomes that all-too-often permanently hurt entire families and communities across the world.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND APPLICATION

Theoretical frameworks are important to help researchers and policy makers better understand cyberbully (and bullying) phenomena by providing special lenses to the discussion that we may otherwise overlook without a framework or model to help consider new perspectives. Researchers have noted the atheoretical nature of most cyberaggressive empirical work (Oblad & Trejos-Castillo, 2013; Dooley, Pyzalski & Cross, 2009), although some theoretical frameworks have been applied, it is largely to an older audience, often emerging adults or high school students. The following theoretical lenses are examples of frameworks that could help educators, researchers, and parents truly understand why young bullies and/or victims behave the way they do leading up to aggressive attacks as well (and arguably more importantly) as to understand why bullies/victims react the way they sometimes do afterwards.

Social-Ecological Systems Perspective

Harcourt and colleagues (2014) explored parenting experiences relevant to bullying through a systems-level approach. Under the social-ecological systems perspective, bullying is viewed as a complex and social phenomenon, heavily influenced by peers, relatives, teachers and the community (Espelage & Swearer, 2004). Through this lens, bullying activities may be

exacerbated by a surrounding influence of approval and permissiveness or be inhibited by concerned parents, peers or individuals fearing punishment.

Besides externalized conditions (e.g., peer acceptance; parental awareness), individual experience also plays an important factor under this theoretical approach. Individuals that act as bullies may have past experiences that lead to maladaptive behaviors such as turning to bullying to get a desired outcome. Bullies also recognize opportunities in their environment in which there are low risks for punishment. Lastly, individuals may have also witnessed peers interact as bullies and/or victims and depending on the outcome of the witnessed experience, may decide to model that behavior in the future.

As previously mentioned, Harcourt et al., (2014) reviewed studies (N = 13) to explore parental awareness and involvement in bullying experiences. The authors found six themes emerged that support the social-ecological systems perspective (e.g., victim blaming, range of definition, awareness), one surprising theme was the idea of where to place responsibility. The authors suggest that for social-ecological systems perspective to provide an effective lens we must consider the interactions between external and internal factors rather than just one or the other when trying to understand bullying. How parents, school administrators, teachers and student-children interact with one another should work together when dealing with bullying.

Deindividuated Theory

Deindividuation Theory originates several decades prior that describes how crowd mentality forms based on the premise that individual responsibility disappears in favor of large-group norms (Festinger, 1952). Mann and colleagues (1982) explained individuals are more easily able to “hide” in groups and that the theoretical mask of anonymity, is what provides a barrier from any threat of fear of punishment for acting along with a group. Other components have also been added to the theory such as disinhibition (Diener, 1980), the act of an individual falling into a disinhibited state and who then targets a potential victim without restraint or remorse. Today, researchers have applied this to cyberbullying given the nature of indirect, anonymous contact one may potentially have with others.

In 2012, Slonje and colleagues assessed how remorseful cyberbullies felt compared to traditional face-to-face traditional bullies. Their findings were supportive of deindividuation theory as cyberbullies reported lower rates of feeling guilt from attacking others online. One side effect or potential benefit (from perspective of the harasser) is that you cannot see (generally) the targets’ response and that could potentially cause the harasser to send even more cruel content as a means to ensure eliciting harm. Comparatively, traditional bullies do receive an immediate response (e.g., crying, fighting back).

A question that remains unanswered today under this theoretical lens is how children act/react when allowed to spend time online, unmonitored, for large amounts of time. Do young children also fall into deindividuated states and act without remorse as teenagers or college students who have been reported to do (Brandtzaeg et al., 2009)? If so, what can preventative measures can be taken during early childhood education? Another question that should be addressed is what traits or abilities are children capable of displaying at younger ages (e.g., empathy, awareness) to prevent themselves from falling into disinhibited behaviors and attacking strangers online or reacting negatively during online gaming or chatting.

Intergroup Emotion Theory

Theoretical approaches often consider environmental influences but the IET perspective may be helpful to researchers in providing a more salient view in what individuals experience emotionally at a peer- or group-level. For example if a close group of friends encounter one group-member being cyberbullied, at what level of intensity would an individual respond with after being triggered by the aggressive behavior against a peer? Jones, Manstead and Livingstone (2011) investigated this with 10-11 year old students in the United Kingdom. Jones and colleagues discovered that through this theoretical lens peer support played a role in avoiding bullying behaviors as well as allowing bullying (as the aggressor) to happen and simply act as a bystander allowing their peer-group to target someone else and not stopping it.

Social Identity Theory

One theory that may serve as a valuable lens to better understanding young children (as well as all other ages), is through the social identity theory (Amaral & Monteiro, 2002) that suggests identity is directly connected with specific group ties or membership. If an individual, wishes to remain tied or linked with the in-group, he/she may have an expectation from other members to take part in similar activities as to sort of “fit in” or remain united and share a commonality with others. Through this perspective researchers can observe how the individual and the peer group assess how out-groups—or other peers that either do not fit with the group or are just not part of it—are viewed or treated and if a sort of alternative view is developed. Simultaneously, a group may mistreat others negatively but view themselves as better or of a higher status. For example, it could be decided that a targeted individual is ugly and disliked and individuals within a group accept that reality and believe it and praise their own, when in actuality, the targeted victim is lovely and of good report (Brenick & Halgunseth, 2017).

Social Development Model

Catalano and Hawkins (1996) created an expansive model combining elements of other sociological theories with aims to account for determinants in inhibiting antisocial behavior within children (originally geared towards delinquency and substance use). Their model emphasizes the importance of positive connections or relationships with their parents, teachers or other influential characters as providing a protective buffer to antisocial behaviors. In terms of bullying, this particular lens considers attachment/commitment, system values (e.g., school, community), social constraints (e.g., acceptable behaviors) and skills (e.g., cues, problem solving) which are important features often included in anti-bullying educational programs and may be helpful in specifying areas of weakness or concern in which parents, counselors, or teachers can address on an individual-needs basis.

Jenson and Dieterich (2007) conducted a large study across 28 public elementary schools in order to test the social development model as part of a bullying prevention program (also included preventing other type's anti-social aggressive behaviors). Among the randomized sample of fourth graders who received prevention curriculum (N = 670), results indicated that interventions of the anti-bullying program did not change for self-reported bullies. However,

bully-victim scores steadily declined over two years and rates were lower in comparison to the control group ($N = 456$) that did not receive instruction. The program specifically aimed at improving social and emotional skills of children-which fits well as a key part of the core of the originators' model. Nevertheless, overall the authors did not see a markedly positive impact in the reduction of bullying behaviors, but noted that the drop in victimization could easily be tied to an important element in the social development model, that school climate could have been helpful in improving confidence and skills in deterring bullying behaviors. Indeed classrooms were provided training on coping and recognizing social/emotional emotions, which may have influenced follow-up surveys regarding victimization incidents.

General Strain Theory

Perhaps one of the best-known theories in the field, general strain theory has been applied in all types of bullying research due to the main premise of the theory that explains that as individuals are pushed to varying degrees of strain (e.g., anger, frustration), there becomes an increased likelihood to engage or turn towards deviant behaviors (Hay & Meldrum, 2010; Agnew, 2000). Jang, Song, and Kim (2014) applied GST in South Korea involving traditional victims and cyberbullying behaviors (as the aggressor). The researchers' longitudinal study ($N = 3,449$) of 8th graders was able to support the theory as traditional victimization significantly predicted engaging in cyberbullying behaviors. Moreover, that the negative emotions experienced from face-to-face bullying produced enough strain to drive youth towards seeking revengeful behaviors. These findings also support Hay and Meldrum (2010) who conducted an adolescent study in a rural area within the United States. The researchers found self-control and an authoritative parenting style could reduce the negative impact of bullying which are important to know, especially for pre-adolescent ages. The authors also found that victims who did experience negative emotions were at greater risk of deliberate self-harm as peers' abusive behaviors led victims to "self-directed aggression" (p. 554).

Routine-Activities Victimization Theory

Cohen and Felson (1979) first introduced routine-activities four decades prior as a technique to provide explanation for victimization occurring due to unique differences in personal lifestyle or individual choices. Cohen and Felson explained that accessibility (e.g., routine events such as school; or frequent walking routes), suitability (someone who could be targeted), and a motivated aggressor or offender all coming together could lead to criminal or deviant behaviors in such conditions. Particularly, if parents or teachers are not around to prevent negative behaviors or actions. This theoretical lens is unique as it does not focus on roles or observed behaviors but rather it identifies patterns, changes, or conditions in which behaviors such as bullying may take place. Because of the development of cyberbullying and other forms of online harassment, some researchers have recently applied this theoretical lens today.

Wick and colleagues (2017) sought to identify patterns within online harassment among college students whilst applying routine-activities theory. Nearly 300 students completed an open-ended survey sharing experiences of online victimization as well as perpetration romantic

partners. They were able to find some support for the theory by means of exposure to online victimization (more time online predicted more rates of victimization). The same was true for perpetrators, spending more time online predicted an increased risk of acting as an aggressor.

Although Wick et al., (2017) focused on college students ($m = 20.8$) this particular theory could be beneficial for preschool and elementary aged children as it focuses on behavior and environment (situations) rather than individual differences. Most studies that assess bullying and cyberbullying tend to focus on psychopathology, emotionality, familial situations, and a myriad other influential, external or internal factors. As children develop, they change and grow over time, and perhaps those unique factors weigh more heavily with each passing year. However, this theory applied at younger ages could also provide new insight leading to preventative measures that teaches young children to avoid falling into the unique situations that leads to increased risks of bullying victimization (or perpetration) and also help parents or teachers to keep closer tabs on the environment or situations in which bullying risks could be higher.

Theory of Planned Behavior

The theory of planned behavior may be useful to apply when trying to account for the intentions of children's' behavior. Runions (2013) reviewed this particular theory alongside typologies of aggression with a goal to provide a conceptualized model to help researchers and caregivers create effective means of reducing cyberaggressive behaviors. If children perceive bullying (in any form) as normative, they are more likely to take part in the behavior when opportunities arise. The model that Runions creates stems from the planned behavior theory to show why or how aggression may arise, when or how technologies may be creating new opportunities to act aggressively, and why some individuals choose to seize the opportunity or avoid the behavior.

Grounded Theory Approach

Although grounded theory is technically a general method within qualitative research, the inductive approach is applicable in assessing bullying, bullying prevention methods and finding what motivates harassers or even victims. By reducing data down into content-rich conclusions, new theory can be developed and shared with various stakeholders invested in children's' safety and happiness. Recently, a few studies (Greef & Van den Berg, 2015; Purcell, 2012) have used grounded theory as their general method to help shed light on how parents perceive concerns of bullying. Purcell (2012) for example, found through semi-structured interviews that primary school-aged children take part in a series of complex interactions at school and at home and ultimately parents and teachers have variability in their own abilities to accurately and comprehensively address bully behavior. Through qualitative analyses, the author recommended sensitivity and attentiveness towards children and for care providers to be consistent in addressing the impact and events around bullying.

In South Africa, Greef and Van den Berg (2015) also used grounded theory as a method to determine what characteristics emerge among families with children who self-reported as victims of bullying. While the authors did not necessarily apply the framework in their study,

they provided needed discussion on the possibility of resilience theory as a useful theoretical approach to understand bullying through a “complete wellness” (p. 505) perspective at the familial-level. Through this lens, families may handle crises with great success. As the authors discovered, parents often communicated concerns to school officials and authors were able to assess importance of open communication to their child and family.

BULLYING AMONG SPECIAL NEEDS IN EARLY EDUCATION

So far, the present chapter has discussed the nature of bullying and theoretical frameworks to help researchers and policy makers come to a better understanding of the changing phenomena of bullying in reality and electronically. In the wake of a crisis regarding harassment involving powerful people in America, an opportunity for a national discussion on harassment and bullying should include further examination, which includes special or unique populations in which tolerance, prevalence, and severity of harassment and bullying within society. At present, little research has been conducted on bullying within special populations of schools which often include individuals with intellectual disabilities, developmental disabilities, and neurological disorders (Hong, Neely & Lund, 2015; Zablotsky, Bradshaw, Anderson & Law, 2014). Due to the pervasiveness of bullying and the vulnerability of individuals within special needs populations, attention to risk factors for bullying and victimization as well as preventative strategies are vital in moving forward.

Risk Factors of Bullying in Special Education

Special education classrooms comprise a population of students at an exceptionally elevated risk of experiencing bullying. One reason for this may include visible characteristics of disability such as physical disabilities or behavioral disorders, which differ from the larger student population within the school (Swearer et al., 2012; Carter & Spencer, 2006). Diagnosis, severity of disability, and co-morbidity also feed into risk factors of increased bullying and victimization. According to Zablotsky et al., (2013) individuals with ASD have a higher risk of victimization and individuals with attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), conduct disorder (CD), and/or opposition defiant disorder (ODD) are at a higher risk of being a bully and a victim (bully-victim) as compared to their general education counterparts. Gender may also be an important factor to consider when assessing bullying in education as researchers Simpson, Rose, and Ellis (2016) report that females tend to experience higher rates of victimization of bullying and males are more likely to be bully-victims. Age of the student may also be considered as trends in bullying become apparent. Researchers Fink, Olthof, Goossens, van der Meijden and Begeer (2017) report that bullying tends to decrease with increasing age. Moreover, researcher Little found that bullying first peaks at six years of age and then again every 3 years following until 15 years old (Little, 2009). However, of all disabilities, Autism Spectrum Disorders are among those who experience the most bullying (Hebron & Humphrey, 2014).

Prevalence of Bullying in Students with Autism

Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) is a neurological disorder, which is comprised of core deficits in communication and social skills and often presents with behavioral impairments. Often, individuals with ASD demonstrate eccentric behavior such as motor and vocal stereotypy as well as inflexible and rigid behavior. Along with these deficits, individuals with ASD often face challenges in forming friendships with their peers and as a result, experience reduced interpersonal relationships. Further complicating matters for individuals with ASD is research showing individuals with ASD are at an increased risk in bullying by their neuro-typical peers (Hong et al., 2015). According to researchers Hebron and Humphrey (2014), interpersonal relationships assist in providing students protection from bullying. As such, combination of behavioral challenges and skills deficits in ASD coupled with limited self-advocating skills further increase the risk of experiencing bullying individuals with ASD face. Moreover, it is reasonable to suggest that bullying remains underreported in special populations where social and communication deficits exist.

Effects of Bullying

Additional factors to consider within a conversation of bullying occurring in schools and in special education settings are the effects bullying has on students with special needs. Current research highlights pervasive symptoms of bullying which may last into adulthood. This includes anxiety, depression, overall poor learning outcomes (Zablotsky et al., 2013; Gladstone, Parker & Malhi, 2006) and various somatic symptoms such as pain and headaches (Williams et al., 1996). Researchers Papas and Axe (2015) report an increased risk of suicide among students with disabilities who experience bullying. Due to the pervasiveness and permanence of the side effects of bullying, effective anti-bullying interventions are necessary part of decreasing the occurrence.

Current Methods of Combating Bullying

In response to a rise in bullying, states are passing anti-bullying laws and there is an increase in the number of schools and universities that are adopting policies against bullying (Gentry, Pickel & Johnson, 2015). Researchers Hebron and Humphrey show that positive relationships protect those with special needs and reduce the frequency of bullying (2014). As such, improving relationships between students with ASD and their neuro-typical peers may assist in decreasing the occurrence of bullying. However, further research on the methods and efficacy of improving social skills among students with ASD as well as improving tolerance of differences among students is needed. One method that shows potential consists of incorporating instructional methods such as video modeling and role-playing as strategies for reducing victimization within special needs groups and providing sufficient opportunities to practice potential bullying scenarios as suggested by Hong and colleagues (Hong, Neely & Lund, 2015).

Due to the trends in age and gender, support against bullying involving students in elementary and junior high school settings may also provide effective settings in which anti-

bullying and victim-advocacy interventions can be applied and tapered. Collaboration across parents, educators may also improve the status quo of bullying within our school systems (Hong et al., 2015). Collaboration among fields increase the possibility of targeting core deficit skill areas including executive functioning, social skills, and communication skills and thus the possibility of improving overall functioning and reducing odd mannerisms or isolating characteristics of Autism. Attending Special education classrooms as opposed to mainstream classrooms via an inclusive teaching model also reduces the frequency of bullying, likely given to the fact that there are less perceived behavioral and social differences among students (Sterzing et al., 2012). Although this platform is not an argument in favor for or against an inclusive teaching model in itself, a higher frequency of bullying within mainstream classrooms compared to special education classrooms was reported by Zablotzky et al., and is a noteworthy factor for educators and parents when determining placement of their students with disabilities.

BULLYING AND SCHOOL AWARENESS

The wise African proverb: “It takes a village to raise a child” is as applicable today-if not more so-than as the time it was first coined. Children and adults alike must navigate an ever-increasing complicated life with changing climates, cultures, platforms for online-engagement and other social and economic forces constantly shifting. Today, children can truly benefit with supporters helping them along from micro-to-macro levels (e.g., caregivers, siblings, teachers, peers, community leaders). Unfortunately, there are instances in which ambiguity hinders the protection of children that could put them at risk for victimization or fall into aggressor behaviors online or in person.

Mitchell (2017) reviewed a well-known anti-bullying program and stressed that to be successful; the entire school-community would need to be well-trained and prepared to handle bullying situations. If para-professionals or other school staff were not trained along with teachers or administration there is a risk bullying could continue despite program flyers, lessons, and class discussion at the school. Such miscommunication would increase risks of mishandling bullying situations that would lead to inconsistent responses, lose opportunity to teach children and potentially have incidents go unreported. Further, parents should be well apprised of any anti-bullying program given as they are an important part of that village! Mitchell added that to be successful, children should also learn early on, how to recognize signs of bullying and be given the tools to stop it by telling a trusted adult.

Research over the last 10 years has explored the role teachers, caregivers and peers play to help us understand both the harasser and the targets state of reference. To date, most research indicates that traditional bullying is made aware to teachers or parents by the target but the same is not true for cybervictims. In 2008, a study by Smith et al., (2008) in the UK found that secondary school-aged children who had reported themselves as cybervictims also reported not telling anyone about the incident(s) (44%). Among those who had shared their victimization experience, just over a quarter of victims (27%) told their friends, and only 15.5% of the victims told a parent/guardian. Teachers or other adults were tied just over 8%. As discussed prior, the authors also found that traditional victims were more likely to share or report the experience than those comprised of targeting online-only.

Nearly 10 years after the aforementioned study, Sittichai and Smith (2018) found strikingly similar reports albeit in Thailand! Among the cybervictim-group, only 29% of children reported that they would seek help from a teacher or parent. They also found nearly half of the victim group (48.4%) tries to ignore it. Interestingly, the researchers also found girls were more likely to seek help, tell an adult or teacher than boys were. This information is important globally to help us understand that many victims of online targeted aggression try to handle it by themselves and prefer to talk to peers about it rather than seeking adult help in any form. Sittichai and Smith provide a great discussion on the concepts of gender, age differences, and trust issues with teachers and parents and most importantly, that consistent collaboration is of most importance in order to help foster children and allow them to identify positive coping methods and find a way to strive through difficult experiences, especially early on.

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Chapter 31

PRESCHOOL TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVE INTERVENTION FOR BULLYING AT THE PRESCHOOL AGE

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the present research is to explore preschool teachers' perceptions about the effective intervention strategies. Teachers' perceptions are important as they affect their attitudes and responses to bullying incidents. Furthermore, teachers are key agents of intervention efforts. The sample of the present research consisted of 164 preschool teachers. A questionnaire was administered based on previous research. The results indicated that the collaboration between school and family as well as the discussion with children about bullying behaviors are considered the most effective strategies for bullying intervention at the preschool age. Moreover, supervision of school areas and cooperation with community services are highly valued. The findings could be utilized in the design and implementation of interventions for addressing bullying. They also have implications for in-service training and ongoing professional development.

Keywords: school bullying, preschool teachers, perceptions, interventions

INTRODUCTION

School bullying is a widespread phenomenon which constitutes a serious social problem internationally. Many studies have been conducted regarding school bullying in elementary years and adolescence, whereas research studies at the preschool age are limited. Bullying can

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take many forms, direct and indirect. Direct bullying is directed towards a child which is the target, whereas indirect bullying refers to the social isolation and exclusion of a child from the peer group (Trigka-Merigka, 2015). Olweus defines bullying as a repeated aggressive action which has the intention of harming (physical or psychological harm). Simultaneously, there is an imbalance in the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim (Olweus, 1993). The present study aims to explore preschool teachers' perceptions about the effective strategies for addressing bullying incidents. Teachers are key agents in implementing anti-bullying interventions and therefore their perceptions are crucial to the effectiveness of the efforts for addressing bullying. In addition, their perceptions affect their responses and should be taken into account in the design of anti-bullying interventions.

ETIOLOGICAL FACTORS

The biopsychosocial approach or the theory of ecological systems was proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979). According to this approach, five systems influence the development of children: the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macro system and the chronosystem. Biological agents also contribute to these systems. Both environmental and biological factors shape the development of the child.

The environment consists of a set of interrelated embedded structures. The microsystem is a set of activities, social roles and interpersonal relationships that the developing person is experiencing in a particular context. It is the immediate system in which the child belongs. Examples of microsystems are the family, the school and the peer group. The mesosystem refers to the relationship between two or more contexts. For example, the relationship between family and school, as well as the relationship between school and workplace.

The exosystem has an indirect impact on the development of children through its influence on the family, school and peer group. It includes the relationship between two contexts, of which one does not include the child. However, the events taking place in this system exert an indirect effect on the context in which the child is embedded. The workplace, family social networking, the neighborhood context, and the community exert an indirect influence on the development of children. The macro system includes social norms, lifestyle, cultural values, the economic conditions, culture, ideology, politics and legislation. According to Swearer and Napolitano (2011), individual risk factors are the following: gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, poor social skills, low academic achievement, and disability status, externalizing behaviour and internalizing disorders. Peer group risk factors include peer norms and delinquency. Family characteristics, such as family discord, are related to bullying. School risk factors include the school climate classroom characteristics and teacher attitudes. Neighborhood safety is a community risk factor.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Perren and Alsaker (2006) argue that preschool teachers refer to aggressive actions directed at harming the relationship, although physical and verbal aggression is more common in this age. Indirect victimization, according to the educators, was the strongest predictor of physical

and psychological symptoms of stress in children. Consequently, indirect victimization is a significant aggressive action that also manifests at the preschool age. Yoon and Kerber (2003) suggest that teachers should discuss with students about bullying instances, class and school rules. Social skills training is also included in the intervention strategies. They also assert that teachers need a better understanding of social exclusion.

Roberts' (2011) study indicated that teachers evaluated the interventions implemented by the non-teaching staff for addressing all forms of bullying as most effective. These interventions include counseling support groups for victims, peer mediation programs, as well as training for teachers and school staff. They also asserted that the interventions implemented by teachers are more effective than those implemented by students. Gorsek and Cunningham (2014) assert that it is essential that teachers and school personnel be trained to recognize all types of bullying and become aware of school policy regarding bullying prevention and intervention, which should be integrated into curriculum. Moreover, professional development opportunities could support teachers in implementing prevention and intervention.

Repo (2015) points out that the phenomenon of school bullying is a daily phenomenon. Intimidation is perceived as a desire or need of a child to intentionally offend or harm another child. According to the kindergarten teachers, the child which intends to harm others is aware of his actions. Some children dominate over the others and manipulate the group, using invitations to birthday parties. The list of invited children at the party changes depending on whether the children act as expected by the perpetrator of intimidation. This research showed that preschool children were aware of the phenomenon of victimization and were able to describe it. In addition, the exclusion from the peer group was categorized by children as bullying. The characteristics of victimization in preschool environments were already evident. According to Repo (2015), the intervention strategies for bullying include the protection of victims, assertiveness training, broader interventions in the classroom (discussion of bullying in the kindergarten group), clear rules against bullying, involvement of peers and the promotion of friendships. Withdrawn children should also be encouraged to participate in group activities.

Stamatis and Nikolaou (2015) research study explored teachers' views on communication and collaboration between school and family for effectively addressing school violence. The survey was conducted in 2015. The sample of the research was one hundred and thirty primary school teachers, who were teaching in public schools in the city of Rhodes). The analysis of research data suggests that teachers regard the collaboration between school and family for combating school violence as important. In addition, they believe that this cooperation is of particular importance as it could: (a) enhance children's positive attitudes towards school and improve their behavior within the school environment, (b) improve their social skills, which contribute constructively to their socio-emotional development (c) strengthen children's relationship with his/her parents and teachers and, in the long term, enhance his or her bonds with the school.

Morin (2017) conducted a review regarding the interventions for countering bullying. The interventions were classified into three categories. The first category was the intervention on individual level. Literature suggests that when teachers encourage positive behaviour, positive social interactions, and asking help from a friend contribute to bullying reduction. Positive self-talk, I-messages, peace journals in pictures, changes in the preschool environment and the promotion of children's social skills are also included in the interventions on individual level. Interventions on group level constitute the second category. Training children in pro-social strategies is an intervention on group level. It is suggested that teachers should role model pro-

social strategies, be aware of the social dynamics and relationships within the child group, identify children at risk, and reinforce positive behaviour in the group. Literature highlights the importance of a positive relationship between teacher and students and the use of activities that cultivate cooperation. The third category refers to the interventions targeted at the environment. Teachers are expected to inform families of social rules at preschool for promoting the same rules at home. The use of structured play which fosters children's participation, monitoring the room during free play, classroom rules against bullying, and the design of an anti-bullying curriculum are comprised in the interventions targeted at the environment.

A training program that could be used for bullying prevention and intervention is the Incredible Years Dinosaur (Webster-Stratton & Reid, 2004), which aims at enhancing socio-emotional well-being at the preschool age children. It consists of social and problem-solving skills. Simultaneously, it aims at preventing behavioral problems and enhancing academic attainment. The program focuses on the following topics: empathy, emotional literacy skills, interpersonal problem-solving, anger management and communication skills. Training in interpersonal problem-solving can act as a preventive measure. In Greece, the Mental Health Promotion Program "I Can Solve the Problem" (Shure, 2000) was implemented, which a primary prevention program is aiming at strengthening the interpersonal problem-solving skills of preschool children with statistically significant results (Chiou et al., 2005).

Training children in bullying includes the axes: knowledge, attitudes and skills. Teachers can develop the knowledge and understanding of young children by discussing the concept of victimization, the various forms it can take, the harm it can cause, the reasons for which bullying behaviors are unacceptable, and what can be done to address the phenomenon. Attitudes and values can be developed by teaching young children to show empathy to the victims of bullying. The development of a sense of responsibility to help children who are intimidated and acceptance of diversity is also vital to addressing bullying. The skills that are important to be acquired are linked to the ability to protect victims from perpetrators and the ability to manage negative emotions, such as anger. It is also important for children to acquire conflict resolution skills, to peacefully resolve their differences, to provide help, to discourage children who are intimidating, to accept and support children who are intimidated. It is critical that children learn tolerance to the differences in the preschool age and what it means to accept yourself and others as they are. Awareness of the various forms of victimization is also essential. Recognition of the forms of victimization and intervention can prevent future bullying (Levine & Tamburrino, 2015).

METHOD

The sample comprised of 164 preschool teachers from public preschool settings. Overall, 90.2% of the respondents were female and 9.8% male. 23.2% of the participants were aged between 22 and 30 years, 35.4% of the participants between 31 to 40 years, 32.9% were aged between 41 and 50 years and 8.5% of them were above fifty years. Out of 164 preschool teachers, 44.5% reported teaching from 1 to 10 years, 28.7% had taught 11 to 20 years and 14% of the respondents had more than 21 years of teaching experience. Descriptive statistics of the sample are presented in Table 1.

The survey was based on a review of current research literature regarding teachers' perceptions about bullying at the preschool age. A questionnaire was administered to the participants based on previous research (Psalti, Kassapi & Deligianni-Kouimtzi, 2012). The questionnaire was divided into two sections. The first section included demographic data and the second an array of vignettes with the aim of exploring the definitions of bullying and the frequency of bullying incidents. It also included a series of statements regarding teachers' perceptions about the effective strategies for bullying prevention and intervention, which were assessed with a five-point Likert scale. The data presented in this chapter are part of a wider research.

Table 1. Distribution of frequencies of the demographic data of the sample

Gender	Frequency N = 164	Percent (%)
Male	16	9.8
Female	148	90.2
Age		
22-30	38	23.2
31-40	58	35.4
41-50	54	32.9
>50	14	8.5
Work experience		
1-10	73	44.5
11-20	47	28.7
>21	23	14

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 2 shows that the majority of the participants in this study (97.5%) regard that the collaboration between school and family is very effective for addressing bullying, 7.3% have a neutral stance and 0.3% regard discussion and collaboration as ineffective.

Table 2. Distribution of participants' responses regarding the most Effective Strategies for children about bullying intervention

Which of the following strategies do you regard as most effective for addressing the behaviors described in the vignette?					
	Not at all Effective %			Most Effective %	
	1	2		4	5
1. Discussion with students for addressing bullying	5		14		80
2. Supervision of all areas at the school	7.30		18.30		73.70
3. Use of sanctions	27.50		23.80		47.60
4. School-Family collaboration	0.30		7.30		97.50
5. Cooperation with colleagues	7.90		12.80		77.50
6. Cooperation with School Counselor	9.70		18.90		70.80
7. Cooperation with community Services	4.30		28		62.20

This finding aligns with previous research (Nikolaou & Markogiannakis, 2017; Stamatis & Nikolaou, 2016). Parent involvement to intervention is of fundamental importance. Ttofi and Farrington's (2011) meta-analysis highlights that parent meetings and training, parent-teacher conferences and information for parents can prevent bullying incidents. Moreover, effective programs include school-family collaboration (Olweus, 2001). An ecological framework highlights the significance of multiple levels of intervention. Family and community connections is vital to be established (Mann et al., 2015).

Discussion with students is regarded as highly effective for addressing bullying by 80% of the respondents. 14% have a neutral stance, whereas 5% regard discussion with students as ineffective. This finding is in line with previous research (Yoon & Kerber, 2003). They explored teachers' attitudes about intervention strategies and proposed the discussion with students about bullying episodes and school rules. Repo (2015) also supports that efforts for combating bullying include broader interventions in the classroom and open discussion in the kindergarten group.

77.5% of the sample considers that the cooperation with colleagues is a very effective strategy. 12.8% has a neutral stance and 7.9% considers the development of empathy ineffective.

Supervision of all areas at school is considered as an effective strategy for intervention regarding school bullying by 73.7% of the respondents. 18.3% of the sample has a neutral stance, and 7.3% consider this strategy a little effective. The relevant literature suggests that improved playground supervision and discussion with students about everyday conflicts and interactions between classmates in the playground are an important part of anti-bullying intervention (Pepler et al., 2004). Farrington and Ttofi (2009) argue that playground supervision is strongly related to program effectiveness. 70.8% of the respondents regard that the cooperation with a school counselor is very effective in intervention efforts. 8.9% has a neutral stance, whereas 9.7% regards this cooperation as ineffective.

The cooperation between school and community services is considered as an effective strategy by 62.2% of the sample. 28% of the participants in this study have a neutral stance, and 4.3% consider this cooperation ineffective. The development of partnerships with community services could provide prevention education at school and support for children displaying severe difficulties, such as counseling or referral to appropriate services (Pepler & Craig, 2014).

Finally, the use of sanctions is regarded as a very effective strategy by the 47.6% of the participants. 23.8% have a neutral stance, whereas 27.5% regard this strategy as ineffective. Overall, this strategy is regarded as the least effective by the preschool teachers of the sample. A sanction for bullying is a part of bullying intervention programs. Milsom and Gallo (2006) argue that the goals of interventions should include increasing teacher awareness of bullying, the development of clear policies that highlight consequences for bullying and constructive disciplinary practices. Disciplinary strategies related to the removal of the student from class and school environment are not considered to be effective (Ayers et al., 2012).

Farrington and Ttofi (2009) assert that parent training meetings, improved playground supervision, disciplinary methods, teacher training, classroom rules are the most important elements of intervention programs. Kolbert, Schultz and Crothers (2014) contend that an intervention at various levels, such as the development of partnership between school, family and community is postulated by the social-ecological framework. School bullying intervention includes interventions that target at the classroom level, such as classroom discussions, as well

as interventions targeted at all school community members, including staff, students, and parents. Literature supports a multilevel approach directed at the entire school context (Hui, Tsang & Law, 2011).

CONCLUSION

All the above strategies are regarded as effective and they are all included in a systemic approach to the intervention regarding school bullying. The findings indicate that teachers regard that the collaboration between school and family, the discussion with students, the cooperation with colleagues, and the supervision of all areas at school are among the most effective strategies. They also value the cooperation with school counselor and community services. The data have practical implications for the design of interventions and training programs. Teachers' perceptions regarding the effective strategies are critical to the effectiveness of the implementation of intervention, as they are among the key agents of intervention.

Veesnstra et al., (2014) contend that teachers' responses to bullying may exacerbate bullying. Students often believe that teachers are not able to protect them. The understanding of the relation between teachers' responses and bullying occurrences could affect the design of effective interventions. Teachers and students should be taught strategies to support the victims and should not underestimate the severity of bullying episodes. In-service training and professional development opportunities may enhance teachers' knowledge of effective practices and their feeling of self-efficacy regarding intervention skills. Simultaneously, they may develop supportive attitudes toward victims. As the collaboration between school and family as well as the discussion with children about bullying behaviors are considered the most effective strategies for bullying intervention at the preschool age, teachers should be important targets of anti-bullying efforts, which require a whole school approach and the participation of all stakeholders.

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Chapter 32

TEACHING SOCIAL SKILLS, EMPATHY AND ASSERTIVENESS BY TEACHERS AND PARENTS TO PREVENT EARLY CHILDHOOD VIOLENT COMMUNICATION AND BULLYING: TOWARDS A NONVIOLENT COMMUNICATION EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

According to the findings of current studies aggression has made its presence extremely known in the form of violent communication and bullying even in younger children. This chapter refers to the role of early childhood teachers and parents who can separately or inclusively help children (directly or indirectly) in their efforts to effectively deal with violent communication and bullying. Effective addressing of aggressive attitudes helps children develop into calm and nonviolent personalities, succeeding in their personal, family, work, professional, social and any other context or state of their lives. Within this framework, a variety of teaching activities is recommended that could be practiced at school with the help of early childhood teachers or at home with the involvement of parents.

Keywords: social skills, teaching activities, parents' involvement, communication, bullying

INTRODUCTION

According to the literature, aggression is an instinctive behavior, which occurs in every living being as an inherent mechanism of survival, self-protection and domination on

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individuals of the same or another kind, on familiar or foreign group members etc. (Oren, 2015; Stamatis, 2013). Normally, aggression is controlled by the individuals themselves, who can restrain their aggressive tendencies whenever necessary, disciplining between their personal powers, desires, beliefs, needs, motivations, etc. and the rules that define socially acceptable behaviors in the context of ethics, logic and consciousness (Alvarez & Bachman, 2016). In pathological cases, individuals cannot voluntarily control their aggression. In these cases, medication, counseling or psychological support is required. In extreme cases, dangerous aggressive behavior may be treated with corporal punishment, reformation or imprisonment.

In modern times, social problems continue to grow while public expenditure on social policies has internationally decreased. As a result, there is a steady increase of aggression levels in every social group, even in groups of young children. School bullying is a typical case of aggressive behavior in everyday reality. In school settings, this reality manifests itself in various forms, such as physical, verbal or psychological violence exerted by children-bullies towards children-victims who suffer the consequences of aggressive or passive-aggressive behavior (Adams, 2016; Brandt & Rhoschild, 2013).

The exposure of young children to bullying situations taking place either at school or at home must be addressed promptly and effectively. Therefore, the role of teachers and parents is considered to be extremely important. Teachers and parents can act individually or collaboratively if they wish to achieve better results in effectively addressing bullying at school, at home or in the wider social environment. In this chapter, some classroom activities are discussed for the development of early childhood pupils' social skills, which are considered essential for the prevention of early childhood violence and bullying. The school of 21st century, the school of today and, even more, the school of the future must stand out for providing a highly cognitive, emotional, nonviolent and communicational education. All members of each school community should communicate with calmness, courtesy, mutual respect and logic, applying a commonly accepted framework of communication rules. The reification of such schools may be possible only when early childhood education becomes the central concern of educational policies, because the children of that age are the future of every society.

TEACHING SOCIAL SKILLS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Young children need to learn and effectively apply many social skills to prevent and face the possibility of developing violent communication and bullying behaviors. The pre-school environment constitutes a natural learning environment and a safe haven where children can acquire and practice social skills. Early childhood education teachers can teach, educate and prepare young children to practice the appropriate skills to develop friendships and help in curbing and preventing violent communication and school bullying (Kodakos & Stamatis, 2002). Social skills can be taught to children through presentations, discussions, narratives, video games, role plays, puppetry, games and activities related to the curriculum, adapted to the age and developmental level of pre-school children. Young children are particularly keen on acquiring and practicing social skills when concrete examples are provided to them, which they can understand and apply them to their life. Kindergartens have the opportunity on a daily

basis to allow children to do what they have learned and guide them by giving them suggestions, encouragement, and feedback. As children begin to acquire social skills, pre-school teachers can gradually reduce their level of support towards them (Stamatis, 2011). Three of the most important social skills related to the prevention of school bullying are empathy, self-confidence and problem solving. These skills and activities that could be developed in pre-school education in the framework of Communication Education are described below in more detail.

Empathy

Empathetic children react with affection to what others think and feel. They understand that school bullying hurts like violent communication and all violent behaviors as well. They are less likely to intimidate and more likely to help children who are victims of school bullying. Preschool teachers can help pupils understand how children who are bullied feel and how they would feel if they were intimidated. In kindergartens, the implementation and practice of specific activities can protect young children from becoming bullies. Such activities may include what is mentioned below. Preschool teachers may change parts of the proposed activities using their imagination and experience.

Description of Emotions

Preschool teachers ask children to describe how they would feel in the case they saw someone being intimidated or if they were victims of intimidation themselves or if they intimidated another child. Then, teachers explain to the children that violence can lead to strong feelings, such as anger, wrath and fear. While it is acceptable for somebody to feel these emotions, it is never acceptable to react by committing violent actions, such as hurting someone deliberately. Teachers conclude saying that with the cooperation of the whole class, it is possible to fight intimidation, so that no child in their group will ever need to experience the intense feelings that bullying provokes.

Different and Similar

Early childhood teachers talk with the children about the fact that all people, young and old, differ from each other in many ways. Some children are big, and others are small. Some children run fast, and others run slowly. Some kids prefer to play with blocks and others like to paint. Then, educators ask children to think and answer the question, “How would their group be if they were all the same?” If they were all like one another, it might be nice at first, since everyone would agree on everything, but gradually it would become boring as they would never try something new or something different. Differences between children make their team stronger, more interesting and more capable of doing different things. Then, teachers explain to children that “bullies” may intimidate other children simply because they are different, trying to make the differences look like bad things or weaknesses rather than assets as they really are. Then, teachers discuss the many ways in which children look like one another. All children eat, sleep, grow and have feelings. All children are hurt when they are forced to do something they do not want to. At the end of the activity, teachers summarize by explaining that everyone should agree to appreciate individual differences, recognize that nobody likes to be intimidated and that they should never threaten someone simply because he/she is different.

Helping Others Feel Better

Initially, teachers ask children to discuss with their group what they could do to help others feel better and how they could understand the feelings of others. The children might answer that they would ask the other children to express how they feel or they would observe their facial expressions and body language as well as their behavior in general. In this way, somebody could understand if a child is happy or sad, if s/he feels bad, if s/he has friends or feels alone, etc. Then, teachers ask pupils to say what they could do to cheer up a sad child and make him/her feel better. Children, in this case, usually answer that it would be nice to pay attention to what a sad child says, reward him/her and invite him/her to play with them or other children.

Extending the activity, teachers could use role-play to help children practice recognizing a child who is feeling sad and helping this child feel better. They divide the class into pairs and ask one child to pretend that s/he feels bad because s/he has been intimidated, whereas from the other child they ask to play the role of the supporter who tries in various ways to make the child who has been bullied feel better. Then, teachers ask children to change roles and repeat the activity. Finally, the teacher discusses with all the children in the class the experiences they gained after playing each of the two roles in this activity.

Acts of Goodness

Early childhood teachers discuss with the children how a gentle gesture may become the opposite of violence, as it helps the other person feel better. An act of kindness usually creates positive emotions. Then, they ask children to describe a good act they have done, how that act made the other person feel, and how they felt themselves by doing this act. In addition, teachers ask each child to prepare an act of kindness that s/he would perform on that day for another child in the classroom. At the end of the day, teachers talk with the children about the good deeds they have done and the feelings they experienced themselves, but also the children who received these acts. Finally, teachers point out that a good act is not just a wonderful thing to do for someone else, but something that makes you feel nice, as well.

The Golden Rule

At the beginning of the activity, early childhood teachers ask children if they have ever heard the Golden Rule saying, “Do unto others what you would like them to do to you.” The same rule could also be expressed as “Do not do to others what you would not like them to do to you.” Then, teachers ask if the children who intimidate care about the feelings of other children and if they treat others the way they would like others to treat them. Later, they discuss several cases of the things they would not like to suffer from others or do to other children, for example:

- “I would not want anyone to say I’m a fool, so I will not say “You’re stupid” to anyone else.”
- “I would not want someone to pull my hair, so I will not pull the hair of someone else,” etc.
- After this activity, teachers discuss about things that children would like others to do for them and what they might do for other children, for example:
- “I would like someone to ask me to play together, so I will ask someone to play with me.”

- “I would like someone to tell me that I have painted a beautiful picture, so I will tell someone that s/he has painted a wonderful picture.”

The activity is completed after reminding the team to treat other children the same way they would like others to treat them.

Modeling Mutual Assistance

Teachers discuss with the children about the ways in which bullying behavior leads both the child who intimidates and the child who is bullied to disrespect one another and feel more like enemies than friends. Then, teachers could use pictures, stories, puppets, or other aids to give examples of the various ways that children and adults can show they care about the feelings of others and can help each other. Finally, teachers discuss how affectionate behaviors make both the “giver” and the “receiver” feel joyful and lovely. In this way, teachers provide children with affectionate and non-violent models that highlight the important role of solidarity to others.

Self-Confidence

Children who are self-confident can defend themselves and others in a fair and respectful way. They know how to deal with a “bully” in an effective and non-aggressive way, and are less likely to become the first target-choice of “annoyers” (Richmond & McCroskey, 1997). Early childhood teachers can help young children use their abilities to prevent intimidating behaviors and to stand up to potential school bullying by defending themselves and others without using aggressive behavior, but self-confidence. Learning assertiveness skills helps someone express their feelings and defend their rights in a way that respects the feelings and rights of others. Self-confidence skills can help young children (a) achieve their goals without intimidation, (b) avoid becoming victims of intimidation, (c) react effectively when they are intimidated (without counterattacking or submitting), and (d) defend children who are targets of intimidation. Both boys and girls must be taught self-confidence skills as an alternative for accepting aggressive behavior in boys and submissive behavior in girls. The help of intimate adults, such as parents, siblings and teachers, positively contributes to the development of assertiveness skills and the stopping of bullying. In this framework, teachers could carry out the following activities to help young children develop and practice the self-confidence skills they need to succeed in preventing and tackling school bullying.

Stay Calm

Activities for developing self-confidence can begin by teaching simple relaxation and self-restraining techniques to address any negative emotion. At the beginning of the activity, early childhood teachers could discuss with children how people who experience a bullying situation may feel, if they feel angry, afraid, sad, upset, embarrassed, and confused or all these feelings combined. Then, they ask pupils what people do when they feel us such. Are they shouting, hurling objects, breaking things, hiding, crying or trying to make someone else feel the way they feel themselves? Depending on the responses they receive from the children, teachers ask children again if they think that these behaviors are good or useful, explaining that sometimes a person can experience intense negative emotions. These feelings are important because they

often tell us that something is wrong and needs to be corrected. But, strong emotions can also lead people to wrong behaviors, unless they learn how to calm themselves, keep their temper and do the right thing to improve a situation. After that, educators ask children to say what they could do to keep their calmness and coolness whenever they feel angry, frightened or upset in a bullying situation. After listening to the children, teachers suggest the following techniques in order to maintain their calmness in situations of intense stress due to intimidation: (a) closing their eyes, (b) taking many, slow and deep breaths, (c) counting slowly up to ten, (d) feeling proud that they remain calm, (e) relaxing the muscles of their face and body, (f) speaking silently to themselves by repeating the phrase “stay calm and restrain (yourself),” (g) drinking some water, (h) sit next to a person they trust. Finally, teachers ask each child to choose the best techniques and practice them.

Ignorance

Children trying to intimidate other children often seek an occasion, a word or a sign against their provocative behavior. If children learn how to actively ignore behaviors associated with intimidation, the potential “bullies” may lose interest. Teachers explain to children that when another child does minor things that annoy them without hurting them, they can often make the child stop by simply keeping their temper and ignoring him/her in an active way. The ways of active ignorance include stopping the game, moving away from the child that teases, turning the body in another direction, avoiding the gaze, refusing to answer a question, and being indifferent. In the framework of exercises that strengthen the skill of ignorance, teachers, after discussing with children, can play the role of the “bully” and show how the child that is provoking often loses interest, when one or more of his/her efforts have been ignored.

“Yes or No”

Early childhood educators can teach children how to respect their own rights and the rights of others, how to reject an intimidating claim and how to accept a polite request instead. In this activity, children exercise their ability to decide whether to politely answer or not to a question or a request as well as to accept the “no” or “yes” of other children.

At the beginning of the activity, teachers ask children what they would like to say to a child who is persistently asking for a specific toy. If the children respond that they would like to refuse, then the teacher asks them how they should say no. If the children answer that they would like to accept, the teacher should explain the difference between demanding and asking politely for the acquisition of something. They can show this difference by coloring differently their voice or using the word “please.” Then, teachers explain to the children that it is always acceptable for somebody to reject an intimidating request. But, if a child is kindly asking for something, then they can choose whether to accept or refuse to do what this child is asking for. After that, the teacher divides the children into pairs and gives a toy to one of the children. Then, s/he asks the child without the toy to demand the toy that the other child has. At the same time, the educator asks the toy-holder to keep his/her temper and respond dynamically “No, I am now playing with it. You can have it when I'm done.” Then, the teacher tells the child who does not have the toy to politely ask for it. The other child can choose to answer politely either “No, I'm playing with it. You can have it when I'm done” or “Yes, you can play with it now.” Finally, the educator asks the child without the toy to answer by saying “Okay, I'll wait until you're done” or “Okay, thank you for allowing me to play with it.” The same role-play continues with all the pairs.

Intimidation's Tackle

It is important for young children to learn how to react in an active way to school bullying. When they know how to assert their rights and vigorously defend others, they gain a sense of control and self-confidence that they can deter others from engaging in violence. Early childhood teachers can teach children that are being intimidated and children who are witnesses of bullying situations how to stop intimidation by responding confidently to the “bullies” or by asking for help from an adult. Teachers can begin this activity by discussing the best ways to respond to a bullying situation. They ask children to say what they think will happen in case they face a child who intimidates with a counterattack or if they reward his/her behavior by showing subordination. Teachers conclude that if children succumb, intimidation will continue. After that, they explain to the children that the best way to stop a bullying behavior is to react dynamically to intimidation by claiming and defending themselves, whether they are intimidated or whether they see another child experiencing intimidation. Then, teachers remind the children that they can ask for help from an adult, as they are facing a difficult situation. The use of similar activities would allow children to practice tackling intimidation by showing self-confidence instead of indifference and not hesitating in asking for help from an adult person they trust. The successful confrontation of bullying needs zero tolerance from its very beginning.

Problem Solving

Children, who can solve problems, know how to analyze and resolve social problems in a creative way (Xanthakou & Kaila, 2011). School bullying differs from other social problems that children may experience. For example, while a conflict can be resolved through negotiation and compromise, intimidation cannot, because it involves an inequality of forces, as the one who intimidates has more power than the victim. Solving a problem related to school bullying requires an analysis of the problem from the target-victim's and/or attendees' perspective and sometimes the teacher's intervention.

Early childhood teachers can help young children understand the problem of intimidation and how to use a variety of constructive, non-aggressive problem-solving skills to help prevent and tackle school bullying. The development of these skills goes through the stages of clarifying the problem, finding solutions, anticipating possible impacts and choosing the most effective solutions. The following activities give young children the opportunity to develop and practice the problem-solving skills they need to help prevent and counteract the phenomenon of school bullying.

Scenarios and Consequences of Bullying

In this activity, teachers present children with scenarios describing cases of bodily, verbal and social intimidation. Then, educators ask children to think and suggest possible ways of coping with these situations as well as the possible consequences that will arise in every case. By exercising role-play between teachers and pupils, an opportunity is provided for practicing potential bullying scenarios in which adult's help may be needed.

Problem-Solving Team

In this activity, teachers ask children to work together as a problem-solving team to solve a problem - a painful behavior (verbal, physical or social) that, if not stopped, may turn into intimidation. Then, the children are invited to reflect on and discuss the following scenario: "Two children want to play at the same time with the same toy. One of them demands and takes the toy violently, while the other child succumbs." Teachers explain to children that most school bullying behaviors start from similar situations, when a child demands and succeeds in taking what s/he wants by exerting violence on another child who succumbs. Finally, after providing pupils with more related scenarios, teachers ask children to discuss and suggest solutions as an outcome of their working groups.

TEACHING SOCIAL SKILLS IN FAMILY ENVIRONMENT

Parents' co-operation with early childhood teachers on the level of bullying prevention among their young children is extremely significant. Parents can become teachers at home and teach their children in a pleasant and effective way using various methods. Initially, parents should realize that the daily discussion about bullying in a friendly and supportive mood helps children understand its characteristics and dimensions. For example, parents should talk with their children about the meaning of intimidation, share personal stories about intimidation, help their children distinguish between funny teasing and offensive mockery (among other children behaviors that occur inadvertently and deliberately), encourage their children to socialize and not exclude their classmates, read books about intimidation with their children, etc.

In some cases, parents need help from teachers in order to understand how those behaviors of bullying in early childhood are expressed and for what reason an intervention for prevention is important. Furthermore, parents may react in multiple ways when they are informed that their child was involved in a bullying incident. Some parents may get upset, whereas others may deny the fact and, also, refuse to participate in any intervention program which aims at the improvement of their child's behavior, believing that this is a normal behavior to that age. So, parents should know that the school personnel take into serious consideration any bullying expression and its prevention, and that parents' cooperation and support are not only welcome, but also necessary.

Bullying incidents may be resolved more easily, if the school staff and mainly teachers can communicate with parents regularly and without any reservations. Parents should be immediately informed when a bullying incident occurs, if and in which way their child was involved and how this incident ended. They should also be informed if their child offered help, either by interfering or by asking help from an adult.

As there are many reactions of parents, it is important for teachers to understand parents' concerns and support their feelings when they discuss with them, in order not to make them feel offended. Preschool teachers may also reassure parents about the fact that bullying behaviors (which are not normal at that age as many people believe), will be eliminated more easily in the early stages of their manifestation rather than later, by following scientific methods and practices, whether their child is the victim or the 'perpetrator.'

In addition, teachers could organize workshops for parents to discuss topics related to pedagogical issues such as the development of their children's personality as well as their social

or emotional skills, etc. Information on bullying programs could be distributed to parents via brochures when the child is enrolled at school, sent by e-mail, posted on the school's website, sent by SMS or by using any other (appropriate) medium. Early childhood teachers and parents can gradually create a school culture that promotes the values of kindness, 'smooth' school and social inclusion, voluntary discipline, etc., supporting all children in their development. In general, parents should not listen to the word "bullying" only when it concerns their child.

Parents can help their children at home develop the important social skills they need to prevent bullying. Such skills are empathy, self-confidence and providence.

1. As mentioned above, *empathy* is commonly defined as the ability of a person to enter in another's position (Zangzouris & Purkos, 1997). Cole and Cole (2001) define empathy as the participation in the emotional experience of the other, while for Hoffman (2001) empathy is the ability of a person to perceive the feelings of others and to be able to experience the corresponding emotional state in which another person is located. Parents can therefore contribute to the development of their children's empathy by playing a more catalytic role in their nurture, since they constitute the cornerstone of shaping their children's personality. They can encourage them to express their feelings through verbal and nonverbal behaviors and help their classmates, by showing affection and kindness, as well as teach them to show good-natured and polite behavior both within the family and school environment.

2. Children should feel they are important, possess values and skills, be positive towards themselves and be able to overcome the obstacles that appear before them. If that happens, children will have acquired *self-confidence* skills. Parents play an important role in developing this skill, since at the very tender age of early childhood; children are still imitating the attitudes of their familiar persons. Therefore, parents should help their children know their personality and accept it as it is. They must set realistic, but also small goals and praise their children for what they have achieved. They could also entrust them with specific responsibilities at home, enabling them to feel useful. In addition, it is advisable to discuss with their children and listen to their opinions without judging their views and imposing on their own perspectives. Also, by not stimulating competition with their peers, parents encourage them to ignore possible challenges and stay cool during conflicts. Finally, they should advise children to react against the irrational demands of their peers by saying "no," support them express their point of view, encourage them to ask for help either from the nursery teacher or the school staff and motivate them to rely on their own strengths by showing self-confidence.

3. Beyond the development of the two above mentioned skills, children should also cultivate the skill of *providence*, that is, the ability to anticipate when an intimidating episode will occur to them or their peers. Parents could help their children develop this skill by encouraging them to think differently and find more than one solution to a potential problem. Thus, in case of a possible intimidating behavior, children may be able to invent alternative reactions and may also predict the consequences of these reactions. It is also helpful to advise their children against being simply viewers of an intimidating incident, but to help their peers by standing up and seeking for help, especially from the preschool teacher, whose intervention will be immediate. Therefore, the aim of prevention is to strengthen the positive and responsible behavior of children and correct the negative (Scott et al., 2007), in a reinforcing way.

SUPPORTIVE FRAMEWORK FOR CHILDREN WITH SOCIAL AND SCHOLAR INCAPACITIES

The most appropriate person to support parents whose children either intimidate or experience some form of intimidation, is the early childhood teacher. S/he is the person who should act immediately and resolve the situation in the case of a bullying episode. Early childhood teacher should discuss with pupils about their rights, the school's behavior rules, as well as the proper ways to deal with a bullying incident. S/he should also encourage children to express their anger in different ways, such as by painting or performing a role-play and not by injuring their peers physically or psychologically. S/he should advise pupils to be friends and/or reinforce the solidarity by developing teaching activities like those mentioned above. The early education educator should be present in all school areas so as to supervise the pupils, even during recess so as to prevent any intimidating situations.

Every country uses different management strategies to deal with school bullying issues. In some economically powerful countries, such as the United States of America, there is an organized system to address the phenomenon of school bullying. When an incident occurs, nursery school teachers inform the child's parents immediately, and, after a mutual agreement, the child is referred to a counselor for follow-up assessment. The counselor is the most appropriate person to conduct the Functional Behavioral Assessment (FBA), examining the classroom's environment and the stimulus which triggered the aggressive behavior. The counselor works directly with the child, only if parents agree, and after having studied his/her case, s/he may suggest strategies to help the child overcome the violent behavior. The preschool teacher, after studying the FBA's results, may refer the child for further evaluation to the school's special education department, which can identify the exact needs of the child, and is able to refer the child to even more specified services, such as speech therapy or psychological and emotional support, if necessary. Finally, under the federal law on the education of disabled people, a variety of intervention services is offered for children under 3 years old, and special educational services for children and young people with disabilities from 3 to 22 years old.

In Greece, as well as in other countries with similar status and features, there is evidence of surveys, which certify the increase of the phenomenon of school bullying and the effectiveness of direct intervention by both teachers and parents. Despite the evidence, the country lacks an educational policy for the confrontation of such phenomena from the Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs. It is also missing an establishment of procedures to accurately record the incident and the recruitment of educated counselors who will be specialized in bullying phenomena, cooperate with parents, and supervise the preschoolers during the lesson and the recess. All educational institutions should also be equipped with professionals specializing in children's mental health, such as child psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers, as well as developing programs for the promotion of children's mental health that will be directly linked to the curriculum of the specific establishment.

In the United States of America a significant number of interventional programs for children with behavioral difficulties were recorded in the relevant literature, which could be implemented and have a notable impact. Some of them are:

- Function based intervention (FBI) (Kamps et al., 2011; Nahgahgwon et al., 2010; Blood & Nell, 2007; Lane, Kalberg & Menzies, 2009).
- Response to intervention- RTI) (Greshman, 2014; Lane et al., 2009; Maag & Katsiyannis, 2008).
- “Incredible Years” - The Incredible Years Teacher Classroom Management (IYTCM) Program (Webster-Stratton et al., 2011).
- Other approaches (ecosystem, humanitarian).

In Greece, none of the above programs are applied, because there is not any clear policy for addressing bullying by the Ministry of Education. On the other hand, according to Scanlon and Bamed (2013), even if one of them was applied, early childhood teachers’ beliefs would be an obstacle, as they may influence in a negative way the inclusion of preschoolers with problematic behavior into the school community. The success of all integration policies (Scanlon & Barnes, 2013; Goodman & Burton, 2010), is directly related to early childhood teachers’ views. If the teachers do not believe in the effectiveness of these programs and do not support them, then, certainly, even if these programs are implemented, they will not be efficient.

Concerning what was mentioned above, the contradiction that exists in the addressing of the phenomenon is clearly noticeable, despite having become incredibly widespread in recent years. Since there is not any formal and recognized intervention of the state to eliminate school intimidation, parents should often communicate with the school personnel, if they think that their child or another child bullies or is being bullied. If a preschooler is constantly being bullied or victimization, then all school staff should collaborate with parents and create a personalized intervention program and/or seek special counseling.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, developing social skills is the most effective way to cope with bullying in both prevention and confrontation levels. The school environment under teachers’ responsibility and the family environment under parents’ control could be the best settings for learning social skills that would tackle school bullying, such as empathy, self-confidence, problem solving, and prevention. Various activities like those mentioned in this chapter could be developed in school and family environments. Moreover, both teachers and parents could use their experience and imagination to design and implement even more interesting teaching activities to practice social skills. School and family co-operation and collaboration could lead to the best possible results in preventing and dealing with school bullying for the benefit of all children, bullies and victims.

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Chapter 33

LITERATURE AND NOVELS AS TEACHING STRATEGIES FOR VIOLENT COMMUNICATION AND EARLY CHILDHOOD BULLYING PREVENTION

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ABSTRACT

Juvenile delinquent behavior appears in various forms in contemporary educational reality and it is known with the international term “bullying.” The aim of the present work is to inform and raise awareness of preschool children about the meaning and dimensions of violent communication and bullying, using novels for children, three of which are listed in this study. It is posited that quality child literary novels on the one hand provide the opportunity for a holistic and systematic view of the problematic behaviors that appear in the school environment and, in the other hand, propose strategies to prevent, detect and cope with these behaviors. Through narration, we argue that the children’s decision making may be positively influenced to prevent them from resorting to violent communication and bullying in their everyday lives.

Keywords: school bullying, violent communication, pre-school education, literature, novels, communication

INTRODUCTION

The term “bullying” proposed by Dan Olweus (1993) refers to a situation in which a student is being bullied or victimized when subjected to aggressive acts by one or more of his/her peers, when he or she experiences or causes unpleasant feelings or soul trauma, pain and discomfort that impede their psycho-emotional and learning development. Bullying is an asymmetric

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power relationship in which the victim is unable to react and defend him/herself. It is also a form of aggressive and violent communication that leads to the development of non-social behavior, which disrupts people's communication and sociability (Stamatis, 2013). Although school violence is mostly described as a kind of action, Besag stresses that (1989, p. 4) "bullying is the repeated attack - physical, psychological, social, or verbal - by those in a position of power on those who are powerless to resist, with the intention of causing distress for their own gain or gratification."

In this paper, we argue that the phenomenon of school bullying requires a systemic approach, in order to appropriately describe the variety of parameters (school and social) that are linked with the occurrence of problematic behaviors in schools. Problematic behavior is perceived both as a disharmony of the system and as a result of malignant social interaction, because the cause of the occurrence of problematic behavior is understood in the context of actions and interactions between participants in a particular environment. Furthermore, we draw upon the notion of emotional intelligence, which may be defined as the "capacity for recognizing our own feelings and those of others, for motivating ourselves, and for managing emotions well in ourselves and in our relationships" (Goleman, 1998, p. 4). In this context, we posit that literature - and especially children's literature - offers mediated experiences with teaching content, thus positively contributing to the cultivation and the development of emotional intelligence, which is a basic prerequisite for acquiring communicative and social skills, especially in childhood and for shaping children's personality. In specific, Allen (1999) noted that child literacy is an ideal source of help for children's feelings' management, because books are a way to deal with sadness, to manage destabilizing differences and gain self-esteem. Hence, literature excerpts may help the children in developing the five main elements of emotional intelligence, namely self-awareness, motivation, self-regulation, empathy and adeptness in relationships. When the excerpts are appropriately written, they allow children to identify with heroes and help them to comprehend complex things at the same time when they young children try to adapt to the unexpectedly complicated process of growing up.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to employ novel narration of literary texts written for preschoolers and children of early childhood, in order for the teachers and/or parents (in the role of narrators) to facilitate the children's appropriately dealing with violent communication and bullying in their everyday life. The aim of this study is to present an exemplary way of using literature to address antisocial attitudes with communication skills development and to suggest "phillanagnosia" (one's desire for reading) as an excellent medium for growing spiritual culture and social sensitivity (Raptou, 2017). Qualitative literary works, by which the phenomenon of violence in the school, family, and/or social environment is approached, are supportive strategies to detect and prevent this phenomenon.

In the present study, bullying is approached from the perspective of children's literature as a result of the existence of violent communication in interpersonal relationships. The risk factors contributing to its occurrence and the time of its first appearance are examined, in order for early intervention in preschool children to be allowed. This work focuses mainly on preschool education because, according to the literature, at that age children are able to develop

friendly relationships and acquire interpersonal communication skills more than at any other age of their lives (Stamatis, 2015). This age also allows the learning and promotion of specifically expected behaviors and the development of social skills, the lack of which is the cause and the consequence of the children's involvement in intimidation and victimization situations (Crain, Finch & Foster, 2005; Keller, Spieker & Gilchrist, 2005).

Moreover, the above-mentioned relationships begin to form at that age and be more complete at an older age. The simple plot and rough description of characters and behaviors is, in addition, an appropriate means for familiarizing children with literary content and making them smoothly assimilate the moral-teaching message it encompasses. Therefore, the present work provides the basis for preventively tackling the problem of school bullying, which is considered as a form of communicative violence existing even in the pre-school environment, combined with a variety of racist, xenophobic or homophobic perceptions. Through literature and novels, the children practise identifying and analyzing the emotions of engaging in intimidating incidents and in skills' learning to actively cope with bullying incidents in education.

METHOD

In order for the aim of this study to be achieved, the content analysis of three Greek child novels was used as the basic research method. The novels are an exemplary sample of similar literature works written and/or read by children, teachers or parents around the globe. Content analysis was chosen, because it is a method of indirect observation of social phenomena, with the ultimate aim of interpreting the written or verbal discourse, namely the analysis of social communication, its extensions and its consequences (Mukherji & Albon, 2015; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Content analysis is linked with the categorization of the data, which is a prerequisite for the method's success, since the categories include the essence of the research. The greatest difficulty of the present study was the creation of a limited number of categories, in order for important conclusions to be reached. A second difficulty, which exceeded the first one, was the different way in which each of the three novels examined in this study, presented the phenomenon of bullying and its consequences. The categorization, which was finally chosen, determined the structure of the study of novels, the abstracts of which are presented below. All of them show in a different way some similarities related to the violent communication and bullying in educational environments.

ABSTRACTS OF THE NOVELS

Abstract I: "Together" by Eleni Priovolou

This novel refers to social racism, as experienced by a group of children in a neighborhood and in a school. Myron is the victim of a child gang called Beetles. For those children, Myron was the mosquito, the short, the tender donut and, thus, the perfect victim, because he was different in his soul and habits from the Beetles' members. One day, Luna appears in Myron's life, changing everything. As she was also a victim of social racism, mainly because of her dark

skin color, she does not accept Beetles' behavior passively, but she struggles and raises her courage, against those who fight her. Luna and Myron's joining their strengths offered the other children different lenses to see the world and to start walking on the right path; for example, this happened for Vanda, who initially judged people by their skin color, but finally she learned that there were many white people with a "black" heart, meaning the evil people. Actually, both the content and the spirit of this novel are against any prejudices, which garner violence and bullying.

Summary II: "Peter's Girl" by Argyro Moutzaki

The novel titled "Peter's girl" is a story that combines incidents of school bullying and racism. Alisa is the protagonist of the novel. She is a very beautiful fourteen-year-old Pakistani, who had recently arrived with her family in Greece. As she does not speak Greek, she has difficulty in fitting in her classroom and starting a new life. Her parents and her seventeen-year-old brother make a living by doing manual labor jobs. Alisa is Peter's best friend, who is a very good child of a middle-class Greek family. Greek girls are outraged, because Alisa, a foreigner in their class, attracts Peter's interest. Among all girls, Lucia is the most furious. She is a Greek girl, who will soon immigrate with her family to another country. She is outraged, because she believes that Alisa's parents took her parents' jobs. Lucia attacks Alisa, who does not talk, because she is ashamed, scared, and does not want to embarrass her parents. This gives her a great deal of sadness, until one day she finds the courage to speak. After that, her difficulties are gradually softened with some adults' help.

Summary III: "The Hard Nut" by Eleni Svoronou

Aisa is the name of a nine-year-old refugee girl from Afghanistan. She is one of the millions of refugee children, who abandon their country, home, school, and friends every year, alone or with their families, in order to save themselves from war and violence. Aisa has been found in Athens with her mother and brother, where the living conditions are difficult, as there are many shortcomings, long and lasting uncertainty. She feels stressed about her father, who is not with the rest of the family. Aisa goes to school, but the other children are cautious and display an arrogant contempt for her. Aisa, as a hard nut, chokes back her tears, gives her battle and wins it. The heroes of the novel are Aisa's Greek classmates. All of them are children growing up in a country that experiences the consequences of a deep financial crisis. They are children, who must also deal with the difficult reality of refugee life. The Greek children are called to get ahead of themselves and to support their refugee classmates; they are called to accept their peers by overcoming the racist stereotypes and the xenophobic prejudices.

RESULTS

The approach of violent communication and bullying through literature refers to the method of *bibliotherapy*, which emphasizes the employment of realistic narratives with

veritable heroes that are closer to the students' everyday life and their problems. Russell and Shrodes (cited in Silverberg, 2003, p. 132) define bibliotherapy as "a process of dynamic interaction between the personality of the reader and literature--an interaction which may be used for personality assessment, adjustment, and growth." In general, narratives can work proactively and therapeutically, contributing to the cognitive understanding and emotional experiencing of complexity of such a complicated phenomenon, as the phenomena of violent communication and school bullying are (Tinker & Wilson, 1999). The benefits of reading books are generally the emotional and spiritual development that children gain according to Goddard (2011, p. 57), who claims that "[r]eading to children is central to their development. Books provide a safe medium for children to explore different concepts, feelings, and attitudes while allowing them to better understand their environment, community, and societal expectations. Reading to children increases self-esteem, gives comfort, and may aid children in coping with difficult situations." In particular, the benefit of reading children's literacy books is the fact that it promotes the young children's ability to identify with the hero of the novel, who may face similar problems. Identification with the novel characters and emotional engaging with them operate as a teaching issue which allows or encourages the children to use similar ways for addressing the problems that they encounter.

In the framework of bibliotherapy, reading novels can be a strategy for developing interventional actions within the school unit, where the participating children, whether consciously or unconsciously identify with the heroes, they become producers and expressers of personal thoughts and feelings, they make judgments and, ultimately, assessments that gradually turn into life stances and attitudes (Gregory & Vessey, 2004). The main purpose of these interventions is for the children to be informed about the various aspects of violent communication and school bullying, as well as for the improvement of the emotional and social development of the children, as a result of their participation in a "realistic story of intimidation," namely the creation and development of feelings related to solidarity, empathy and mutual-protection. In the novels being studied in this chapter, the heroes seem to be real, they act in environments that are very similar to the situations the children experience in their familiar school environment, and, therefore, the children-readers experience the situations mentioned in the novels as simulation situations, in which they are called upon to develop social skills (such as conflict management and development of a friendly school climate etc). It should be stressed that all those who either directly or indirectly participate in school life have shares of responsibility for the quality of the school climate, by developing a multitude of interpersonal interactions within their daily communication relationships (Stamatis, 2015).

Moreover, the narrative techniques contribute to the development of the reader's empathy. The third-person narrative, sometimes autonomous, as in the novel titled "Together," sometimes alternating with the first-person narration, gradually reveals the story (as is the case of the other two novels examined in the present study). At one time, a neutral and omnipotent narrator and, at another time, the inner perspective of the participants in the novel's story, both enable the reader to enter the children's psychological world and to face the events through their sharp and innocent glance. The alternation of narration from first to third person attempts to outline the subject from a dual perspective and shows things with greater realism. The originality lies in the fact that the novel story of Alisa, a Pakistani girl who attended high school lessons, is mainly portrayed through the first-person narration made by a little girl, called Alkmini, Peter's sister, who is one of Alisa's classmates.

The contribution of the novel's illustration is as important as their content. The imaginative and purposeful pictures animate the heroes, embellish their expressions, complement and point out Alisa's story in the best possible way in the novel "Peter's girl." The intense, harsh and dark colors and deep reds of the images mostly convey the climate and color of Afghanistan, the country of Aisa in the novel titled "The hard nut." Boys and girls dressed in dark colors, headscarves wrapped in girlish faces, seem to be the means to claim the right to live, play, coexist and accept diversity by the classmates within the school area. Appropriate illustrations dynamically highlight the longstanding problem of people's acceptance, coexistence and living together with the diversity created by refugees, forced immigration and the violent expatriation of people.

The three children's novels examined in the present study are points of encounter with the current multiculturalism of the Greek classroom, because, as noted in "Peter's girl": "Many things in life function as a circle. At the place we stand, someone else will stand after a while. Everything changes rapidly" (p. 75). Multiculturalism refers to a state of coexistence of many nationalities, while interculturalism refers to the approach of this situation, drawing upon the experiences of all those living in the same country: local residents and immigrants. Intercultural education aims to improve social cohesion and justice. It targets, as in the case of literature, at the cultivation of respect and the development of positive attitudes among people of different ethnic, cultural and religious background. Furthermore, it improves the pupils' ability to look at the educational and social phenomena from the perspective of different cultures and not only from the predominant one (Govaris, 2013).

In all three children's novels examined in this study, the main forms of violent communication and school bullying were identified, namely: (a) verbal bullying; revealed by mockery and insults, (b) indirect, social and relational bullying; manifested by social isolation, crowd exclusion and group manipulation, (c) extortion, (d) visual bullying; revealed with offending notes, (e) digital/cyberbullying; emerged with the use and exploitation of internet technology and mobile phones, (f) discrimination based on gender differences, (g) discrimination; based on ethnic origin which constitute manifestations of racist treatment of immigrants and refugees. The three parameters that distinguish bullying from aggressiveness, according to Olweus (1993), which are the unnecessary or unprovoked aggressive individual or group behavior, the repeatability of behavior and power imbalance among the bully and the victim, were also identified in this study.

As a result of the holistic view of violent communication and school bullying, the representation of the role of the children involved in these phenomena is precise. Thus, through the heroes of the three novels examined in the present study, the classical profile of the victim and the perpetrator is met, as noted by Kourakis (2009): (a) the perpetrator - usually a boy - appears as a person having physical strength; a person distinguished for his athletic performance; a person who is provocative against others with a tendency of domination; a person that does not obey the school rules, who uses violence to resolve differences, gaining satisfaction of such behavior, ignoring the problems of others, (b) the victim appears as a weak person and with strong features of ethnic or religious diversity. Despite the fact that the victim usually experiences anxiety, unsafety, diminished self-esteem, introversion and is not encouraged to defend himself/herself or (s)he is seeking for others' help, the protagonists-victims of the examined novels show a dynamic character, which is capable of reacting and overtaking traps set by the protagonists-bullies. They are capable of defending physical power with the power of mind and of a value-based moral system. This model confirms the primary

role of the family in shaping the personality of the child and underlines the negative impact of the lack of effective communication between children and their parents (Rivers, Duncan & Besag, 2009).

The study of all three novels confirms Olweus's (1993) assertion that school bullying has quantitative and qualitative gender differentiations, as boys are more physically attacked than the girls, while the girls are more verbally and psychologically attacked than the boys. Girls having few friend become victims of indirect and intimidating behavior, while boys are exposed to direct intimidation. For all the heroines of the examined novels, their being girls and their having different ethnicity is combined with their different physical image, thus constituting a profile that may attract school bullying. The study of the examined novels highlighted the traditionally dominant stereotype of masculinity that wants boys to have masculine features, strong and sizable body, to avoid to express emotions, to show limited empathy and to behave dynamically, in order to seem distanced from any kind of dependence. In addition, they successfully participate in sports, as in the case of the bullies described in the novel entitled "Together," who manage to keep their balance on skateboards and to achieve impressive, versatile and dangerous maneuvers, demonstrating, on the one hand, exceptional athletic skills and, on the other hand, strength and toughness both identified with bravery, which symbolizes an implicit predominant masculinity.

The narrative revelation of violent communication and school bullying taking place in the novel titled "Together," considered by a systemic point of view, is in accordance with Vreeman and Carroll (referred in CASEL, 2009, p. 6), who in their systematic review of school-based interventions designed to prevent bullying, concluded that "The most effective interventions typically use a whole-school approach consisting of some combination of school-wide rules and sanctions, teacher training, classroom curricula, conflict resolution training, and individual counseling. Anti-bullying programs exclusively directed at the bully, the victim, or both, without involving other students or addressing larger school climate issues, are less likely to be effective." In all the examined novels, a whole school approach to violent communication and school bullying is observed, since the interest is not only focused on the individual level, but also on the class level, or even at the school unit level. In the novel entitled "Together," the basic representations of these phenomena are revealed, which could be part of a school-activity program for the development of the children's communication skills, in the sense that: (a) the positive relationships among pupils should be promoted, b) the good relationships between teachers and students should be promoted, and (c) a clear and comprehensive teaching on emotions, socio-emotional skills and management of difficult and adverse conditions should be conducted. Similar activities fall within the field of Communication Education, which opposes violent communication to school bullying in a variety of ways and practices (Stamatis & Nikolaou, 2016).

The attitude of the professors described in the novel entitled "Together" confirms the basic principles mentioned by Olweus and his colleagues about the phenomenon of school bullying (outlined in the Bullying Prevention Program; Olweus et al., 2007), according to whom care should be taken of: "(1) warmth and positive interest and involvement in the students' lives, (2) firm limits to unacceptable behavior, (3) use of nonphysical, non-hostile negative consequences when rules are broken, and (4) functioning of adults as authorities and positive role models." In addition the factors that positively contribute to warm school climate conditions according to Cefai (2008, p. 38-39), are "The school climate, staff relationships and relationships with parents are other important influences on classroom relationships" and "care,

solidarity, collaboration, acceptance and celebration of diversity are the key values underlining pupil behavior in the classroom. Pupils care for and support each other and work and play together. They solve conflicts amicably and constructively. Instead of competing with each other, they help each other with their work. Supporting one another is a celebrated classroom value.”

These fit nicely with what may be inferred to be in the mind of the teacher, when at the end of the novel titled “Together,” she encouraged all the pupils to be engaged in theatrical activities, employing at the same time the “method of reconciliation,” a method applied to English pupils and proved to be effective, because it brings in contact the bully with the victim making them feel that they belong on the same side (Cowie & Jennifer, 2008). In the novel entitled “Together” more particularly, all those characters involved in school bullying - bullies, victims, bystanders, guardians, teachers- are outlined and the strategy of coping with the phenomenon of school bullying is presented in an impressive way, which is the essential communication among all members of the school community. The writer herself stresses: “I do not really believe there are bullies and victims at these tender ages. The child who will be delinquent is also the same victim of social and especially family circumstances. A child when he or she is accepting or living with family violence is more likely to be violent than a child who does not receive the right attention and acceptance from the family environment. Therefore, as much as one side has the need for support, so much has the other one.”

The reading of the three novels examined in the present study is posited to help the readers to learn problem-solving strategies within the school environment, as well as to learn about appropriate conflict management practices related to violent communication and school bullying. In this way, it is understandable what McGrath and Noble (2016, p. 38, 31) noted: “*a positive school culture is characterized by positive student peer relationships, positive student-teacher relationships, positive staff relationships and positive family-school relationships*” and that “*clear classroom and school rules against bullying that are consistently enforced and restated.*” Considering the international relevant literature and particularly the studies aimed at designing effective interventions to reduce the phenomenon of school bullying, it seems that their aims are to raise the pupils' awareness of the dimensions of the phenomenon, of the seriousness of the issues at hand and of the mechanisms that support the phenomenon. They also aim at the students' reflection on their conscious or unconscious involvement in intimidation incidents, as well as on the communication improvement among all those working within the school unit, by developing behaviors and actions that contribute to a creative resolution of all raised problems and by showing respect and acceptance to others. In this way, the improvement of the school climate is being secured (Mauss et al., 2011; Elliott, 2002).

Knowledge of all aspects of school bullying and the development of skills for finding some ways to approach the bully and the victim or other effective practices of tackling school bullying incidents is achieved through the teaching of literature, because some literature's outcomes are similar to those of teaching goals. In this way, a safe educational environment is established, as the rules that are established, exude a sense of justice and contribute to the development of a climate of cooperation and a culture of dispute resolution with reciprocal concessions and a spirit of mutual respect.

In conclusion, the readers of any age, who read novels referred to violent communication and school bullying, whether they are children, parents or teachers, are becoming sensitive to these issues, as they recognize the roles of everyone involved and they develop: the ability to search and find the causes that contribute to the production and reproduction of the

phenomenon, the ability to cultivate attitudes and behaviors against school violence of any kind, and the ability to raise resistances by letting each one of the involved ones choose his/her own strengths and powers. At the same time, the children, entering the psychology, the reflections and the thinking of the heroes of the novels (victims, either as bullies, victims and/or observers), can develop social skills, empathy and emotional maturity. Moreover, they may recognize the need to adhere to the school rules, as well as the importance of disciplined behavior for the smooth functioning of the school community. Modern school units may be conceptualized as “learning organizations,” in the sense that those living in an organization “learn,” i.e., they acquire the ability to realize a cognitive meaning or experience (Senge, 2006). Within this framework Cefai and Cavioni (2014) are based on Adi’s et al. to report that “in a systematic review of the effectiveness of promoting social and emotional well-being in primary school, the most effective interventions were multicomponent programmes, which covered classroom curricula and school environment, together with programmes for parents... while identifying the needs of children who may need within-school support as early as possible” (p. 24). On the one hand, the fictional approach to school bullying cognitively and emotionally strengthens the children involved in bullying incidents and, on the other hand, it strengthens those who do not know and participate in any role in intimidating incidents, helping them to enter a simulation environment, in which their interpersonal relationships and their ability to effectively deal with aggressive behaviors are tested (McLeod, 1997; Crompton, 1991). Teachers and parents should work together to actively and effectively support the efforts of the children, especially those in their early childhood.

CONCLUSION

The content analysis of the three examined novels that formed the subject of this study, led to interesting concluding statements, as summarized below.

- 1) The approach of pupils-bullies by a school teacher, in collaboration with pupils-victims or pupils-bystanders aims to understand intimidating behaviors, empowering empathy for expressing and obtaining effective solutions, stemming from collaboration and communication among all school members.
- 2) The psychological support for victims occurs in a similar fashion, as the one indicated by relevant research. It concerns education about the development of assertive behavior aimed at expressing positive feelings, expressing negative emotions, setting boundaries, and developing a child's initiative, to strengthen self-confidence, while, at the same time, the child demonstrates respect for the rights of his/her peers.
- 3) The important role of the bystanders, which in the examined novels plays a major role on communication, is emphasized, as the discouraging and the stopping of bullies by the bystanders, depriving them of “the admirers or the fans,” thus resulting in their stopping their aggressive behavior, by building positive student-peer relationships.

Literature seems to be a major ally for the timely treatment of violent communication and school bullying, which threatens the coherence and functioning of school units and,

consequently, the education system and the society as a whole. As the field of communication increasingly takes up a larger area in the educational process, the communicative use of novels is highly recommended. Through novels' reading, it is posited that the communication violence at schools will progressively decrease, especially at the early stages of the vulnerable preschool age, where most children, as they are unsuspected and unprepared, do not know how to deal with such aggressive behaviors.

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Chapter 34

SOCIAL ANTECEDENTS OF BULLYING: WHEN DOES PEER INTERACTION BECOME INTERPERSONAL REJECTION?

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ABSTRACT

The boundaries between bullying and a spectrum of other forms of intersubjective engagement (i.e., teasing, jocular mockery) are often hard to discern. As they grow up, children mostly exhibit social behaviors that are commonly accepted as an inherent part of their development. However, they may also engage in maladaptive behaviors that convey highly ambiguous or inappropriate connotations, and are often much harder to identify. Research suggests that the precursors of bullying appear during early childhood and need to be addressed soon thereafter. If left unattended, childhood aggressiveness is known to steadily escalate into life-persistent developmental trajectories of aggression in adolescence and adulthood. It is therefore important for parents, counsellors and educators to be able to determine whether the ways that a child engages socially are essential to his/her early development or whether they carry serious implications for his/her emotional well-being and that of their group of peers, in order to intervene accordingly. The present chapter explores the human capacity for intersubjectivity as a means of becoming aware of relational interactions that involve bullying in the making, and promotes preemptive educational roles in shaping prosocial contexts and events in early education.

Keywords: intersubjectivity, intersubjective engagement, aggression, teasing, tickling, bullying, preschool, early childhood education, bullying prevention, peer interaction

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INTRODUCTION

“A child whose leg is broken playing football is not an abuse victim;
a child whose leg is broken by being beaten is.
It is not the injury but the message it conveys,
the meaning of the injury that matters.”

~ James Gabarino, 2011, p. 927

During the past 30 years a particular form of interpersonal aggression has been the focus of theoretical and empirical attention among school professionals, mental health specialists and educational researchers, and widespread debate from media and the public. The phenomenon, commonly known as “bullying,” refers to a specific manifestation of aggression that involves a power imbalance between perpetrator and victim, and is characterized by repeated aggression over a prolonged period of time (Lansford, 2018; Volk, Veenstra & Espelage, 2017).

Bullying has been described as a human rights violation of Article 29 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child’s (The United Nations, 1989) statement, according to which education shall be directed to: “the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of the sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin.” Hence, it is the right of all children living in our global society to receive an education that cultivates positive attitudes and promotes socially acceptable ways of behaving, in lieu of dominance-based practices of aggression, bullying or harassment (Pepler & Craig, 2009).

The harmful effects of bullying on the development of children have been repeatedly reported at length in the literature and cannot be overstated. Bullying has been associated with maladjustments for both victim and perpetrator that manifest, amongst others, as difficulties in relating, low self-esteem, and prolonged mental health problems such as depression and anxiety (Kirves & Sajaniemi, 2012; Card, et al., 2008).

Although bullying has been extensively studied in the context of primary school settings, until recently only a few studies had investigated the phenomenon amongst under-school-age children. Nevertheless, accruing evidence suggests that bullying occurs systematically in preschool and kindergarten environments (i.e., Repo & Sajaniemi, 2015; Kirves & Sajaniemi, 2012). For a multitude of reasons the term appears to carry particularly problematic connotations when toddlers and preschoolers are involved and –understandably, as we will see next– has been controversial.

EARLY CHILDHOOD BULLYING: THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL CHALLENGES

Before we attempt to identify aggressive behavioral manifestations as bullying, there are several points that need to be considered. The key problem in this approach revolves around reservations on how to interpret bullying in a way that is suitable for children of such a young age (Cameron & Kovac, 2016; Repo & Sajaniemi, 2015). Aggressive behavior emerges early in life, follows a normative developmental expression, and is a fairly typical response to various forms of intrinsic or extrinsic hurt or frustration. Most children have had their onset of physical aggression (e.g., hitting, smacking, kicking, biting) between the end of the first and the

beginning of the second year after birth. In terms of their frequency, aggressive episodes increase overall during the first 30 months (as the capacity for self-regulation and inhibition is still in the process of being modulated) and decline steadily thereafter (Lansford, 2018; Alink et al., 2006; Côté et al., 2006).

In light of this information, how does bullying sit within the broader context of early childhood aggression? In trying to define aggression, one discovers that it has been broadly covered in the literature of both lifespan development and abnormal psychology. Consequently, aggressive expressions include a set of behaviors that range from typical and adaptive to atypical and maladaptive (Keenan, 2012). For the purposes of the present discussion, early aggression is defined according to Shaw and colleagues' (2000, p. 398) description as an "act directed toward a specific other person or object with intent to hurt or frighten, for which there is a consensus about the aggressive intent of the act."

Given the large and growing body of research on this topic, it may come as a surprise that it remains unclear whether bullying and more generalized peer aggression constitute distinct or overlapping constructs (i.e., Ybarra, Espelage & Mitchell, 2014). The general consensus situates bullying within the broader literature on aggressive behavior, indicating the former as a discrete subcategory of the latter (i.e., Repo & Sajaniemi, 2015). However, this is by no means universally accepted, which reflects the difficulty in sorting out an array of related behaviors based on criteria such as age, context, structure, intention, etc.

It has been commonly reported that preschool children who manifest high levels of physical aggression face a higher risk for continued disruptive behavior and are in need of specialized clinical services (Tremblay, 2012). For some researchers these cases constitute circumstances of atypical aggression, which they consider secondary to an array of other deficits or developmental delays (e.g., Keenan, 2012). For others (e.g., Hanish et al., 2004) an increased frequency of physical aggression in comparison to one's peers, is enough to fulfil the criteria of bullying, which raises the next question: Does early childhood bullying differ from generalized manifestations of atypical aggression? And, if so, how? For the time being, the answer to this question is diverse. Because of the limited definitions of bullying among preschool and kindergarten children, it is highly likely that the phenomenon is not being accurately depicted in the literature, neither in prevalence nor in form.

Firstly, with regards to prevalence, there are concerns of bullying being either over- or under-reported, both of which have disadvantages. Exaggeration may lend itself to a self-fulfilling prophecy, according to which an increased prevalence is expected, and ultimately produced. Moreover, ethical considerations dictate the conservative use of developmentally inappropriate labels or concepts when dealing with children. Any premature stigmatization should be avoided at this very impressionable age, as preschoolers are likely to internalize and incorporate it in their identity and sense of self-worth, which is why the term 'aggressor' is occasionally preferred over 'bully' (Repo & Sajaniemi, 2015).

On the other hand, undermining the aforementioned prevalence immediately excludes important forms of serious bullying that may be characteristic in this particular segment of the population. It is not uncommon for adults to trivialize the first signs of inappropriate behavior in small children, thus failing to recognize the underlying threats of ambiguity, confusion, and emotional discomfort. Sweeney and West (2001) suggest that stereotyped views of bullying are not unlikely among a significant proportion of teachers who tend to equate bullying to physical assault, and to disregard non-physical acts as a means of inflicting harm.

This view was further corroborated recently by Cameron and Kovac (2016), who compared parents and childcare workers in their belief that verbal aggression is an indicator of bullying. Interestingly, parents were more likely than professionals to support this perspective, something that children also endorsed by rating practices such as name-calling and teasing as more prominent in their experience, followed by physical assaults and isolation (Sweeny & West, 2001). These findings highlight the subjective nature of bullying in one's licence to take offense, and the importance of approaching the topic from the viewpoint of preschoolers themselves, instead of assuming traditional definitions of bullying and applying them indiscriminately to all ages, settings and circumstances.

As a child prepares to enter kindergarten, emerging skills of communication and emotion regulation appear to influence the trajectory of physical aggression which gradually declines in frequency around the 4th year of life. This coincides with the termination of unfocused temper tantrums (i.e., kicking and throwing objects in defiance; typically appear during the second year after birth), but also with the time at which the amount of aggression that a child displays reaches its peak (Côté et al. 2006; Hartup, 1974). Interestingly, between the ages of 4 to 7 years, children show a marked increase in the frequency of bouts of indirect aggression, which gradually introduces a range of other forms such as covert, relational, and social aggression (Card et al., 2008) as they grow older.

Insofar as traditionally defined bullying is concerned, contemporary research suggests that children starting from 3 years of age have the potential to bully, which renders bullying relevant to preschool-aged children and constitutes a severe problem for the kindergarten environment (Cameron & Kovac, 2016; Repo & Sajaniemi, 2015; Kirves & Sajaniemi, 2012; Monks et al., 2009). Yet, even at this early age, the act of bullying follows a natural progression; it does not suddenly and mysteriously appear full-blown among children, but rather escalates from physical, to a more 'figurative' aggressiveness (i.e., related to assertiveness and drive) towards a deliberate, dominance-based pattern of maladaptive aggression.

The idea that physical aggression is initiated through modelled learning is widespread, but not everyone accepts the accuracy of this statement. For example, the universality of rough and tumble play seen in preschoolers is not a product of learning (Reebye, 2005). Likewise, Donald Hebb (cited in Tremblay, 2012) used the paradigm of temper tantrums to illustrate this point, stating that they are not produced via any means of imitation or learning. In reality, the opposite is true; children learn how *not* to be physically aggressive rather than the other way around.

Contrarily, for the most part, habitually expressing aggression as a disorder (bullying), happens when the child observes and imitates the practices of others, or when it becomes aware of his/her own self-assertion and displays of power over another, in the context of trying to get what he/she wants. Witnessing violence in their homes or neighborhoods, being maltreated, or being exposed to aggressive content through the media, are all risk factors of learning to use deviant patterns of aggression (Reebye, 2005). As small children enter early educational settings, they bring with them a history of experiences from their parents, siblings, peers, media and community. Although most will have learned to inhibit physical aggression and use alternatives by school entry (Tremblay et al., 2004), these experiences prepare them to be more resilient or more prone to engage in bullying-related behavior.

If early interventions succeed in targeting young children at a high risk of aggression, one should expect atypical aggressive inclinations to remain short-lived and childhood limited (Cameron & Kovac, 2016; Repo & Sajaniemi, 2015; Tremblay et al., 2004; Tremblay et al., 1999). Alternatively, aggressive displays are highly likely to turn into prolonged and life-course

persistent patterns of disruptive behaviors that systematically violate the rights of others. This is the primary reason why preventive practices in early educational settings are so important (Huesmann, 2018).

PAINTING A SHARED REALITY THROUGH INTERSUBJECTIVE ENGAGEMENT

As we already explained, aggression can be understood in various ways, some of which are seen as a natural part of growing up, some serve adaptive functions, some are secondary to other (e.g., developmental) disorders, and some pertain to maladaptive forms of social exchange. Setting a point of departure between bullying and other forms of aggression in preschoolers and kindergarteners is a rather challenging prospect, that could be very illuminating when it comes to fully understanding the broad spectrum of functions related to expressions of aggression.

Yet, more often than not, it is the *shared meaning* between the agents that defines the quality of the outcome of their exchange, rather than the content or the structure, or even the underlying intention itself. This idea proposes an alternative set of assumptions with respect to bullying, that reject the structural confinements of behavioral manifestations, and instead emphasize the *shared process* between those involved in the interaction. This approach allows a wide spectrum of aggressive behaviors not only to be identified by those present but, more importantly, to be *co-created*; This is an important breakthrough in our view of bullying, which allows educators to assume proactive (instead of their traditional defensive) roles in managing the situation.

The topic of intersubjectivity can be traced in the works of Edmund Husserl, founder of the philosophical movement of phenomenology. Phenomenology is a term used to describe how consciousness shapes one's perception of the world. Husserl advocated a process-bound foundation of life, and announced phenomenology as a method of philosophical exploration through which the person's embodied experience could be revealed. He posited that the immersion of the individual in the immediate system of his phenomenology brings to the forefront immeasurable observations and insights that would have otherwise diminished or remained obscure (Polemikou, 2016). In other words, in the context of schooling, a phenomenological approach validates each child's perspective and version of reality, based on his/her experience of ongoing events, and supports the idea that everyone has legitimate reasons for behaving in a certain manner.

Intrinsic to phenomenology is the topic of *intersubjectivity*, which refers to the sharing of subjective (i.e., phenomenological) states by two or more individuals. Husserl argued that intersubjectivity, or 'other-awareness', represents a need to experience the world as available not only to oneself, but also to the Other. In turn, the experience of the Other is needed for the development of one's own experience (his/her self-awareness). As a result, in the educational framework, antisocial aggression may be seen as an inappropriate communication pattern between individuals who carry different perceptions, experiences, and versions of reality.

The bridge between these two experiences, between the personal and the shared, the self and the others, provides a means of experiencing and 'co-creating' the objective world. This provides an opportunity to reframe or to change a failing communication pattern from

something ambiguous, alienating and hostile, to something more secure, inclusive and functional. Thus, *intersubjective engagement* refers to a variety of human interactions that may take place between two or more individuals, who share a set of matched or shared mental states.

CONCOMITANT FORMS OF AGGRESSION: THE TEASING PARADIGM

A form of aggression that has been found to be strongly interrelated with bullying is the practice of teasing, although the two can be very distinct acts with different motivations, goals, and outcomes (Mills & Carwile, 2009; Sweeting & West, 2001). Teasing can be defined as an intended or deliberate (i.e., done with awareness of the implications of what one is doing or saying) behavior, which is goal-oriented or strategic (i.e., done to achieve something) –in this case, to challenge (either verbally or via non-verbal means) a distinctive attribute of the recipient.

At a relational level, the difference between concomitant acts, such as teasing and bullying, is often sorted out intersubjectively; there is enough contextual information and ingroup knowledge enabling the recipient(s) to disambiguate whether an act is being presented in a funny/playful frame, or in a mean/alienating frame.

This idea presents enormous pedagogical prospects in the educational setting, where school professionals can invest in intersubjectivity in order to prevent and/or reframe a series of ambiguous events and behaviors (Haslebo & Lund, 2015).

A state of “intersubjectivity” during a particular instance of peer interaction, such as teasing, dictates that an agreement exists between the persons involved on a given set of meanings or definitions of a particular situation. According to Zlatev and colleagues (2008, p. 2) it is a uniquely human capacity which entails “the sharing of experiential content (e.g., feelings, perceptions, thoughts, and linguistic meanings) among a plurality of subjects.” In the act of teasing between peers, this would mean that both parties are in mutual agreement of the context in which this exchange is taking place, and are co-creating the interaction.

Teases are often used to convey messages that may seem negative or hurtful towards a recipient, but in a way that suggests the opposite (Hendry, 2016). The producer in question maintains an ambiguous or ambivalent tone with regards to his or her intentions, which is the direct result of a combination of expressed jocular and aggressive attitudes (Almenara & Jezek, 2015). In light of this view, it is expected that teasing is not meant to represent a harmonious interaction; instead, it initiates various levels of tension and conveys aggressive intent.

As suprisingly complex and ambiguous form of interpersonal communication, teasing can be a taxing and challenging aspect of human interaction for young children to grasp and to negotiate (Harwood & Copfer, 2014), which is exactly the point that Daniel Stern (1985, cited in Reddy & Mireault, 2015) makes by claiming that “you can’t tease another person unless you can correctly guess what is in their minds and make them suffer or laugh because of their knowing.” Similarly, Haslebo and Lund (2015, p. 174) state that “What happens after an act helps attribute meaning to the act,” thus stressing the importance of a reciprocal experience that is characterized by a shared meaning.

At an implicit level, the dynamics of teasing serve much more far-reaching goals, amongst which a way of evaluating either a person's reactions, tolerance or the coherence of a system (Reddy & Mireault, 2015). Hence, perhaps it is no coincidence that teasing tends to happen

during interpersonal spaces of neutrality or boredom, thus serving as an intense way of inviting the recipient to social interaction.

It appears to be the case that teasing is an ambiguous social skill of paradoxical nature in more aspects than one. First of all, it is risky in terms of the reaction (friendly-pleasurable, neutral, negative) that it may evoke (Shapiro, Baumeister & Kessler, 1991). In actual fact, teasing leads to polarized expressions of attachment between the parties involved, by either creating or strengthening a conflicting sense of loyalty or by causing a rupture to pre-existing social bonds. In other words, teasing can either carry prosocial (i.e., playful, affiliative, humorous, affectionate etc.) or antisocial (i.e., demoralizing, embarrassing, hostile, etc.) messages to the recipient (Jones et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2010).

There is no denying that playful teasing is a sort of precarious interpersonal invasion that may jeopardize the future course of an interaction among peers. It can harmfully ostricize participants, disrupt or break a relationship, demoralize and cause emotional trauma.

On the other hand, it also offers a sense of concealed security to the parties involved, under the shared mental state of 'teasing'. This intersubjective state can also strengthen social ties and resolve or reduce conflicts; it can speed up the early stages of getting to know a new acquaintance; it can act as a means of demonstrating identity and distributing roles among a group, and can translate into a sense of proximity or affectional bonding between the parties involved, elevating communication between them at a psychosocially, emotionally, and cognitively more sophisticated level (Hendry, 2016; Boxer & Cortes-Conde, 1997). Hence, prosocial outcomes of teasing have also been identified and their value in the developmental process cannot be undermined.

By analogy, another form of intersubjective engagement which seems to carry connotations similar to those of teasing (and, by extension, bullying), is the act of tickling. When used prosocially, tickling serves as a source of enjoyment among peers which leads to shared laughter, enhances one's sense of self within a group, and creates affectionate bonds amongst the parties involved (Leavens & Bard, 2016). Nonetheless, even amongst children, there is a darker side to tickling, which is associated with displeasure, withdrawal and defensive movements (Harris & Alvarado, 2005).

Needless to say, when one uses tickling excessively, without tuning in to the recipient's state of being or their shared experience, any joyful quality is fast to diminish, and bullying (or even torture) is likely to ensue (Selden, 2004). However, when used as a benign deed between two children sharing a positive affective state, tickling, just like teasing, strengthens relationship bonds.

ENHANCING PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTACT IN SCHOOLS

Oftentimes teachers, principles, counsellors and parents are exempt from the shared intersubjective schema that is necessary to fully understand an interaction between children, trivializing displays of darker, or less amusing expressions of aggressiveness that may cause legitimate discomfort to the child who is on the receiving end. But even when they do intervene immediately, what is the best way to do so in order to put an end to the aggressive and marginalizing behavior? In other words, what are the best pedagogical solutions to prevent antisocial expressions of aggression or to intervene when the fun stops?

The existing paradigm restricts educators to roles that only allow for *defensive action*, such as assigning arbitrary intentions (i.e., harm to the bully) or flaws (i.e., weakness to the victim) and reiterating what constitutes harmful behaviour, in order to protect children from such experiences.

The view proposed in this chapter is based on an alternative assumption that invites school professionals to undertake preemptive roles in (i) creating constructive contexts and ground rules, (ii) maintaining the focus on the *process* instead of on the structure of the social exchange, and (iii) (whenever needed) reframing the meaning of potentially offensive practices by co-creating an objective world by means of intersubjectivity.

All three conditions are illustrated in the following testimony by the Danish existential philosopher Søren Kierkegaard.

“There is a form of envy of which I frequently have seen examples, in which an individual tries to obtain something by bullying. If, for instance, I enter a place where many are gathered, it often happens that one or another right away takes up arms against me by beginning to laugh; presumably he feels that he is being a tool of public opinion. But lo and behold, if I then make a casual remark to him, that same person becomes infinitely pliable and obliging. Essentially it shows that he regards me as something great, maybe even greater than I am: but if he can’t be admitted as a participant in my greatness, at least he will laugh at me. But as soon as he becomes a participant, as it were, he brags about my greatness.”

Here Kierkegaard (2000, p. 8) sums up the intersubjective aspects of bullying in public: the risks associated with the hostile and uninviting context of the exchange, the inherently aggressive process by which the parties interact, and the meaning of the outcome. Simultaneously, he resolves the ambiguity by using a casual remark to create psychological contact. This initiative essentially reframes the meaning of the exchange, which brings about a conflating sense of loyalty or bonding between two (or more) participants who have co-created an intersubjective state of teasing, where bullying once was.

Creating psychological contact with another person is the most crucial condition for successful relational interactions, yet we tend to assume its presence when it is not something that should necessarily be described as a logical non-sequitur (for more on the properties of psychological contact please refer to Prouty, 1998). In order to improve their capacity for being in contact with others and strengthen the child group cohesion, children need be presented with what Haslebo and Lunt (2015, p. 168) call a “relational way of thinking”; one that springs from relating critically to themselves and their situation and from reflecting on or imagining what another experiences, feels, thinks in order to identify, categorize, appreciate, and assess the behavioral consequences of their actions (Susswein & Racine, 2008). Such an approach seems to be particularly promising in the context of early childhood education, which is proactive, acknowledges each child’s experience, and builds resilience and respect from a young age.

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Chapter 35

PROSPECTS OF INTERACTIVE DIGITAL STORYTELLING APPLICATIONS IN PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF BULLYING IN PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Numerous research works are conducted about school bullying, cultivating emotional intelligence and digital story-telling. However, there is a lack of studies on the use of multimodal interactive media in raising awareness about bullying interactions in early stages among preschool children. In this study, an Interactive Storytelling scenario was designed and developed to detect the reactions of young children when facing bullying situations from the point of view of the child-victim. In this context, the prospects of the use of interactive digital storytelling as a means of enhancing social empathy in preschool children will be considered, given that relevant research in the preschool field is in its infancy.

Keywords: school bullying, interactive digital storytelling, anti-bullying strategies, empathy

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INTRODUCTION

Bullying awareness is an important term in preschool education for the implementation of intervention and prevention practices (Goryl, Neilsen-Hewett & Sweller, 2013), since systematic bullying involves preschool groups and its origin lies in early childhood. Admission to kindergarten is a key developmental step, as children in this context participate for the first time as equal members of stable groups with common activities and are simultaneously exposed to examples of social acceptance and rejection. Rejection from the social group is the most common form of preschool bullying. Several studies have shown that peer rejection might be a risk factor which could lead to participation in bullying episodes (Crick & Grotpeter, 1996; Schuster, 1996; Boivin, Hymel & Bukowski, 1995).

Godleski, Kamper, Ostrov, Hart and Blakely-McCure (2014) found in their study that peer rejection increases relational victimization in early childhood and that emotion regulation skill predicts decreases in peer rejection and physical victimization. Bullying is a powerful risk factor in children's development, indicating that it is important to identify early symptoms to limit its development. Preschool age is the most effective time to help children acquire tools to manage bullying and develop positive strategies to confront it.

Bullying is mostly a phenomenon of social interaction (Reunamo et al., 2013) that unfolds within relationships, and therefore requires solutions that focus on the dynamics of these relationships. Children who are bullied find it hard to get out of a bullying relationship because they lack the strength to shift the dynamics of this relationship (Pepler et al., 2010). Bullied children themselves believe that the strategies they adopt to deal with the problem are most of the time ineffective (Tenenbaum et al., 2011). Therefore, studies on how to address the problem and the reasons why children choose to adopt a response strategy are needed (Hunter & Borg, 2006). By working on and evolving the active children's strategies, we create a tool with positive perspectives in bullying prevention.

The purpose of this study is to investigate and detect the strategies that preschool children adopt when involved in bullying situations and explore whether these strategies are associated with their individual characteristics and general social behaviors. Moreover, it intends to make them aware of the consequences of the phenomenon. This study uses the narrative power of the interactive digital storytelling to actively engage the children in a simulating condition of bullying, which they must *process* through the narrative choices of a branching story that corresponds to different categories of strategies, active or passive, as documented in the literature. There are three main processes in this interactive story: a) the "situation", the script bullying behaviors, b) the "reaction", the emergence of different options to address the situation that lead to different results in the continuum of bullying, adapting or impacting, linking the experiences gained from the story and c) the reactions of the characters to their own behaviors and reviewing their attitudes in a way that probably follows the story (Markouzis & Fessakis, 2016; Tsai, Tseng & Weng, 2011). This last process is completed by the oral narration of the story from the preschool students.

However, it is necessary to develop relevant scenarios for each possible protagonist role to experimentally examine the implementation of interactive digital storytelling in the prevention and addressing of bullying in preschool education. That is child-offender (bully), child-victim and bystanders with corresponding strategies for each leading role. In this article, it is presented the design of the first of the three interactive narrative scenarios projected, in which the main

character of the story has the role of the victim in the bullying incident. In this story, the main character is Anthoula, a five-year-old girl who is victimized due to rejection from the peer group. The script is a branching story structured with an interactive plot, and its final form will be combined with animation. It is pedagogically and developmentally appropriate for preschool children, as it utilizes narrative strategies that stimulate identification and narrative content that evokes intense feelings for the characters of the story, so that the children will interact with the characters and cultivate social skills and empathy. The results of this study will serve subsequently as a basis for assessing the use of interactive digital storytelling as a means of enhancing the social empathy of preschool children, as research on the use of interactive storytelling for bullying in preschool age is still in an early stage. The study is structured as follows: First, an introduction is made on the theoretical framework of bullying, followed by a brief description of the dimensions of empathy and how it relates to narrative and development of social skills. Second the use of interactive storytelling as the research tool of this project is described and, finally, the design of the proposed IST script on detecting anti-bullying strategies is presented.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Concept of Bullying in Preschool Age

School bullying, defined as an “intentional aggressive behavior that is repeatedly carried out over time in an interpersonal relation characterized by an imbalance of power” (Olweus & Limber 1999), has been recognized as a serious and complex problem with negative and long-lasting consequences in the lives of the children involved in it. These psychological, social and academic consequences (Kaltiala-Heino, 2010; Rigby, 2008; Ttofi & Farrington, 2008; Hanish et al., 2004; Pereira et al, 2004) concern all children involved in bullying behaviors during their school life, whether they are victimizers, victims, victimizers-victims or observers (Swearer, Espelage & Napolitano, 2009) and, in extreme cases, can result in homicide or suicide (Wike & Fraser, 2009; Bauman & Del Rio, 2005).

According to Kirves and Sajaniemi (2012), 12.6% of preschool children (aged 3 to 6) were directly involved in bullying behavior (victimizers 7.1%, victims 3.3% and victimizers-victims 2.2%). Most of the research conducted to study school bullying focuses on middle childhood and adolescence, whereas there is little empirical evidence about the occurrence and the development of victimization in early childhood (Perren & Alsaker 2006; Hanish et al., 2004; Monks et al., 2002; Alsaker & Valkanover 2001; Kochenderfer & Ladd 1996; Alsaker 1993). Recent surveys indicate that bullying behavior is common in primary education (e.g., Kirves & Sajaniemi, 2012; Alsaker & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2010; Monks & Smith, 2010; Alsaker & Nägele, 2008), with aggression being more common among preschool children (aged three to five years) than any other age group (Hanish et al., 2004). In many countries, aggressive behaviors that resemble bullying and victimization by peers are observed in children at the age of 4 (Monks et al., 2005, 2002). Due to the lack of research, discussion on the definition of bullying among young children is limited and the definition used in research is mainly based on research on bullying among school-aged children (e.g., Alsaker & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2010; Alsaker & Nägele, 2008; Monks et al., 2005; Perren, 2000; Crick, Casas & Ku, 1999;

Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1996). Based on the above, bullying at preschool age is determined by the criteria of Olweus and his partners, i.e., the intention, repetitiveness and imbalance of power. As recognition of the phenomenon by young children rarely includes the above qualifying criteria (Vaillancourt et al., 2008), researchers that focus on preschool age questioned the strict use of the traditional definition of school bullying, by motivating the various researchers to examine and use the interpretations of young children as part of the definition used within the context of preschool education (Hamarus, 2006; Eriksson et al., 2002). Children, as social actors, can provide a unique view of their social world and the issues that concern them (Thornberg, 2008; James, 2007; Alanen, 2003; Prout, 2003).

Bullying is a subjective experience and it is important to consider the individual perspective of the situation for the definition, to prevent degradation of the children's bullying experience and their ability to self-protect, since children are able to detect bullying much faster than adults. In addition, they believe that this definition makes it difficult to distinguish between the initial appearance of more risky bullying behaviors in young children and their natural sequence in communicating aggressive behaviors (Hanish et al., 2004).

In general, bullying is a subset of aggression that can be categorized into three main types of behavior: indirect relational aggression, social rejection of the victim (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995) or "social aggression" (Smith, 2004; Smith et al., 2002), verbal (verbal violence) and physical (physical violence), as well as into two different types of functions, predominant and peripheral. Predominant functions are associated with the direct interactions of: preschool bullies, preschool victims and preschool bully-victims (Vlachou et al., 2013), whereas the peripheral functions are associated with the indirect interactions of assistants, reinforcers, defenders and outsiders (Vlachou et al., 2011). In their studies, Monks and Smith (2010) and Repo and Sajaniemi (2014) distinguished these roles even in ECE groups. Preschool assistants are those children who assist the bullies. Preschool reinforcers are those children who give the bully positive feedback. Preschool defenders are those children who support the victim. Preschool outsiders are those children who silently watch, nevertheless they encourage bullies.

BULLYING CONFRONTATION STRATEGIES USED BY CHILDREN

Depending on the children's role when involved in bullying and the emotional reaction that is linked with it, they either evolve bullying (leading to further victimization) or restrict it. The choice of focusing their reactions either externally on the same event, the bullying situation, or internally, in terms of emotional imprint, determines the effectiveness of bullying confrontation strategies. Confrontation strategies are categorized into active (such as problem solving), passive (such as ignorance) and aggressive (such as retaliation). Active confrontation strategies contribute to the prevention of aggression, while passive and aggressive strategies maintain aggression (Kochenderfer-Ladd & Pelletier, 2008; Wilton, Craig & Pepler, 2000). Confrontation strategies of victimized children are divided into those that focus on the problem (problem-focused) and those that focus on the emotion that causes the problem (emotion-focused). In the first case, children are actively involved in the search for confrontation strategies of the problem (e.g., *I tell the teacher, I defend myself*), while in the second case they do not try to change the problematic behavior. On the contrary, they avoid the situation (Skrzypiec et al., 2011; Tenenbaum et al., 2011; Hunter & Boyle, 2004).

According to Reunamo (2009), children's strategies can be found in the continuum of changing the child's own behavior (adapting) or changing the environment (impacting). Another continuum is considering the problematic situation (opening up) or applying the child's own ideas (assimilating) to the situation. Cross-tabulating these two continuums produces four possible strategies in problematic situations: accommodating (adapting and opening up), e.g., *Then he will tease me always.*, participating (opening up and agentive) e.g., *I tell the teacher*, dominant (agentive and assimilative) (e.g., *I hit him.*) and withdrawn (assimilative and adaptive) strategies (Reunamo, 2007).

Bullying among small children reflects the inability to cooperate in a child group. Most of the children coming to school, do not possess sufficiently the ability to manage conflicts, collaborate, share, play fairly and treat others with kindness. The processing of negative interaction with peers is an important developmental task that improves the social skills and relationships of children (Reunamo et al., 2013; Kokkinos & Kipritsi, 2012). This can prevent conflicts from becoming bullying over time. Without a valid and sensitive educational intervention, this impotence creates the risk that the child's behavior may eventually turn into bullying, so bullying prevention programs should be implemented in early childhood (Repo, 2015; Botsoglou & Andreou, 2013; Kirves & Sajaniemi 2012; Lee, Smith, & Monks, 2011; Vlachou et al., 2011; Monks & Smith, 2010; Alsaker & Nägele, 2008; Arsenea et al., 2006; Perren & Alsaker, 2006; Alsaker & Valkanover, 2001; Perren, 2000; Crick, Casas & Ku, 1999).

ANTI-BULLYING PREVENTION PROGRAMS FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

Increasing bullying rates led to a corresponding increase in educational anti-bullying prevention programs in schools (Tsai, Tseng & Weng, 2011; Swearer et al., 2010) and to teachers being more responsible, not only against bullying situations but also to connect pedagogical practices with anti-bullying strategies and awareness techniques (Olweus, 1993). However, many studies that examined the efficiency of several anti-bullying programs in schools (Flygare, Gill & Johansson, 2013; Beran, Tutty & Steinrath, 2004), reported mixed results. In a recent Swedish study of eight anti-bullying programs, the results showed little empirical evidence to support this goal (Flygare, Gill & Johansson, 2013). In a separate study examining research on anti-bullying initiatives, Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt and Hymel (2010) found that most anti-bullying school programs have little impact on reducing bullying-related behaviors.

The Finnish KiVa program and the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP), are two of the most known complete intervention school programs. In the KiVa program, intervention consists of conversation with individuals or small groups that have been victims or participated in bullying incidents. These conversations are based on two different approaches: the method of shared concern (SC) (Pikas, 2002) and the disapproval of bullying method (DB). The SC method includes five discussion phases: in the first phase, a discussion with the bully takes place that aims to make the bully accept that bullying creates a problem to the victim, the second phase involves discussion with the victim, the third phase is a group meeting with the other members of the bully's team that probably affect his/her behavior, while the fourth phase consists of a meeting between the victim and the bully, who is committed to a contract with the aim of stopping the bullying practices. The last phase includes a feedback-evaluation of the results of the efforts made by the bully (Payne & Gottfredson, 2004).

According to a study conducted during the KiVa school program, both methods of discussion showed positive results in reducing the bullying behavior (Sainio et al., 2009). The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (8-15 age) is based on four principles on how adults can deal with bullying in school: a) “showing warmth”, positive interest and involvement, b) setting firm limits to unacceptable behavior, c) the use of nonphysical and non-hostile negative consequences when rules are broken and d) the existence of authorities and positive role models (Olweus & Limber, 2010). It also underlines that the rules against bullying for each class should be an independent part of the school’s discipline policy (Olweus & Limber, 2017). Interventions of this program were implemented both on individual level as well as on school and class level, involving also parents and the community (Stamatis & Nikolaou, 2016; Smith, 2010).

Due to limited research on bullying among preschool children, interventions developed were mainly based on empirical assessments (Repo, 2015). The Bernese Program against Victimization in Kindergarten and Elementary School (Be-Prox), which was based on research for preschool environment, aims to familiarize teachers with bullying as a phenomenon and to educate them on prevention practices related to it (Alsaker & Nägele, 2008; Alsaker 2004; Alsaker & Valkanover 2012, 2001). The Be-Prox model has been included in an extensive study to evaluate anti-bullying programs and is among the nineteen most effective programs (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) recommends two programs supported by numerous surveys: Steps to Respect: (8-10 ages) which focuses on relational types of aggression such as spiteful gossip and social segregation (Low et al., 2011), and Second Step (4-14 ages): which focuses on the development of emotional and social perspective skills, aggressive behavior management through discussion on acceptable social behaviors, modeling and role-playing (Snow, 2014).

As mentioned above, a common feature of intervention and prevention programs is the focus on the development of social skills and empathy (Nikolaou & Markogiannakis, 2017), that contribute to improving or strengthening positive interpersonal behaviors, based on the assumption that there is a causal relationship between low levels of empathy and bullying behaviors (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2011). Empathy facilitates the development of prosocial behavior (Warden & Mackinnon, 2003) and prevents or at least mitigates antisocial or aggressive behavior (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). Empathy is an ability that can be modified by experience (Gerdes, Segal & Lietz, 2010; Davis, 1996) and storytelling, either digital or not, is included in these. Many research papers are following this direction in bibliography. The narrative approach, digital or not, is already beginning to appear in research on emotional intelligence and empathy enhancement (Faver & Alanis, 2012).

BULLYING STRATEGIES AND INTERACTIVE STORYTELLING

Theoreticians from various disciplines support the positive functions of reading stories-narrations, such as educational, moral development stories (Alexander, Miller & Hengst, 2001; Vitz, 1990) and stories that develop empathy (Mar & Oatley, 2008; Keen, 2007). A story can be defined as a series of phrases that describe a sequence of actions, events or experiences that are linked to cause-effect relationships and are usually related to people as agents of the story. People, who are depicted as characters in a story, are usually introduced in some typical human

situations in which – along with the factors and the changes that affect this situation from the outside environment – they react and change it. For Norris et al., (2005) a piece of prose is characterized as a narrative when it contains, to some extent, eight narrative elements: *narrator, reader, events, characters, time, structure, purpose and “narrative appetite”* (the desire created in readers and listeners to find out what will happen next).

Empathy can be defined as the act of perceiving, understanding, experiencing and responding to the emotional state of another person (Barker, 2003). Social empathy, according to Segal (2011), is “the ability to understand people by perceiving or experiencing their life situations, consequently gaining insight into structural inequalities and disparities”.

Davis (1996) considers empathy as a multidimensional construct that consists of four separate but related aspects: a) perspective taking (the tendency to spontaneously adopt the psychological point of view of others), b) fantasy (the tendency to transpose oneself imaginatively into the feelings and actions of fictitious characters in movies), c) empathetic concern (assesses “other-oriented” feelings of sympathy and concern for unfortunate others) and d) personal distress (measures “self-oriented” feelings of personal anxiety and unease interpersonal settings). The close relationship between empathy and prosocial behavior is well established (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987).

Story-telling is a powerful and authentic means in gaining a perspective on the conditions and feelings of others. Mar and Oatley (2008) point out that the main function of fictional narrative is to allow the reader to stimulate and learn from a deeply-felt fictional social experience. According to Mar and Oatley, when reading fiction, one feels real emotions, experiences and thoughts in response to the conflicts and relationships of the main story character. The component predicted by Mar and Oatley as being more influenced by narrative is affective empathy. Many narratives, fictional or not, include characters that present social behavior. According to social learning theory, the more a person simulates and learns from the characters that present social behavior, the more likely it is for the person to display prosocial behavior (Greitemeyer, Osswald & Brauer, 2010).

However, this narrative effect on prosocial development is not solely driven by the emotional empathy function but is mediated by the main character that symbolizes this function. This is supported by social learning theory as well as a recent study on the effect of modeled social behavior on emotional empathy, according to which the participation in video-games leads to empathic development, possibly because it activates game-related emotional variables (Greitemeyer et al., 2010). Moreover, the participation of the “visual image” as a narrative component becomes an inevitable part of the subject-object interaction during an experience. The power of the image, and especially the combination of image-movement (design), is no longer limited to the analogic theatrical framework but expanded and powered in the digital technological environment (television, video-games, etc.) (Diamantara, Fesakis & Varsamou, 2017).

INTERACTIVE DIGITAL STORYTELLING

Stories are an important cognitive schema which, in combination with the relevant mental processes (narrative intelligence), have been studied by psychologists, literary theorists and ICT scientists (Kolodner, 2005; Schank, 1995). Storytelling can be an excellent tool for

promoting emotional intelligence and social behavior on young children, which, combined with digital technologies, can be a powerful educational and highly reflective thinking activity (Sadik, 2008).

In addition, ICT enable the exploration of dynamic, non-linear stories structures, which are generally described as “interactive stories (IS)” and are also known as “interactive fiction” and “branching stories” (Crawford, 2013). Interactive stories enable the reader/player to participate and affect the plot of the story, offering new types of narrations, more engaging and adaptive. Conventional stories present a static sequence of events connected by an also static chain of cause-effect relationship (plot). In contrast, interactive stories present a dynamic sequence of events and a non-linear plot which is determined during the “reading” of the story according to the user’s actions and choices. The end of the story is not predetermined by the author and the story usually emerges during the narrative.

IST for educational purposes can support modern learning approaches, activate higher forms of thinking and emotional involvement during learning. In IST, the reader is “forced” to think about and understand the story, intervene to the simulated fictional world and make decisions for the narration evolvement. This mechanism activates the student-player’s thinking and concentration on the content and increases the possibilities of learning (Markouzis & Fessakis, 2017). The importance of storytelling in teaching and learning has been widely supported and is a widespread belief (Egan, 1993, 1985).

Considering that children enjoy and can understand stories from a very young age (Applebee, 1987), the interest on understanding and creating stories and using interactive digital storytelling as a means of encouraging social empathy and development of social behaviors in general, is quite reasonable. Despite the emerging pedagogical benefits, research on the role of interactive storytelling in bullying among preschool children is still in its infancy.

REVIEW OF ICT APPLICATIONS CONCERNING BULLYING

Examples of the available ICT applications about bullying, which, were studied prior to the preparation of this paper, are listed below on Table 1 in five categories. The study of existing ICT applications aimed to evaluating some selected or to informing about the process of the design of a new application. The lack of an appropriate application that matches to the theoretical framework analyzed before, led to the need of designing the scenarios described in the following section. In the rest of this section, the categories of the applications studied are described.

The first category is about animated or video branching stories that were developed in the framework of government initiatives in USA (Allen, & CPMMT, 2013; Risinger, 2011; Lenhardt 2007; National Crime Prevention Council, 1997). They can be used with young children of primary education, but they are not developmentally adapted to kindergarten (or younger children) and they lack empirical evidence.

The second category includes digital games created within the KiVa project (Yang & Salmivalli, 2015). These games appeal to older children or/and educators. Moreover, they do not have an intense narrative element with a complete plot. KiVa/Game 2 uses descriptions of short-term school incidents to ask questions but there is no continuity in the plot that depends on the answers.

Table 3. Categories of reviewed ICT applications concerning bullying

<i>Branching Stories from government initiatives:</i>
• McGruff animated dog interactive digital stories for bullying prevention. (http://www.mcgruff.org/Games/stop_bully.php). • “What happens next”, by Stop Bullying Organization, (https://www.stopbullying.gov/kids/games/play/).
<i>Digital games in the context of KiVa project (ages 7-10)</i>
• <i>Game 1</i> is a bullying awareness raising game. Its script structure is a closed-questions test for the identification of the phenomenon. • <i>Game 2</i> includes small episodes that are followed by a question to recognize the phenomenon. Game players’ age level corresponds to older children.
<i>Research efforts with Digital and Interactive Storytelling applications:</i>
• Tsai, M. K., Tseng, S. S., & Weng, J. F. (2011). A pilot study of interactive storytelling for bullying prevention education. <i>Edutainment Technologies. Educational Games and Virtual/Augmented Reality Applications</i>, 497-501. • Thompson, S. (2014). <i>Everybody's got a story: examining the building of empathy and understanding for the bully, the bullied, and the bystander through digital storytelling</i> (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ontario Institute of Technology (Canada).
<i>Branching animated stories for older children, adolescents and adults:</i>
• <i>Sir Basel Pike Public School</i> (http://www.zap.ca/pike). It is an interactive narrative role-playing game that explores the dynamics of bullying among boys and girls aged 10-14 (grades 5-9). The purpose of the game is to show what’s really going on in a couple of common schoolyard conflicts and to challenge the user to think about the consequences of impulsive action. The game presents a non-linear approach to problem solving that reveals to the user the cause and effect of different strategies of conflict resolution. The central idea is to develop empathy through victimization. • <i>Decisions that matter</i> (http://www.etc.cmu.edu/projects/patronus/). It is an interactive stimulation game about bystander intervention. It is both a video game and a powerful lesson in how you can protect yourself and your friends from sexual assault. Developed by Carnegie Mellon University students (Yoo, 2015).
<i>Digital Games for empathy development:</i>
There are many digital games on empathy development and emotional intelligence in general (Greitemeyer, Osswald & Brauer, 2010). e.g., http://www.pbs.org/pov/thankyouforplaying/empathy-video-games/

The third category includes published research on the implementation of digital storytelling for bullying, in which, however, the script is not interactive (Thompson, 2014) or it is left to be invented and digitized by the children (Tsai, Tseng & Weng, 2011) and thus it cannot be easily applied in preschool education. However, choosing the application of digital and interactive storytelling to combat bullying, strengthens the approach proposed in this study.

In the fourth category are included two professional-level animated branching story applications aimed at raising awareness and tackling bullying and aggressive behavior in adolescents and students. Although these projects are not intended for preschool age or have experimental documentation, they are indicative of the dynamics of the media and are a model for our approach.

Finally, in the fifth category are digital games about social interaction stimulations for enhancing empathy and emotional intelligence of children (Greitemeyer, Osswald & Brauer,

2010). We believe that this is the general category of the media in which we incorporate the proposed interactive story that specializes in bullying and preschool age.

By reviewing the existing applications, it is ascertained that there is generally a lack of interactive storytelling applications about bullying for preschool children designed with theoretical analysis and documented by systematic research on their effects and outcomes.

Moreover, it is noted that social interactions stimulations are theoretically able to affect the emotional intelligence of children through the situated learning theory. Situated knowledge is the idea that knowledge can only be objective when paired with a perspective that makes it true. Empathy games help with gaining situated knowledge because they expose users to situations that they would not normally experience. With the right perspective, the user can now understand the validity of statements they would otherwise question because they had not been exposed to that perspective. Video games teach perspective-taking skills by obligingly changing the player's perspective, as the player is placed in stage and this causes a short-term "explosion" of sympathy, which is not enough to truly understand the situation of other children, but it can help change the player's perspective on the situation. Batson and colleagues suggested that perceived need, imagining the other's perspective, and valuing the other's welfare are antecedents of empathy (Batson et al., 2007). The differentiating element in the development of positive prosocial behaviors through narratives (textual, visual, acoustic) is related to: a) the empathic dimension that is activated by them, either cognitive (playing the game as a main character) or emotional (playing the game as a separate person that has the same feelings as the characters) and b) the amount of involvement in the plot of the story, through the process of identifying with the main character. Green and Brock (2000) posit that transportation into a story occurs when an individual is fully engaged, experiences high imagery, and is emotionally impacted by the story.

Considering the theoretical analysis described above, designing digital interactive storytelling scenarios especially for preschool children to investigate their effect on bullying, seems to have a significant interest.

PROPOSED INTERACTIVE BULLYING SCENARIO

In this study, it is considered that the cognitive components integrated as narrative options in an interactive scenario (e.g., "What do you think Anthoula should do? (1st Branch: 1a) Make her painting again? Or 1b) Hide behind the dollhouse?) with a content that causes emotions, will enhance cognitive and emotional involvement of preschool children in their interactions with the main character of the story (Anthoula), as they will be forced to make decisions for the narrative to develop. That participation in the narrative development makes the child an active agent of the story, enhancing thus identification (Appleyard, 1994). Increased identification leads: a) to a greater amount of empathy (the child may feel not just "some" feelings towards the character but "those" feelings the character experiences) and b) to inclusion in the story, i.e., minimization of the difference between what the child understands as happening in the story and what happens between the child and the story, when there is a positive response to the story. By asking "What did you like the most?" or "What made you the biggest impression?" In the end of the interactive story, we examine the child's positive or negative emotions towards the story or one of the characters are examined, since success or

failure to adapt to the story is revealed by the feedback the child receives by evoking feelings (Holland, 1968).

According to Holland's Psychoanalytic Theory, a positive response to the narrative outlines that the child managed to compose, from elements found in the story, a part or all his/her lifestyle, a part or the entire structure of his/her defenses (Holland, 1975) and as a result, this positive response will help the child to make those narrative choices that will more consistently reflect his/her strategies if he/she was bullied at that time (limiting the possibility of choosing randomly or indifferently a branching choice-strategy). Given the above difficulties, "Anthoula's Dreams" was created, a digital interactive story featuring a five-year-old girl, named Anthoula, who receives social rejection from her classmates. Social rejection and teasing in kindergarten are the most common forms of bullying. Children-players are required to choose from predefined options of strategies, those that will lead to the resolution of the bullying situation and reconciliation, aiming to learning positive strategies of resolution. The narrative was created by considering "The 5 essential elements" (Ohler, 2001), thus achieving emotional flow between the actions of the characters and the narrative events of the story.

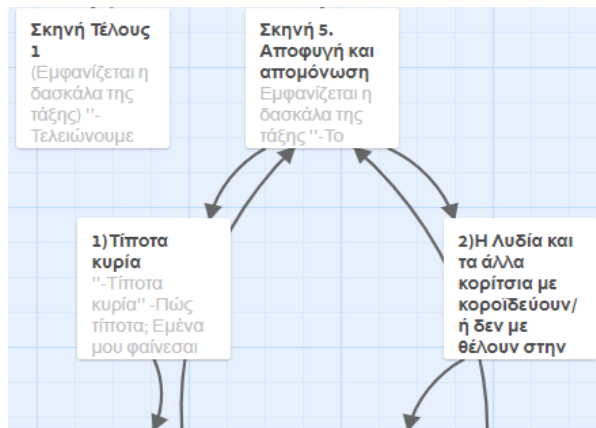


Figure 2. Script excerpt from twine showing the branching structure.

Moreover, when exposed to the negative choices of the strategies and the possibility of reduced self-awareness, the child's feelings are protected, since the script's structure allows children a) to see themselves as actors, not just victims, and b) the "corrective experience". This means that if the child feels anxious from the negative route that he/she chose, it can return to the previous crossroad and choose the positive route that will lead this time to an active resolution of the problem. In addition, as research has shown (Reunamo et al., 2013), children's strategies reflect their activities. The branching scenario was specified using the Twine Interactive Fiction authoring tool (Figure 1 & 2). The scenario is currently available only in Greek language and it may be translated in other languages depending on the results of the pilot study of its impact. An animation movie prototype is under development to illustrate the story of the scenario using the Animaker software (Figure 3). The animated video clips will be embedded in a custom story exploration software through which the users will interact with the story and make their decisions. The software will track the decisions of each specific user. The

impact and the efficiency of the proposed application of the interactive storytelling will be thoroughly studied as soon as the animated versions are complete.

Children who adopt uncertain strategies concentrate on non-social activities and do not have as many experiences of social interaction with other children. These children may find it difficult to interact in a constructive way and may not have social interaction skills. At the end of the story, we answer the questions of five "W": Who? What? Where? Why? When? (Black, 2017), to enhance children's visualization capability, regarding the projected message of our story (basic problem-solving skills). Visualizing the facts and events of the story, makes the actions of the characters meaningful, as they are formulated through narrative, while permitting the identification and favoring the listener's participation in the narrative events. Thus, the proposed scenario is a good condition for simulating social experience and skills for these children (Ong, 1982).

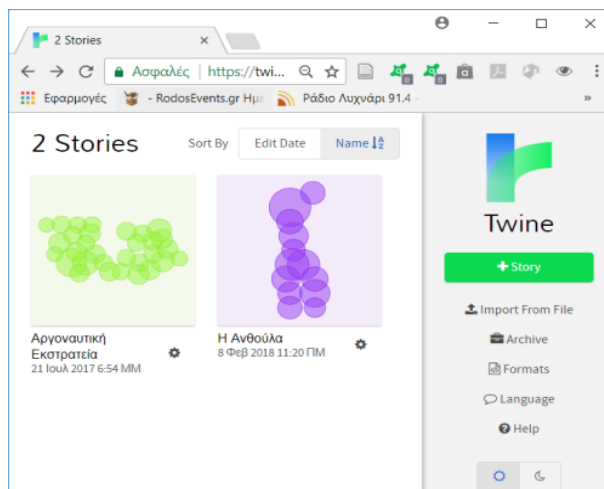


Figure 3. The Twine's users' interface.



Figure 4. Screenshot from the animation created with Animaker software.

CONCLUSION

Raising awareness is an important term in preschool education for implementation of intervention and prevention practices (Goryl, Neilsen-Hewett & Sweller, 2013), since systematic bullying includes preschool groups, as children's interactions lack of developed social skills. The interactive nature of the phenomenon dictates the development of social skills due to the causal relationship between low levels of empathy and bullying behavior (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2011). Empathy, as a cognitive and emotional ability which can change with experience (Gerdes, Segal & Lietz, 2010; Davis, 1996), makes the narrative a highly formative experience that, in combination with digital technologies, constitutes a strong educational and highly reflective thinking activity (Sadik, 2008).

The result can be made even more complete by combining the interactivity of multimedia applications and the positive “responsiveness” of the child-agent to the narrative spectacle, which now works in a convincing and plausible way, as the children's narrative choices through the story branches are expected to more consistently reflect their own strategies, if they were intimidated at that time. Based on this reasoning and given that children enjoy and can understand a lot of stories from very young ages (Applebee, 1987), two additional digitized interactive scenarios will be created along with the existing story with interactive structure (“Anthoula Alone”), focusing on the roles of the child-perpetrator and children-bystanders respectively, both for the diagnosis and assessment of the children's reactions to bullying situations as well as for the effect of interactive stories on the development of strategies for addressing bullying.

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Chapter 36

HOW TO PREPARE CROSS-NATIONAL BULLYING STUDIES: CONCEPTUALIZATION AND OPERATIONALIZATION DIFFERENCES

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is a crucial social problem for youth in all countries and cultures, yet few cross-country studies of bullying have taken into account cultural differences in bullying, particularly how it is conceptualization and operationalized. We demonstrate how differences in conceptualization, operationalization and measurement lead to inconsistent findings that affect implications for prevention and intervention. This investigation may help to further cross-national bullying studies by providing clear recommendations that will help researchers to take account of culturally appropriate comparisons. To compare the same concept (i.e., bullying) across countries, it is beneficial to have a unified conceptualization and operationalization of bullying that also reflects cultural differences. In turn, this can guide the implementation of effective prevention and intervention programs that are culturally, developmentally, and gender appropriate.

Keywords: bullying, South Korea, youth, cross-country study, literature review

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970s, bullying in childhood and adolescence has been understood as a serious and ongoing problem that has negative consequences for perpetrators, victims, and bystanders. Along with diverse negative consequences, substantial research has examined and compared bullying across countries (Chester et al., 2015; Due et al., 2005). These studies have identified

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the tendency of bullying and illustrated its harmful effects on youth development, as well as to demonstrate the potential for continuing adverse consequences throughout the lifespan (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NASEM], 2016). However, the cross-national bullying studies have limitations that did not take account for conceptualization, operationalization, and cultural differences. These differences make it difficult to compare findings across studies that utilize samples of youth from different cultures and countries.

Therefore, we illustrate these challenges and differences of international bullying studies to suggest how to prepare for future cross-national bullying studies in culturally sensitive ways, using the potential significance of cultural variances in the concept of bullying. To identify similarities and differences among international studies, we used South Korean bullying studies by comparing this work to some of the most well-known studies of bullying in English speaking youth. The reasons South Korean research has used to explain the challenges of international bullying comparison studies is that research on bullying in South Korea has grown steadily since the early 2000s and has important implications for research in other international comparison studies. Additionally, bullying in South Korea has not yet included, although several previous research has compared bullying across diverse countries (Chester et al., 2015; Craig et al., 2009; Elgar et al., 2015; Wilson, Dunlavy, & Berchtold, 2013). This research may be applicable to other countries' studies and may expand our understanding of the current problems in cross-national bullying studies. It can also help to guide future international comparison bullying studies, which may now more clearly account for specific cultural differences and similarities across countries.

Conceptualization Differences across Countries

One of the biggest challenges of understanding findings of cross-national studies of bullying is differences in how bullying is conceptualized defined. The different conceptualization of bullying contributes to different findings, and it further leads to the implementation of different prevention and intervention programs. According to Flannery et al., (2016) and the NASEM report in 2016, the problem of varied definition of bullying across studies has been identified even within English-speaking cultures. However, international studies of bullying have not been examined to determine whether they also conceptualize bullying in different ways. If these inconsistencies exist, it will contribute to a lack of comparability of findings across studies and potentially miscommunication among researchers, practitioners, and policy makers. For example, if policies and laws are based on inconsistent findings or data that is not based on a consistent definition of the problem, then decisions on funding and preventive intervention strategies may be misguided and ultimately ineffective.

Most studies including both South Korea research and English-speaking cultures, utilize the concept of bullying developed by Olweus' in his Scandinavian studies. Olweus (1978) introduced "bullying" as a research concept nearly 40 years ago and his studies remain at the center of research on bullying today. According to Olweus's definition (1994), bullying refers to intentional aggressive behavior that is persistent and repetitive toward an individual or a group and is characterized by an imbalance of power. Although most English-speaking cultures adapted Olweus's concept, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) officially developed a uniform definition of bullying in 2014. According to the CDC (2015), bullying is defined as "any unwanted aggressive behavior(s) by another youth or group of youths who are

not siblings or current dating partners that involves an observed or perceived power imbalance and is repeated multiple times or is highly likely to be repeated” (p. 1). The CDC’s definition distinguishes bullying from peer victimization. *Peer victimization* refers to harassment by one or more age-mates that can happen once and without a power differential between perpetrator and victim, which distinguish it from bullying (Finkelhor, Turner, & Hamby, 2012). For example, if a child is hit by a peer in a single incident, and there is no power differential between the two, then this case is technically peer victimization instead of bullying. Some researchers use the two terms interchangeably, while others assert that these are distinctly different phenomena (NASEM, 2016).

Similar with English-speaking cultures, South Korean bullying research also used the Olweus conceptualization of bullying, a situation with an individual harassed persistently and repeatedly by a group or an individual due to an imbalance of power—regardless of geographical placements (such as school, bus-stop, playground, etc.). The primary difference in conceptualization between South Korea and English-speaking cultures is the unit of the perpetrator. If an individual is harassed by an individual, this does not constitute bullying according to South Korea’s definition, but it does in English-speaking cultures. Bullying research in South Korea has used mixed terms, even though an official term for bullying, “Jib-Dan-Tta-Dol-Lim,” has emerged. Given the origin of this term (i.e., “Jib-Dan” means “group” in South Korea), the bullying perpetrator must be a group, not an individual, whereas the perpetrator could be either a group or an individual in English-speaking cultures. This differentiation of definition has produced a varied range of bullying prevalence in previous studies: in the US, studies of bullying indicate that between 13% and 75% of children and adolescents are bullied at some point in their lives (Gladden et al., 2014), while the prevalence of bullying victimization in South Korea ranges from 24% to 56% (Hu, Park, & Jung, 2009). In short, the different conceptual definition (i.e., unit of the perpetrator) affects methods of assessing bullying rates, which in turn are related to variance in the estimation of bullying rates. These inconsistencies hinder our ability to understand the prevalence and impact of bullying, and they limit our ability to develop effective prevention and intervention programs.

Operationalization Differences across Countries

In addition to conceptual definition issues with regard to bullying, there are issues with how bullying as a concept is operationalized. Although both South Korea and English-speaking cultures utilized the Olweus’s concept of bullying, subsequent studies have operationalized and measured bullying in many different ways, making comparisons of findings difficult and implications for prevention and intervention hard to determine. In English-speaking culture, diverse assessments have been utilized ranging from observations of behavior (e.g., unstructured and structured observations, interviews), a single question (e.g., have you been bullied), and different questionnaires such as the Bullying Behavior Scale (BBS; Austin & Joseph 1996), the Peer Nomination Inventory (PNI; Wiggins & Winder, 1961), the Peer Relations Questionnaire (PRQ; Rigby, 1998), the Peer Victimization Scale (PVS; Neary & Joseph, 1994), and Olweus’s Bully/Victim Questionnaire (BVQ; Olweus, 1996) in order to measure bullying. Although these diverse assessments provide information about different aspects of bullying, each has limitations in providing information about bullying according to the CDC definition. For instance, the BBS was developed to measure bully-victim problems at

school including two six-item self-report scales, which have higher levels of internal consistency (Austine & Joseph, 1996; Crothers & Levinson, 2004). However, the BBS items fail to assess the imbalance of power and the number of repeated occurrences. Additionally, the BBS restricts the physical locations of bullying by limiting its focus to school property.

Olweus's BVQ also has limitations because it excludes power imbalance and the number of repeated incidents of bullying (Lee & Cornell, 2010). The gap between the instrument (i.e., BVQ) and the recently adopted definition of bullying is especially problematic because these instruments are widely used in bullying studies across countries as a standardized and validated questionnaire (Kyriakides, Kaloyirou, & Lindsay, 2006; Lee & Cornell, 2010). By excluding the repeated nature of bullying and imbalance of power, an incident could be interpreted as school violence or peer victimization instead of bullying. These methodological issues are consistently reported in previous research (Nansel et al., 2001; Solberg & Olweus, 2003; Ttofi & Farrington, 2011). In effect, each study has established its own definition of bullying. This variation in definition may be even more pronounced in international comparison studies because of cultural differences and translation issues. However, to date, most bullying studies have been focused on Canada or the U.S., and few studies have pointed out the operational definition problems of bullying studies across countries (Bradshaw, 2015).

Compared to English-speaking cultures, South Korean studies uniquely and clearly categorize three types of bullying: 1) social exclusion; 2) verbal harassment; and 3) physical molestation. These types can be further divided into visible and invisible bullying (Lee & Kwak, 2000). Visible bullying refers to people around the victim recognizing the bullying through observing physical or verbal harassment, while invisible bullying is social exclusion such as ignoring, teasing, or being shunned. Although studies in English-speaking cultures use similar categories of bullying, these studies have not yet clearly defined the types of bullying.

Questionnaires in South Korea also more clearly categorize roles in bullying—perpetrator and victim—while questionnaires in English-speaking cultures focus almost exclusively on victimization. These differences have been identified in the national datasets. For example, the School Crime Supplement (SCS) is a national survey targeting youths aged 12-18 in the U.S. for bullying and cyber-bullying based on the CDC's definition (U.S. Department of Education, 2015). The SCS has diverse information related to the characteristics of students, but it only focuses on the person being bullied without considering the perpetrator or bystander. However, as a representative national longitudinal dataset in South Korea (Kwon, 2011; No & Hong, 2013), the South Korean Youth Panel Survey (KYPS) contains 5-year longitudinal data from 4th grade of elementary school (approximately ages 9-10) to the 2nd grade of middle school (approximately ages 13-14). In the datasets, perpetration and victimization of bullying are measured through the history of events (i.e., presence or absence of bullying) and the frequency of events. In sum, most of the national datasets in English-speaking cultures are focused only on the victim of bullying, whereas the national datasets in South Korea include studies that assess the experiences of both victims and perpetrators. However, both countries did not consider the bystander.

Additionally, there are distinct differences in South Korean questionnaires, because of translation issues. For example, questionnaires in several Korean bullying studies have used Callaghan and Joseph's (1996) peer victimization scale and Neary and Joseph's (1994) bullying-behavior scale, as translated by Lee and Kwak (2000). However, a few items on the questionnaire do not precisely translate from the original questionnaires or their response categories. These differences may cause researchers to measure constructs differently. For

example, Lee and Kwak's translated questionnaire (2000) includes swear words as a type of verbal harassment, but Callaghan and Joseph's questionnaire includes only teasing, name-calling, etc. as verbal harassment types.

South Korean questionnaires can be categorized into three types: 1) those developed by researchers; 2) those adopted from other South Korean language questionnaires; and 3) those translated into Korean from other languages. First, questionnaires that have been developed by researchers are designed for each researcher's purpose and tailored to their target behaviors. For example, Jang and Choi (2010) developed a questionnaire to measure bullying in South Korea by creating four subscales through factor analysis: retaliating, assisting bullies, bystanding, and helping victims. The four subscales were to measure these attitudes towards bullying. Second, adopted questionnaires have mixed the concepts of bullying and peer violence. For example, Lee (2003) developed a peer violence questionnaire in her study of the relationship between peer violence and general life experience. However, Kim and Yook's study (2014) used Lee's peer violence questionnaire to measure bullying because the items on the questionnaire included bullying concepts. Third, Baek (2015a, 2015b) translated the peer victimization scale and bullying behavior scale, which were developed by Austin and Joseph (1996). In her study, the peer victimization scale was used to assess bullying victimization, whereas the bullying behavior scale was utilized to assess bullying perpetration.

Each type of measurement has strengths and limitations. The questionnaire developed by researchers has strengths given the nature of a study that develops its scale in order to tap the identified construct. For example, Kim's study (2003) developed a scale that examines the conformity groups for bullying. In her study, the conformity group is categorized into active and passive support groups. The active support group is also divided into two groups based on the subject of support: support perpetrators or victims. In short, Kim's study has established a measurement to assess bystander patterns, because of the limited assessments for bystanders. However, using a uniquely developed measurement makes it difficult to generalize to other samples and to compare findings across studies and cultures.

Adopted South Korean language questionnaires also have the strengths of being convenient and of reflecting South Korean cultures. Although there is limited information on how each study measures the concepts, several limitations were identified in previous research. Major limitations include difficulties in matching the target population, in addition to reliability and validity issues. Park and Kim (2015), Moon et al., (2013), and Kwon et al., (2012) used the same bullying victimization scale developed by Jang and Choi (2010). However, these studies' target populations are different ranging from elementary school students to middle school students. Given the different target populations, these studies' reliabilities vary widely: respondents' levels of literacy and cognitive ability are related to the reliability and validity issues (DeVillis, 2012). Therefore, it is problematic to use the same scale for a wide range of age samples. This limitation is a problem not only in South Korea, but also in English-speaking cultures. Bradshaw's study (2015) demonstrated, for example, that study results in the U.S. differ depending on the reporter (i.e., self-report vs. teacher- or peer-report).

Lastly, a translated study has strengths by utilizing standardized assessment, such as Olweus's BVQ. However, these studies have translation and cultural issues. For example, Eom and Cho's study (2015) used a Korean version of Olweus's BVQ, which excludes harassment due to race or ethnicity. These translation issues have led researchers to produce different constructs.

Despite the important differences between South Korea and English-speaking cultures described above, there are nonetheless several similarities in the operationalization of bullying as a construct. In general, most types of bullying harassment have been divided in three ways—physical, emotional, and verbal—in both countries’ questionnaires. These shared categorizations demonstrate both cultures’ commitment to understanding the underlying compositions of bullying. Additionally, most assessments in both South Korea and English-speaking cultures, which often adopt (or, in Korea’s case, translate) existing questionnaires, have gaps between construct and measurement. In contrast, the questionnaires developed by researchers have fewer such gaps by developing the assessment with clear purpose.

Intervention Approach Differences across Countries

Consistent with previous studies (Hong, Lee, Lee, Lee, & Garbarino, 2014), prevention and intervention programs have taken different approaches due to different concepts and cultural differences: South Korea is more likely to prefer the selective- or indicated-level programs, whereas English-speaking cultures are more likely to suggest universal-level school-based prevention programs. This may be explained by the underlying different emphases on the subject (victim or perpetrator) of the bullying as well as cultural differences. In the Korean perspective, since bullying is group-based harassment, bullying victimization results from the individual’s social-interactive problems, which may provoke the bullying group. However, in English-speaking cultures’ perspective, bullying can take the form of individual or group harassment, which leads researchers to consider environmental problems. Over the last two decades in English-speaking cultures, diverse bullying prevention and intervention programs have increased to meet the demands of the times, which consider bullying to be a significant social problem. Most of these interventions—especially for at-risk youth already involved in bullying—address constructs and behaviors related to bullying such as aggression, violence, and externalizing behavior problems. However, they rarely target bullying behaviors specifically (Flannery et al., 2016; NASEM, 2016).

For example, school-based “Social and Emotional Learning (SEL)” programs, as a universal approach, target all students regardless of risk for bullying and foster youth-positive development frameworks including cognitive, affective, and behavioral competencies in order to reduce negative adjustment such as interpersonal violence, substance use, and bullying (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011). Along with SEL programs, diverse school-based programs that adopt a universal approach have been examined in previous studies, which revealed the effectiveness of school-based programs using meta-analytic review. These studies found that bullying perpetration and victimization were decreased 17-23% (Jimenez-Barbero, Ruiz-Hernandez, Llor-Zaragoza, Perez-Garcia, Llor-Esteban, 2016; Ttofi & Farrington, 2011). One such selective program is “Method of Shared Concern,” which seeks to help individuals and groups to resolve bully/victim problems by working with practitioners. This intervention was originally developed by Anatol Pikas in 2002, and it has been evaluated as an effective program having positive outcomes (Rigby & Griffiths, 2011), even though the evaluation used a small number of cases. As for indicated bullying programs, one example is the “Target Bullying Intervention Program (T-BIP)”’: a three-hour individualized intervention for students who have engaged in bullying as a perpetrator to reduce their aggressive behaviors

by identifying cognitive and environmental factors related to bullying (Strawhun, Fluke, & Peterson, 2013).

In regards to the level of intervention program, most research on bullying programs in South Korea has focused on indicated- and selective-level programs (Byeon, 2000; Kong & Bae, 2013). Among the studies discussed in this review, only Seo and colleagues (2011) and Kim (2013) have examined universal level programs including school-wide social skills training programs and counseling programs for peer support at elementary schools. This focus on selective or indicated programs is different than in studies from English-speaking cultures, even though there have been limited RCT studies in South Korea. While limited to only South Korean programs, Hong and colleagues' study (2014) also identified similar results in their review of bullying and school-violence prevention and interventions; most Korean bullying prevention and intervention programs are individual-level and target specific individual behaviors. Although Hong and colleagues' review (2014) included studies of bullying and school violence, nonetheless they still considered primarily selective or indicated programs, not universal interventions. This discrepancy reflects the gap between Korean and Anglophone cultures' perspectives on bullying: The Korean perspective on bullying tends to focus on individual problems, whereas the perspective of English-speaking cultures is more likely to focus on environmental problems. It also suggests that English-speaking cultures' studies of bullying in other cultures (e.g., South Korea) need to better take into account cultural differences in conceptualizations of the definition of bullying.

One of the other characteristics of programs in South Korea is target populations; victims have been the main targets in prevention and intervention programs (Chung, Chung, Kim, & Park, 2008; Kim, Lee, & Kim, 2008; Kwon & Kim, 2006; Son & Hong, 2009). Oh's literature review (2010) examined the limitations of current prevention and interventions for bullying in South Korea and revealed the overall ineffectiveness of intervention for the perpetrator. Additionally, Oh has advocated for developing preventive interventions based on the characteristics of Korean bullying (i.e., group-based bullying). In contrast, interventions in English-speaking cultures have targeted diverse populations including victims, perpetrators, and bystanders (NASEM, 2016).

DISCUSSION

The current study examined the similarities and differences between South Korea and English-speaking cultures in order to address the problems of comparing bullying research across studies and countries. This study has important cautionary implications not only for future international comparison studies of bullying, but also for comparing such studies within countries by identifying the variances in study results due to different conceptual and operational definitions, as well as cultural differences. Numerous differences between the literature on bullying in Korean and in English-speaking cultures have been indicated. First, the concept of bullying in South Korea differs from English-speaking cultures: the Korean concept has been focused on group-based bullying, whereas English-speaking cultures consider either individual-level bullying or group-based bullying. Additionally, compared to English-speaking cultures, the Korean literature categorizes bullying more clearly into the following roles: perpetrator and victim. These different conceptual definitions affect how researchers

measure bullying, which in turn leads to a diverse range of findings (i.e., different ranges of prevalence, creating different focus on national datasets, and distinct intervention strategies). Our findings thus indicate that English-speaking cultures should consider developing clearer categorizations of bullying based on the distinct characteristics of victims, perpetrators and bystanders described in previous studies (Espelage & Holt, 2013; Hymel & Swearer, 2015; Nansel et al., 2001; Yen et al., 2014).

Although several differences have been identified in studies in South Korea and English speaking countries, there are also considerable similarities. First, the initial step in research in South Korea was to study Scandinavian bullying research, which had a notable influence on the development of questionnaires. Bullying questionnaires, regardless of what country the research is being conducted in, usually categorized bullying as physical, emotional, or verbal. Most assessments also perpetuate the mismatch between the concept of bullying and how it is operationalized in research studies, because most assessments adopt existing questionnaires rather than developing their own. These mismatched concept and operationalization problems have been more likely to be found in South Korean questionnaires, compared to English-speaking cultures, given the nature of translation issues that do not account for cultural differences. In other words, the translated questionnaires are more biased, even though most translated questionnaires use the standardized scale.

Suggestions for Future Research

The identified similarities and differentiations have implications for future research. First of all, the findings suggest that researchers should develop a clear and matched definition with operationalization, because the gap between construct and operationalization hinders our ability to determine the effectiveness of prevention and intervention programs. For example, interventions developed according to a different concept may not effectively reduce bullying. This gap between concept and operationalization should be considered not only across international comparison studies, but also within cultures, because we identified the variation in results both within countries (Nansel et al., 2001; Solberg & Olweus, 2003; Ttofi & Farrington, 2011) and across countries (Baek, 2015a; Baek, 2015b; Bradshaw, 2015; Kim & Yook, 2014). Second, future studies that examine bullying across countries should consider cultural differences. Such differences have caused widespread repercussions because South Korea and English-speaking cultures fail to examine the same construct. For example, if researchers use the term “bullying” without further explanation, people who have different cultural backgrounds may interpret different concepts, which in turn will lead to divergent responses. Additionally, cultural differences make different school climates. For example, school cultures in South Korea are collectivist, whereas English-speaking cultures are more individualistic. As a result, students in South Korean schools are more likely to be afraid of speaking or acting out, and may be bullied by other peers if they do. Ironically, South Korea’s collectivist attitudes lead to far more targeted interventions (because bullying victims and perpetrators are seen as acting outside of the larger group), while for example American individualist attitudes result in a preference for more universal interventions.

These cultural differences are the pivotal problem, specifically in the U.S., given its more multicultural population. Thus, researchers in the U.S. should take account of these cultural differences when they conduct bullying research by using culturally appropriate questionnaires.

For example, a culturally matched interviewee and interviewer would be helpful in order to understand the targeted construct (i.e., bullying), when researchers collect bullying data. This matched interview may lead to high fidelity. Additionally, few studies have examined the prevalence of bystanders, even though bystanders are understood to play a significant role in the social dynamics of bullying (Espelage & Holt, 2013; Hymel & Swearer, 2015; Kim, 2003; Nansel et al., 2001; Noh, 2000; Yen et al., 2014). Therefore, future studies should consider the prevalence of bystanders as well as the unique problems of bullying in vulnerable populations.

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Chapter 37

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN BULLYING AND SUICIDE

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: This chapter reviews the relationship between bullying and suicide with special attention to types of bullying and gender differences.

Bullying: Both Boys and Girls are Targets of Bullying at Similar Rates; Boys are More Likely to Bully, and Girls are More Likely to Report.

The 2016 National Academies report summarized bullying statistics in the US: “school-based bullying likely affects between 18 and 31 percent of children and youth, and the prevalence of cyber victimization ranges from 7 to 15 percent of youth.” (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine 2016, p. 2)

Suicide: More Females than Males Think about Suicide but More Males than Females Die by Suicide.

Suicide has increased 28% since 2000; it was the 10th leading cause of death for people of all ages in 2015 in the US. Among 15-24 year olds, suicide is the second leading cause of death. According to Youth Risk Behavior Survey data, 17.2% of students had seriously considered suicide in 2017. Suicide ideation and suicide attempts were higher among female (22.1% and 9.3% respectively) than male high school students (11.9% and 5.1% respectively).

Bullying and Suicide: Being a Target of Bullying, and Especially Engaging in Bullying Behavior, Elevates Suicide Risk Whether You Are a Girl or a Boy.

The relationship between suicide-related behaviors and bullying (victim, perpetrator, bully-victim, or bystanders) has been established. Students who were bullied, bullied other students, or witnessed bullying were more likely to have higher levels of suicide-related behaviors than students not involved in bullying. There is evidence that female and male students experience the effects of bullying differently and engage in suicide attempts at different rates. Girls who are bullied and girls who are bully-victims have higher involvement with suicide. The National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS) data

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supports that there is a relationship between bullying and suicide. From 2005-2008, 12.4% of NVDRS suicide records for 10-17 year olds from 16 states referenced bullying.

Method: We examined the studies in the Holt and colleagues (2015) meta-analysis individually, cataloguing the prevalence of bullying experiences and suicide related behavior reported, focusing on gender, bullying, and suicide. We then located articles published after the Holt meta-analysis was conducted. Taken together, these studies described bullying experiences, suicide ideation and attempts worldwide; gender was factored in. The results from over 400, 000 students in 45 countries were summarized.

We obtained and analyzed Ohio's NVDRS data from Ohio Department of Health for 2010-2016. A total of 26 bullying-related cases (10-17 years old) were identified between 2010 and 2016. Most (22) were deaths by suicide. Of these, most (65.4%, $n = 17$) were male.

Conclusion: While there is not a 1:1 correspondence between bullying and suicide, there does appear to be a relationship. Understanding how bullying impacts female and male youth differently, and how this relates to suicidal intent as well as to death by suicide is an area for further inquiry. It is important not to overlook boys who are involved in bullying and possible suicidal ideation. This is especially true among boys with minority sexual orientation.

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews recent empirical studies and international reports on the relationship between bullying and suicide with special attention to types of bullying and gender differences. We discuss two major sources of data regarding gender, bullying and suicide:

- 1) Studies that connect the variables among living students; and
- 2) Data reporting on young people who have died using the NVDRS (National Violent Death Reporting System).

1.1. Bullying: Both Boys and Girls are Targets of Bullying at Similar Rates; Boys Are More Likely to Bully, and Girls Are More Likely to Report

Bullying is "repeated, intentional, harmful and aggressive behavior inflicted by a person or group with more power on a person or group with lesser power" according to Nansel et al. (2001). In the 2005-2006 academic year, US students reported prevalence rates of 21% for physical bullying, 54% for verbal bullying, 51% for social bullying and 14% for electronic bullying (Wang, Iannelli and Nansel 2009).

In the 2013 Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014), 19.6% of high school youth (US) indicated that they had been bullied on school property in the 12 months before the survey. The difference between female and male youth is striking: 23.8% of girls and 15.6% of boys reported being bullied at school. In the same survey, 8.7% of girls and 5.4% of boys said that they did not go to school because they felt unsafe at school or on their way to or from school. Twenty one percent of girls and 8.5% of boys reported being electronically bullied. According to the most recent YRBS in 2017, 19.0% of high school students reported being bullied at school (Kann et al. 2018).

The National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine (2016) summarized the range of bullying statistics: “school-based bullying likely affects between 18 and 31 percent of children and youth, and the prevalence of cyber victimization ranges from 7 to 15 percent of youth” (p. 2).

UNESCO (2018) published a compendium on *School Violence and Bullying: Global Status and Trends, Drivers and Consequences*. Using a variety of large-scale data techniques, the report details prevalence of different types of bullying among 9-15 year olds in 144 countries and territories worldwide. Overall, the report concludes that about one in three students (32%) was bullied by peers at school within the last month. Overall, girls and boys are equally likely to experience bullying. Gender results reveal that more boys than girls are involved in physical fights (45.4% vs. 25.4%). Girls are more likely to be bullied based on physical appearance. Gender non-conforming students are more likely to be bullied than their heterosexual peers (34.2% vs. 18.8%).

1.2. Suicide: More Females than Males Think about Suicide But More Males than Females Die by Suicide

Suicide has increased 28% since 2000 and it was the 10th leading cause of death for people of all ages in 2015 (Curtin, Warner and Hedegaard 2016), accounting for 44,965 deaths in the US (National Center for Health Statistics 2018). In 2016, 13.42 deaths were recorded per 100,000 habitants (American Foundation for Suicide Prevention 2018; CDC 2018). Among older teenagers and youth, suicide is the second leading cause of death; in 15-24 year olds, suicide accounts for 13.2% of deaths in 2016 (National Center for Health Statistics 2018). The CDC (2017) reports that, in 2015, suicide deaths for teenage girls ages 15 to 19 were the highest they have been since 1975. Suicidal ideation and suicide attempts are frequent in adolescents; lifetime prevalence of attempt peaks between 16 and 18 years of age (Gould et al. 2003).

According to YRBS data, 17.2% of students had seriously considered suicide in 2017 (Kann et al. 2018). The prevalence of suicide ideation was higher among female (22.1%) than male high school students (11.9%) while that of suicide attempts was 9.3% vs. 5.1%. Global suicide trends for youth show that females are more likely to consider suicide while males are more likely to die by suicide.

In the UNESCO report, health outcomes, including seriously considering suicide are affected by bullying. About twice as many bullied students (23.4%) compared with 12% of non-bullied students reported suicidal thoughts. Gender breakdown for bullying and suicide is not reported.

1.3. Bullying and Suicide: Being a Target of Bullying, and Especially Engaging in Bullying Behavior, Elevates Suicide Risk

The relationship between suicide-related behaviors and bullying (victim, perpetrator, bully-victim, or bystanders) has been established by existing studies (e.g., Borowsky et al. 2013; Espelage and Holt 2013). Students who were bullied, bullied other students, or witnessed bullying were more likely to have higher levels of suicide-related behaviors than students not involved in bullying (CDC 2014). There is evidence that female and male students experience

the effects of bullying differently and engage in suicide attempts at different rates (Nansel et al. 2001).

The National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS) data supports that there is a relationship between bullying and suicide. Karch et al. (2013) found 12.4% of NVDRS suicide records, 2005-2008, for 10-17 year olds from 16 states referenced bullying. Created in 2002, the NVDRS is a state-based surveillance data system collecting information on all violent deaths including suicide. The restricted-use data is currently available from 40 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

2. METHOD

In the present chapter, we examine the studies contributing to the Holt and colleagues (2015) meta-analysis individually, cataloguing the prevalence of bullying experiences and suicide related behavior reported, focusing on gender. Forty-two studies were based on administration of questionnaires in schools. Five studies involved settings other than schools (two were administered at mental health clinics and three included participants from other settings); these are excluded from our discussion. We then located articles published after the Holt meta-analysis was conducted. Taken together, these studies describe bullying experiences, suicide ideation and attempts worldwide; gender is factored in. Populations covering all ages of students in 45 countries totaling over 400, 000 participants are summarized.

We also obtained and analyzed Ohio's NVDRS (OH-VDRS) restricted-use data from the Ohio Department of Health for 2010-2016.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Review of Studies

We reviewed 42 of the 47 studies include in the Holt et al. (2015) meta-analysis, removing the studies that concerned samples not drawn from schools. Both bullying perpetration and victimization were more common among boys than girls with a few exceptions. Suicide ideation and suicide attempts were typically higher among girls than boys. The relationship between bullying and suicidal behaviors was generally consistent regardless of gender. A significant association between bullying victimization (either as a victim or a bully-victim) and suicidal ideation was consistently identified. Some studies showed that the relationship between bullying victimization and suicidal ideation can be stronger for girls than for boys. Frequently, previous studies used a single measure of bullying and suicidal behaviors, usually a question or two such as those on the YRBS, which could be a methodological limitation. In the Holt et al. (2015) report, gender was defined as studies with an all-female sample, all-male sample, or mixture sample, but a "mixture sample" is not further defined. If the contrast variable was based on the all-female or all-male studies, the number is very small and may have related to the lack of finding. Country of origin, which was also included as a potential moderator, did show a result for bullying perpetration and suicidal behavior. US based studies showed a large effect size for country of origin: being both a bully and a victim, and suicidal behavior (OR, 10.22;

95% CI, 9.04–11.56) relative to non-US-based studies (OR, 2.36; 95%). Gender, using the definition, did not show an effect.

The 12 Studies published after the Holt et al. (2015) review tend to be larger and longitudinal in nature. For example, in a systematic review by Klomek, Sourander and Elonheimo (2015), bullying by peers in childhood (ages 5-16 years) affected suicidality in adulthood (ages 18 years and older). This review included large-scale longitudinal studies worldwide between 1960 and early 2015. Studies included were (a) the Finnish 1981 Birth Cohort Study, (b) the Great Smoky Mountains Study, (c) the British National Child Development Study, and (d) the Avon Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children. Gender differences of the effects of bullying were a focus of the review. Girls showed a significant association between childhood bullying victimization and later suicidal behavior. Girls were also less likely to be bully perpetrators than boys, but those who were bully perpetrators tended to have a higher risk of suicidality in adulthood.

3.2. OH-VDRS Data Analysis

This study described the circumstances of suicide among youth and young adults aged 10-24 in Ohio. According to CDC WISQARS, suicide rates of this population were 8.69 (per 100,000 individuals), which were higher than the national average of 10-24 years (8.42 per 100,000). The current study analyzed Ohio Violent Death Reporting System (OH-VDRS) from 2010 to 2016. Suicide in Ohio for 10-24 year olds has held steady and in 2016, and the proportion of suicides has decreased to 46.3% of overall deaths from 52.3% in 2010. Demographic, suicide specific, and circumstance information were analyzed for the suicide-only data ($N = 1,415$).

3.2.1. Demographic Information

Figures 1 through 4 depict the demographic information of the OH-VDRS suicide-only data. In sum, 79.2% were male and 20.8% were female. 84.2% were white and 13.9% were African Americans. 95.9% were non-Hispanic.

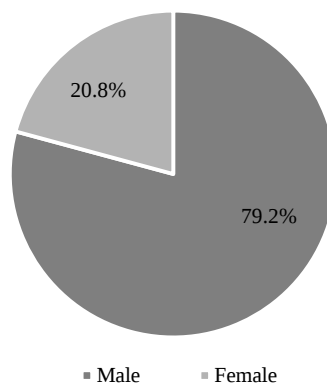


Figure 1. Gender of OH-VDRS (suicide-only).

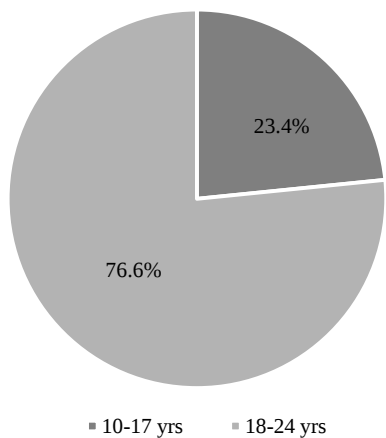


Figure 2. Age group of OH-VDRS (suicide-only).

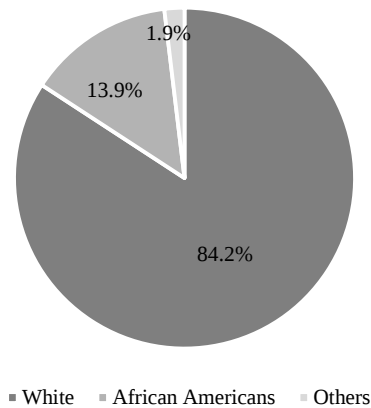


Figure 3. Race of OH-VDRS (suicide-only).

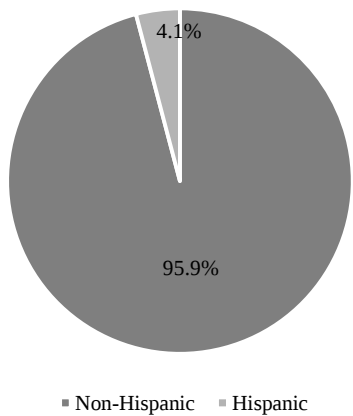


Figure 4. Ethnicity of OH-VDRS (suicide-only).

3.2.2. Suicide Specific Information

Figure 5 depicts the suicide methods of the OH-VDRS suicide-only data. 44.6% ($n = 631$) died by hanging, strangulation, or other suffocation, while 43.6% ($n = 617$) died by gunshot. 5.0% ($n = 71$) died by drug intoxication. 5.7% ($n = 80$) died by other causes (e.g., fall, crash, drowning, stab, etc.), and 1.1% ($n = 16$) of cases did not report this information. In addition, 16.8% had a history of attempting suicide prior to the injury, and 22.9% disclosed their suicidal intent to another person. 33.0% left a suicide note (written note or social media post, etc.).

Note that there is a significant difference in drug intoxication deaths between 2010 and 2016 (chi-square = 32.304, $p = .020$). The proportions of suicide by drug intoxication were 8.2% in 2010 and 4.5% in 2016.

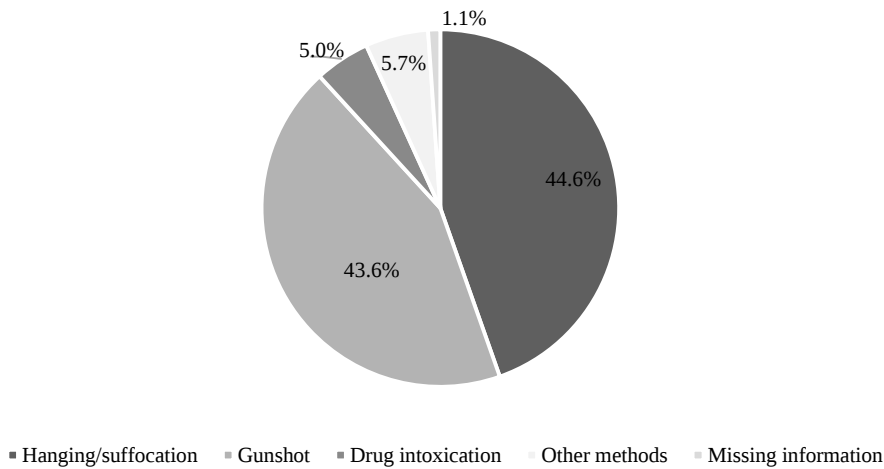


Figure 5. Suicide methods of OH-VDRS (suicide-only).

3.2.3. Circumstance Information

- Most suicide incidents took place at house (74.4%, $n = 1,053$), and 59.6% ($n = 844$) of cases were injured in their own home.
- A total of 1,157 cases (81.8%) involved EMS at the scene, and 350 cases (24.7%) visited the emergency department.
- A total of 295 cases (20.8%) of cases were diagnosed with depressed mood at the time of injury.
- Relationship problems
 - 20.2% ($n = 286$) of cases had an argument or conflict that was reported to have led to their death.
 - 30.5% ($n = 431$) had problems with their current or former intimate partner, contributing to their death, and 14.0% ($n = 198$) of cases coded this intimate partner issue as a “crisis.”
 - 11.4% ($n = 162$) had family relationship problems (other than intimate partner), and 2.9% ($n = 41$) of cases coded this family relationship issue as a “crisis.”

Table 1. Studies on bullying and suicide by gender, Holt et al. (2015)

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
Baldry and Winkel, 2003	High school students ($M = 16.0$; $Range = 14\text{--}19$ years) in Italy $N = 998$	Victimization scale by Olweus (1993) measuring (a) direct victimization and (b) relational victimization	Suicidal cognition (suicide thoughts + suicide attempts): Child Behavioral Check List scale for ages 11–18	Female reported more frequent suicidal thoughts than male. Suicidal cognition was associated with gender and age: older girls were more at risk of suicidal cognition than boys.	
Bauman, Toomey and Walker, 2013	High school students in US (14–17 years; Arizona Youth Risk Behavior Survey [YRBS] 2009) $N = 1,491$	Measures from YRBS 2009 (5 questions asking traditional school bullying, cyberbullying as victim or perpetrator) Victim: traditional victimization and cyber victimization Perpetrator: traditional bullying and cyberbullying	Suicide measures from YRBS 2009 (three questions asking suicide thoughts, suicide plan, and suicide attempts)	Female reported more suicide thoughts, suicide plan, and suicide attempts than male. Traditional victimization was significantly associated with suicide attempts only for girls. Cyberbullying was significantly associated with suicide attempts only for boys.	
Bonanno and Hymel, 2010	High school students ($M = 14.2$; 13–15 years) in Canada $N = 399$	32-item bullying questionnaire developed by authors asking involvement in bullying as a bully, victim, or witness	Suicidal Ideation Questionnaire–JR scale by Reynolds (1987) asking suicidal ideation	No result on gender differences A significant association between victimization and suicidal ideation was identified.	
Bonanno and Hymel, 2013	High school students ($M = 14.2$; 13–15 years) in Canada $N = 399$	Modified 10-item measure originally developed by Olweus (1993) asking traditional (physical, verbal, and social) and cyber bullying	Suicidal Ideation Questionnaire–JR scale by Reynolds (1987) asking suicidal ideation	Female students reported more suicidal ideation than male students. Male students reported more physical victimization, verbal victimization, physical bullying, and verbal bullying than female students.	Verbal and cyber victimization and verbal and cyber bullying were significantly associated with suicidal ideation.
Borowsky, Taliaferro and McMorris, 2013	6th, 9th, 12th graders (11–17; Minnesota Student Survey 2010) in US $N = 130,908$	Two questions asking verbal/social bullying perpetration and victimization	Two questions asking suicide ideation and suicide attempt	Girls were significantly more likely to report suicidal ideation and suicide attempt than boys.	
Cheng et al., 2010	Middle school students in China (12–16 years; Global School-based Health Survey; GSHS) $N = 9,015$	Two questions asking being bullied measuring frequency and forms of bullying	Two questions asking suicide ideation and suicide planning	Rates of being bullied were similar for males (27.4%) and females (23.8%). Physically being bullied were higher for male students, while psychologically being bullied were higher for females.	Students who had recently considered suicide were more likely to report being bullied.

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
Coggan et al., 2003	Secondary school students (12–18 years) in New Zealand <i>N</i> = 3,265	Asking chronic bullying during the past 6 months and its form (verbal teasing, racist comments, physical violence, and sexual harassment)	Two dichotomous measures of suicide ideation and suicide attempts	Girls were more likely to have suicidal ideation and suicide attempts, and have been bullied than boys. Being victimized by bullying were associated with suicide ideation and attempts.	27% of the students had experienced chronic bullying during the past 6 months. 11% had attempted suicide.
Cui et al., 2010	Middle school students (12–16 years) in China (GSHS 2003) <i>N</i> = 8,778	A question asking frequency of being bullied	Two dichotomous measures of suicide ideation and suicide attempts	Rates of being bullied were similar for males (29.7%) and females (27.2%). Girls were more likely to report both suicide ideation and attempts than boys. The association between being bullied and suicide ideation/attempt was stronger for girls than for boys.	
Delfabbro et al., 2006	Students (<i>M</i> = 15.2; 14–16 years) of secondary school in Australia <i>N</i> = 1,284	Five questions asking bullying/victimization experiences by peers and teachers at school and outside of school	8-item scale developed by authors asking suicidal ideation, suicide planning, and suicide attempt (summed to measure levels of suicidal ideation)	Boys were more likely to be bullied than girls both at school and outside of school. At both rural and urban public schools boys reported more victimization experiences than girls. Girls scored higher on suicidal ideation than boys.	Victimization by teachers: Boys were more likely to be picked on by teachers than girls, especially in the metropolitan area.
Espelage and Holt, 2013	Middle school students (10–13 years) in rural area in US <i>N</i> = 661	18-item University of Illinois Aggression Scale having three factors: bullying (9-item), fighting (5-item), and victimization (4-item)	Two items from the Youth Self-report asking suicidal ideation and history of self-injury	Female bully-victims particularly elevated suicidal ideation and attempt. Overall, 60% of bully-victims, 43% of physical bullies, and 32%–38% of victims and verbal bullies reported suicidal ideation compared with 12% of uninvolved youth.	44% of bully-victims, 35% of physical bullies, and 24%–28% of victims and verbal bullies reported history of self-injury (8% of uninvolved youth).
Fisher et al., 2012	Twin children (age 12) in UK (Environmental Risk study) <i>N</i> = 2,141	Frequency of bullying experiences assessed by children's mothers when the children were 7 and 10 years old, and by children's self-report when they reached 12 years old	Self-harm experiences assessed by children's mothers when the children aged 12 years	More than half of children who had self-harmed were victims of frequent bullying. Frequent bullying experience before age 12 predicted higher self-harm rates at 12 years of age. This association was similar to boys and girls.	
Fleming and Jacobsen, 2009a	Middle school students (<i>M</i> = 13.7; 13–15 years) in Chile (GSHS 2004) <i>N</i> = 8,131	Two questions asking bullying victimization: one for frequency and the other for type of victimization	Two binary questions (yes/no) asking suicide thoughts and suicide planning	Boys were more likely than girls to report being bullied, but girls were more likely than boys to report suicidal thoughts.	46.6% students reported having been bullied in the past month (mostly verbal bullying).

Table 1. (Continued)

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
Fleming and Jacobsen, 2009b	Middle school students (12–16 years) in 19 countries (All available GSHS between 2003 and 2006)	A question asking frequency of peer victimization during the past 30 days	A question asking suicide thoughts (yes/no)	Boys were more likely than girls to report being bullied. Students who reported being bullied were more likely to report suicidal ideation than non-bullied students.	The prevalence of bullying was lower with increasing age.
Gower and Borowsky, 2013	6th, 9th, 12th graders (11–17); Minnesota Student Survey 2010) in US <i>N</i> = 128,681	A question asking the frequency of bully perpetration and another question asking the frequency of bully victimization	Suicide measures from YRBS 2009 (three questions asking suicide thoughts, suicide plan, and suicide attempts)	Gender moderated association between victimization and suicidal ideation. Infrequent victims were at higher risk of suicidal ideation compared to never-victimized students, and this was particularly true for girls.	Students engaging in infrequent bullying (both perpetration and victimization) had increased levels of self-harm than students without bullying involvement.
Hay and Meldrum, 2010	Students (<i>M</i> = 15.0; 10–21 years) in a rural county in US <i>N</i> = 426	Traditional bullying victimization scale measuring physical and verbal bullying (6-item) Cyber bullying victimization scale(3-item)	A question asking frequency of suicidal ideation Another question asking frequency of self-harm (purposely hurt without wanting to die)	Significant and positive relationships between traditional/cyber bullying and suicidal ideation/self-harm. Girls had higher self-harm than boys. No gender difference in suicidal ideation.	
Heilbron and Pristein, 2010	Middle school students (<i>M</i> = 12.6; 11–14 years) in an urban county in US <i>N</i> = 493	Peer nomination measure: Asked to identify peers who were targets of the (a) overt and (b) relational victimization	Repeated measures (three time points) of suicidal ideation and nonsuicidal self-injury (NSSI)	A latent growth curve analysis revealed that high levels of overt victimization were related to high levels of suicidal ideation over time for girls.	Relational victimization did not predict either concurrent or longitudinal suicidal ideation for both sexes.
Henry et al., 2014	6th–12th grade students (11–17 years) in a urban school district in US <i>N</i> = 2,936	Measures of bullying victimization and perpetration (relational, physical, threats, and cyber bullying) by the Multisite Violence Prevention Project 2004	4-item scale measuring the frequency of suicidal ideation during the past week	Boys tended to report more bullying experiences and girls tended to report higher suicidal ideation.	
Hepburn et al., 2012	High school students (14–17 years) in Boston <i>N</i> = 1,838	5-item measure asking bullying victimization 2-item measure asking bullying perpetration	A question asking suicidal ideation and another question asking suicide attempt	Compared to students who did not involve in bullying, perpetrators, victims, and bully-victims were more likely to report suicidal ideation and suicide attempt. No gender difference identified.	Bully-victims were at highest risk for both suicidal ideation and suicide attempt.
Herba et al., 2008	Children (<i>M</i> = 12.3 years) in Netherlands	Peer nomination (presented with a list of classmates to rate them into (a)	Two-item measure of suicide ideation from the Youth Self-Report	Compared to children uninvolved in bullying, those rated as bully-victims or	

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
	$N = 1,526$	bullying (by whom are you bullied?) and (b) victimization (whom do you bully?)	(YSR; Achenback, 1991): (a) I deliberately try to hurt or kill myself. (b) I think about killing myself.	victims did not report higher levels of suicide ideation (no association). No gender difference in suicide ideation.	
Hinduja and Patchin, 2010	Middle school students ($M = 12.8$; 10–16 years) in US $N = 1,963$	Measures of (a) traditional bullying victimization, (b) traditional bullying offending, (c) cyberbullying victimization, and (d) cyberbullying offending	4-item measure of suicidal ideation adapted from the American School Health Association's (1989) National Adolescent Student Health Survey	No gender difference in suicidal ideation (girls: 19.7%, boys: 20.9%). Both traditional and cyber bullying (either as a victim or a bully) experiences were associated with more suicidal thoughts and suicide attempt.	Victimization was more strongly associated with suicidal thoughts and suicide attempt than perpetrating.
Holt et al., 2013	Primary and secondary school students (8–16 years) in Singapore $N = 3,096$	Three measures of traditional (5-item), cyber (5-item), and mobile phone (2-item) bullying victimization	One question asking suicidal ideation due to bullying (Have you ever thought of killing yourself because you were bullied?)	Girls were more likely to report suicidal ideation. All three types of bullying victimization were associated with suicidal ideation. Notably, 27.8% of students experienced mobile phone bullying reported suicidal ideation.	The relationship between mobile bullying and suicidal ideation was significantly stronger for boys than girls.
Ivarsson et al., 2005	Students ($M = 14.0$; 13–16 years) in Sweden $N = 183$	Two questions asking frequency of bullying victimization and perpetration	Two questions asking suicidal ideation and suicide attempt	Boys were more likely to be bully only and girls were more likely to be victim only.	Victim only and bully-victims reported higher suicidal ideation than bully only.
Kaltiala-Heino et al., 1999	Secondary school students (14–16 years) in Finland $N = 16,410$	Two questions asking involvement in bullying either as a bully or as a victim adapted from an European study by World Health Organization (King et al. 1996)	Two items in the Back Depression Inventory (BDI) asking suicidal ideation ("having definite plans about committing suicide" & "killing myself if I had the chance")	Boys (9%) showed higher prevalence of bullying involvement as bully than girls (2%; as victim: 6% vs. 5%). No gender difference in prevalence of severe suicidal ideation (both 2%). Higher prevalence of severe suicidal ideation was reported among both bully and victim students.	Prevalence of suicidal ideation was highest among bully students.
Kim et al., 2009	Middle school students (13–14 years) in South Korea $N = 1,655$	28-item Korean-Peer Nomination Inventory (K-PNI) asking to name classmates who fit the description in each item (11 items for victim, 6 items for bully, and 11 neutral items)	At baseline, two items asking suicidal ideation and suicide attempt in the past 6 months. At 6-month follow-up, one additional item asking suicidal ideation in the past 2 weeks with the two items above	Girls reported more suicidal ideation and suicide attempt than boys. Female persistent bullies (involved in bullying both time points) showed increased risks for suicidal attempt at follow-up. Male newly involved bullies at follow-up showed increased risk for suicidal ideation over last 2 weeks.	For both girls and boys, bully-victims showed increased risk for suicidal ideation than uninvolved youths.

Table 1. (Continued)

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
Klomek et al., 2009	Children born in 1981 in Finland (cohort study) <i>N</i> = 5,302	Assessed at age 8 from children, parents, and teachers asking frequency of bullying victimization and perpetration	Assessed at age 25 to measure suicide attempts and completed suicides from Cause of Death Registry, Hospital Discharge Register, and death certificates	Boys who were frequent victims and frequent bullies were more likely to be suicidal than boys who were not involved. Girls who were frequent victims were more likely to be suicidal than girls who were not victims.	56.2% of boys bullied other kids and 24.2% of girls bullied. 57.2% of boys were bullied and 39.8% of girls were bullied.
Kowalski and Limber, 2013	Students (<i>M</i> = 15.2; 11–19 years) in rural area in US <i>N</i> = 931	Measures of traditional bullying (2 items from Olweus Bullying Questionnaire) and cyberbullying (2 items)	One item from Beck Youth Depression Scale (BDI-Y) asking suicidal ideation	A significant interaction of gender and traditional bullying was obtained on suicidal ideation.	No significant association between traditional/cyber bullying and suicidal ideation.
Laukkanen et al., 2005 ^a	Psychiatric clinics outpatients in Finland (<i>M</i> = 17.7; 11–22 years) <i>N</i> = 168	Two binary measures asking bullying victimization and perpetration at school	An item in BDI scale asking suicidal ideation	Suicidal ideation in boys associated with being bullied at school. Suicidal ideation was higher for those who were bully-victims.	64% of study participants reported suicidal ideation.
LeVasseur, Kelvin and Grosskopf, 2013	High school students in US (14–17 years; New York City YRBS 2009) <i>N</i> = 11,488	A measure asking the frequency of bullying victimization during the past 12 months	A measure asking the frequency of suicide attempts during the past 12 months	Girls reported higher suicide attempts than boys. 11.2% of students reported bullying victimization and 9.9% reported suicide attempts. Students who were bullied had higher odds of suicide attempt than those not bullied.	Sexual minority youths had higher odds of attempting suicide and reporting bullying. The effect of bullying on suicide attempt was strongest among non-Hispanic sexual minority boys.
Liang, Flisher and Lombard, 2007	8th and 11th graders (13–18 years) in South Africa <i>N</i> = 5,074	Two binary measures asking bullying victimization and perpetration at school during the past 12 months	Two questions asking suicidal ideation and suicide attempt	Boys reported higher perpetration and victimization than girls. Bully-victims showed higher rates of suicidal behaviors than either bully or victim groups.	36% of students were involved in bullying behavior (8% as bullies, 19% as victims, and 9% as bully-victims).
Litwiller and Brausch, 2013	High school students (<i>M</i> = 16.1; 14–19 years) in rural area in US	Items from YRBS measuring the frequency of physical bullying (3-item) and cyberbullying (3-item) during the past 30 days e.g., How many times has someone	Four binary items from YRBS measuring suicidal ideation, suicide planning, self-injury and suicide attempt during the past 12 months e.g., Did you	No result on gender differences 33 % reported being a victim of physical bullying, 23 % reported being a victim of cyberbullying, and 30 % reported	Both physical bullying and cyberbullying associated with suicidal behavior.

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
	N = 4,693	threatened or injured you with a weapon, such as gun, knife, or club on school property? Has anyone sent you a threatening or aggressive e-mail, instant message, or text message?	ever seriously consider attempting suicide? Did you make a plan about how you would attempt suicide? How many times did you actually attempt suicide?	suicidal behavior (a combined subscale having all the four suicide measures).	
Luukkonen et al., 2009 ^a	Adolescents (12–17 years) in Psychiatric inpatient care in Finland N = 508	Bullying behavior measure using Schedule for Affective Disorder and Schizophrenia for School-Age Children Present and Lifetime (K-SADS-PL)	Suicide attempts measure using K-SADS-PL (When performed at least one suicide attempt with definite suicidal intent or when it was life-threatening)	13% of boys and 26% of girls had attempted suicide. There was a higher risk of suicide attempts who were victims or bullies only for girls. A significant difference in bullying behavior and suicide attempts between genders.	29% of boys and 38% of girls were victims, 20% (boys), 10% (girls) were bullies, and 7% (boys), 5% (girls) were bully-victims.
Mark et al., 2013	Students (15–16 years) in Estonia, Lithuania, and Luxembourg N = 4,954	Two binary measures asking bullying victimization and perpetration during last two months	A binary measure asking suicidal ideation in the past 12 months	Proportions of suicidal ideation were higher among girls (16.8–25.1%) across the 3 countries than boys (10.9–14.6%). Boys reported more bullying perpetration than girls (no gender difference of bullying victimization).	Overall, 17% of students had suicidal ideation and 16% of students had been bullied.
Mills et al., 2004	Students (M = 14.1; 12–15 years) in Ireland N = 209	An item in K-SADS-PL measuring a history of bullying victimization	Scale for Suicide Ideation (SSI; 19-item) for all and Suicide Intent Scale (SIS; 19-item) only for students had attempted suicide	No result on gender differences Bullying victimization was significantly associated with suicidal ideation and suicide attempt.	35% of students had been bullied.
Park et al., 2006	Students (15–17 years) in South Korea N = 1,312	A binary measure asking bullying victimization	A binary measure asking suicidal ideation during the past 2 weeks	Girls were more likely than boys to have experiences suicidal ideation. Bullying victimization was associated with suicidal ideation for both sexes.	12% of girls and 7% of boys reported suicidal ideation in the past 2 weeks.
Patrick et al., 2013	8th, 10th, 12th graders (13–17 years) in Washington State, US N = 27,752	A measure asking bullying victimization because of perceived sexual orientation (PSO)	A binary measure asking suicidal ideation during the past 12 months	9–14% of boys and 6–11% of girls reported being bullied because of PSO. 22–29% of PSO-related bullied boys and 38–45% of PSO-related bullied girls reported suicidal ideation.	Being bullied because of PSO was associated with increased suicidal ideation.

Table 1. (Continued)

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
Pranjić and Bajraktarević, 2010	Students (age 17) in Bosnia & Herzegovina <i>N</i> = 290	Peer nomination measure: Asked to identify peers who were victims, bully-victims, and uninvolved	An item in BDI scale asking suicidal ideation	Higher prevalence of suicidal ideation was identified for both victims and bully-victims than uninvolved. No gender difference of bullying.	
Rigby and Slee, 1999 – Study 1	Students (<i>M</i> = 14.9; 12–18 years) in Australia <i>N</i> = 1,103	Self-report measures of bullying perpetration (6-item) and victimization (5-item)	4 items from Goldberg Health questionnaire asking suicidal ideation during the past few weeks	Boys reported higher bullying perpetration and victimization than girls. No gender difference was found for suicidal ideation.	
Rigby and Slee, 1999 – Study 2	Students (<i>M</i> = 14.0; 12–16 years) in Australia <i>N</i> = 845	Peer nomination measure of bullying perpetration and victimization (asked to choose the same gender as themselves)	4 items from Goldberg Health questionnaire asking suicidal ideation during the past few weeks	Boys reported higher bullying involvement and girls reported higher suicidal ideation. Involvement in bullying at school was related to suicidal ideation, especially for students with relatively lower perceived social support.	
Rivers and Noret, 2013	Secondary school students (<i>M</i> = 13.6; 12–16 years) in UK <i>N</i> = 1,592	15-item anti-bullying measure asking bullying involvement (uninvolved, victim, bully, bully-victim, observer), bullying types, bullying reasons, based on the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire	An item from Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI) to measure suicidal ideation	Girls reported more bullying perpetration and victimization than boys. For boys, bullying perpetration was significantly associated with suicidal ideation. For girls, either bullying perpetration and victimization were not associated with suicidal ideation.	Those not involved in bullying were less likely to report suicidal ideation compared to bullying observers.
Roland, 2002	8th graders (age 14) in Norway <i>N</i> = 2,088	Two measures (4 items each) asking the frequency of bullying victimization and perpetration during the current school year	A measure asking suicidal ideation (4-point Likert scale)	Girls reported higher suicidal ideation and boys reported higher bullying involvement. Bullying perpetration and victimization were associated with suicidal ideation.	Only for girls, bullies had higher suicidal ideation than victims.
Romero et al., 2013	Latina students (14–18 years) in Arizona <i>N</i> = 650	4 items from Arizona YRBS 2009 measuring bullying victimization and perpetration during the past 12 months	Suicide measures from YRBS 2009 (three questions asking suicide thoughts, suicide plan, and suicide attempts)	No result on gender differences (girls-only study) Bullies were 1.5 times higher suicidal ideation and 1.4 times higher suicide planning than non-bullies.	Victims were 1.5 times more likely to attempt suicide than non-victims.

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
Schneider et al., 2012	High school students (14–17 years) in Boston <i>N</i> = 20,406	Cyberbullying victimization and school bullying victimization in the past 12 months adapted from YRBS	Two binary measures of suicidal ideation and suicide attempts in the past 12 months	Reports of cyberbullying were higher among girls (18.3%) than boys (13.2%). Reports of school bullying were similar for both genders (25.1% for girls & 26.6% for boys). Victims of both cyber and school bullying were more likely to report suicidal ideation and suicide attempt than non-victims, cyberbullying only, and school bullying only.	15.8% students reported cyber bullying and 25.9% reported school bullying in the past 12 months. 60% of cyber bullying victims were also school bullying victims.
Skapinakis et al., 2011	High school students (16–18 years) in Greece <i>N</i> = 2,431	2 items measuring bullying victimization and perpetration in the last 2 months by the revised Olweus Bully/Victim questionnaire	An item measuring suicidal ideation in the past week by the revised Clinical Interview Schedule (CIS-R)	Bullying perpetration was not associated with suicidal ideation. Bullying victimization was associated with suicidal ideation. These associations were similar in both boys and girls.	This association was particularly strong for those bullied on a weekly basis.
Turner et al., 2013	Middle and high school students (<i>M</i> = 13.8; 11–17 years) in North Carolina <i>N</i> = 1,874	6-item scale measuring physical, verbal, and cyber bullying experiences in school	Two-item scale measuring the frequency of suicide ideation during the past 12 months (a combined measure of suicide ideation and suicide planning)	Any type of victimization was associated with higher levels of suicide ideation for females and males. No gender differences in suicide ideation identified.	
Undheim, 2013	Students (12–15 years) in Norway <i>N</i> = 2,464 (cohort study)	Assessed at age 14 to measure bullying victimization (3-item) and aggression toward others (4-item)	Assessed at age 15 to measure both active and passive suicidal ideation (4-item)	Among the subgroup being bullied, girls had higher levels of suicidal ideation than boys. Being bullied at age 14 was related to higher suicidal ideation at age 15.	Being aggressive toward others was related to suicidal ideation.
van der Wal, de Wit and Hirasings, 2003	Children (9–13 years) in Netherlands <i>N</i> = 4,721	Direct and indirect forms of bullying victimization and perpetration using the Amsterdam Children's Bullying questionnaire	Two binary questions asking suicidal ideation	Suicidal ideation was more common among children who were sometimes or frequently being bullied directly. Direct bullying had a significant effect on suicidal ideation only for girls.	Suicidal ideation was common in bullies who bullied sometimes or frequently.
Viljoen, O'Neill and Sidhu, 2005 ^a	Incarcerated adolescents (<i>M</i> = 18.7; 13–19 years) in Canada <i>N</i> = 244	Victimization scale measured verbal (3-item), physical (3-item) in custody Bullying scale measured the same items as the victimization scale	Multiple items from the YRBS: suicide ideation, suicide planning, suicide attempts, suicide attempts while in a youth custody center, self-harm while in a youth custody center, etc.	Girls were more likely to report being involved with bullying, particularly as victims, and being bullied by sexual touching and comments. Victims reported higher rates of suicidal behaviors than uninvolved.	37% were bully-victims, 32% were bullies, 8% were victims, and 23% were uninvolved.

NOTE: ^a These studies were not conducted in school setting.

Table 2. More studies on bullying and suicide by gender after Holt et al. (2015)

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
Arango et al., 2016 a	Adolescents (M = 13.6; 12–15 years) in emergency department in US N = 321	The Peer Experiences Questionnaire measuring verbal, relational, and physical bullying victimization (9-item) and perpetration (9-item) during the past 4 months; Another measure asking cyberbullying (8-item); Dividing the participants into suicidal attempt group, suicide ideation only group, and non-suicidal group	Three binary items from the Columbia Suicide-Severity Rating Scale: Screen Version (CSSRS) measuring suicide ideation and attempts in the past 2 weeks	Girls reported more suicide ideation than boys. Boys and girls reported similar levels of bullying perpetration and victimization, except for higher relational victimization for girls. Boys were more likely to be in suicide attempt group relative to the suicide ideation group. Girls were more likely to be in either suicide attempt group or suicide ideation group relative to the non-suicidal group.	Higher levels of victimization and perpetration were associated with suicide ideation and attempts. The relationship between verbal victimization and being in the suicide ideation or suicide attempts groups was stronger for boys.
Barzilay et al., 2017	Students (M = 14.9 years) in 10 European countries N = 11,110	10 binary questions from the Global School-based Health Survey (GSHS) asking physical, verbal, and relational bullying victimization in the past 12 months	Two items from the Paykel Hierarchical Suicidal Ladder scale asking suicide ideation and suicide attempts in the past 2 weeks	Boys were more likely to report physical and verbal victimization, whereas girls were more likely to report relational victimization and suicide ideation and attempts.	Boys and girls did not differ in reporting multiple victimization.
Kelly et al., 2015	Secondary school students (12–15 years) in Australia N = 1,588	The revised Olweus Bully/Victim scale measuring bullying victimization and perpetration in the past 6 months	An item from the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI) measuring suicide ideation in the past 6 months	No gender difference for victims, but more boys were in the bully and bully-victims groups. Bully-victims reported the highest suicide ideation than victims and bullies.	Suicide ideation increased the odds of being a bully-victim compared to being a bully or a victim.
Klomek et al., 2018	Students (M = 14.8 years) in 10 European countries N = 2,933	10 binary questions from the GSHS asking physical, verbal, and relational bullying victimization in the past 12 months at the baseline (T1) and one more measure after 3 months (T2)	Two items from the Paykel Hierarchical Suicidal Ladder scale asking suicide ideation and suicide attempts in the past 2 weeks at the 3-month follow-up (T2) and 12-month follow-up (T3)	No gender differences in suicide ideation and suicide attempt identified. Physical victimization at T1 and T2 led to suicide ideation and attempts at T2 and T3, respectively. Suicide attempt at T1 and T2 led to physical victimization at T3.	Chronic relational victimization led to suicide ideation and chronic physical victimization led to suicide attempt as compared with sporadic and no victimization.

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
Lereya et al., 2015 – Study 1	Children in UK (cohort study) N = 4,026	Assessed at age 8, 10, and 13 years by the Bullying and Friendship Interview Schedule (9-item scale measuring overt and relational bullying victimization)	Assessed at age 18 years by the Clinical Interview Schedule-Revised (CIS-R; having two questions asking the presence and frequency of self-harm in the past 12 months)	Girls reported higher rates of self-harm than boys. Boys reported higher rates of being bullied than girls. An increased risk of young adult self-harm in children who were bullied by peers.	
Lereya et al., 2015 – Study 2	Children in North Carolina (cohort study) N = 1,420	Assessed annually between ages 9 and 16 years by children and their parents using the Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Assessment (CAPA)	Assessed at age 18 years by the Clinical Interview Schedule-Revised (CIS-R; having two questions asking the presence and frequency of self-harm in the past 12 months)	Boys reported higher rates of self-harm than girls. No gender differences in bullying victimization. An increased risk of young adult self-harm in children who were bullied by peers.	
Massing-Schaffer et al., 2018 a	Girls having mental health concerns in US (M = 14.6; 12–18 years) N = 160	Assessed at the end of the first 9 months (Period 1) using the Youth Life Stress Interview measuring relational victimization in the past 9 months	Assessed every 3 months in the second 9 months (Period 2) using the Self-Injurious Thoughts and Behaviors Interview measuring suicide ideation and attempts	No result on gender differences (girls-only study) Higher relational victimization experience was related to increased risk for suicide attempts, even controlling for prior suicide ideation and attempts.	Prior suicide ideation was associated with higher odds of subsequent suicide ideation.
Nikolaou, 2017	Students in (14–17 years) 1991–2015 biennial YRBS data of 34 states in US. N = 1,491	A binary question in YRBS asking cyberbullying victimization during the past 12 months	4 measures of nonfatal suicidal behaviors asking suicide ideation, suicide planning, suicide attempt, and nonfatal injury after suicide attempt in the past 12 months	Cyberbullying increased suicide ideation by 14.5 percentage points and suicide attempts by 8.7 percentage points.	These effects were stronger for boys than for girls.
Reed, Nugent and Cooper, 2015	Students in (14–17 years) 2011 Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System data (YRBSS) in US. N = 15,425	Two binary questions in YRBSS asking traditional and cyberbullying victimization in the past 12 months	Three binary questions in YRBSS asking suicide ideation, suicide planning, and suicide attempts	Girls who reported cyberbullying victimization showed higher rates of suicidal behaviors compared to their male counterparts.	Suggesting a possibility of spontaneous suicide attempts by students who reported victimization but did not report suicide ideation and suicide planning.
Sibold et al., 2015	Students (14–17 years) in 2013 YRBS N = 13,583	Two items in YRBS measuring traditional and cyberbullying (merged into a single measure)	Two items measuring suicide ideation and two items measuring suicide attempts in the past 12 months.	Girls reported higher suicide ideation and attempts. Bullied students were 3 times as likely to report suicide ideation and attempts.	22% reported suicide ideation and 8% reported suicide attempts.

Table 2. (Continued)

Authors, year	Sample	Bullying measures	Suicide measures	Results on gender differences	Other results
Sigurdson et al., 2018	Students (M = 13.7; 12–15 years at baseline) in Norway (cohort study) N = 2,464	Assessed in 1998 asking three questions of bullying victimization in the past 6 months	Assessed in 2012 asking suicide ideation (5-item), self-harm (1-item), and suicide attempts (1-item)	Bullied girls reported a decrease in suicide ideation from adolescence to adulthood, while bullied boys reported an increase in suicide attempts in the same period.	Bullied participants reported higher suicide ideation, self-harm, and suicide attempts regardless of gender.
Vergara et al., 2019 a	Adolescents (M = 15.3; 13–18 years) having non-suicidal self-injury past year N = 223	Revised Peer Experiences Questionnaire (RPEQ) asking bullying victimization and perpetration in the past 12 months	Beck's Scale for Suicide Ideation asking suicide ideation in the past week; Self-Injurious Thoughts and Behaviors Interview (SITBI) asking suicide ideation (past month and lifetime) and suicide attempt (past month and lifetime)	No gender difference in suicidal behaviors identified. Compared with participants not having lifetime suicide attempts, participants with lifetime suicide attempt reported higher bullying victimization and perpetration. Bullying perpetration was related to larger number of past month suicide attempts.	Bullying victimization was related to greater non-suicidal self-injury behaviors in the past month.

NOTE: ^a These studies were not conducted in school setting.

- Toxicology ($N = 1,217$ for those cases having toxicology available)
 - 28.3% ($n = 345$) were opiate tested and 7.8% ($n = 95$) were opiate present
 - 38.6% ($n = 470$) were alcohol tested and 19.8% ($n = 241$) were alcohol presented
 - 38.8% ($n = 472$) were marijuana tested and 21.5% ($n = 262$) were marijuana presented
 - 25.9% ($n = 315$) were cocaine tested and 3.1% ($n = 38$) were cocaine presented
 - Note that there are many missing values on the toxicology test results especially in recent years. For example, the proportion of missing opiate test results were 38.5% in 2010 and 20.9% in 2011, but 91.4% in 2015 and 94.1% in 2016. This is largely because of the way the data were collected. In 2010-2011, only data on the drug classes was entered and no data on specific substances was entered. Recently, data on all the substances that were positive was entered, which led to a larger number of drug classes.
- 6.6% ($n = 93$) had problems at school (bullying, poor grades, performance pressures, etc.), and 1.9% ($n = 27$) of cases coded this school problem as a “crisis.”
- 4.3% ($n = 61$) were veterans.

3.2.4. Bullying-Related Cases in OH-VDRS

When analyzing coroner/medical examiner/law enforcement narratives in the OVDRS data, a total of 28 bullying-related cases (10-24 years old) were identified between 2010 and 2016. Most ($n = 24$) were deaths by suicide, one case was homicide, and three cases were of undetermined intent. 23 cases indicated youth were bullied, two cases indicated youth were bullying other youth, and three cases provided unclear data on the perpetration versus receipt of bullying. Of these, most ($n = 19$) were male.

Other noticeable findings include: (a) most cases (60.7%, $n = 17$) were between 13 and 15 years old. (b) About half (46.4%, $n = 13$) left suicide notes (or texts, social media posts). (c) About 45% ($n = 12$) had diverse family issues (parents' divorce, fight with other family members, etc.). (d) More than half (53.6%) died by self-inflicted hanging and 39.3% died by gunshot wounds. (e) About 45% ($n = 12$) were either depressed or had clinical depression. (f) About 20% ($n = 6$) had difficulty with their boyfriend or girlfriend proceeding their death.

CONCLUSION

While there is not a 1:1 correspondence between bullying and suicide, there does appear to be a relationship. Understanding how bullying impacts female and male youth differently, and how this relates to suicidal intent as well as to death by suicide is an area for further inquiry. Generally, girls are more likely to be victims of bullying and boys are more likely to be perpetrators of bullying. Perpetrators (whether boys or girls) are more likely to have suicidal thoughts and to act on those thoughts. The exception is boys of sexual minority orientation, who are more likely than other boys to be victims of bullying and more likely to have suicidal thoughts and actions. Among youth who die by suicide, more boys than girls are represented; this is true among those whose death is related to bullying as well.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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May, 1977. BA with majors in psychology and English.

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Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, OH.

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August, 1982. PhD in clinical psychology from APA approved program.

Concentration in clinical child psychology.

Internship: University Hospitals of Cleveland, Cleveland, OH. September, 1981-August, 1982. APA approved internship with concentration in child psychology.

Post-Doctoral Fellowship: Department of Family Medicine, CWRU School of Medicine, Cleveland, OH.

2000-2001. Substance Abuse Prevention, Faculty Development Program, funded by SAMHSA (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration).

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Research and Professional Experience:

1) Research:

2018-2021. Mental Health Awareness Training for National Guard Veterans, the Ohio Suicide Prevention Foundation, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). Principal Investigator, 10% effort.

2015-2018. Health Resources and Services Administration Project IMPACTT awarded to Tatiana Falcone, MD, PI, Cleveland Clinic Foundation. Sub-award PI, 25% effort.

2015-2020. Ohio's Campaign for Hope, the Ohio Suicide Prevention Foundation, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Principal Investigator, 35% effort.

2013-2016. Health Resources and Services Administration Project CARE awarded to Tatiana Falcone, MD, PI, Cleveland Clinic Foundation. Sub-award PI, 25% effort.
2011-2014. Ohio's Campaign for Hope, the Ohio Suicide Prevention Foundation, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Principal Investigator, 30% effort.
Health Resources and Services Administration Project COPE, awarded to Tatiana Falcone, M.D, PI, Cleveland Clinic Foundation. Sub-award PI, 20% effort.
Cleveland Heights-University Heights City School District, U.S. Department of Education Safe Schools Healthy Students initiative. provided MST by contract.
Participated in evaluation of effectiveness of grant program.

2) Teaching:

2014, 2013, 2012, 2011, 2010, 2009, 2008, 2007, 2006, 2005, 2004, and 2003 Fall, winter, spring and summer semesters. SRCH/SASS 530: Practice Evaluation, (Jack, Joseph and Morton) Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Full-time Program and Intensive Weekend Program. Graduate course on single system evaluation methods; focus on evidence-based practices for social workers.
2011, Spring semester. SBS 80100. Emerging Issues in Prevention Science, College of Public Health, Kent State University. Doctoral course providing an in-depth analysis of current issues in prevention science, with an emphasis on emerging areas of research. Created and taught initial course offering.

3) Entrepreneurship:

March, 2001 to present. Founded Junction Psychological Services Corporation; President and CEO offering a range of psychological services

4) Professional Service:

2017 to present. Reviewer, Journal of Attention Disorders.
1995 to present. Reviewer, Child Maltreatment, The Journal of the American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children.
2011 to present. Reviewer, Archives of General Psychiatry.
2013 to present. Reviewer, Frontiers in Psychology.
2015 to present: Reviewer, JAMA Psychiatry.
2013, 2014. Peer Reviewer, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Field Initiated Research Grants.
2012. Peer Reviewer, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance, FY 2012 Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation Program.
2008. Peer Reviewer, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance, FY 2008 Justice and Mental Health Collaboration Program.
2003. Peer Reviewer, GAINS Center for Mental Health and Juvenile Justice.
2002. Peer Reviewer, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Graduate Psychology Education Program.

Professional Appointments:

January, 2003 to present. Case Western Reserve University, Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Adjunct Professor.

July, 2001 to present - Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland, OH. Associate Clinical Professor of Psychology, Department of Psychiatry.

July, 2010 to June, 2011 - Kent State University, College of Public Health, Adjunct Professor, Social and Behavioral Sciences.

May, 2000 to April, 2001 - Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland, OH, Associate Professor of Psychology, Department of Psychiatry,

September, 1988 to May, 2000 - Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland, OH, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychiatry. University Hospitals of Cleveland, Cleveland, OH.

1988-1990. Associate Medical Staff.

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1987-1988. Senior Clinical Instructor, Department of Psychiatry.

Honors:

Graduate Alumni Award, Case Western Reserve University, 1981 and 1982.

Sigma Xi Scientific Honorary Society, 1977.

Advisor, First Place Student Poster, All-Ohio Community Psychiatry Institute, 1997.

SAMHSA Administrator's Award, Honorable Mention, for Cleveland Heights University Heights School District Safe Schools Healthy Students grant: expanding mental health services to students, 2005.

Researcher of the Year Award, Family Services Research Center, Medical University of South Carolina, and MST Services, 2006.

National Association of Professional Women, 2011-2012, 2012-2013 Woman of the Year, Psychology, Ohio.

Marquis Who's Who Lifetime Achievement Award, 2017.

Publications from the Last 3 Years:

Albright, Glenn L., Jane Timmons-Mitchell and Jeremiah McMillan. 2018. "Gatekeeper Training to Prevent Suicide in the Emergency Department and in Primary Care" In *Suicide Prevention: A Practical Guide for the Practitioner*, 229-50. Edited by Tatiana Falcone and Jane Timmons-Mitchell. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

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Falcone, Tatiana, Migle Staniskyte and Jane Timmons-Mitchell. 2018. "Psychosis and Suicide" In *Suicide Prevention: A Practical Guide for the Practitioner*, 229-50. Edited by Tatiana Falcone and Jane Timmons-Mitchell. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. In *Suicide Prevention:*

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Falcone, Tatiana, Migle Staniskyte and Jane Timmons-Mitchell. 2016. "Preventing Suicide in Youth" *Pediatric Perspectives*. Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Clinic.

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Levesque, Deborah A. and Jane Timmons-Mitchell. 2017. "StandUp: A Program to Prevent Bullying" *Paradigm*, 14-16.

Timmons-Mitchell, Jane and Daniel J. Flannery. 2018. "Bullying: When Does It Stop?" [Blog] In *The Cambridge Handbook of Violent Behavior and Aggression* (2nd ed.). Edited by Alexander T. Vazsonyi, Daniel J. Flannery and Matt DeLisi. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. <http://www.cambridgeblog.org/2018/11/bullying-when-does-it-stop/>

Timmons-Mitchell, Jane and Deborah A. Levesque. 2016. "Addressing High School Bullying – Online" *Social Work Today*, 16:32-3.

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Research and Professional Experience:

1) Research:

2015-2020. Ohio's Campaign for Hope, the Ohio Suicide Prevention Foundation, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). Research Assistant.

2015-2016. HOPE VI Data Compilation and Analysis, US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities, Case Western Reserve University. Research Assistant

2) Teaching:

Spring 2017. SASS 470. Social Policy, Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Online MSSA Program.

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Spring 2018 and 2019. SASS 426. Research Methods in Social Work, Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Traditional MSSA Program.

2019. Spring semester. SASS 367 Poverty, Wealth Building and Social Entrepreneurship, Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Undergraduate Program.

Professional Appointments:

January 2017 to present. Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Adjunct Professor.

December 2015 to present. Begun Center for Violence Prevention, Case Western Reserve University. Research Assistant.

August 2013 to May 2016. National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities, Case Western Reserve University. Research Assistant

February 2011 to July 2013. Good Neighbors International, Seoul, South Korea. Principal Researcher.

Honors:

National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS) Surveillance Academy Scholarship, Safe States Alliance, 2016.

Brain Korea 21 Project Scholarship, National Research Foundation of Korea, South Korea, 2010.

Chapter 38

THE INFLUENCE OF PARENTING ON SCHOOL BULLYING: DOES CHILD GENDER MATTER?

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ABSTRACT

School bullying has serious consequences for children and teenagers. Previous efforts to reduce bullying have focussed almost exclusively on whole school anti-bullying interventions. Recent meta-analyses show that, in general, these interventions produce only modest improvements. A substantial body of research examines the relationship between parenting and children's peer relationships and involvement in bullying. This chapter reviews the theory and evidence of how parenting influences children's involvement in bullying at school, and considers whether child gender influences this relationship. Some distinctions can be made on the basis of gender. However, the most pressing issue with respect to gender is the serious mental health problems of gender minority students, who are affected by peer victimization. Research suggests that parental support is an important source of support for these vulnerable youth. Recommendations are made for better engaging parents to prevent children's involvement in bullying.

Keywords: parenting, bullying, victimization, child gender, peer relationships

INTRODUCTION

Bullying is hurtful behavior that can be direct (physical or verbal) or indirect relational (e.g., deliberate exclusion or gossiping). It can be conveyed in person or through technology (cyber bullying). On the basis of previous recommendations, Vivolo-Kantor, Martell, Holland and Westby (2014) identified five criteria for behavior to qualify as bullying: a power

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imbalance, intent to harm, experience of harm by the victim, repetition, and aggression. However, Vivolo-Kantor et al., found that most studies of bullying do not operationalize all of these criteria. Despite some variations in definitions across the field of study, it is clear that school bullying is a serious problem, especially for victims. This chapter examines how parenting influences children's involvement in bullying, and whether child gender makes a difference to this relationship.

There is little doubt that bullying causes great harm. Being bullied greatly increases a child's risk of ongoing mental health problems including depression, anxiety and psychosis (Arseneault et al., 2008; Fisher et al., 2012; Schreier et al., 2009), and also leads to reduced academic achievement (Bowes et al., 2013), increased externalizing problems (Reijntjes et al., 2011; Perren, Ettekal & Ladd, 2012), and loss of friendships (Ladd, Kochenderfer & Coleman, 1997). Negative mental health consequences of childhood bullying in the form of depression have been tracked decades later, well into adulthood (Sourander et al. 2007; Farrington, Loeber, Stallings, & Ttofi, 2011). Children and teenagers who perpetrate bullying are also at heightened risk of later involvement in crime, drug abuse and adult arrest (Schwartz, Lansford, Dodge, Pettit & Bates, 2018; Sourander et al., 2007; Ttofi, Farrington, Lösel & Loeber, 2011; Wolke, Copeland, Angold & Costello, 2013). Even students who witness bullying experience stress (Rivers, Poteat, Noret & Ashurst, 2009).

Children who are bullied have been described as either passive or aggressive victims. Most are passive victims who tend to be submissive and do little to encourage bullying (Olweus, 1978). On the other hand, aggressive victims of bullying, also known as provocative victims or "bully-victims" (Boulton & Smith, 1994) tend to lash out angrily and start fights as well as get picked on (Schwartz, Dodge, Pettit & Bates, 1997). According to meta-analyses conducted by Reijntjes and colleagues (Reijntjes, Kamphuis, Prinzie & Telch, 2010; Reijntjes et al., 2011), both internalizing (e.g., depression or anxiety) and externalizing responses (e.g., angry lashing out) lead to increased risk of further victimization, which can become an entrenched pattern for some children.

In response to the serious risk bullying poses, a plethora of school anti-bullying interventions have been developed. Meta-analyses show that, in general, these programs produce small reductions in bullying and victimization (Merrell, Guelnder, Ross, & Isava, 2008; Ttofi & Farrington, 2011). One recent meta-analysis that included children's year level as a moderator found that, although school programs had a small positive effect in elementary school, there was overall no benefit for secondary school students (Yeager, Fong, Lee & Espelage, 2015). Clearly more needs to be done to address the serious risk bullying poses to students.

Recent research has turned to what parents can do to supplement efforts of schools in addressing the risk of bullying. This chapter reviews evidence and theory of how parenting influences children's and teenagers' involvement in school bullying, and examines what is known about how child gender affects this relationship. We will first briefly review the relationship between gender and children's involvement in school bullying. We will then consider theory and then review the evidence for the relationship between parenting and children's involvement in bullying. Finally, we will look at how the relationship, between parenting and children's involvement in bullying, might differ depending on gender. Within these early sections we will consider only the male/female gender dichotomy, as this is the focus of almost all research until very recently. We will then examine recent research on teenagers who are gender diverse, before drawing conclusions and making recommendations.

CHILD GENDER AND BULLYING

Decades of research have examined the question of whether and how child gender affects children's involvement in bullying. The weight of evidence suggests that, in general, boys have a higher involvement in bullying than girls, both as perpetrators and victims. However, this generalization varies, depending on the type of bullying and the nature of the child's involvement.

Several meta-analyses and structured reviews provide information about how gender affects children's involvement in bullying. A meta-analysis by Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim and Sadek (2010), found that, overall, boys had a higher level of involvement in bullying than girls, as either a victim or perpetrator. For being a passive victim, the gender difference was weak. The gender difference was larger (consistent with a small effect size) for both aggressive victims of bullying and for student who bully only.

In a review of individual risk factors for perpetration of school bullying, Farrington and Baldry (2010) also found that, in general, boys bully more than girls, and that the gender difference was greatest for direct bullying (e.g., physical aggression or threats). Farrington and Baldry concluded there was much less, or no difference, for perpetration of indirect relational bullying.

There have been similar findings in perpetration of aggression, a construct that overlaps with bullying. A meta-analysis by Card, Stucky, Sawalani and Little (2008) found that boys perpetrated direct aggression (including verbal) more than girls, equivalent to a medium effect size. They found that girls perpetuated indirect (relational) aggression slightly more than boys, but that the differences, although significant, were trivial. Card et al. also examined whether age interacts with gender to predict involvement in bullying, but found it did not affect the magnitude of relationship for either direct or indirect aggression.

Similarly, a meta-analysis of gender differences in victimization found that boys reported experiencing more physical bullying than girls whereas, for relational victimization, there were negligible gender differences (Card, Isaacs & Hodges, 2007). However, this may depend on severity of victimization; Kochenderfer and Ladd (1997) found that, for highly victimized children, physical bullying was equally common for boys and girls.

As cyber bullying is a relatively recent phenomenon, it tends to have been examined in separate studies. However, evidence suggests it is highly correlated with face-to-face bullying. In a meta-analysis of studies of cyber bullying, Guo (2016) found that the strongest predictors of online bullying were measures of offline bullying, and that the strongest predictor of online victimization was offline victimization. Similarly, Fanti, Demetriou and Hawa (2012) found that school bullying and cyber bullying were highly correlated cross-sectionally and longitudinally, as were school victimization and cyber victimization. However, a large cross-sectional study suggested that a higher proportion of children may be involved in cyber bullying as bully-victims than is the case with offline bullying (Mishna, Khoury-Kassabri, Gadalla & Daciuk, 2012).

Recent meta-analyses on cyber bullying provide information about the relevance of child gender. Guo (2016) reported a small to medium effect of gender on perpetration of bullying, meaning that more boys perpetrate cyber bullying than girls. There was also a relatively small, yet significant, effect on cyber victimization, with more females identified as victims. Similarly, Barlett and Coyne (2014) conducted a meta-analysis on perpetration of cyber

bullying and found that males were slightly more likely to cyber-bully than females; however, this was moderated by age, with females reporting higher levels during early to mid-adolescence and males reporting higher levels in late adolescence. This pattern is similar to offline bullying, with more males than females in general perpetrating bullying. Smaller gender differences in cyber bullying may reflect the similarities between cyber bullying and indirect relational bullying (Barlett & Coyne, 2014).

Other studies have provided information on other aspects of involvement in bullying with regards to gender. A meta-analysis by Nickerson, Aloe and Werth (2015) examined research on the association between empathy and defending behavior of bystanders in bullying. Of the 20 studies included, only six separated findings according to gender, and, based on this small number, moderator analyses were not significant. Future research may provide further clarification on this.

Although not explicitly examined in any meta-analysis to my knowledge, some research suggests that bullying occurs more often within same gender groups, at least at younger age levels. Bullying has been reported as more common within same gender groups for preschool children (Crick, Casas, & Ku, 1999; Crick et al., 2006). Also, a study of elementary school children aged between 6.5 and 10.8 years, found that indirect social bullying occurred mainly in same gender groups (Von Marées & Petermann, 2010). However, in adolescence, a form of bullying referred to as sexual bullying, consisting predominantly of verbal harassment, has been reported to be most commonly perpetrated by adolescent boys towards girls (Pellegrini, 2002; Shute, Owens, & Slee, 2008).

THEORY OF HOW PARENTING INFLUENCES CHILDREN'S INVOLVEMENT IN BULLYING

Most school bullying happens at school, and most parent-child interactions occur outside school. So, the link between parenting and school bullying requires explanation. We will now examine theory relevant to how and why parenting would be expected to influence children's involvement in bullying.

The major theories of child development acknowledge the central role of parents in shaping the child's skills and behavior that are transferred into relationships with others, including peers. According to attachment theory, children develop an internal representation (or template) of relationships from their earliest relationships with attachment figures (usually their parents), which they then apply to others (Bowlby, 1969). Similarly, social learning theory proposes that children learn how to behave towards others through behaviors modelled by parents and siblings, and generalize these to other environments and relationships with peers and friends (Bandura, 1977). Consistent with both attachment and social learning theory, Parke, Ladd and colleagues theorized that children learn the social skills needed for successful peer relationships through daily interactions within their families (Parke & Ladd, 1992). Hence, children can learn behaviors within their family that can be either positive or negative when applied to peer relationships.

If the family does not provide an opportunity for the child to develop the skills to build relationships and to resolve problems, the child will not be well equipped to develop quality relationships with others, including peers at school. This could influence the quality of

friendships the child is able to develop. Given that friendships help protect children from bullying (Fox & Boulton, 2006), lack of quality friendships could leave a child vulnerable to victimization.

The theory of operant conditioning suggests further mechanisms for how behaviors can be shaped in both family and peer settings. Relevant to bullying perpetration, Patterson (1982) described how children learn coercive behaviors within their family. Patterson explained that, if a parent escalates, and threatens or enacts aggression towards the child, most children will submit, but some children will aggress back. If the parent submits, in response to child aggression, the child is encouraged to aggress next time there is conflict. However, if the parent continues to aggress, this can lead to an escalation in violence. Either way, the child is learning to use aggression in response to conflict.

Coercive parenting could also reinforce the submissive behaviors relevant to passive victims of bullying. Children may be encouraged to show submissive behavior in response to a parental threat of aggression, if this leads to the parent ceasing their threats. The child may then generalize this submissive behavior into peer relationships. On the other hand, supportive family relationships characterized by warmth, respectful communication and appropriate assertion could also be learnt in the family context and transferred into peer relationships, assisting the child in developing warm respectful relationships with peers.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARENTING AND CHILD INVOLVEMENT IN BULLYING

A substantial body of literature examines the relationship between parenting and children's involvement in bullying. We will first examine research relevant to the relationship between parenting and children's peer victimization, and then turn to evidence of the relationship between parenting and children's perpetration of bullying towards peers.

Parenting and Children's Victimization by Peers

Lereya, Samara and Wolke (2013) conducted a systematic review of longitudinal and cross-sectional studies of the association between parenting and peer victimization. They found that children who have been victimized (including those who also bully) were more likely to have been exposed to negative parenting including abuse, neglect and maladaptive parenting. The effect sizes were strongest for bully-victims. Similarly, the meta-analysis by Guo (2016) on studies on cyber bullying found that negative family environment had small but significant effects on cyber victimization. Provocative victims have been described as having more severely problematic family functioning compared to families of passive victims, bullies and uninvolved children (Bowers, Smith & Binney, 1994; Rigby, 1994). A longitudinal study by Schwartz et al. (1997) found that children who emerged as provocative victims had experienced more punitive, hostile and abusive early family experiences than children who were passive victims, bullies or uninvolved in bullying.

On the other hand, Lereya et al. (2013) also found that positive parenting, including a warm, supportive relationship, good communication and supervision, protected children

against victimization by peers. Consistent with this, in a large-scale longitudinal study, Bowes et al. (2013) found that family environmental factors, including low maternal warmth, increased children's vulnerability to chronic victimization. Similarly, Fanti et al. (2012) conducted a longitudinal study with a large sample of adolescents in Cyprus, and found that family support protected adolescents living in single-parent households from cyber victimization when their friendships were not supportive. The importance of a warm supportive parent-child relationship is also reinforced by studies from an attachment perspective. For instance, Murphy, Laible and Augustine (2017) found that teenagers who reported greater attachment security to parents reported less victimization.

Although most studies in parenting are conducted primarily with mothers, there are several cross-sectional studies specifically focusing on fathers; these studies reinforce the importance of positive parental involvement and support. Attachment and positive involvement with fathers as well as mothers are associated with lower levels of victimization (Flouri & Buchanan, 2003; Liu, Yang, Zhou, Wang & Su, 2012). Papadaki and Giovazolias (2015) found that paternal acceptance moderates the impact of maternal rejection on risk of involvement in bullying (as either a victim or perpetrator).

Other studies provide further nuances in understanding the types of negative and positive parenting behaviors associated with risk of child victimization. Studies generally show that parenting that is less child responsive and more over-directive or over-protective is associated with higher risk of child peer victimization. Cross-sectional studies have found that parents of bullied children tend to be overly protective (Bowers et al., 1994) and to solve the child's problems rather than encourage independence (Oliver, Oaks, & Hoover, 1994). Parents of children who are victimized have been found to be high on "intrusive demandingness" and low on "child responsiveness" (Ladd & Ladd, 1998). More recently, Boel-Studt and Renner (2013) found that, for teenagers, parental criticism was associated with physical victimization, and higher parental monitoring was associated with psychological victimization. In a large-scale survey of students from Years 6 to 10 in the USA, Nansel et al., (2001) found that high levels of parental over-involvement were positively associated with victimization (for both passive victims and bully-victims).

These parental behaviors of criticism, over-protection and intrusiveness could all interfere with children and teenagers learning skills to look after themselves, which could in turn, interfere with development of peer relationships. However, caution needs to be taken in interpreting these studies as they are cross-sectional, and research shows that, just as parents influence children's behavior, children also influence parents' behavior (Sanson, Letcher & Havighurst, 2018). It would be natural for a parent who was concerned about their child being bullied to respond by staying close, providing more supervision and restricting the child's freedom. This, in turn could prevent the child from learning to look after themselves, and could prevent them from forming friendship with peers, which protect against victimization (Fox & Boulton, 2006).

There is other research that identifies additional parenting behaviors that reduce risk of victimization. McDowell and Parke (2009) identified three distinct paths through which supportive parenting can positively impact children's social skills and acceptance by peers. The first path, as discussed already, is through the quality of the relationship itself. Having a warm, supportive relationship with a parent helps provides children with a template of what supportive relationships are like, and provides them with examples of how to achieve this. The second path is through directly teaching social skills within the family. This is consistent with previous

research that has identified poor social competence as one of the strongest predictors for being bullied, and also a predictor of bullying behavior (Cook et al., 2010). The final path is through the gatekeeper role that parents exert (consciously or unconsciously) on children's opportunities to form friendships, including choices of neighborhoods and schools, as well as the practical support they provide for children to spend time with peers (e.g., through play-dates). McDowell and Parke (2009) found that all three of these paths contributed to children's later social skills and acceptance by peers.

Building on the work of McDowell and Parke (2009), and other research, Healy, Sanders and Iyer (2015) defined a type of parenting, facilitative parenting, proposed to protect children against victimization by peers. Facilitative parenting combines high levels of warm support with encouragement of independence rather than being overly controlling; it also includes the coaching of social skills and deliberate creation of opportunities for friendships with peers to develop. Healy et al., (2015) found that facilitative parenting discriminated between children teachers reported were bullied, from those who were not. In a longitudinal study of children with a history of victimization, Healy and Sanders (2018) found that facilitative parenting protected children from ongoing victimization mediated through improved peer acceptance.

Parenting and Children's Perpetration of Bullying

There is less research on the relationship between parenting and children's perpetration of bullying. Children's perpetration of bullying has been associated with lower levels of warmth, higher levels of harsh, coercive discipline including physical punishment, and lower levels of supervision (Atik & Güneri, 2013; Baldry & Farrington, 2000; Demaray & Malecki, 2003; Loeber & Dishion, 1984). These same parenting styles have also been implicated in children's callous-unemotional traits (Waller, Gardner et al., 2015) which are characterized by low empathy (Golmaryami et al., 2016).

It is easy to see how this combination of parenting styles could support the development of bullying behavior in children. Children would learn coercive behavior through their parent modelling coercion. Lack of parental supervision would allow children to act coercively towards siblings and peers without correction (Olweus, 1980). Also, a lack of parental warmth leads to poorer development of empathy in children (Waller, Shaw, Forbes, & Hyde, 2015), which allows children to overlook the hurt they cause peers.

Similar parenting styles have been associated with perpetration of cyber bullying. The meta-analysis by Guo (2016) on cyber bullying reported that negative family environment had a small but significant effect on cyberbullying perpetration. Parental warmth and positive family relationships has also been found to be negatively associated with perpetration of cyber bullying. In a large longitudinal study of adolescents in Cyprus, Fanti et al. (2012) reported that positive family support protected against both perpetration of cyber bullying as well as cyber victimization.

Two other studies have found that cyber bullying is associated with high levels of parental control. Buljan Flander, Dugić and Handabaka (2015) reported that for adolescents, high levels of parental control reported by students were associated with involvement in cyber victimization, as well as perpetration of bullying. Le et al. (2017) reported that for teenagers in Vietnam, there was an association between perpetration of bullying and higher levels of parental control. The relevance of parental control would seem to be inconsistent with other

research that shows that bullying perpetration is associated with lack of supervision. This difference may be explained by the relatively high overlap in cyber bullying in students who both bully and are victimized (Mishna et al., 2012).

The relevance of warm responsive parenting to children's perpetration of bullying as well as victimization, is consistent with both attachment theory and social learning theory; if a child forms a poor-quality relationship with their parent, they may have limited capacity to understand, empathize with, and form supportive relationships with peers. Murphy et al., (2017) found that teenagers who reported greater attachment security to parents, not only reported less victimization; they also reported less perpetration of bullying and greater defending of victims.

PARENTING AS A PROTECTIVE FACTOR FOR ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES OF INVOLVEMENT IN BULLYING

As well as reducing the risk of children's involvement in bullying, there is substantial evidence that positive parenting also protects children from some negative consequences of being bullied. In a large-scale longitudinal study, Sapouna and Wolke (2013) investigated factors that distinguished adolescents who demonstrated lower-than-expected increases in depression and delinquency after being bullied. Lower levels of conflict with parents, and lack of victimization by siblings, were amongst the factors that predicted lower-than-expected levels of both depression and delinquency following victimization. There are also many cross-sectional studies that are consistent with this finding. A large study by Klomek et al., (2016) found that the association between victimization and self-injurious behavior in European adolescents was moderated by parent and peer support. Other cross-sectional studies have found that supportive parental relationships protect adolescents against internalizing problems (Ledwell & King, 2015) and mental health problems (Stadler, Feifel, Rohrmann, Vermeiren & Poustka, 2010) associated with victimization by peers.

Recent longitudinal research has investigated the mechanisms through which positive parenting protects children against the internalizing consequences of bullying. Bowes, Maughan, Caspi, Moffitt and Arseneault (2010) found that warm, responsive parenting moderates the internalizing consequences of victimization over time. However, another large three-wave longitudinal study, found that, rather than attenuating the negative impact of victimization, supportive parenting had a direct positive impact on depression over time (Bilsky et al., 2013). Consistent with this, Healy and Sanders (2018) found that facilitative parenting (parenting that is warm, and supportive of children's peer relationships) had a direct effect on later depression. Whether positive parenting affects internalizing problems directly or through mitigating the impact of victimization, evidence suggests it helps reduce the risk of internalizing problems following victimization.

In a cross-sectional study involving a very large representative sample of European adolescents, Barzilay et al., (2017) examined moderators of the associations between three types of bullying victimization (physical, verbal, and relational) with suicide ideation and attempts. Verbal victimization was associated with suicide ideation amongst adolescents with depression who perceived low parental support. Verbal victimization was associated with suicide attempts among adolescents with anxiety who perceived low parental support. In

summary, there is a great deal of evidence that supportive parenting protects children from some of the most serious adverse impacts of bullying.

DOES GENDER MODERATE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARENTING AND CHILDREN'S INVOLVEMENT IN BULLYING?

So, supportive parenting reduces the risk of children being involved in bullying, and mitigates some of the most serious consequences of bullying. Various forms of negative parenting are associated with increased risks of involvement of children and teenagers in bullying as victims and perpetrators. We will now examine whether and how child gender affects the relationship between parenting and children's involvement in bullying, as victims and perpetrators.

Gender as a Moderator of the Relationship between Parenting and Victimization

There are many cross-sectional studies that investigate whether gender moderates the relationship between parenting and victimization. Early cross-sectional studies suggested some gender differences in the relationship between parenting and children's victimization. Maternal overprotection was found to be associated more with victimization of boys (Finnegan, Hodges, & Perry, 1998; Ladd & Ladd, 1998), whereas coercive parenting, parent-child conflict and intrusive demandingness were reported as associated with victimization of girls (Finnegan et al., 1998; Rigby, 1994). Finnegan et al. (1998) proposed that maternal behavior might impact differentially on boys and girls; for boys, a threat to autonomy could increase the risk of victimization, whereas for girls, reduced connectedness could increase the risk of victimization.

On the other hand, Shields and Cicchetti (2001), found that child maltreatment placed both boys and girls at greater risk for peer victimization. More recently, Lucas, Jernbro, Tindberg and Janson (2016) confirmed, with a nationally representative sample of Swedish adolescents, that violence at home (including witnessing intimate partner violence) was associated with higher levels of both bullying victimization and bullying perpetration, with no differences across child gender.

Some recent cross-sectional studies have suggested that interactions involving child gender that are quite complex. Boel-Studt and Renner (2013) explored whether adolescent age and gender moderated the association between parenting behavior and risk of physical or psychological peer victimization. They reported that gender moderated the relationship between parental monitoring and risk of both physical and psychological peer victimization, with a stronger risk for girls. Murphy et al., 2017 found that, for adolescent males, but not females, greater peer attachment security predicted less bullying involvement for those with lower parent attachment security. You et al., (2015) investigated how mother, peer, and school attachment were directly and indirectly related to bullying behavior through empathy, and whether these relationships were moderated by gender, for young adolescents in Seoul. You et al. found that, for male students, greater school attachment was directly related to less bullying behavior and maternal and peer attachment had indirect effects on bullying behavior, mediated

by student cognitive empathy. For female students, greater maternal attachment was directly related to less bullying behavior, and peer attachment had an indirect effect on bullying behavior, mediated by student affective empathy.

The interactions described above are complex, and not clearly predictable or interpretable in terms of theory. We need to exercise caution in drawing conclusions about how variables affect each other over time from cross-sectional studies. For instance, Murphy found that higher levels of parental monitoring predicted higher levels of victimization based on cross-sectional data; perhaps it was the other way around: the child's victimization may have prompted higher levels of parenting monitoring over time rather than vice versa.

A recent longitudinal study sheds some light on this question. Wright (2017) studied how different parental strategies to regulate young adolescents' use of technology (i.e., instructive, restrictive, co-viewing) affected their perpetration of cyber bullying and cyber victimization, and how gender might impact these associations. Wright found that both the positive association between restrictive regulation and cyber victimization and the negative relationship between instructive regulation and cyber victimization, were stronger for girls than for boys. These interactions are theoretically plausible. If social media is a more important vehicle for relationship development for girls, restricting usage may prevent the development of supportive peer relationships which protect against victimization. However, instructions without restriction may enable girls to stay in touch with friends.

Gender as a Moderator of the Relationship between Parenting and Perpetration of Bullying

Several longitudinal studies have examined the impact of gender on relationships between parenting and child bullying behavior. Low and Espelage (2013) examined predictors of cyber bullying and other non-physical bullying perpetration in early adolescents over three time points, 6 months apart. They found that lower levels of parental monitoring were associated with higher levels of cyber bullying at Wave 3, via alcohol and drug use for White females only. Non-physical bullying perpetration was associated with both higher family conflict and lower parental monitoring, which were explained by hostility (for White males) and depressive symptoms (for African American males). Low and Espelage concluded that familial socialization is very important but mechanisms of influence can differ according to gender and cultural context.

In a large longitudinal study, Turns and Sibley (2018) investigated the relationship between parental spanking in early childhood and later child perpetration of bullying in Years 1, 3, 5 and 9 at school. They found that spanking at age 1 positively predicted childhood bullying at age 3 for boys and negatively predicted bullying for girls. This is consistent with cross-sectional research mentioned previously that found that coercive parenting was associated with victimization of girls more than boys (Finnegan et al., 1998; Rigby, 1994).

Atherton, Schofield, Sitka, Conger and Robins (2016) examined the relationship between unsupervised self-care and conduct problems of children of Mexican origin residing in the U.S. They found that unsupervised self-care was related to increases over time in conduct problems such as lying, stealing, and bullying, but only for boys. This seems to indicate that lack of parental monitoring is more of a risk factor for development of bullying behavior in boys than in girls.

GENDER MINORITIES AND INVOLVEMENT IN BULLYING

Historically, gender research has taken a purely binary view of gender (male or female). More recently, research has focused on adolescents who are transgender (i.e., who identify differently than their birth sex), intersex (i.e., born with a combination of male and female biological characteristics) and other individuals who do not identify with heterosexuality. The proportion of adolescents who do not identify with binary male/female gender is small. Clark et al., (2014) reported that, for a nationally representative high school sample of New Zealand students, 94.7% reported being non-transgender, 1.2% reported being transgender, 2.5% were unsure about their gender, and 1.7% did not understand the question.

Although small in number, transgender adolescents, and other adolescents in gender and/or sexual minority groups have much greater risk of serious mental health problems than other adolescents. Clark et al., (2014) found that adolescents who were transgender, unsure about their gender, or did not understand the question, reported higher levels of depression, suicide attempts and school bullying than other students. As many as 40% of transgender students reported significant depressive symptoms and 20% had attempted suicide in the previous 12 months. Toomey, Syvertsen and Shramko (2018) examined prevalence rates of suicidal behavior in American adolescents across six gender identity groups including female, male, male-to-female transgender, female-to-male transgender, other transgender (not exclusively male or female) and questioning. Overall 14% reported a previous suicide attempt. The most at-risk group was female-to-male transgender of whom 50.8% had attempted suicide, compared with 17.6% of cisgender (majority) female and 9.8% of cisgender male adolescents.

Clark et al., (2014) reported high levels of victimization for gender minority students, which is likely to contribute to the poor mental health of these teenagers. Consistent with this, a systematic review of the effects of cyber bullying on lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender and questioning (LGBTQ) youth reported a wide range of negative associates of cyber bullying including suicidal ideation and attempts, depression, lower self-esteem, physical aggression and lower academic performance (Abreu & Kenny, 2018.)

Given the high risk of victimization and mental health problems for transgender youth and other gender minority groups, it is important to identify risk and protective factors. In a recent systematic review, Hall (2018) examined risk and protective factors for depression in lesbian, gay, bisexual and other queer youth. Hall reported that increased risk of depression was associated with school bullying victimization as well as stress from oppressing or hiding identity, having a socially stigmatized identity, maladaptive coping, parental rejection, abuse and other traumatic events, negative interpersonal interactions, negative religious experiences and violent victimization in community settings. Hall identified social support from friends, and family support as being negatively associated with depression.

A cross-sectional study by Simons, Schrage, Clark, Belzer and Olson (2013) found that parental support was significantly associated with higher life satisfaction, lower perceived burden of being transgender, and fewer depressive symptoms. A large cross-sectional study of transgender and other minority gender adolescents found that over half had self-harmed in the past year and that higher levels of victimization by peers and lower levels of family connectedness distinguished those who had attempted suicide (Taliaferro, McMorris, Rider & Eisenberg, 2018). This is consistent with other research that shows that positive peer and family relationships protect against victimization and internalizing problems (Bowes et al., 2010;

Healy & Sanders, 2018). This reinforces the importance of family support for gender minority adolescents, in general, and particularly when they are dealing with bullying victimization and faced with lack of support from peers.

Unfortunately, however, the process of gaining peer and family support for gender minority youth can, in itself, be fraught with risk. As found by Hall (2018), oppressing or hiding identity was associated with increased risk of depression for adolescents. This is consistent with findings of Russell, Toomey, Ryan and Diaz (2014) who, in a retrospective study of young LGBT adults, found that, after controlling for school victimization and later adjustment, being “out” at high school was associated with positive psychosocial adjustment in young adulthood. Despite the potential support benefits of disclosing their gender or sexual identity, Russell et al. explained that disclosure to peers may also risk rejection and potentially trigger victimization, which is associated with poorer adjustment. This dilemma may contribute to the very high rates of depression for these minority groups.

The risk of disclosing at school suggests that family support may be especially important in influencing outcomes for these at-risk students. McConnell, Birkett and Mustanski (2016) investigated mental health trajectories of LGBT youth using a longitudinal study based on eight waves of data collection over five years. The researchers differentiated between three levels of social support: uniformly low support, uniformly high support, and non-family support (i.e., high peer and significant other but low family support). After controlling for age, victimization, and social support, the researchers found that youth in both the “low support” and “non-family support” clusters reported greater distress across all time points relative to youth in the high support cluster. Those who lacked family support, but had other forms of support, reported a decrease in psychological distress and an increase in family support across adolescence. However, youth who were low in all forms of support continued to exhibit high distress across the whole monitoring period. This study highlights the crucial role that parental and family support plays for these highly vulnerable teenagers.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The aim of this chapter was to examine how gender influences the relationship between parenting and children’s involvement in bullying. This was contextualized in an understanding of gender differences in involvement in bullying in general, and a theoretical overview, and review of evidence, for how parenting affects children’s involvement in bullying.

Being bullied at school greatly increases a child’s risk of serious ongoing mental health problems including depression, psychosis and self-harm. Children who perpetrate bullying are also at risk of later delinquency. There is a great deal of evidence that parenting influences children’s behavior and relationships with peers, including their perpetration of bullying and victimization. Parenting also protects children from the risk of internalizing problems, both directly, and through supporting children’s friendships.

A body of research has examined gender differences in the relationship between parenting and children’s involvement in bullying. Most of this research is cross-sectional only and does not take into account the possibility of bi-causal relationships between parenting and children’s behavior. Many studies are based on student reports only, including of parenting style. A further limitation is that few studies include fathers, which may be important in determining whether

child gender differentially affects the relationship between parenting and involvement in bullying.

Despite these limitations, there are some consistent findings. Firstly warm, supportive parenting helps children learn to develop close supportive friendships with others and is likely to prevent both bullying and victimization. Lack of a warm relationship with mothers may be more detrimental for girls than boys, and may increase risk of peer victimization. To prevent both bullying and victimization, it is helpful for parents to encourage children to develop independence within reasonable boundaries of supervision. Too much restriction may prevent children learning to self-manage, which may leave them vulnerable to victimization. Too little parental monitoring may allow conduct problems and bullying to develop without correction. Coercive parenting and lack of supervision may be particular risk factors for boys' involvement in bullying. Finally, abusive parenting is damaging to all children, irrespective of gender, and may interfere with children's development of empathy and trust in relationships, which may compromise the quality of relationships they are able to develop with peers, and leave them vulnerable to involvement in bullying, as both victims and perpetrators.

As previously mentioned, meta-analyses of school anti-bullying interventions show that, although they provide some benefit (at least in primary school), they do not do enough to address the serious risks posed by bullying. A recent study by Kaufman, Kretschmer, Huitsing and Veenstra (2018) investigated why some children continue to be bullied despite participation in school anti-bullying interventions. Using data from middle and high school students who participated in studies of the KiVa anti-bullying intervention, Kaufman et al. found that children who experienced particularly high levels of peer rejection, internalizing problems, and lower quality parent-child relationships showed less improvement, and concluded that these characteristics appeared to contribute to persistent victimization.

Kretschmer et al. (2018) called for tailored interventions to reduce victimization for more children. This could include interventions involving parents. Healy and Sanders (2014) reported the RCT of a targeted family program that combined facilitative parenting and social skills training for children bullied by peers; children in the intervention condition had greater reductions in victimization by peers than children in the control condition. Another way of addressing bullying through parenting is ensuring that school anti-bullying programs include education for parents about how to support their child in their relationships with peers. The meta-analysis by Ttofi and Farrington (2011) found that having parent meetings was one of the strategies that differentiated effective from ineffective school interventions. Incorporating parental education into school interventions may help parents to prevent children's involvement in bullying.

For many decades research on gender and victimization has overlooked students who are highly at risk: transgender and other gender minority groups who do not fit into the assumed male/female dichotomy. Recent research suggests these students, although small in number, are at greatly increased risk for depression, self-harm and suicide, with victimization by peers being a contributing factor. Supportive relationships with parents are particularly important for these students, especially if they are not receiving support from peers. Further research on interventions to support children who are bullied could investigate how best to encourage parents to support children who may be gender diverse.

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Chapter 39

PREVENTION AND PSYCHO-PEDAGOGICAL CORRECTION OF BULLYING IN SCHOOL: RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

The problem of violence and aggression is significant and has been studied for many years. Teachers and school psychologists are increasingly turning their attention to the problem of violence among students. In Russia, the violence at school was called baiting. Foreign researchers call this phenomenon ‘bullying,’ and this term is now in common use in the Russian pedagogy.

In spite of the new term, bullying describes the old phenomenon of children’s cruelty. The problem of bullying is particularly important in early adolescence because, at this age, having learned certain behaviors, such as the behavior of a “victim,” the individual may adopt it in the future. It should be noted that bullying has a negative affect, not only on the “victims,” but also the “persecutors.” If the demonstration of aggression satisfies on the child, it can be fixed as the dominant behavioural style in later life. Thus, violence in school (bullying) requires particular attention for the early teens.

For many years in Russian psychological and pedagogical studies the problem of bullying was not researched. There was no scientific term for the problem, since the concept of “baiting “ was not seen as equivalent to “bullying.” So, although bullying is extremely important, it is difficult to find information about it in Russian studies.

This study examines the theoretical justification and experimental verification various methods to ensure effective prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying in school. Fifty three teenage students from Kazan took part in the experiment.

It used a mix of diagnostic techniques for the detection of violence and bullying in the school environment: the *Questionnaire for diagnosis of violence and bullying at school* by Su-Jeong Kim (modified by Petrosyan), The *Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory* (BDI), and the *Questionnaire for the diagnosis of the capacity for empathy* by Mehrabien & Epstein.

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A statistical analysis of empirical research was carried out by standard techniques of mathematical statistics (Student's *t* test, and Pearson's correlation coefficient).

From the experimental work experiment the authors developed a program for the prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying among younger teenagers in school.

Keywords: bullying, prevention, correction, school, younger teenager

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Identifying the Problem

The problem of violence and aggression is significant and has been studied for many years.

Teachers and school psychologists are increasingly turning their attention to the problem of violence among students. In Russia, the violence at school was called baiting. Foreign researchers call this phenomenon 'bullying,' and this term is now in common use in the Russian pedagogy.

In spite of the new term, bullying describes the old phenomenon of children's cruelty. The problem of bullying is particularly important in early adolescence because, at this age, having learned certain behaviors, such as the behavior of a "victim," the individual may adopt it in the future. It should be noted that bullying has a negative affect, not only on the "victims," but also the "persecutors." If the demonstration of aggression satisfies the child, it can become fixed as the dominant behavioural style in later life. Thus, violence in school (bullying) requires particular attention for the early teens.

For many years in Russian psychological and pedagogical studies the problem of bullying was not researched. There was no scientific term for the problem, since the concept of "baiting" was not seen as equivalent to "bullying." So, although bullying is extremely important, it is difficult to find information about it in Russian studies.

In contrast in the West the problem of bullying has achieved considerable importance (Ribakova, Valeeva & Merker, 2016).

Some researches define bullying as serious acts of aggression, while others include any insults and threats. In either case it is clear that we are talking about a serious and widespread phenomenon.

The media often reports on cases of children bullying teachers and their classmates. But this is just the tip of the iceberg. The bulk of the problem is under the surface and remains unavailable to the masses. Though the problem is widely discussed, the practical actions to solve it are not reported. According to Pronin (2008), violent relationships between students are common. With each school there is usually one class where this is endemic. The relevance of this research comes from the fact that the current problem of bullying in the schools is more prevalent, and affects all parts of the school. School bullying among younger teenagers has its own characteristics. This is an age which is very important for children's inter-personal communication and strengthening their position in the group. Some students may use bullying to establish their position (Kostyunina & Valeeva, 2015; Ribakova, Valeeva & Merker, 2016).

Bullying among younger teenagers can take one of three forms of deviant behavior - conformal, victimization or aggression - and accordingly they assume the rôle of a witness,

victim or persecutor. Children who are victims of bullying from classmates, do not often speak about it. Thus the inner circle of the child's family and friends should be alert to any changes in the child's behavior, noting the key behavioral characteristics which are typical for victims of bullying.

1.2. Status of the Problem

An analysis of scientific literature shows that the prevention and investigation of the problem of psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying began in 1905, when the first works were published on the topic of school bullying. The pioneers in this area, who conducted the first systematic study of the bullying problem were the Scandinavian scientists D. Olweus (1978), E. Roland & E. Munthe (1989). In particular, Olweus was most influential in this area. Later research in the UK was carried out by Tattum & Lane (1988). More recently, in the 1990s, particular attention to the problem was paid in the United States.

There is a wide variety of definitions of bullying, but none is clearly formulated and universally accepted. Authors studying this phenomenon, use different definitions of bullying, based on their understanding.

For example, the therapist Berdyshev (2005: 3) gives the following definition of bullying: "a conscious, sustained violence, not having the character of self-defense and coming from one or more persons" while the sociologist Kon (2006:15) believes that bullying is "intimidation, physical or psychological terror that seeks to cause fear in another, and thus subjugate it." Arora (1994) calls bullying the actions that are observable and have a place in the communication between young people at school and are the cause of resentment and stress. Besag (1989) investigated the problem of bullying in schools, and concluded that bullying is a behavior which can be defined as repeated physical, psychological, verbal, or social attacks of those whose power is situational or formally above, on those who don't have the possibility to protect themselves, with the intent to cause suffering and to achieve personal satisfaction.

Based on the works of Lane (2001) and Roland (1989) the Russian scientist Ilyin (2014), defines bullying as a systematic long-term physical or mental violence, carried out by one person or group and directed against a person who is unable to defend himself in the actual situation with the conscious desire to hurt, frighten or to subject prolonged stress.

In order to explore the essence of bullying, it is necessary to consider the "bullying-structure" suggested by Roland (1989), that it is a social system that includes offenders (pursuers, aggressors, hooligans), and their victims and witnesses (observers).

1.2.1. "Offenders"

Olweus (1978) notes that "offenders" can be described as individuals with high potential of general aggression. They "attack" not only their victims, but also the family and teachers, and have more positive attitude toward aggression than the "witnesses" and "victims." They demonstrate lack of empathy for "victims" and have a relatively high need to dominate over others. The "offenders" also have a strong need for the management of children and getting satisfaction from their subordination.

Any child can become a victim, but it is usually someone who is somehow different from the others or weaker that is chosen. The most frequent victims of school violence are children who have weaknesses in physical development, specific appearance or behavior. Very often

withdrawn children (phlegmatic and introverts) or conversely, children with impulsive behavior become the victims of ridicule and aggression. Hyperactive children may act both as victims and offenders - and often at the same time. School phobia, poor social skills, the lack of group interaction experience (children educated at home), learning difficulties and low intelligence, or some disease often makes the children victims of bullying.

1.2.2. “Witnesses”

It is difficult to highlight characteristic features of a “witness” because, in bullying situations the majority of children act as “witnesses.” It has been shown that the self-esteem of these children is markedly reduced because of the feeling of their own helplessness,. Outside observers often talk about their sense of powerlessness and guilt. Askew (1989) argues that in a bullying situation not only the “victim” who suffers, but surrounding people suffer by not having the strength and opportunity to rebuff the abuser.

Numerous studies show that the manifestations of bullying in school are due primarily to the fact that school is a universal arena, a place for children to release their accumulated at home negative impulses. The children see and accept rôle relationships between “a leader and a rogue.” Another factor contributing to the growth of bullying in school is the inability of teachers to resolve this problem.

Researchers define differing forms in which bullying is expressed. Thus, Lane (2001) speaks of physical and mental violence, Berdyshev (2005) asserts the existence of behavioral, verbal and actual aggressive bullying, with the presence of physical violence, and Mertsalova (2000) emphasizes the existence of emotional, physical, verbal and mental abuse.

School bullying includes manifestations of the pursuer against a victim, but according to Malkina-Pykh (2005), these are aimed, at humiliation by physical, emotional or economic violence and aggression. Let us look at the content of each of these types of violence.

Physical violence is the use of physical force against a student, resulting in possible severe physical injuries of varying severity. Physical violence includes striking, cuffing, beating, slapping, and property damage. As a result of these actions books, clothing and other personal belongings of the victims may be damaged, stolen or hidden. In some cases, it may involve the use of the weapon (for example knives). According to Malkina-Pykh (2005), this behavior is more common among boys. Very often physical violence is accompanied by emotional violence. The use of physical force may persist for a long time, thus causing traumatic experiences for the victims.

Emotional abuse, causing the victim emotional stress, lowers their self-esteem and humiliates them. In this case, the main weapon is the voice. There are several types of emotional abuse:

- refusal of communication with the victim, isolation, or rejection. As a rule, the use of this method is initiated by a bully. The victim is deliberately ignored by a part of a class or a class - expelled or isolated. It is often accompanied by humiliating slogans on the board or in public places, whispered insults that can be heard by the victim, the spread of the notes that have offensive content. They encourage others to reject the child. “Don’t play with him,” “don’t invite him to birthday parties,” “do not let him sit at the same desk,”

- biased evaluation and endless notes, assigning nicknames, which are constantly referring to the child, thereby insulting and injuring them, ridicule, mockery, and humiliation in front of other children, and so on. This kind of bullying is often used against victims with high or low academic performance, obvious differences in physical appearance, accent or voice features. Name-calling can also take the form of hints about the student's alleged sexual orientation. The use of anonymous phone calls is a common form of verbal bullying, in which not only students, but even teachers may become victims;

Economic violence involves the use of the money to control another person. In this case money is demanded from the victim, followed by threats if they do not hand it over immediately. Breakfasts money or lunch coupons can also be extorted. It is possible to force the victim to steal property with the aim of making the blame fall on the victim.

Maltseva (2009) writes about a recent kind of school bullying – cyberbullying in which the victim is abused by e-mail or, increasingly by social media.

Thus, bullying can be considered as intentional, repeated and sustained psychological or physical violence, unlike self-defense or sanctions authorized by the state, which comes from an individual or a group having certain advantages (administrative, psychological, physical) with respect to a person, and which occurs mainly in organized groups with a specific personal goal.

The bullying process is largely hidden from others, but its latency does not make it less dangerous. Children who are subjected to harassment, may receive psychological trauma of varying severity, with possible negative consequences. It does not matter whether it is physical or psychological bullying. Preventing school violence is one of the most important tasks of the teaching staff, because the cruel treatment of a child inevitably leads to serious consequences.

1.3. Bullying in Younger Adolescence

The likelihood of bullying is particularly high in younger adolescents, and its consequences can be extremely negative.

The origins of bullying among younger adolescents include:

1. Individual factors (conformity, victimization and aggression of adolescents).
2. Group factors (unfavorable socio-psychological climate of the group, antisocial group activity, lack of a unified value-orientation, unformed self-determination of the individual within the group members).

The emergence of various types of deviant behavior in adolescents, manifested in bullying, creates the prerequisites for its appearance in the classroom. Bullying is connected with various types of deviant behavior such as conformal, victimized, and aggressive. Depending on the type of deviant behavior, the child may assume the rôle of a witness, a victim or a stalker when bullying takes place.

Positive attitudes, the effectiveness of learning activities and prosocial norms are closely interrelated and have a significant impact on the susceptibility to bullying among younger adolescents. By activating mechanisms that restraining active aggression of adolescents, norms can be established to show that bullying is unacceptable.

Effective student learning can reduce bullying. Episodes of bullying in younger adolescents often occur during lessons, but when the class focuses on learning activities, students are less distracted and less likely to disturb others, and so misconduct is reduced. This in itself should reduce bullying, since hooliganism, disorder and bullying are interrelated and probably reinforce each other. Furthermore, learning productivity is part of a normative system which not only prohibits, for example hooliganism and disorder, but provides clear guidelines for the normal and the desired behaviour.

Favorable relationships within the class can also reduce the risk of bullying. Bullying victims are often loners. If in the class as a whole, everyone treats each other well, then the potential victims will probably have friends, and this provides a defense against proactive aggression. The probability for potential pursuers and potential victims to have the same positive connections increases significantly, and this makes it possible to avoid bullying.

Favorable student relationships have another effect on proactive aggression. If the class is friendly, then tensions between its members are less. Tension occurs when there is a certain mismatch or imbalance of sympathy. If the class is unfriendly, individual students may have a power motive because it is pleasant to subjugate a person who you do not like, and this in turn, will lead to increased proactive aggression.

There are also gender differences in the manifestation of bullying in younger adolescence. The research of Olweus (1993), Lane (2001), Besag (1989), Berdyshev (2005), Kon (2006), and Maltseva (2009) identified that

- there are differences in the types of bullying in males and females;
- it is more difficult to cope with the problem of bullying for girls;
- female bullying is more personalized, psychologically oriented and more emotionally destructive;
- bullying among boys is primarily associated with the struggle for power;
- the peculiarities of bullying in males are associated with a young male normative culture.

As a rule, the victims of bullying do not report that they have been bullied but you can learn about this from the mood and behavior of the child. A teenager who has become a victim often feels depressed and defenseless against a pursuer. This leads to a fear of everything and everyone, a feeling of constant danger, insecurity and, a consequent loss of faith in one's own strength and self-esteem. The victim really remains defenseless against the actions of the offenders. Episodes of cruel bullying can lead a younger teenager to suicide and so those involved with the child need to pay utmost attention to even the most minor changes in behavior.

The following features are characteristic for adolescent victims of bullying:

- there are obvious symptoms of fear, including secrecy and solitude, disturbances of appetite and sleep, enuresis (bed-wetting), crying at night, nervous tics and stuttering;

- they often pretend to be sick, so as not to attend school;
- they are afraid to go to school and return home alone, parents are asked to take them to classes, and they are often late;
- a decline in the quality of study, and loss of interest even in hobbies;
- they often ask for money and sometimes even steal;
- they become silent, unwilling to talk;
- there are permanent bruises, abrasions and other injuries;
- suicidal intentions or even suicide (Tattum, & Lane, 1988).

Thus, in younger adolescence:

1. it is important for a teenager to his place in groups, and he can use bullying to achieve this goal;
2. younger adolescents can adopt three types of deviant behavior in a bullying situation - conformal, victimized, aggressive;
3. there are factors that can prevent bullying in the early teens. These include positive relationships, the effectiveness of learning activities and prosocial norms, which are closely related to each other;
4. there are gender differences in the manifestation of adolescents' bullying;
5. adolescent victims are often characterized by certain features and behavioral changes.

1.4. Prevention and the Psychological and Pedagogical Correction of Bullying

Analysis of the literature and practice reveals a contradiction between the increasing need for active work aimed at combating school violence and the insufficient development of the content, forms and methods of preventive and corrective work aimed at reducing bullying in school.

Professional use of prevention and psychological-pedagogical correction is key to overcoming school bullying. Prevention involves a set of measures aimed at understanding and reducing the level of bullying as a stereotype of behavior in educational activities that can adversely affect students' physical and mental health.

The prevention of bullying is based on the basic principles of a humane approach to a child, recognition of the family as the most important institution of prevention, coordinated action of all educational and preventive services in the micro-environment, maximum individualization and targeting of preventive effects in society, and the constructive use of preventive measures.

Psychological and pedagogical correction is the joint professional responsibility of the psychologist, teacher and parents, based on a system of psychological influences with the goal of correcting a child's mental development disorders. This is based on the knowledge of individual, age and sociocultural development norms. At the same time, remedial work is aimed at creating conditions for the full mental development of each child in their family and educational setting.

In setting correctional goals, the psychologist is guided by knowledge and understanding of the child's mental development as a dynamic process, ideas about the dynamics and structure

of age, psychological information about the socio-cultural situation of development of each child, and activity theory in the formation of age-related neoplasms.

In implementing a comprehensive preventive and correctional program to overcome bullying, it is necessary to take into account the following psychological and pedagogical principles:

- unified diagnosis and correction;
- systematic character of preventive, developmental and correctional tasks;
- accounting of individual and age-psychological features of the client;
- priority of causal type correction;
- active involvement in the program of the closest social environment;
- the complexity of the methods of psychological influence.

Dealing with the problem of harassment and rejection of some children by others can be achieved by working with the rejected children (both individually and in a group), or with the class as a whole.

Individual work with the rejected children.

After identifying the unpopular or rejected child, it is necessary:

1. To get to know this student more closely.
2. To diagnose the personal characteristics of the child.
3. To watch the child during breaks and in the class during lessons.
4. To talk with the child about the situation in the classroom, his or her interests, and discover the problems of interaction.

Individual work with a child victim contributes not only to a better understanding of the causes of what is happening but the conversations are important for the child himself. With such meetings, the student no longer feels useless and lonely at school. However, it is impossible to help a child in a situation of bullying solely by talking only. The child must learn to interact with others and this is possible only in group classes.

Group classes with the rejected children.

Working in groups of unpopular children can have a significant effect. As with any modality, group classes have their own characteristics. It is desirable that the group has an even number of children because it is necessary to give every child the opportunity to work with everyone - not only with pleasing, but also unpleasant partners. It is better to start each lesson with exercises aimed at immersion in an activity, then proceed to exercises on arbitrariness or outdoor games. Then one can conduct an exercise to discuss things together, playing and discussing scenes, and in the end, offer something pleasant and fun for everyone that allows self expression. Feedback is extremely important and each participant should have the opportunity to speak.

Working with a group or class.

It is not sufficient to work just with the victims to overcome the negative attitude of classmates towards unpopular children: it is necessary to work with the whole group. Such classes allows the rejected child expressing him/themselves. Classmates begin to look at them

in a new way, in an unusual situation and begin to treat them with more interest and concern. As a rule, children attend such classes quite willingly.

One of the main areas of psychological work with the unfriendly class exhibiting cases of bullying should be activities aimed at developing tolerance. It is lack of tolerance for the characteristics of another and on their dissimilarity, that persecutions are based. Activities are also needed to develop self-confidence and to form an attitude of non-violence.

Psychological and pedagogical correctional work should not be limited to eliminating the aggression of some children towards others. It is necessary to eliminate the causes leading to its manifestation and to expand the tools that are actively used in the child's behavior.

Psychological and pedagogical practice and literature identify directions of work for prevention and correction of bullying which include:

- the formation in children of personal qualities such as trust in people and empathy. An effective way of implementing this is to induce incompatible reactions, such as laughter and humor, as well as a focus on the state of other people;
- developing the ability in children to control themselves and training them in self-regulation techniques and the practice of communication skills in possible conflict situations;
- teaching aggressive children how to express anger in a socially acceptable form.

Preventive and remedial programs against bullying can include conversations, exercises, rôle-playing, writing, watching movies, reading literature, watching and staging rôle-plays. These activities can be used both separately and in combination:

Exercises involve multiple actions and repetitions in order to develop habits. They are necessary to form a positive attitude in younger adolescents, as well as certain moral skills and habits.

Rôle-plays on the topic of bullying have a strong effect because the actors and the audience are in the same room in close proximity to each other. This has a strong impact on students. In some countries schools cooperate successfully with acting troupes. The class or the whole school can stage a play about bullying independently. Through this means, schoolchildren-actors can learn a lot about themselves, and later become good rôle models for other children. The scenario of the performance can be written independently. If this is done in conjunction with the class, the psychologist together with the students must understand the material, and find appropriate examples, thereby increasing the level of awareness. The psychologist may choose specific students for certain rôles.

The rôle-playing method is a game-based method of active learning, characterized by the following main features:

1. the presence of tasks and problems and the distribution of rôles between the participants;
2. the interaction of participants, usually through discussion. Each of the participants may, in the course of the discussion, agree or disagree with the opinion of the others;

3. corrective input by the teacher during the class. Thus, s/he can interrupt the discussion and give some new information that needs to be taken into account when solving the task, turning the discussion to another direction, etc;
4. evaluation of the results of the discussion and summarizing by the teacher.

A group of adolescents who play a rôle is likened to a group of children playing a school, hospital, shop, etc. A rôle-playing group unconsciously creates their own reality and, with this, the participants operate with their knowledge of the real world, developing their abilities to interact with other people without the risks inherent in the real world. There are no spectators in this situation. The improvised activities are fun and do not threaten the child. rôleRôle-play strengthens rather than destroys self-confidence. rôleRôle-play offers a number of advantages:

1. It can exceed the possibilities of any pair and group activity in developing teenagers' ability to speak in any situation on any topic.
2. It puts participants in situations in which they need to use and develop language that can lubricate the social relationships that teachers so often neglect.
3. It provides shy, insecure adolescents raised in an orphanage with a "mask" they can hide behind. Teenagers have great difficulties when the main focus is on their personality and on their direct experience. In a rôle-playing game, these participants are exempt; since their identity is not affected, they need not be revealed.
4. It gives children pleasure. As soon as the participants begin to understand what is required of them, they gladly give vent to their imagination.

If games are processed, memorized and played for the audience then they are no longer rôle-play, but become dramatic performances. The essence of rôle-play Rôle is the process, not the finished product and this must be understood from the very beginning. In contrast to a dramatic performance, there is no public – only the participants.

The main goal of such games in combating bullying is to make students feel for themselves what bullying is. To do this, students should be able to get used to the rôle. The peculiarity of rôle-play is that offenders may experience greater aggression, compared with their experience of participating in the formulation and adhering to a previously written script. They also have the opportunity to understand better the strategies spontaneously selected during the game. At the same time, in the course of the rôle-play, the victim will also be more affected by the pressure of the offenders than in a scenario setting. The student who plays the victim will be able to learn a great deal from this experience. The psychologist can repeat the game by changing the rôle of students. At the end, a discussion is held with all the students, not only those who participated in the game, but also those who observing it.

When watching feature films or special films reflecting bullying, most students are filled with feelings of the victim when they see what is happening on the screen. This gives the psychologist the opportunity to give students a voice and to give the necessary explanations. It is important that the psychologist choses the film based on his professional assessment and watches it with the students.

A popular approach in the prevention and psychological-pedagogical correction of bullying is to use literary works that deal with the problems. Students experience empathy and

understanding through the process of reading. The appropriate literature can be selected for each age group, so that children are able to identify themselves with heroes who are suffering. A psychologist can read a book aloud, talking about bullying, and the fears of the victim of persecution.

In books devoted to this problem, there are often characters who oppose the persecution, despite the danger that threatens them. Such characters can inspire indecisive schoolchildren who are not yet capable of discouraging bullying and violence. This way of using literature is a part of cognitive training. The text adjusts, helps to form moral values and landmarks, and awakens empathy. These texts often offer patterns of action and this contributes to social training.

Students can be given a task (at home or in the classroom) to write a short essay on bullying. The assignment can specify the issues to be reflected. From a psychological viewpoint, it is extremely important that the process of writing an essay enables pupils to more deeply understand the problem of bullying. The essays may reveal important information for the psychologist, such as the author's inclination, about which, which the student cannot speak directly for some reason. When reading an essay, a psychologist can leave comments on the margins.

One can choose several essays with important issues and, with the consent of the authors, read them to the class (perhaps the student himself can do this). The effectiveness will be greater if the essays of several students are read aloud. The psychologist gets the opportunity to express his position through comments after the readings.

The impact of talks about bullying will be maximised if the discussion of the topic becomes a natural component of everyday school life. At the same time, discussions of the topic should be regular, to ensure that the issue is not left unattended for long. Frequent and short conversations are more effective than long and infrequent ones. One might talk about bullying with the class once a week during the discussion of various topical issues. Where there is a need, it is necessary to dwell on this issue in more detail. Usually such a conversation is conducted by the class teacher. You can start with the clearly worded question such as: "Have any of you been bullied lately?," "Have any of you mocked others last week?" then look at the students and wait. If necessary, the teacher can take the initiative and say that s/he knows the facts of the persecution, or commend the students who helped the classmate who was being bullied.

A short weekly discussion on bullying is very effective. In this case, students always have the feeling that the school and the teacher will not tolerate harassment, and good deeds will not go unnoticed and will be appreciated. But it is important that such conversations do not become just a formal ritual, which is carried out for the sake of a tick. If so, they will lead to the opposite result.

Training is also effective in the prevention and psychological-pedagogical correction of bullying. Training is an active learning method aimed at developing knowledge, skills and social settings. Training can be used where the desired result is not only obtaining new information, but also applying the knowledge gained in practice.

Training can be considered from the point of view of different paradigms:

- as a means of forming the necessary patterns of behavior with the help of positive reinforcement, and using negative reinforcement to erase unwanted patterns;

- as a means of the formation and development of skills;
- as a form of active learning, the purpose of which is the transfer of knowledge, and the development of certain skills;
- as a method of creating the conditions for participants' self-disclosure and their search for ways of solving their own psychological problems.

There is no unified and generally accepted classification of training. In our study, we focused on socio-psychological training.

In a broad sense, socio-psychological training is any active socio-psychological teaching based on the mechanisms of group interaction (as opposed to, for example, training on the development of cognitive processes - attention, memory, thinking, etc.). Thus, Petrovskaya (2009) and Ann (2003) describe this as psychological influence, based on active methods of group work.

Compared with the individual format, group work with adolescents has several advantages:

1. Group experience counteracts alienation, and helps in solving interpersonal problems.
2. The group reflects society in miniature, revealing hidden factors such as peer pressure. The group simulates a system of relationships and interrelations characteristic of real life. This makes it possible to see and analyze the patterns of communication and the behavior of other people and themselves, which are not obvious in everyday situations.
3. It affords the possibility of obtaining feedback from children with similar problems. In real life, not everyone has a chance to get sincere, non-judgmental feedback that allows them to see themselves in the eyes of other people.
4. In a group, adolescents can identify with others, and "play" the rôle of another person in order to better understand himself and to get acquainted with new effective behaviors used by others. The resulting emotional connection and empathy contribute to personal growth and the development of self-awareness.
5. The group facilitates the processes of self-discovery, self-inquiry and self-knowledge; these processes cannot be complete without the participation of other people. Opening yourself to others and opening yourself to yourself allows self-understanding and increasing self-confidence.

In order to overcome school bullying, it is necessary to work with parents and discuss its causes with them. When talking to the parents of the perpetrators, it is important to be cautious in making assessments. Children from dysfunctional families are often guilty of bullying. In communicating with the parents of the victims, there is a danger of taking the position of protecting the "uniform," that is, attempting to protect the school's reputation, rather than the child who rôlebecame the victim. When talking about what can and should be done to change the situation for the better, we must try to solve this problem together.

Thus, in the process of the preventive and correctional program of bullying, we should employ a model of behavior change, which allows us to:

- develop the child's awareness and acceptance of himself, his emotional needs and his needs;
- to accept the needs and emotions of other people, combined with the development of skills to meet the needs and express negative emotions in socially acceptable forms.

Preventive and remedial work can be carried out both separately with victims and offenders, and with the whole class together. In our opinion, the second option is more effective, since it is joint work that is the easiest way for students to adopt each other. The most effective forms and methods are training, working with literature, games (rôle-playing, etc.) and exercises. These methods were used when creating our correctional program.

2. METHODS

2.1. The Research Task

The purpose of the study was the theoretical justification and experimental verification of content, complex forms and methods to ensure effective prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying in school.

2.2. Theoretical and Empirical Methods

The study employed both theoretical (the study and analysis of pedagogical and psychological literature, comparisons and generalizations) and empirical (note-taking, and a control experiment) methods

The results were processed with Student's t-criterion.

In order to identify violence and bullying in the school environment the study employed the questionnaire for diagnosis of violence and bullying at school» developed by Su-Jeong Kim (Petrosyan's modification), together with the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory (BDI) (1957), and the Questionnaire for the diagnosis of the capacity for empathy by Mehrabien & Epstein (1972).

The questionnaire for diagnosis of violence and bullying at school by Su-Jeong Kim (with Petrosyan's modification) (Kim, 2004; Petrosyan, 2011) consists of two parts. (1) "Violence in Schools" (12 points), and (2) "The situation of bullying in school" (11 points). This modification provides an assessment of most of the indicators of bullying discussed in the theoretical review. Its purpose is to study the frequency of violence (psychological and physical), experienced and exhibited by a child, as well as recognising himself as a persecutor or a victim of psychological and/or physical violence. It addresses issues that evaluate experience in bullying and are taken from the questionnaire by Kwak & Lee (1988). Some questions were added by the author of the modified version. Petrosyan extracted questions about the frequency of bullying by different methods (7 points) from the questionnaire of Olweus. The methods passed the procedure for checking the validity and reliability of the questionnaire.

Kim's Questionnaire for diagnosis of violence and bullying at school as modified, identifies the following levels of bullying among students:

100-71 points – a high level of bullying. Children point out the presence of violence in school and a variety of types of bullying in relation to the students. Children experience negative emotions, fear, hatred, anger, horror, depression, apathy. Children note the presence of physical and mental violence.

70-40 points – the average level is characterized by the presence of violence in school; children experience negative emotions and the desire to respond in the same way; physical violence is dominant.

39-0 points – the lowest level is characterized by stable emotional atmosphere, the lack of physical and mental violence, and the absence of negative emotions.

The Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory (1957) indicates the following reactions: physical aggression (the use of physical force against another person); indirect aggression aimed to another person; irritation (a willingness to manifest negative feelings at the slightest excuse, temper, rudeness); negativism (behaviors ranging from passive to active struggle against the established customs and laws); resentment (envy and hatred of the real and imaginary deeds); suspicion (from mistrust and caution in relation to the others to the belief that other people are planning to bring harm); verbal aggression (verbal expression of negative feelings); guilt expressing the person's conviction that he or she is "bad," as well as pricks of conscience. The technique allows also the researcher to allocate the index of hostility (resentment and suspicion) and the index of aggression (physical aggression, anger, verbal aggression).

Mehrabien & Epstein's "Questionnaire for the diagnosis of the capacity for empathy" (1972) consists of 33 proposals. During the study of the younger teens' capacity for empathy, four groups were distinguished: a high level of empathic tendencies, the average level of empathic tendencies, low empathic tendencies, and a very low level of empathic tendencies.

2.3. The Trial Infrastructure and Stages of the Research

An empirical study was conducted within the Gymnasium № 40 in Kazan (Republic of Russia) and involved 53 junior teenagers. The study was conducted in three stages: baselining, formative testing and control.

The aim of the initial experiment was to determine the baseline empathic tendencies, indicators of aggressiveness of adolescents, the level of bullying, and the overall presence of bullying in a group. Based on these results the program was developed containing a variety of forms and methods of prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying in school.

The purpose of the formative experiment was to test the program "Hand in Hand," aimed at the prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying in school. In the control phase of our experiment, we evaluated the effectiveness of the forms and methods of prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying by younger teenagers. At this stage, we identified the level of all the studied parameters and studied their dynamics.

Comparing the results that were obtained in the baseline and control stages of the experiment, we established whether the correct forms and methods of psycho-pedagogical correction had been applied and how they had reduced the situation of bullying in school. The experimental study was carried out in natural setting of the educational process of the school.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Experimental Procedure and Its Description

Initially, respondents were asked to answer Kim's Questionnaire for diagnosis of violence and bullying at school. With this technique, we identified particular manifestations of bullying in school, how respondents react in the situation of bullying, their attitudes, as well as how often they were exposed to bullying.

Next, we used the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory (BDI) to identify different types of aggression, characteristic of teenagers.

The responses were measured on eight scales as follows:

1. Physical aggression: "yes" = 1, "no" = 0: (items 1, 25, 31, 41, 48, 55, 62, 68); "no" = 1, "yes" = 0: (items 9, 7).
2. Indirect aggression: "yes" = 1, "no" = 0: (items 2, 10, 18, 34, 42, 56, 63); "no" = 1 "yes" = 0: (items 26, 49).
3. Irritation: "yes" = 1, "no" = 0: (items 3, 19, 27, 43, 50, 57, 64, 72); "no" = 1, "yes" = 0: (items 11, 35, 69).
4. Negativism: "yes" = 1, "no" = 0: (items 4, 12, 20, 28); "no" = 1, "yes" = 0: (item 36).
5. Resentment: "yes" = 1, "no" = 0: (items 5, 13, 21, 29, 37, 44, 51, 58).
6. Suspiciousness: "yes" = 1, "no" = 0: (items 6, 14, 22, 30, 38, 45, 52, 59); "yes" = 0, "no" = 1: (items 33, 66, 74, 75).
7. Verbal aggression: "yes" = 1, "no" = 0: (items 7, 15, 23, 31, 46, 53, 60, 71, 73); "yes" = 0, "no" = 1: (items 33, 66, 74, 75).
8. Feeling guilty: "yes" = 1, "no" = 0: (items 5, 8, 16, 24, 32, 40, 47, 54, 61, 67).

The hostility index includes items 5 and 6 of the scale and the aggressiveness index (straight or motivational) includes items 1, 3, 7..

The norm value of the aggression index is equal to $18 - 21 \pm 4$, and hostility - $6.5 - 7 \pm 3$. It demonstrates the possibility of reaching a certain value that shows the degree to which aggressiveness is manifest.

The Questionnaire for the diagnosis of the capacity for empathy" by Mehrabien & Epstein was used to determine the teenagers' level of empathy

Since we needed to define a common indicator of the presence of bullying in a group test, we employed arithmetic. When dividing the sample into three groups as a central subgroups we divided the subjects for which the indicator value x_i is within $x_{cp} \pm \sigma x$.

The availability of bullying in adolescents was defined as:

- low level 1-5 score
- average: 6-11 points,
- highest level: 12-15 points.

3.2. Experimental Results

During testing, a high level of empathic tendencies in the baseline stage of the study (from 33 to 26 points for boys, from 33 to 30 points for girls) was identified in 8 teenagers, accounting for 15.1% of the total number. An average level of empathic tendencies (from 25 to 17 points for boys, from 29 to 23 points for girls) was detected in 15 children, accounting for 28.3% of the total number. A low level of empathic tendencies (from 16 to 8 points for boys; 22 to 17 points for girls) was detected in 25 teenagers, accounting for 47.2% of the total number of participants. A very low level of empathic tendencies (7 to 0 points – for boys; 16 to 0 points – for girls) was detected in 5 people, or 9.4% of the total number of children (see Table 2).

Overall, taking into account the low and very low level of empathic tendencies in the studied group of teens, the group was dominated by low level of empathy. For example,

- The boys say that people exaggerate their ability to feel and experience;
- if a friend or girlfriend begin to discuss their problems, they try to turn the conversation to another topic;
- it is frustrating when people watching a movie sigh and cry;
- someone's laughter does not infect them;
- the opinion of other people, as a rule, does not matter when they make a decision.

We concluded that there was a need for special work to increase the young adolescents' level of empathy.

The next stage of our study was to investigate the aggressive reactions of adolescents in the baseline phase of the experiment. The dominant aggressive reaction in the group of teenagers was

- suspicion (12.8), ranging from mistrust and caution against people, to the belief that other people are harmful;
- verbal aggression (10.2), as the expression of negative feelings through the form (a cry, squeal), and through the verbal content of the responses (curses, threats);
- offense (5.6), jealousy and hatred of others for real and imaginary action;
- guilt (5.6) expresses the possible conviction of the child that they are a bad person acting badly, as well as feelings of remorse.

The dominant types of aggressive reaction are shown in Table 1.

We found the aggressiveness index in the group was 47.2%, while the index of hostility was 52.8%. Both of these are high values.

The next stage of the study was to determine the baseline level of bullying in the group. We found a high level of bullying in 26 adolescents – 49.1% of the group. Children identified the presence of violence in schools, and a variety of types of bullying in interrelations and negative emotions. Children experienced fear, hatred, anger, horror, depression, and apathy, and reported physical and mental violence.

An average level of bullying was found in 32.1% of the group (17 adolescents). This average level is characterized by the presence of violence in school, with children experiencing negative emotions and the desire to respond in the same way. Physical violence was dominant.

Before the experiment 18.8% of the group (10 adolescents) exhibited low level bullying. This was characterized by the stability of the emotional atmosphere, the lack of physical and mental violence, and the absence of negative emotions.

45.3% of the children believed that the problem of school violence existed. Among the most common forms of violence they identified rudeness (60.4%), mockery (52.8%) and humiliation (49.1%). Among the less common – deliberate destruction of another's property (9.4%), isolation (6.5%), and pushing down the stairs (4.3%). Furthermore, 62.3% of children have a desire to respond in kind. As for the children's sense of security in school, 67.9% answered that it depended of circumstances, and 32.1% felt totally secure. 49.1% of students experienced physical violence once or twice, 28.3% once a month. As for psychological violence, 71.7% of respondents experienced it once or twice, 32.1% once a month, and 17% once a week. 30.2% of children said that during the current half-year they were subjected to harassment once a week, 60.4% were subjected several times over the same period. However, 17% did not know why they were bullied by other students, 9.4% believed that it is due to the fact that others ignore them and the teacher liked them more, 18.8% thought it was because they often quarrelled with others, and 3.8% saw the reason being their financial position, because of their appearance and because they considered themselves better than the other students. 20.8% of bullied pupils pretended that nothing happened, 28.3% avoided places where it occurred, 15.1% did not talk to anyone, while 8.6% tried to explain that one cannot act this way and 3.8% missed school.

Table 4. Dominant aggressive reactions at baseline

Characteristic	
I know what people are saying about me behind my back	52.8%
I stay caution with people who treat me a little more friendly than I expect	60.4%
I think people do not like me	62.3%
I believe that many people envy me	49.1%
I think I am laughed at	45.3%
My principle is 'never trust strangers'	37.7%
If I do not approve of my friends' behaviour then I let them feel it	41.5%
I often do not agree with people	34%
I cannot resist a dispute if people do not agree with me	49.1%
I require people to respect me	67.9%
If someone annoys me I am ready to say what I think	77.4%
When someone cries I start screaming response	73.6%
I swear only in anger	32.1%
I often threaten people, although I am not going to carry out the threat	45.3%
I often raise my voice in a dispute	71.7%
I do not always get what I am entitled to	86.8%
I am almost always able to take advantage of favourable circumstances	88.7%
I am a little distressed by my fate	39.6%
I meet someone I do not like almost every week	83.0%

Table 5. (Continued)

Characteristic	
I am sometimes consumed with envy although I do not show it	30.2%
If everyone knew what I felt they would think that I am not easy to get on with	45.3%
I sometimes feel that life treats me unfairly	71.7%
I have experience pain and remorse when I have deceived someone	49.1%
I sometimes have thoughts (about aggression) of which I am ashamed	37.7%
I am upset that I do so little for my parents	32.1%
I do many things that I later regret	28.3%
I am distressed by failure	43.4%
I feel moral qualms when I do wrong	45.3%

Among the methods used by the students to solve the problem of harassment, (harassment opposition) were: talking about it with parents (28.3%), talking with the teachers (24.5%), and patience (18.8%). 62.3% of students witnessed bullying in the classroom, 43.3% of them tried to help the victim, but 25.9% did not do anything, although they had a desire to help, and 30.8% did not do anything because they felt it was not their business.

39.6% of the students admitted that they had participated in the harassment of another student on several occasions, and 22.6% said this happened two or three times a month. When baiting, 26.4% of teens used abuse and neglect, 20.8% used physical force, and 37.7% mocked their victim's appearance. 15.1% of respondents spread false rumors about others once a week, and 9.4% ignored a classmate and excluded him from the joint activities several times a week.

The next stage of the study was to determine the relationship between indicators of bullying, empathy and aggression. For this purpose we used Pearson's correlation coefficient.

When a sample of 53 people the critical value of r with p 0,05 is equal to 0.27, and with p 0,01 is equal to 0.35. Based on these data, we checked the value of the Pearson's correlation coefficient, i.e., the accuracy of its difference from zero.

From the analysis of the Pearson's correlation coefficient, we found that there is a reliable indicator of a direct link between empathy and bullying ($r_{xy} = 0.48$) at a significance level of p 0.01, and a reliable feedback from indicators of physical aggression ($r_{xy} = -0.35$) at a significance level of p 001, indirect aggression ($r_{xy} = -0.32$) at a significance level of p 0,05, suspicion ($r_{xy} = -0.85$) at a significance level of p 001.

We found a significant direct relationship between indicators of bullying and indirect aggression ($r_{xy} = 0.4$) at a significance level of p 0.01, aggressiveness index ($r_{xy} = 0.31$) at a significance level of p 0.05, significant direct correlation with the index of irritability ($r_{xy} = -0.06$) at level of significance p 0.01. This suggests that the higher the bullying, the higher indirect aggression index, and the lower irritability and aggressiveness.

We also found a direct link between reliable indicators of physical and indirect aggression ($r_{xy} = 0.41$) at a significance level of p 0.01, indirect aggression and negativism ($r_{xy} = 0.28$) at a significance level of p 0.05.

A significant inverse relationship was found between rates of irritability and negativity ($r_{xy} = -0.29$) at a significance level of p 005. We identified a direct link between reliable indicators of negativity and resentment ($r_{xy} = 0.8$) at a significance level of p 0.05 and a significant inverse relationship between rates of negativity and aggressiveness index ($r_{xy} = -0.3$) at a significance level of p 0.05.

Thus, we found that the studied parameters are interconnected; our findings suggest that there is a link between indicators of bullying, empathy and aggression in younger teens.

As a result of the baseline experiment, we found that the high overall level of bullying in a group was dominant (54.7% - 29 adolescents), the overall average level was 35.9% (19 children), the low overall level was 9.4% (5 teens). Our findings suggested the need for remedial work to reduce bullying among teenagers.

On the basis of these results, we developed and implemented a program "Hand in Hand" aimed at prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying in school.

The goal of that program was prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying in school. Its objectives were to:

1. develop childrens' skills of analyzing actions and events for themselves, being aware of their relationship to the world, and being responsible for their actions;
2. develop readiness to help when necessary, ability to listen to others, and to empathize;
3. remove the fear of making an independent statement, and to develop communication skills;
4. develop the behavioral skills in conflict situations;
5. develop initiative and activity, feeling joy in sharing work and creativity.

With the help of correctional program "Hand in Hand" we created conditions for the prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying, leading to the solution of these problems.

Based on the objectives, we allocated five blocks that comprise the program:

Block 1: non-aggressive behavior formation;

Block 2: Generating unit of empathy and tolerance;

Block 3: Formation of self-confidence;

Block 4: Creating the readiness to overcome the formation of conflicts;

Block 5: Creativity formation.

Each unit includes 3-5 sessions, each of 45minutes. Classes are held in stages, following the block sequence. The principles guiding the development were to: achieve emotional comfort, activate the group members; building reliance on social and emotional experience of the group members; and providing an individual approach to every child.

For example, the first block which aimed to form non-aggressive behavior included the following classes:

Session 1. The goal is to familiarize the group members with the leader, to establish the rules of behavior, to create a working atmosphere, and to rally the group. The content included: the exercise "Business Card," the development of the rules for the group, the exercise "My personal place," the game "We count to twenty," and the exercise "Blind and guide," followed by respiratory relaxation and discussion.

Session 2. The goal is encourage the group to establish trusting relationships between the group members, and to identify aggressive behavior. The content included: the game "Message to yourself," the game "Bug," the exercise "Where should I sit?," The rôle-playing game "Fairy-tale Heroes," the exercise "Magic balls," and a concluding discussion.

Session 3. The goal is to respond to the emotions of the participants, to establish a trusting relationship, and to make the participants aware of their aggressiveness and non-constructiveness of such behavior. The content includes: "Greeting," the exercise "Expression of trust," a game "Pushing," the exercise "Recipe: how to make a child aggressive," ending with relaxation complex, and discussion.

Session 4. The goal is to teach the teenagers constructive behavioral reactions in a problem situation. The contents include: the game "Running Lights," the exercise "Drawing with a partner," a rôle-playing game, a relaxation exercise "Relaxing in a starfish position," and a discussion.

Session 5. The goal of the final session is to strengthen the trusting relationship between the group members, to teach the teenagers constructive behavioral reactions in a problem situation, and to develop a non-verbal ability to express emotions. The contents include: "Greeting," the exercise "Without Mask," the rôle-playing game "Aggressors" and "Victims," pantomime, relaxation exercise "The Rock," and a discussion.

Classes are organized so that every teenager "lives" different situations, determines his or her ability to support and recognize the merits of the other, to defend his own position, to organize himself and others, to be creative and to understand and accept each other.

The process for each class is as follows:

- The ritual greeting which helps to unite the group, and to create the atmosphere of trust and acceptance;
- Warm-up. This prepares the participants for productive group activities, allows them to establish contact, activates the group members, cheers them up, and remove the emotional excitement. The warm-up is carried out not only at the beginning of the classes, but also between individual exercises if the teacher identifies a need to somehow change the emotional state of the participants. The warm-up exercises are chosen to match the current status of the group and the objectives for future activities;
- The basic content of the lesson is a set of forms and methods of pedagogical influence aimed at the development of competences, inherent in each unit;
- Relaxation involves the removal of the psycho-emotional stress, which can occur when performing certain exercises;
- The discussion of the sessions concern an exchange of views and feelings about the classes.

We used also energizing exercises during classes. Participants periodically experience decreased energy in the course of group activity. The energizing exercises (a mobile game) can serve as means of overcoming the energy dip, helping to activate various analyzers and encouraging the different abilities of the teenagers.

During the training we used a number of psychotherapeutic methods:

1. "Self-disclosure," when teenagers share personal feelings and experiences;
2. "Advice - wish" – the doctrine of how to act in a given situation;
3. "Experience - Interpretation" – offers a new vision of life situations, based on theory or personal experience;

4. “Desensitization of fears” –the opportunity to reduce anxiety, worry, and tension in important situations;
5. “Emotional reflection” – “rejection” of negative emotions, that is, transferring them through game-playing and thus releasing past traumatic experiences.

During the implementation the leader’s position varies depending on the their rôle as the expert, informant, equal participant, and psychologist.

Different life situations were highlighted during the classes. They rôle-played them, discussed, and made appropriate conclusions. Through these situations, younger teens learn positive interaction with others and find their own ways of solving conflicts. At the beginning, some students showed aggression toward their classmates, often communicating in a raised voice. After a series of classes the behavior of these students changed; during the exercises they remained fairly calm and defended their points of view using arguments without resorting to insults to the interlocutor.

The key to this program is that it is not implemented with victims and offenders separately, but together. This allows them to find deep solutions to the issues of interaction in society and gain valuable experience of the study of their personality, habits, beliefs, and interpersonal skills. The program “Hand in Hand” helps teens to look at themselves through the eyes of others, to live through difficult life situations, which are modeled in the classroom, react and express their experiences, and discuss current issues. The improvements in the levels of empathic tendencies are shown in Table 2.

After the programme the average level of empathy dominated in the group. Children were more susceptible to others, more sensitive, responsive; and reacted emotionally to other people’s troubles and setbacks. The program has had a positive impact on the development of empathy in young adolescents.

Table 2. Empathetic tendencies in the control phase compared with baseline figures

Level	Range for boys	Range for girls	Number at this level	Percentage of sample at this level	Baseline percentage	Increase (decrease)
High	26-33	30-33	15	28.3%	15.1%	13.2%
Average	17-25	23-29	29	54.7%	28.3%	20.4%
Low	8-16	17-22	8	15.1%	47.2%	(32.1%)
Very low	0-16	0-7	1	1.9%	9.4%	(7.5%)

The parameters of aggressive reactions also decreased significantly; there was indirect aggression dominated in the range of mistrust and caution against people to the belief that other people plan and bring harm reduced to 8.1. Irritability or aggression, in a roundabout way directed at any person or at no direction reduced to 8.4.

Table 3 shows the reduction in dominant aggressive reactions after the control program.

After the control program the aggressiveness index in the group was 18.8%, while the index of hostility was 20.8% - a reduction in the earlier values.

After the experiment the largest proportion of the group, 49.1% (26 adolescents), showed an average level of bullying. These children note the presence of violence in school, experience negative emotions and have a desire to respond in the same way. Physical violence dominates.

Table 3. Dominant aggressive reactions at baseline and after the control program

Characteristic	% of participants	
	Before	After
I know what people are saying about me behind my back	52.8%	15.1%
I stay caution with people who treat me a little more friendly than I expect	60.4%	28.3%
I think people do not like me	62.3%	32.1%
I believe that many people envy me	49.1%	18.8%
I think I am laughed at	45.3%	35.9%
My principle is 'never trust strangers'	37.7%	18.8%
If I do not approve of my friends' behaviour then I let them feel it	41.5%	9.4%
I often do not agree with people	34%	28.3%
I cannot resist a dispute if people do not agree with me	49.1%	28.3%
I require people to respect me	67.9%	15.1%
If someone annoys me I am ready to say what I think	77.4%	28.3%
When someone cries I start screaming response	73.6%	49.1%
I swear only in anger	32.1%	15.1%
I often threaten people, although I am not going to carry out the threat	45.3%	9.4%
I often raise my voice in a dispute	71.7%	18.8%
I do not always get what I am entitled to	86.8%	22.6%
I am almost always able to take advantage of favourable circumstances	88.7%	28.3%
I am a little distressed by my fate	39.6%	24.5%
I meet someone I do not like almost every week	83.0%	17.0%
I am sometimes consumed with envy although I do not show it	30.2%	18.8%
If everyone knew what I felt they would think that I am not easy to get on with	45.3%	26.4%
I sometimes feel that life treats me unfairly	71.7%	30.2%
I have experience pain and remorse when I have deceived someone	49.1%	18.8%
I sometimes have thoughts (about aggression) of which I am ashamed	37.7%	17.0%
I am upset that I do so little for my parents	32.1%	15.1%
I do many things that I later regret	28.3%	15.1%
I am distressed by failure	43.4%	18.8%
I feel moral qualms when I do wrong	45.3%	17.0%

Low level of bullying in the group after the experiment was found in 26.4% (14 adolescents).; This low emotional atmosphere is characterized by stability, the lack of physical and mental violence, and the absence of negative emotions.

There was a high level of bullying after the experiment was found in 24.5% or 13 adolescents. Here children point out the presence of violence in schools with a variety of bullying types and negative emotions. They experience fear, hatred, anger, horror, depression and apathy. Children also note the presence of physical and mental violence.

After the program 32.1% of the surveyed children believed that the problem of school violence does exist. Among the most common forms of violence there is still rudeness (52.8%) and mockery (49.1%), while among the less common there is deliberate destruction of another's property (9.4%), isolation (5.7%), and pushing down stairs (1.9%).

45.3% of children have a desire to respond in the same way. As for the children's sense of security in school, 49.1% answered that it depended of circumstances, and 50.9% felt totally secure. For psychological violence, 43.4% of students experienced it once or twice, and 22.6% experienced it once a month., 60.4% of respondents experienced psychological violence for themselves several times a month, 24.5% once a month and 15.1% experienced it once a week.

During that half-year 18.8% of children said that they were subjected to harassment once a week, and 32.1% experienced it several times over the same period. 15.1% did not know why they were bullied by other students. Others were more specific: 5.6% believed that it was due

to the fact that they were ignored and the teacher liked them more, 13.6% thought it was because they often quarrelled with others. 14.6% of the bullied pupils pretended that nothing happened, 18.8% avoided places where it occurred, 22.6% did not talk to anyone, and 19.4% were trying to explain that one cannot act this way. Among the methods used by the students to solve the problem of harassment, were opposition (17%), talking with the teachers (12.7%) and talking about it with parents (9.4%).

45.3% of students had witnessed bullying in the classroom. Of these 63.2% of them tried to help the victim, 18.5% did not do anything, (although they had a desire to help), and 18.3% did not do anything, as they decided that it was none of their business. 26.4% of the students admitted that they had participated in the harassment of another student several times, and 18.8% took part two or three times a month. Forms of baiting involved ignoring (26.4%), and spreading false rumors (17%). This was a frequent occurrence with 9.4% of respondents ridiculed and insulted once a week.

Table 4. Average levels of bullying

Level	Baseline	After program	Change
High	54.7%	28.3%	26.4% decrease
Average	35.9%	37.7% (20 children)	Dominant level
Low	9.4%	34.0%	26.4% increase

The analysis showed that the level of bullying in a group of younger teenagers exhibited a number of changes. High levels decreased from 49.1% to 24.5% (24.6% change), average levels rose from 32.1% to 49.1% (an increase of 17%), while the low level increased from 18.8% to 26.4% (a 7.6% change).

The overall impact of the experiments are shown in table 3 and demonstrate the effectiveness of the program of psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying in school “Hand in Hand.”

The Student’s t-test was used to confirm the results of the study. Differences in average $\bar{x}_{cr1}$ and $\bar{x}_{cr2}$ considered reliable if the empirical value of the Student’s t-test exceeds the critical value of t_{cr} . It is located in the tables of critical values of the Student’s t-test depending on the number of degrees of freedom. The number of degrees of freedom in the case definition for dependent samples t-test will be equal to $n - 1$.

In this case, for $v = 53$ critical values will be equal to: $t_{cr} = 2$ (at $p = 0.05$); $t_{cr} = 2.67$ (at $p = 0.01$). As a result of the Student’s t-test, we obtained the following data: the difference between the mean values of empathy before the experiment and after the event is valid since $t_{th} > t_{cr}$. ($t_{th} = -2.7$) at $p = 0.01$; the difference between the mean values of bullying before the experiment and after the event is valid since $t_{th} > t_{cr}$. ($t_{th} = 13.1$) at $p = 0.01$; the differences between the mean values of the overall index of bullying before the experiment and after the event is valid since $t_{th} > t_{cr}$. ($t_{th} = 4.9$) at $p = 0.01$. By all accounts we accept the hypothesis H1, that is, the identified differences in the studied parameters before and after the experiment, are authentic.

CONCLUSION

The study of younger teenagers showed that the use of the program “Hand in Hand” using literature and rôle-play games, aimed at the prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying, is effective. The study confirmed the hypothesis, that the effectiveness of prevention and psycho-pedagogical correction of bullying among young adolescents would benefit if it is based on the essential characteristics of the concepts of “bullying” and its structure, and takes into account the age-related aspects of the manifestations of bullying in early adolescence; These data were confirmed by statistical analysis and, in particular, the Student t-criterion.

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Chapter 40

FRAMING SCHOOL BULLYING AS REFLECTION OF DETERIORATING BASOTHO MORAL PRINCIPLES

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is globally perceived as a demonstration of deviant behaviour and a thorn to children who become victims, as well as parents who have to nurse the subsequent emotional and physical scars. If it is generally agreed that bullying demonstrates unbecoming behaviour, it remains a question as to why is it this difficult for education systems to put an end to it. This paper explores literature on contexts within which bullying has been documented, interrogates whether bullying is influenced by any gender dynamics, and crucially reflects on the reaction of key stakeholders within the education system, towards eliminating it. The paper argues that bullying as an antisocial behaviour does not resonate with being African, and in particular, deviates from Basotho as a people, known for mutual interdependence and hospitality to others. Some models on psychosocial development are used to explain how the contexts of school bullying in Lesotho could represent slips in the broader social values of *ubuntu/botho*, and thus merit a wider reflection on improving society's moral standards. The paper concludes by suggesting how *ubuntu/botho* can work as the best principle for addressing school bullying, and violence generally.

Keywords: bullying, deviant behaviour, morality, mutual interdependence, *ubuntu*

INTRODUCTION

The advent of colonisation in Africa created a permanent destruction to her outlook onto the world, where her people had an interdependent self-concept, nurtured by principles of love and empathy. The intruder was in pursuit of greed underpinned by individualistic conceptions. A western ethos promoted competition and private ownership, and colonialists used this to divide Africans along ethnic lines, igniting furious hostilities over territories they had otherwise

shared over centuries. This offended the commonly held view of African people as living in groups that are naturally communal and cooperative. With it, colonisation brought industrialisation, which broke normal social structures of communal living, and forced some people to migrate to newly built towns to work for the capitalists. In reflecting about how the Awori people of Ogun State in Nigeria have changed, Wahab, Odunsi and Ajiboye (2012) note that rapid urbanisation and industrialisation forced people to live as nuclear families, away from extended members thus breaking the socialisation according to which moral principles were easily shared among community members. Reflecting on the changes that built the modern society may lead to a more nuanced understanding of how Africa shifted from its roots, and how her people may be said to live in moral vacuum brought about by such acculturation. Against this background, I intend to describe school violence, and specifically bullying, as one among several examples of the erosion and extinction of *ubuntu/botho* characteristics of the Basotho, a nation found in the Southern part of Africa.

SCHOOL VIOLENCE, AS TYPIFIED BY BULLYING

This paper discusses bullying within the broad scope of school violence, because it would be futile to ignore other forms of violence such as corporal punishment, sexual violence etc. while there is confluence between these. It would also be unjustifiable to expect a teacher who believes in violence to solve misunderstandings with students, inadequate academic effort, and low motivation from learners, through inflicting pain than applying non-coercive measures. Young children look up to teachers for guidance, and many teachers are old enough to be parents to the learners, so teachers' influence on learners' psychosocial development is immeasurable. As such, bullying is but an example of many unbecoming behavioural attributes displayed by school community members to one another.

In defining school violence, De Wet (2007a:78) says it is "the intentional use of physical and physiological force or power that may negatively affect school's educational mission or climate conducive to teaching and learning." It is a broad concept that encompasses the use of undue force within an education system by students to their peers or teachers, or by teachers against each other or students, using corporal punishment as a form of discipline leading to physical and emotional pain for its victims. Evident in this definition is that the violence in overt or covert form has no place within an education system, as it makes the atmosphere unhealthy for teaching and learning. Bullying, though it may affect learners as groups, is mostly an interpersonal violence that negatively affects physical, social and psychological development of the victims (De Wet 2007b; Mosia 2015). It differs from a once-off incidence of violent behaviour or interpersonal conflict, but depicts aggression that is intentional and committed frequently over time (Motsei & Nkomo 2016). Letšopha and Jacobs (2017:87) describe it as "willful, and mostly repetitive, as well as there always being power differential" between bullies and their victims. The violence is committed by those who are normally physically superior, and more powerful than victims who are usually defenseless and submissive (Ngakane, Muthukrishna & Ngcobo 2012; Mosia 2015).

While most literature focuses on victims of bullying in terms of their characteristic features which render them vulnerable, their coping mechanisms etc. some literature describe bullies as equal victims of psychological deficiencies such as poor self-concept and academic

weaknesses (Mosia 2015). Generally, research evidence supports the notion that bullying amongst learners demonstrates academic and social skills deficits, as bullies usually lack critical thinking and reasoning skills vital for negotiating healthy interpersonal relationships (Ngakane et al. 2012; Letšopha & Jacobs 2017). Similarly, perpetrators of schools violence, such as teachers who use corporal punishment on learners, seem to demonstrate deficient psychosocial skills in managing abnormal behaviours (Letšopha & Jacobs 2017). Teachers' behaviour, in active use of violent disciplinary measures or passively neglecting incidents of bullying, acts as reinforcement to school violence generally.

School violence can also take different and gendered formats. In trying to understand the nuances of school violence, some writers argue that school violence cannot generally be understood in isolation from the broader social context within which it occurs (Motsei & Nkomo 2016). School violence in Lesotho takes various forms of gender dynamics. Morojele (2011) reflects on how, as he grew up, boys had to fit certain gender stereotypes within which they had to conform or be ridiculed. Boys were pressured to comply with "Characteristics of hegemonic masculinities included competitiveness, being anti-school, being rough and tough, proposing love to girls, subordinating boys who are regarded as weak" (Morojele 2011:680). Citing Morahanye's (2004) master's study on gender stereotyping, De Wet (2007b) argues that certain violent behaviours on the part of men against women in Lesotho results from these patriarchal tendencies that promote male dominance. It becomes inevitable that some bullying habits develop out of misguided cultural undertones. Subsequently, sexual abuse as another type of violence results from male assertions of this perceived entitlement over women. Analysed closely, Bhana (2005 in Ngakane, Muthukrishna & Ngcobo 2012) notes that violence that leads to sexual abuse of women in schools can be explained by unhealthy social constructions of masculinity and femininity.

Additionally, there is research that demonstrates that teachers also apply corporal punishment distinctively between boys and girls, with boys receiving harsher punishment than girls (Ngakane et al. 2012; RTI International 2013). Essentially, in societies where gender stereotypes are foregrounded, it may not be difficult for teachers to identify typical victims of bullying. For example, Makafane and Khalanyane (2018) note, "gays, lesbians and people with queer sexuality are more prone to being bullied", because bullies would feel they must be punished for not fitting neatly within conventional gender categories. However, great attention must be placed on female victims of school violence, as they are more prone to verbal, social and psychological violence from other girls (Mosia 2015), and frequently fall victims of sexual violence from peers and teachers (De Wet 2007b). In its various forms, school violence signals grave moral degeneration of a society, of which a school is but a microcosm (Ngakane et al. 2012).

PREVALENCE OF SCHOOL BULLYING IN LESOTHO

A number of studies describe bullying in Lesotho schools as posing problems to conducive learning environment and learners' safety. Some studies highlight the indecisiveness of teachers in addressing bullying as one of its enablers. Ngakane et al. (2012) says school boys at secondary level use violence for various reasons, such as exercising power and solving conflicts. For example, in one incident, boys collectively fought learners from another school

because they lost a soccer match, they also went on strike to force the principal to change the menu in the school kitchen; while in yet another incident, older boarding school boys forced juniors to wash their clothes after school where upon refusal, victims were beaten. Letšopha and Jacobs (2017) note that relational violence is mostly used by girls in schools to make their victims feel socially unwanted. For example, public humiliation of new learners by their seniors is common in many schools. Additionally, Mosia (2015) describes situations where ill-treatment of junior students at one college culminated in criminal behaviours, committed unceasingly. For example, one student was killed at Lerotholi Polytechnic in 2009, while two were killed in February 2012 in the same college in what students referred to as initiation rites. He also gives examples of incidents of students stabbing victims to death at secondary school level. An article in one of the local newspapers, the Lesotho Times (4 June 2015), describes how many of the bullying incidences in schools around the country fit the punishable criminal offences. The paper cites section 8 the Constitution of Lesotho 1993 and various sections of the Penal Code Act, 2010 as providing grounds for the bullies to be prosecuted. This justifies my argument that bullying in any form cannot be tolerated, because it offends social cohesion in society and breaks the spirit of *botho*, which binds communities as interdependent.

Generally, literature shows teachers as constantly modelling violence in their day-to-day interactions with learners, by the use of corporal punishment to manage their behaviour. For example, Ngakane et al. (2012) record that some teachers even punish students for poor academic performance. It is morally wrong for teachers to punish learners who demonstrate academic challenges, because learning problems can also result from teachers' inability to use appropriate teaching methods, lack of relevant teaching and learning resources etc. however, many studies give accounts of this kind of gruesome display of violence (see Monyooe 1983, 1986, 1996; De Wet 2006, 2007b, Ngakane et al. 2012; Matheolane & Makura 2014). Some writers go to the extent of claiming that corporal punishment is permissible in Lesotho, and is popular in all types of schools, church, community, and government schools (De Wet 2007b; Jacobs, De Wet & Ferreira 2013). Teachers are said to espouse an authoritarian discipline typical of the Christian dogmatism, and masculinity in patriarchal societies such as Lesotho (Jacobs, De Wet & Ferreira 2013). However, violence of any kind has always been outlawed by the Constitution of Lesotho section 8(1) of which reads, "No person shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading punishment or other treatment" (Kingdom of Lesotho 1993). This clearly demonstrates that Lesotho and the Basotho do not endorse the embodiment of violence as a form of acceptance in dealing with each other as humans. The Enactment of the Education Act 2010 was only the operationalisation, in schools, of an existing national policy on violence. Point 5 of the outline reads, "The Bill abolishes corporal punishment at schools in accordance with section 8 of the Constitution..." (Kingdom of Lesotho 2010).

It should therefore be lamented that teachers seem to contribute immensely to this scourge as passive or active reinforcement agent. Mosia (2015) observes that most incidents of bullying happen in class where teachers are supposed to control learners' behaviour, but fail to do so. Though teachers are aware of many incidents of violence, they ignore them (Beninger 2013), the bullies feel empowered, and victims accept violence as part of mandated reality. On a different note, De Wet (2006) also notes that in Lesotho, learners assaulting teachers is not uncommon, but is quick to indicate that teachers are to blame for using learners to commit acts of violence against colleagues in order to settle interpersonal grudges, or to unseat a principal whose leadership they oppose. The author of this paper was a victim of students' violent aggression, which remains inexplicable to date, where at school in 2004 four Grade 12 students

were given timeout as a result of indiscipline. It is not clear how they decided within 40 minutes of their stay outside class to throw stones at me with subsequent grievous injuries. This depicts poor morals and unethical conduct that may or may have not been influenced by teachers, my colleagues, who are supposed to show learners how to behave humanely and coexist with other members of society. On a different note, Beninger (2013) describes situations where teachers commit acts of sexual violence against young girls, either promising them higher marks, or money if victim come from underprivileged homes. Further, while Lefoka (1997) thinks teachers' sexual abuse and misconduct against their learners is abhorrent, she blames the Lesotho Teaching Service Commission for its incompetence in dealing decisively with the scourge and holding teachers accountable for moral decay in the profession. Thus, it is legitimate to conclude that such unethical behaviour of teachers undermines their moral obligation to protect learners' interest. It is evidence of a society that has completely lost its identity, and the moral fabric for which its citizens are known.

Violence of any type which is allowed to go unabated creates unsafe school environments, and is an impediment to the true purpose of education. A safe school environment is the one that complies with national as well as international policies, such as the United Nations Conventions of the Rights of the Child to promote basic human rights such as the right to life, human dignity, security etc. (De Wet 2007a). Lesotho obviously has policies that prevent the use of violence in schools, but teachers and some students continue doing so without control. Through the use of corporal punishment, teachers unwittingly promote bullying in schools, where children learn that the use of force and one's power is acceptable to solve interpersonal differences (De Wet 2007b; Ngatane et al. 2012; Mosia 2015). By itself, violence results from learners' poor problem-solving skills, where bullies use it to solve problems that could easily be addressed through communication (Ngatane et al. 2012). Against this background, this paper intends to argue that behaviour displayed by teachers either through corporal punishment, sexual abuse of learners, incitement of learners to be violent, or the display of bullying behaviour by one learner to another offends the principle of *ubuntu/botho* that typifies the heritage of Basotho as a people.

UBUNTU/BOTHO: AN AFRICAN MORAL ETHIC

Ubuntu/botho, a term expressed here in both isiZulu and SeSotho, is a proverbial expression found in many languages of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, and expresses a conception of desirable human attributes. It is the expression of human existence that is communal and relational, and different from the Western individualistic outlook on life (Le Grange 2012a). For example, in expressing how the Gikuyu people ought to conduct their lives, the former Kenyan president Jomo Kenyatta once said:

According to Gikuyu way of thinking, nobody is an isolated individual. Or rather, his uniqueness is a secondary fact about him: first and foremost he is several people's relative and several people's contemporary. His life is founded on this fact spiritually and economically, just as much as biologically; the work he does every day is determined by it, and it is the basis of his sense of moral responsibility and social obligation. His personal needs, physical and psychological, are satisfied incidentally while he plays his part as member of a family group, and cannot be fully satisfied in any other way.

The speech depicts an African view of existence in which an individual is defined within the context of others' existence. There is no self without the other as self is defined in relations to the other.

In reflecting on this perspective of life, African Philosophers such as Mbiti (1969 in Letseka M.M. 2013) describe a traditional African's life as one characterised by interdependence, where one lives in and for his family, as well as the community at large. This African philosophy is expressed as, *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (in the Nguni languages of Southern Africa) or *motho ke motho ka batho* (in Sotho languages) and translated imperfectly into English as, "a person is a person by association with other persons" (Letseka M.M. 2013:747). Through the lens of this principle, it becomes odd to think that bullying is part of the African culture; no one can build others by fighting them. Reiterating this proverbial expression, Mbiti, famously quoted the expression "I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am" (Mbiti 1989:141). This illustrates the view that an African exists in company of, rather than in isolation from others. The philosophy describes the art being or personhood as one achieved by complementing others and doing well for the community. To this end, Majeed (2017:35) writes, "A person has the tendency to act morally and has the general social good or the community's interest in mind. The community requires goodness of its members and the individual provides that." Therefore, if *ubuntu* is the guiding moral ethic of Africa and her people, the vast documented acts of school violence in Lesotho and elsewhere, committed by teachers and learners alike, stand in sharp contrast to this philosophy and attest to moral degeneration resulting from "colonialism, modern science and technology, [and] enlightenment humanism..." (Le Grange 2012b:63). It is apparent that post-colonial Africa has lost her moral campus and Lesotho is no exception.

CONTEXTUALIZING *UBUNTU/BOTHO* WITHIN BASOTHO CULTURE

Lesotho is a small country in Southern Africa of about 30,000 square kilometres with a total population of 2,007,201 (Kingdom of Lesotho 2016). It was a British protectorate for a century and was allowed to form as a country, due to its social, cultural and linguistic unity (Beiroth 2017). Beiroth, in her master's study, gives a critical analysis of the moral values that a great number of Basotho, especially those living in towns, have lost through acculturation. They used to be a unified and compassionate society. It is the unity that is mostly ascribed to ethical leadership of its founder, King Moshoeshoe I (henceforth Moshoeshoe), who "prove[d] that diversity can be a binding attribute, in an environment in which it could otherwise be expected to be divisive" (Mofuoa 2015:24). Moshoeshoe is praised for being an embodiment many positive attributes that include, "the reality of *botho*, meaning relatedness and community, as well as exemplifying both *seriti* (vitality) and *hlomphe* (respect)" (Prozesky 2016:8). As Mofuoa (2015) notes, Moshoeshoe ruled through seeking consensus from opposing sides, and never retaliated against people who aggrieved the Kingdom when it was fashionable for kings to use military power enhance their leadership. In citing Nussbaum (2003), Letseka M. (2013:339) describes *botho* as an expression of "compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony and humanity", which are attributes that are well-documented to have characterised the entire leadership of King Moshoeshoe.

However, these admirable attributes of a society at peace with itself and neighbours have suffered cultural erosion due the carelessness and lassitude of its custodian (Wahab et al. 2012). It is therefore not surprising that Letseka M. (2013) reports social ills rampant in schools and many social spaces, which undermine social morality of the Basotho as reported in various media platforms. The scourge of social violence in our communities insults the basic attribute of Basotho as a society that lived communally and shared itself compassionately. Despite the concern, Beiroth (2017) notes that until now, it is common that the Basotho in rural settings still know each other intimately, though not living in the same villages, and continue communal living. She also cites typical reconciliatory overtones in words such as '*khotso*' (peace) used for greetings, followed by elaborate questions regarding one's wellness, along with that of family members. Similarly, Seema (2012:130, 133) quotes famous Basotho proverbs such as, *Bana ba motho ba kgaolelana hlooho ya tsie* (children of the same family share the head of a locust), which describes the hospitable character of Basotho as a nation. The word family in this instance extends beyond ones blood relatives, to describe Basotho's commitment to live communally. These are values passed from generation to generation, from the time of chief Mohlomi to King Moshoeshe, and are understood to sustain the Basotho. The communities share the memorable attributes of a Basotho society that lives in peace with itself (Letseka M. 2013). It is against this background that the education system in Lesotho must be redirected to adopt *botho* as a moral principle and guide.

MORAL EDUCATION AS REMEDY FOR SCHOOL VIOLENCE (BULLYING)

This paper has established that various forms of violence exist in Lesotho schools. The extent of the challenge is exacerbated by poor leadership from teachers, who must hold the moral campus. Teachers and learners alike mindlessly commit acts of terror that make schools unsafe for learning. Schools in Lesotho, though guided by the Education Act of 2010, which abolishes corporal punishment, have not established localised policies to prevent and regulate bullying (Mosia 2015). Essentially, schools are built in communities from which both teachers and learners come, and these social ills cannot be said to originate from within the education system. As such, an intervention for school violence cannot be effective without dealing with the source of this moral decay. When speaking of moral education, Letseka M. (2013) emphasises that education is not limited to formal education within school setting, but how society engages with itself in shaping its worldview. In this particular case, the rot is deeper than the education system as represented by teachers who, as parents away from home, their morality is put into question. Thus, this paper calls for a national '*pitso*' (public gathering), where traditional leaders, politicians, and educational leaders might interrogate the source of this moral decay, so as to retrace steps to where Basotho lost the principle of *botho*. It is within this framework that communities could be sensitised, and teachers retrained on reconstructing the Basotho moral fabric. At the risk of sounding pessimistic, I think we cannot deal with school violence without addressing the broader moral decay evident in our communities and amongst our children, who grow up absorbing effortlessly.

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Chapter 41

DISCRIMINATION AND BULLYING IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN JAVA, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

This chapter outlines an exploratory study of the extent of gender based bullying occurring in an inclusive elementary school, Sekolahku-MySchool (SMS), in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. In this qualitative study, two major issues facing education in Indonesia today, discrimination and bullying towards women, are addressed.

Questionnaires and in-depth interviews were conducted with thirty-three (33) female students aged 7–12 years in Elementary classes 1 to 6, who attended a Javanese Indonesian school. The interview questions identified girls who commenced SMS in their pre-Elementary classes and those who transferred into SMS from other schools into the Elementary classes. The latter group of girls appeared to be victims of discrimination or bullying, and, in two cases the victims became bullies themselves. The two groups' Stages of Play and feelings about Classroom Rules together with their experiences and responses to school bullying provides rich data that indicates that bullying still exists despite a Year-long, school wide Anti-Bullying program. Anecdotal evidence, observations and interviews with the Head of School, a female teacher and thirty-three (33) girls, offer a fascinating insight of how female gender roles are firmly entrenched in a traditional society, and how bullying starts, continues and escalates. A case study of one girl, who emanated from a different culture, provides a sequence of events that triggered the bullying for her, and the school's response to it.

Keywords: gender equity, traditional roles, anti-bullying, cultural differences, cultural change.

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a fascinating country of seventeen thousand (17,000) unique islands, with over two hundred and sixty-eight million (268,000,000) people and three hundred (300) distinct

ethnic and linguistic groups. The seven hundred (700) languages (World Population Review, 2018) derived from centuries of inherited traditions and values, were influenced by the four hundred (400) years of colonization by the Dutch and the aggressive invasion by the Japanese in 1942 (Wikipedia, 2019). Two subsequent dictatorships, from 1946 onwards brought further subjection to the Indonesian peoples and it was only in 1998 when University student activists contributed to the downfall of the then President, Suharto, that democratic elections were held.

Since 1998, when Indonesians declared they wanted to move towards democracy, this freedom was heralded by 4 changes of presidency in 6 years creating a rather tumultuous society that occasionally broke out into mayhem and hysteria. President Bambang Yudhoyono, a former general in the Indonesian Army, brought back a semblance of public order with his progressive rule towards a Democratic State during his period of Presidency, 2004-2014. During the last 5 years a young business man turned politician, President Joko Widodo has focused on building the sprawling country's infrastructure to cope with the growing mobility of the rapidly developing middle class.

Now, with the fourth largest population in the world, Indonesia is ranked number sixty-two (62) out of seventy-two (72) countries in the PISA educational ranking (OECD, 2015-2016). The Indonesian government has long recognized this educational shortcoming and actively sought new methods and ideas to ameliorate the situation. New curricula, new teacher incentives and new methods, many with International Aid importing Westernized solutions delivered by Western specialists to Asian challenges, have only touched the surface of these problems (Shore, 2018). New education strategies, new techniques and new technology have been introduced, with the two former initiatives disappearing as fast as the many highly paid consultants who have met their respective Embassies' Training Aid criteria and outcomes (Shore, 2006). While new technology has exploded in Indonesia, many of the traditional cultures and values are still only slightly touched by progressive educational strategies and westernized techniques.

1.1. Sekolahku-MySchool

The inclusive Play-group, Kindergarten and Elementary school, SMS, is located in a Javanese village, Ngaglik, a sub-urban neighbourhood of Yogyakarta, surrounded by rice *paddies* (fields) and other farming of agricultural products. SMS buildings and grounds reflect the Javanese history and traditions of sustainable agriculture and SMS works to maintain the Javanese cultural traditions and language. At elementary level the school accepts children aged 7-13 years and divides these into 6 classes, grade 1 to grade 6. There are 218 children attending SMS, 92 in Elementary, with a total of 45 staff and teachers, 12 of whom are in Elementary.

A *Yayasan*, the governing body is responsible to the parents' committee for the overall management, the quality of the curriculum and programs and the day-to-day operations. The parents' committee is mostly comprised of well-educated parents, many of whom have studied at Colleges or Universities.

SMS has 2 education consultants who are responsible for developing quality programs in the school. One consultant is an overseas volunteer education expert who has led the development of the alternative education system in SMS for 15 years. The other consultant is an Indonesian education practitioner with a psychology background who, during the last 13 years, has focused on developing the Anti-Bullying curriculum in SMS.

The Elementary principal has worked at SMS for 13 years. She has had experience in teaching all age groups in inclusive classes with children of various cultural backgrounds. Many of these children have required extra assistance with their developmental problems. These problems include being on the Autism spectrum, being a slow learner, suffering from Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD) or other Psychological, Physical or Emotional interruptions to their growth and development.

An Elementary teacher from grade 5-6¹ with more than 9 years' experience in Inclusive classrooms was interviewed to obtain a description of the case-study child's behaviour in the classroom as well as the chronology of the reported cases of bullying.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

This exploratory research seeks to identify the incidence of discrimination and bullying by and to girls occurring across SMS Elementary School, Year 1 to Year 6. The study uses the consultants' observations and discussions with the teacher, the girls' own perceived and documented incidences of bullying they have experienced or seen at Sekolahku-MySchool or previous schools. Interviews took place with two groups of girls between the ages of 6.7 and 12 years of age from the Elementary Grades 1 – 6. Group 1 have attended SMS since Play Group and/or Kindergarten, and a second group, Group 2, of girls entered the school in various Elementary classes.

1.3. The Role of Females in Indonesia

Marpinjun and Ramsey (2017:158) commented on the difficulty of changing cultural mores and traditions in their Chapter on Feminism and Early Childhood Education in Indonesia following a Gender Equity workshop they held to a group of female early childhood teachers. During workshop-activities almost all the participants voiced how "...gender inequity and rigid roles had limited their lives, and been the source of considerable pain..." (Marpinjun and Ramsey, 2017:158). In further activities participants depicted men's work as "...different types of jobs and sport...", whereas female activities included only "...domestic chores, such as cleaning, cooking, sewing and shopping." (Marpinjun and Ramsey, 2017:158).

Saptari (2017), a *perempuan* (Indonesian woman) art curator in Melbourne, Australia expressed these sentiments eloquently when she stated "Because of the complex meeting of traditional and modern values, Indonesian women have to continually fight to achieve sovereign rights that many women in other parts of the world now take for granted, ...". "(Its) important for us to share these voices and unheard stories so outsiders can appreciate the many cultural complications facing Indonesian women." (Saptari, 2017:1). These examples illustrate how traditional values persist even in the face of contradictory evidence, impacting informally on the way of life in the homes and villages of Indonesia, and formally in the workplaces and in the schools.

¹ Grade 5-6: Integrated Class.

That the role of women is as housewives and mothers was publicly endorsed by the first Indonesian President, Soekarno after *merdeka*² (1945-1965). This president reinforced the *status quo* of the woman's role as in the home. In 1964, the Soekarno Government decreed that Raden Adjeng Kartini (1879-1904), the intelligent and highly educated daughter of a Regency Chief of Jepara from an aristocratic Javanese family, was to be celebrated throughout Indonesia as a National Hero of Independence, a symbol of femininity and motherhood. She had been instrumental in advocating for girls receiving an education and for women having equal opportunities with men: She organized and taught in the first girls' school at Bulu, Rembang in Java. Kartini Day is now commemorated yearly by children wearing traditional feminine clothing in schools and performing activities related to femininity. Adults hold fashion shows and cooking competitions, showing a model of motherhood to which all girls should aspire, totally ignoring Kartini's academic achievements (Nugraha, E., 2018).

Indonesia is known for its patriarchal system, especially in Javanese society which has certain restrictions in gender relations that show the position and role of men as more dominant than women. The dual role of women is often denied, because of the patriarchal ideology that divides public space for men and private space for women (Handayani and Novianto, 2004). In Javanese society the woman's role is known as *kanca wingking*³, a term describing the function of women as people who are behind, and not visible. This is despite the fact that many Javanese women in general have a dual role, both public and domestic. It is the Javanese women who are the ones to wake up the earliest and retire to sleep the latest. Throughout the day they are busy taking care of the household, serving the husband and, not infrequently, still have to make a living for the family (Cahyani, 2018).

Santy Saptari, who was born and raised in Jakarta and now lives and works in Melbourne declared at the Mapping Melbourne exhibition, "Traditional lives are very orchestrated in Indonesia. ... Many women sacrifice their art for family commitments, getting married and putting the male first..." Saptari (2018:1). As with many other culturally inherited values and ideals, the role of Indonesian women in family life is firmly implanted in the thoughts, behaviors, actions and conversations of present day Indonesians.

Despite the Indonesian constitution Undang-undang Dasar⁴ (UUD1945) stipulating the rights of all Indonesia citizens and residents as equal before the law, this predominantly Muslim country rigidly follows the Marriage Act of 1974 that is based on Islamic and other religious and cultural principles. The Marriage Act highly regulates the customs and social life of all citizens (Marpinjun and Ramsey, 2017). According to this Act the husband is obliged to protect his wife and provide every necessity of life while the wife is required to manage the affairs of the household. Legal challenges to this Act are refused; judges base most of their court decisions on religious interpretations (Putri, 2015). Indeed according to many Muslim men they are, or will be when married, the head of the household and will make all the decisions; their wives, if Indonesian, will know this is their role and be subservient to their husband (Nanda, 2018).

As these examples show, discrimination and violence against women are not new phenomena in Indonesia: What is new now is that legal mechanisms for reporting violence and for protecting and supporting women and children have been put into place.

² *Merdeka*: Freedom. Indonesian's celebration of freedom from 350+ years of oppression by the Dutch.

³ *kanca wingking*: Literally 'back home.'

⁴ *Undang-Undang Dasar (UUD)*: The Indonesian Constitution.

1.4. Indonesian Legal Mechanisms for Reporting Discrimination and Violence against Women and Children

The *Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak (P2TP2A)*⁵ is an integrated service center mandated to empower and protect women and children from various types of discrimination and acts of violence, including trafficking in persons. Decentralized centers of this organization were formed by local government or community-based organizations in each sub-district: the quality of these very much depends on the wealth or amount of resources available in the area (Cahyani, 2018). A P2TP2A Centre was established under the coordination of the *Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (Kemen PPPA)*⁶ (Cahyani, 2018).

Three different services are provided by P2TP2A, *Pusat Krisis Terpadu (PKT)*⁷, *Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu (PPT)*⁸, *Pusat Informasi Ilmu Pengetahuan dan Teknologi (PIPTEK)*⁹. PKT includes referral centers, business consulting centers, reproductive health consultation centers, legal consultation centers and integrated crisis centers. PPT provides integrated service centers, trauma recovery centers, women's crisis management centers, training centers, safe houses and shelter houses, while PIPTEK provides information centers on science and technology (Kemen, PPPA).

The increased reporting of violence by women may be attributed to the publicity drawn by the worldwide reporting and acceptance of the Me-Too movement. This movement has helped many women feel free to publicly share their traumas associated with discrimination and violence perpetrated against them by men (Me Too, 2018). Previously domestic violence in Indonesia was hidden and not discussed outside of the family and frequently only between the perpetrator and the victim, it was kept hidden by wife and husband (Cahyani, 2018).

2. BULLYING

In this paper bullying always entails an imbalance of power between the perpetrator and the victim. The perpetrator is usually stronger or more powerful in some way than the victim and uses her/his strength and power to intimidate the victim in one or more of the following areas on a regular basis (stopbullying.gov). Intimidation may occur Physically; by hitting, punching, shoving, pinching, taking money or belongings: Psychologically; insulting, threatening, depriving of food or love: or Emotionally; isolating, ignoring, name-calling or swearing at the victim (Shore & Cahyani, 2014).

The worldwide reported increase in bullying with the resulting deterioration of achievements in school, has recently gained even higher prominence both in the press and through social media channels, of children as young as 9 years of age who are committing suicide because of all types of bullying: This is a matter of major concern to all parents and

⁵ P2TP2A: Integrated Service Center for Women's and Children's Empowerment.

⁶ Kemen PPPA. Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection.

⁷ PKT4: Integrated Crisis Centre.

⁸ PPT: Integrated Service Centre.

⁹ PIPTEK: Knowledge and Technology Information Centre.

teachers concerned with children's growth and development (van Geel, Vedder & Tanilon, 2014).

Cyber bullying, a recent destructive bullying phenomena, has also had many deleterious effects on children. Initially the negative effects were on teenagers, however with the growing use of mobile phones by young students, it is now a serious problem with pre-teens. In Australian cyberbullying studies found girls were generally more likely to be victims reflecting the nature of their peer relationships (AISNT, 2019). This paper does not address cyber-bullying at SMS as the focus is on live bullying, person-to-person or people in groups.

2.1. Effects of Bullying Children in Schools

The damage that bullying and school-based violence does to the child and the learning process was first studied by Dr. Dan Olweus, a Norwegian research professor of psychology, often considered the 'pioneer' in bullying research and who published the first in-depth study of bullying in 1973 (Olweus, 1993). Dr. Olweus has long been a proponent of school safety as a fundamental human right. As early as 1981, he proposed enacting a law in Norway against bullying in schools to spare students the repeated humiliation implied in bullying. In 1983, subsequent to the research, the Ministry of Education in Norway, prompted by the suicide of 3 adolescent boys, initiated a campaign against bullying in schools. By the mid-1990s, these arguments led to legislation against bullying in schools by the Swedish and Norwegian parliaments (Roland & Munther, 1997).

Humiliation, taunting, threats and social ostracism by classmates are common school experiences for many children throughout the world with anywhere from 40% to 80% of students reporting they personally have been targets of bullies at school (Juvonen & Graham, Eds, 2001). While that research collection on bullying in schools is eighteen (18) years old, bullying is still as prevalent in schools as it was when their book was published.

2.2. Growth of Gender Equity and Anti-Bullying Awareness and Research

Awareness of bullying in schools and its associated detrimental effects on children's development has grown worldwide with many countries adopting an Anti-Bullying stance. Government programs such as the USA campaign by President Obama and his wife Michelle to Stop Bullying commenced in 2011 (the White House, 2011). Melanie Trump's BE BEST program in 2018 (Trump, 2018) followed the USA initiative while the Anti-Bullying Week in Great Britain (Bellis, A. 2018), and *Safe Schools* in Australia (Safe Schools, 2018) alerted nationwide awareness in those countries while promoting the importance of introducing Anti-Bullying programs in schools. The Indonesian Government Education Department, although a signatory to the *Konvensi Hak-hak Anak (KHA, 1989)*¹⁰ that guarantees children's rights to an education, and to feel safe in their learning environment, has not yet developed a national policy on Bullying in Schools.

A longitudinal study, by Ladd, Ettekal, and Kochenderfer-Ladd (2017) identified the effects of bullying on children's physical, psychological or emotional development and

¹⁰ *Konvensi Hak-hak Anak (KHA) 1989*: Convention on the Rights of the Child.

consequently how bullying affects a child's academic achievements. This study tracked three hundred and eighty-three (383) students from K–Year 12 finding that children who are bullied possess greater dislike of school, less confidence in their academic abilities and lower achievements than their peers who have not been bullied. In general though, gender differences in prevalence tended not to be statistically robust (Ladd, Ettekal, and Kochenderfer-Ladd (2017).

Lembaga Studi Perkembangan Perempuan dan Anak (LSPPA) an Indonesian feminist NGO in Yogyakarta has been advocating for the empowerment of women and children through education and training since 1991. LSPPA believes the only way to counter the embedded, male dominated belief in their superiority is to provide training in Gender Equity Principles, and Early Childhood Education to mothers with new babies (LSPPA, 2001). As an Australian volunteer, specializing in early childhood gender-equity education, the first author of this Chapter worked with LSPPA for 3 years (2001-2004) establishing the first Early Childhood Education Centre in Yogyakarta. Dr Shore voluntarily wrote the first Early Childhood Education Training curriculum for LSPPA in 2003 (Shore, 2004). NGO's receive no government funding or assistance to spread their messages or conduct training and LSPPA is reliant on other NGO's, overseas sponsors or volunteers for the continuation of their work.

With 4 Indonesian colleagues in 2004-2005, Dr. Shore was instrumental in the founding of SMS, a non-government inclusive school that, at that time, provided education solely for preschool age children. The curriculum stressed educating children with extra needs and promoting gender equity, thus ensuring that SMS was inclusive with children who needed extra learning assistance, and children of all genders having equal rights to all the facilities, equipment and resources available in the school. The Anti-Bullying program was introduced in 2006 to ensure children who were different from the mainstream population did not experience bullying.

From 2008 onwards the authors have presented research from SMS on the development of the Anti-Bullying program in a fully integrated school to promote awareness of how children with extra educational needs may be educated successfully in mainstream classes.

Plan International Indonesia (2015) stated that 84% of Indonesian school children had experienced bullying and in 2017 Bakar (2017) highlighted the problem that bullying behaviors in Indonesian schools remained critical and complex (Bakar, 2017). Handayani (2018), in an article in the South China Morning Post, quoted Sejiwa, an Anti-Bullying organisation in Jakarta, as saying that Java's main cities of Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Surabaya are seeing an alarmingly high rate of bullying of high school students (Handayani, 2018).

Between the years 2012 and 2017 the University of Gadjah Mada in Yogyakarta conducted 27 surveys and research programs examining the prevalence of bullying, and designing programs for the development of Child Friendly Classrooms where children learn in a climate free from fear of being bullied. These programs were conducted in 5 Yogyakarta kindergartens, 6 primary schools, 5 junior and 10 senior high schools, and 1 university. The surveys and research programs validated the original findings that bullying was prevalent in Yogyakarta kindergartens and high schools and endorsed many of the Anti-Bullying programs and activities that Sekolahku-MySchool had been using in pre-schools for more than 6 years, at that time (Kumara & Shore, 2018).

2.3. Anti-Bullying Training Programs for Teachers

The Indonesian *Komnas Perempuan*¹¹ commissioner Indraswari believes that the lack of quality gender education in Indonesian public schools is in part to blame for the rise in attacks against women (Indraswari, 2017). Apart from the reported rise in violence against women, children's experiences of bullying in schools are becoming well-known throughout education circles, mainly due to the work performed by Indonesian NGO's.

Olweus (1993) stated that knowledge about bullying among teachers is still not enough and teachers do not have the skills needed to deal with bullying. He developed the first Primary school prevention program in 1993, Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, Violence Prevention Works, first published in 2016. Statistics from this initial program were drawn from two thousand, five hundred (2,500) students in forty-two (42) Norwegian schools. These figures showed reductions of more than 50% in student reports of bullying, marked reductions of reports in general anti-social behavior and clear improvements in the classroom climate (Violence Prevention Works, 2016).

A shortened version of the SMS Anti-Bullying program in Kindergartens and a program adapted from the Olweus (1993) Anti-Bullying program was implemented and researched by Professor Kumara, the head of the Psychology Department at the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM) in Yogyakarta, from 2010 to 2017. Dr Kumara worked with cohorts of mixed-sex undergraduate and graduate psychology students who conducted a series of longitudinal studies in Yogyakarta Kindergartens and High Schools with teachers presenting their program and measuring the effects on young children and youths. Results of the above studies, that can be found in the book *Impeding Bullying in Young Children in International Contexts* published last year by Springer (2018), showed positive improvements in the classroom climate and the competence of teachers in building safe and comfortable classrooms. Furthermore, children's aggressiveness was reduced and their prosocial behavior increased (Kumara & Shore, in Hinitz, (Ed), 2018:100).

YTCG developed their training unit, UP3¹², in 2015 to organize observation and training visits of their Anti-Bullying and Teasing Program for groups of teachers from public and private schools throughout Indonesia. These groups observe the indoor and outdoor teaching and learning areas where students experience the bias-free, zero tolerance of bullying climate and activities. This whole school, total learning environment approach (Eslea & Smith, 1998; Slee, 2007) assists all children, and particularly the less fortunate, less skilled or less able students, gain the essential self-help or academic skills they require, depending on their developmental level. SMS trainers then offer the observers a short talk on the program's theoretical base before a Question and Answer session on the activities the visitors have observed. Herein the trainers provide information, clarifying the processes the visiting teachers have observed, and, where applicable, provide after-visit on-line assistance if required (Cahyani, 2018).

Recently fifteen (15) Javanese schools have selected UP3 for training one hundred and thirty-two (132) of their teachers during 2017 and 2018 in the SMS Anti-Bullying program. This program has been piloted, implemented and researched for over twelve years (Cahyani, 2018).

¹¹ *Komnas Perempuan*: National Commissioner for Anti-Violence against Women.

¹² UP3: *Unit Perkembangan, Pelatihan dan Penelitian*; Development, Training and Research Unit.

At the time of writing, individual Indonesian schools determine their own policies, programs and training on Awareness and Prevention of Bullying.

2.4. Who are the Bullies, Who are the Victims and Who is a Bystanders?

2.4.1. Bullies

Children who are bullies have been found to become bullies as they grow older. As adults, they may adopt a powerful and controlling attitude to those weaker or less powerful than themselves (Ttofi, Farrington & Losel, 2012). According to their roles this may be enacted in schools, in the workplace, in their social lives or at home with their families. Characteristics of bullies include low levels of moral reasoning and high levels of egocentric reasoning, they believe that aggression is an acceptable way to achieve their own goal. Bullies also show, among other characteristics, more emotional instability, they have a lower level of empathy than other students, possess poor impulse control and poor anger management skills (Victoria State Government, 2018).

2.4.2. Victims

Children who are different from the mainstream group of children are more likely to be bullied than those children belonging to the mainstream group. UNGEI¹³ (2017) describes children who are at greater risk of school violence and bullying are those with a disability, their gender (females), poverty or social status, ethnic, linguistic or cultural differences, physical appearances and sexual orientation, gender identity and expression (UNGEI, 2017).

According to MIND-MATTERS, SPOTLIGHT, (2019), an Australian Government mental health initiative, victims are children who lack quality friendships with peers and teachers, have low self-esteem, are relatively non-assertive, lack confidence and skills in interacting with peers, are less likely to have defenders when they are bullied, and are different in some way (MIND-MATTERS, SPOTLIGHT, 2019).

2.4.3. Bystanders and Upstanders

A Bystander is a witness who sees someone being bullied. Bystanders may be a friend, other student, teachers or school staff, parents or coaches. Being a supportive Bystander can occasionally be tough. Sometimes it is not easy to work out how to help safely because bullying happens in different ways and places such as on-line, at work or school (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011). Instead of just watching a person become a victim of a bully, the Bystander could become an Upstander and take action to prevent the bullying continuing. Taking effective action could be as simple as changing the subject, diverting the behavior, using humor or just walking away with the potential victim (MIND-MATTERS SPOTLIGHT, 2019).

3. THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

SMS is an inclusive school that values diversity in all its forms. It was founded as a Playgroup in 2004-2005 by an Australian volunteer and 4 Javanese nationals to fill the

¹³ *UNEGI*: United Nations Girls' Education Initiative.

educational needs of various groups of Indonesian children denied access to the governmental education system. Children whose *Akte Kelahiran* (Birth Certificate) did not list the father, or those children suffering from psychological, physical or emotional developmental disturbances were denied access to mainstream government schools. A few government schools catered for a few children with specific physical development problems and a few children diagnosed as being on the autism spectrum were accommodated either in schools run by non-government organizations (NGO), or by private endowments that could be philanthropical or profit-making machines. SMS is a not-for-profit organization (NPO) with funding provided by parental fees that also assist with scholarships for the not so fortunate child.

Of the initial 5 children, who commenced with SMS, 3 owned extra needs requiring specialized assistance. These 5 children were quickly joined by more non-mainstream students whose parents were experiencing difficulties with the rigid rules and requirements of the former and present Governmental school regulations. As news of the quality of the early childhood education at SMS spread throughout Yogyakarta, mainstream parents, particularly those from other countries or areas of Indonesia outside Java, decided to enroll their young children at SMS. Within two years the enrolments had grown to over 50 children and in the fourth year SMS moved to new premises to accommodate the growing numbers of pre-school children. At the same time, in response to parental request, Elementary School Year 1 opened with an initial 12 children.

These early numbers have now swelled to two hundred and eighteen (218) children in classes from Playgroup to Elementary School level, Year 6. Girls make up 39% of the school population (Figure 1). The initial diversity of children still persists with 10% of children having experienced difficult physical, psychological or social discrimination that requires additional assistance, and up to forty (40), or 20% of all children, originating from non-traditional Javanese cultural, or ethnic backgrounds.

Since the writers of this Chapter introduced the word and concept of 'Bullying' into general usage in Java, Indonesia in 2005, acknowledgement and identification of the impact of bullying on children's development has become common parlance in educational circles throughout Indonesia. SMS has implemented a whole school approach through a Gender Equity program followed by an Anti-Bullying program that seeks to ensure girls have equal opportunities with boys to experience quality early education without fear. The Gender Equity program has now operated for 15 years and the Anti-Bullying program for 12 years with the Play Group and Kindergarten classes and 10 years with the Elementary classes.

3.1. Introducing a Gender Equity Program in Sekolahku-MySchool

The Gender Equity policy written and mandated in the original Vision and Mission statement of SMS, 2004-2005, still holds a dominant place in the updated school documents of Yayasan Tunas Cerdas Gempita (YTCG, 2017)¹⁴. All resources, toys, and games have been selected for their unisex properties. Indonesian children's unisex books were however, as were books on Bullying, very difficult to source in 2005. A selection of gender inclusive and Anti-Bullying books were imported from the USA, translated and interpreted by SMS staff, who adapted the content for language and cultural differences (Shore, 2018).

¹⁴ YTCG: governing body of Sekolahku-MySchool and Unit Perkembangan Pelatihan dan Penelitian.

Teacher training at SMS in implementing gender equity policies and practices in the classrooms has occurred spasmodically over the past fifteen (15) years as gender awareness is written into the SMS curriculum and all the recommended activities. However as Marpinjun and Ramsey (2017) found in their Gender Equity Workshops, values that have been passed down and embedded in families over many centuries still persist in reality, even when indisputable evidence and the participants' own intellectual knowledge, acknowledges such cultural practices are no longer valid.

Examples of the continuing favoring or responding to male students, and ignoring of females' qualities in classrooms, has been witnessed recently at SMS by the first writer. An employee of 10 years, in charge of an elementary class at SMS selected 5 boys to be on a debating team even though the girls were more knowledgeable and had better arguments. The girls were quietly persuasive whereas the boys were demanding and loud, often repeating the same texts frequently as they had not, unlike the girls, studied the subject deeply (Shore, 2018). Two other examples occurred with the same teacher selecting boys to help rearrange classroom furniture, and another team of boys to organize the library. When this was pointed out the teacher's only reasons were "I forgot" and "The boys were nearest." These are clear examples of using embedded values to make inherently biased decisions and not using intellectual knowledge to ensure SMS Gender Equity policies are enacted (Shore, 2018a). Parents however have attributed the school's growth in physical size and numbers of children now attending to its reputation as a school that enacts Gender Equitable principles for girls and an Anti-Bullying program that contributes to the positive climate of the whole school: These accolades indicate some successes with the two policies (YTCG, 2018).

3.2. Introducing an Anti-Bullying Program in Sekolahku-MySchool

As the original cohort of students at SMS grew larger and more diverse it became obvious that bullying could easily occur between such a diverse group of children. The School Board, comprising 52% Indonesian nationals, decided to introduce the concept and activities of an Anti-Bullying program, The Anti-Bullying and Teasing Program for Kindergartens (Sprung, Froeschel & Hinitiz, 2005) to be imported from the United States of America (USA) to counteract any possible bullying. The program was submitted to the Parent Committee for their approval in 2006 (Sekolahku-MySchool, 2006). Bullying at that time was a new concept as the general belief in Indonesia was that violence towards and between children was quite a normal happening and part of 'growing up' (Head of School Report, 2006). Punishment, sometimes quite violent, could be meted out by parents, community elders or school teachers as part of the socialization process. In remote parts of Indonesia it was common to see parents whipping their child with a *sapu lidi*¹⁵ to make them go to school (Shore, 2006). In 2015 in Kupang, Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT), Indonesia school teachers were still seen to punish students in front of the whole school for not knowing the answers to the teacher's questions (Hartig, 2015).

The Board of SMS had procured the Anti-Bullying and Teasing year-long program (Sprung, Froeschel & Hinitiz, 2005) and the supporting resources from the USA in 2006. The program had been written and trialed previously in the USA and the Board sought parental permission to introduce it school-wide into the yearly curriculum at SMS, at the same time

¹⁵ Sapu lidi: broomstick.

requesting their support in the home. With some hesitation and the Board's reassurance to allay parental fears of having other values imposed on their children, parental approval was finally given and the program commenced late in 2006 (YTCG, 2017. Shore, 2018b).

Since that time parents have been an integral part of the SMS Anti-Bullying program attending discussions and information giving by SMS senior staff on new strategies or activities that have been incorporated into the weekly activities. Parents now confidently discuss any bullying behavior they hear of, or see, with staff and, when reported to school leaders and management, it is usually addressed immediately by one of the consultants (Cahyani, 2018). The SMS Open-Door policy has supported this translated and culturally adapted program to be extensively observed and researched by SMS staff, Undergraduate and Post-Graduate University students, practicing school teachers and other parties interested in this uniquely SMS program (Shore, 2018a). Parental satisfaction and communication channels in Indonesia have contributed to the growing number and diversity of students now attending the school.

In successive years since its inception, the Anti-Bullying program has produced extensive benefits, developing a positive school climate and providing a safe and secure learning environment for challenging programs to children with a myriad of learning problems (Shore, 2018b). This fully researched and proven program has assisted tens of children on the autistic spectrum, children who have been bullied in previous environments, and others with a variety of physical, social and emotional impediments to learning, successfully graduate from Primary School with many happily and successfully integrated into mainstream higher-level schooling (Shore, 2018b). This ongoing research program has been presented nationally by the authors and staff at conferences throughout Indonesia, and internationally in Australia, Hong Kong, Sweden and the USA: It has been recorded in a published magazine article (Wibowo, 2010) and in 2 chapters of a recently published book (Hinitz, B., Ed. 2018).

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Data Gathering

4.1.1. Permission: Children

All thirty-three (33) parents gave written permission for their girls (App.1) to be interviewed. Girls surveyed ranged in age from 6.7 to 12 years of age attending Elementary classes in Years 2- 6 (App.4).

4.1.2. Child's Personal Data

Data regarding the girls' ages and classes were accessed from children's enrollment forms and class teachers, and verified by the Heads of School and the first and second writer of this chapter.

4.1.3. Interviews with Girls

Individual interviews of the thirty-three (33) girls were conducted and recorded by the education consultant, the Head of School and their class teachers. Questions covered when they commenced at SMS, whether they broke the classroom rules and how they felt if they did break the rules: their present knowledge of bullying; if they had been bullied, or seen bullying

occurring at SMS or at their previous school; and what if anything, they did about bullying they had seen as a bystander (App. 4 & 5).

4.1.4. Child Questionnaire

8 questions were selected for relevance to Bullying behavior (App. 4). The selection of questions was based on the authors' combined 40 years of studying the theories and research of bullying and classroom practice, the writers attending seminars, training and workshops, and hands-on teaching in Kindergarten and Elementary classrooms. The first writer has more than forty (40) years' experience, and the second writer has ten (10) years. The questions are based on:

- 1) Early school experiences
- 2) Play preferences
- 3) Keeping Classroom Rules
- 4) Feelings after breaking rules
- 5) Understanding of bullying
- 6) Experience of bullying

All girls experience of bullying was divided into:

Q7) Group 1, girls who attended SMS Play Group or Kindergarten before elementary levels

Q8) Group 2, girls who transferred into SMS at Elementary levels

4.1.5. Interviews: Teacher and Head of School

One teacher was interviewed to clarify the report of a girl being bullied, the incident that prompted this research. While teachers may provide an insight into the problem, sometimes they may be the cause of, or exacerbate, the child's behavior. This maybe because they have no strategies or tactics to address the behavior, they just don't realize the effect bullying can have on the child, or they think it better not to intervene and the behavior will go away by itself. The Head of School, who was also interviewed, must be aware of all happenings, positive and negative to all children during the Early Childhood years, and intervene if the teacher is not coping with the class. In this paper SMS early childhood stretches from 16 months to 12 years, the completion of the elementary years of schooling. At SMS the teachers take the role of '*loco parentis*', adopting the role of the carer as well as the educator of the child (Shore, 2018a).

5. CODING AND ANALYSES

The thirty-three (33 girls) were divided into 2 groups: Group 1 - the girls who had experienced the Anti-Bullying program at SMS Play Group or Kindergarten: Group 2 - the girls who transferred into SMS at elementary level.

Simple counting, visual comparisons, percentages and classroom observations by the consultants were used in this exploratory research to provide an indication of the possible areas for future in-depth research and analysis.

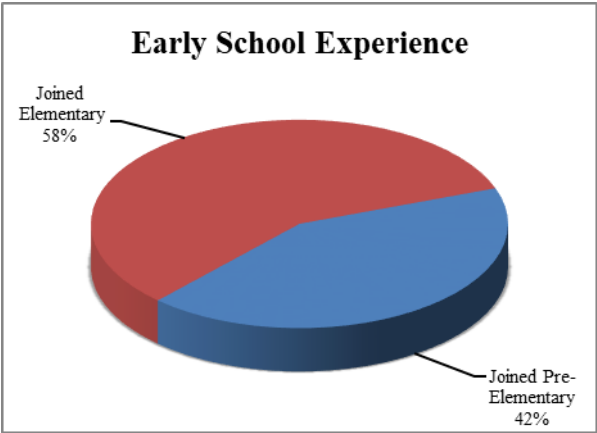


Figure 1. Group 1 and Group 2 commencing Elementary experience.

5.1. Q1: Early School Experiences: Anti-Bullying Program

Group 1 joined SMS during the Pre-Elementary years; Group 2 commenced SMS Elementary immediately from home or another school.

Group 1 (G1), 42%, had experienced the Anti-Bullying program in Play Group or Kindergarten). No other known schools in Yogyakarta have a dedicated Anti-bullying program for pre-elementary children. Group 2 (G2), 58% had no previous experience of Anti-Bullying programs (Figure 1).

5.2. Q2: Style of Play

Children who like solitary play are more likely to be the victims of a bully than those who play cooperatively (Gordon, S. 2018).

Of Group 1, no child preferred solitary play, in G2 12% preferred to play alone (Figure 2).

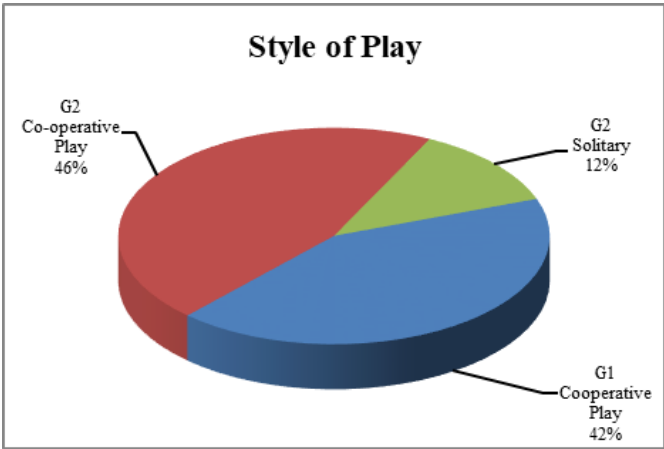


Figure 2. Girls Solitary or Cooperative Play.

5.3. Q3: Breaking the Rules

Classroom Rules are made collaboratively between teachers and children at SMS. Learning these rules and keeping them are the foundation of a positive classroom climate (Shore, 2018).

Less girls in Group 1 (36%) than in Group 2 (49%) broke the classroom rules (Figure 3).

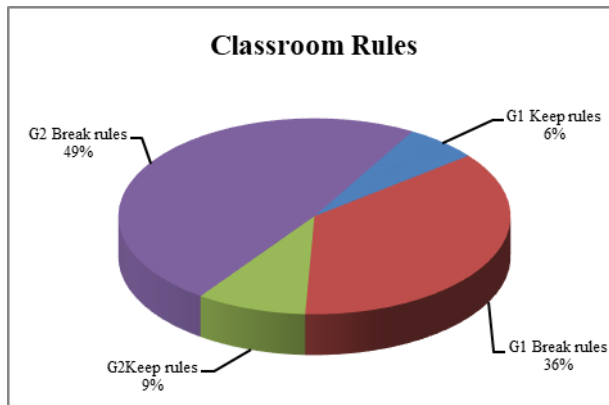


Figure 3. Keeping and Breaking Classroom Rules.

5.4. Q4: Feelings after Breaking Rules

The input of information and activities, the child's feelings about breaking rules and internalizing the messages of the Anti-Bullying activities until they are below the level of consciousness, will determine whether the behaviour will be repeated or not.

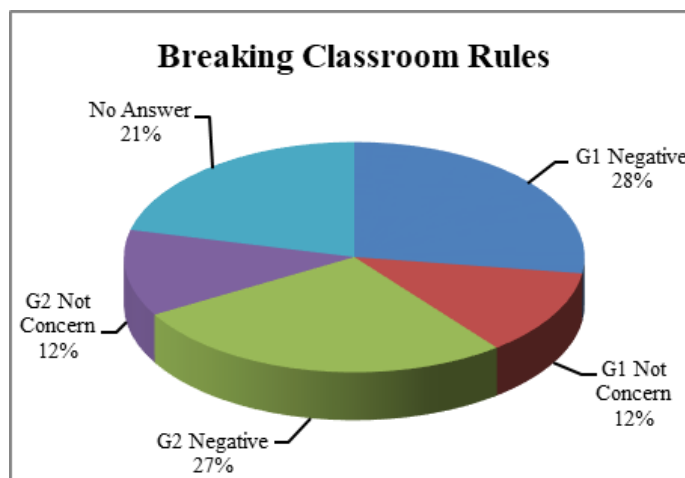


Figure 4. Group 1 and Group 2 Feelings After Breaking Classroom Rules.

Almost the same percentage of all girls, Group 1, 28%, and Group 2, 27% of all girls admitted they had negative feelings after breaking the classroom rules. 12% of both Group 1 and Group 2 girls were not concerned if they broke the rules (Figure 4).

5.5. Q5: Bullying Behavior

Every week each class has specific Anti-Bullying activities that introduce and reinforce children’s understanding of behavior that constitutes bullying.

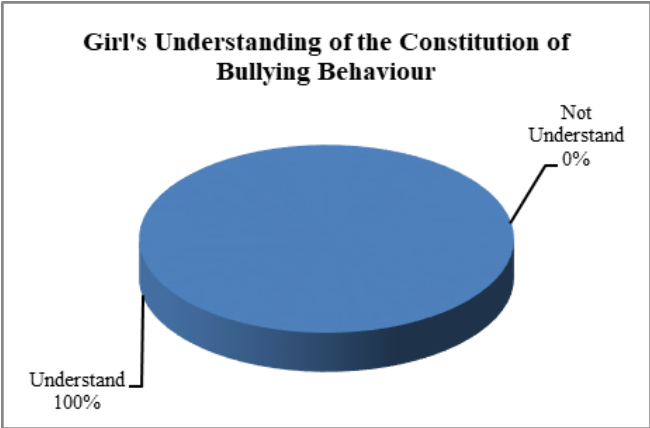


Figure 5. Group 1 and Group 2: Understanding Bullying Behaviour.

All girls at SMS are familiar with the term Bullying and understand the factors that constitute bullying behavior (Figure 5).

5.6. Q6: Experience of Bullying

It is expected that Group 1 will have experienced the Anti-Bullying activities in SMS Pre-Elementary classes: Group 2 will not have experienced Anti-Bullying activities in their previous schools.

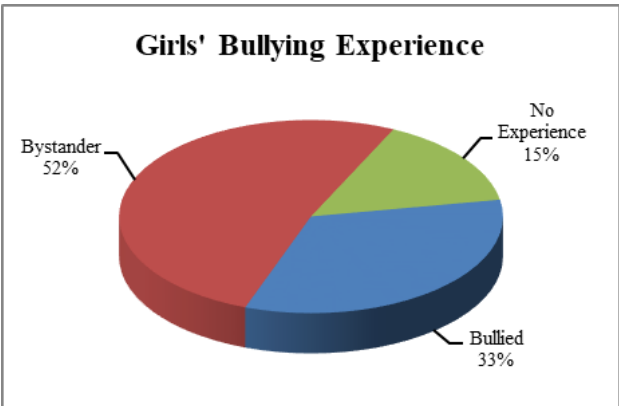


Figure 6. Bullying Experiences: Group 1 and Group 2.

Of the 33 girls interviewed, 33% had experienced bullying, 52% had been a bystander (Figure 6)

5.7. Q7: Bullying Experiences: Group 1

It is expected that Group 1 will have experienced less bullying behavior than Group 2.

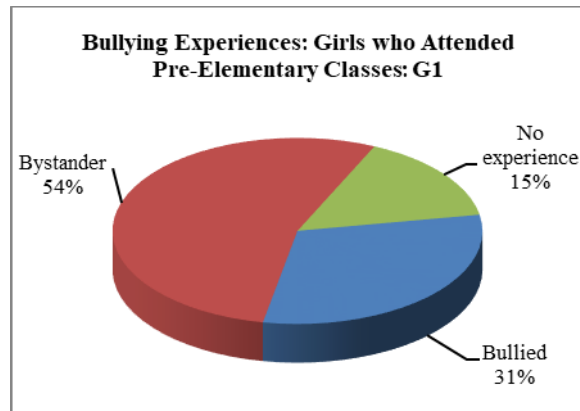


Figure 7. Bullying Experiences: Group 1.

Of Group 1, 31% had been bullied, 54% had been Bystanders, only 15% had no experience of bullying (Figure 7).

5.8. Q8: Bullying Experiences: Group 2

It is expected the Group 2 will have experienced bullying incidents at their previous schools

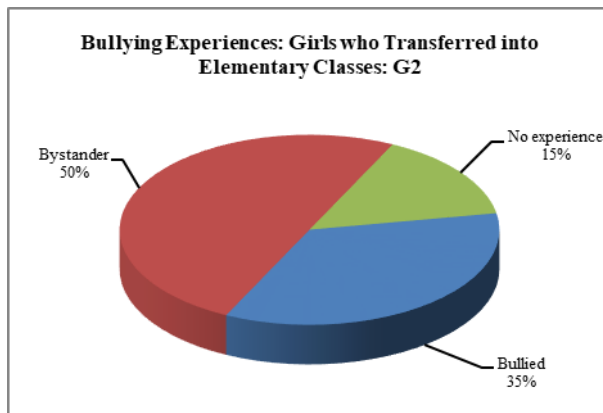


Figure 8. Bullying Experiences: Group 2.

Of Group 2, 35% had been bullied and 50% had been bystanders (Figure 8).

The results of the questionnaire from this exploratory study follow. The results are enriched with comments from some of the girls.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1. Q1: Early School Experiences

Results from the 33 girls interviewed at SMS showed that Group 1, 42%, had experienced an Anti-Bullying Program at Kindergarten before entering Elementary School; Group 2 at 58% possibly had more exposure to bullying (Figure 1).

6.1.1. *Girls' Comments*

Group 1 girls G124, G135 G113 commenced at SMS because their parents were told 'SMS is an Anti-Bullying school'. G113 'used to bully other children' and G135 exclaimed 'friends are very friendly'.

In Group 2, G613 mentioned the reasons for choosing SMS were 'she needed daycare', and G518 felt 'in my old school was too much homework and burdensome for children'.

6.2. Q2: Style of Play

All Group 1, 42%, preferred to play with friends while 12% of Group 2 said they would rather play alone (Figure 2).

6.2.1. *Girls' Comments*

Group 1 girls all preferred to play with friends saying it was 'more fun' and 'not boring with friends'.

Group 2 girls who preferred solitary play recorded they liked 'being calm' (G226), 'didn't like being disturbed' and 'other girls don't follow the game instructions' (G215), because 'friends cause problems' (G15).

6.3. Q3: Keeping Classroom Rules

A large percentage of all Group 1, 36%, and Group 2, 49%, girls admitted to breaking the classroom rules (Figure 3).

6.3.1. *Girls' Comments*

Group 1 girls breaking rules included 'talking in class' (G113), 'damaging goods' (G133), 'disturbing friends' (G118), and 'running' in walking only areas, (G159).

Group 2 breaking rules included 'interrupting other people's conversations' (G414).

6.4. Q4: Breaking Classroom Rules: Feelings

Group 1 had 28% and Group 2 had 27%, negative feelings after breaking the classroom rules (Figure 4).

6.4.1. Girls' Comments

Group 1 girls commented that they felt 'guilty' (G414, G132), and 'uncomfortable' (G131, G132, G414, G436) when they broke the rules. Others felt 'bad' if they were found out (G432, G531).

Group 2 girls told of feelings of 'guilt' and 'shame' (G231, G456, G333), being 'very uncomfortable' (G433, G456), experiencing 'sorrow' and 'sadness' (G331), and G235 felt 'weird and uncomfortable' about breaking the classroom rules. Feelings of 'not being worried' were voiced by (G132).

6.5. Q5: Understanding the Constitution of Bullying Behavior

All participants in this study (100%) were able to describe accurately what constitutes Bullying (Figure 5).

6.5.1. Girls' Comments

In Group 1 G524 and G534 showed their knowledge of bullying and G524 shared her experience of 'being bullied in Australia'; G534 noted her information came from 'books and the internet'.

From Group 2 G675 said she knew about bullying from her mother while G335, G336, G547, G548, G549, G613 received information from SMS.

6.6. Q6: Bullying Experience: Groups 1 and 2

At 33% the bullying experience of **Group 1** and **Group 2** girls combined is lower than the national average lowest score found of 40%: the 52% of girls who acted as Bystanders to bullying incidents presents a challenge (Figure 6).

6.6.1. Girls' Comments

G545 in Group 1 recalled 'In my kindergarten before there were many bullies. Boys were hostile to girls, my friends were pushed to the ground, and the teacher really didn't care.' G457 related how, living in another island 'I was often mock(ed)', G723 told of seeing 'usually the most bullied in SMS is special child'. She is 'usually teased and told to bully others... would say yes if told anything, for me it was bully too because they told her to bully friends' One girl, G654 stated 'there is no bullying here, they only joke too far which causes problems'.

From Group 2 G46 commented that she had heard 'boys who mocked each other's tribe (culture)' and G633's 'name was often mocked by boys'. G613 said 'my neighbor often bullied me, ...said I am ugly', and spread 'gossip' about me'. Other girls were 'pinched' (G654) and 'pushed' (G51) by boys.

6.7. Q7: Bullying Experiences: Group 1

In Group 1, 31% had been bullied while 54% became Bystanders or Upstanders to bullying (Figure 7).

6.7.1. Girls' Comments

Four Group 1 girls G366 G461 G654, G765, were Upstanders telling the bullies 'to stop' while 3 more girls G162, G263, G366 'report(ed) the bullying to the teacher'.

6.8. Q8: Bullying Experiences: Group 2

There is little difference between Group 1's experiences of being bullied at 31% (Figure 7), and Group 2's bullying experiences of 35% (Figure 8); the experiences as a Bystander in Group 1 at 54% (Figure 7), and in Group 2 at 50% are also very similar (Figure 8).

6.8.1 Girls' Comments

In Group 2 G723 continued 'I told her (victim) don't follow them.' and, being an upstander 'I immediately said to the perpetrator that it can't be like that', he just said 'Whatever'... G734 said 'Stop. ...everyone is different – no need to bully'..., however G755 commented 'I want to warn (him) but I'm afraid ...I report to the teacher'. Other girls confronted the bully G777, G778, G779 telling them to 'STOP', while G485 and G713 remained silent because they were afraid of the bully's retaliation.

7. CASE STUDY: G226

Date: November 9, 2018 at Sekolahku-MySchool (all interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesian and some editing has been done for clarity).

7.1. Personal Profile of G226

G226 is 11 years old and was born, raised and schooled until 8 years of age in Medan in Sumatra, Indonesia. Her mother is Indonesian and her father is Dutch. The family moved to Java for personal reasons. The parents are professional people with full-time working lives and rarely visit the school. In many ways G226 is very different from other children in SMS. Physically she is taller, bigger and whiter than the other children, her hair is brown while all other children in the school have black hair.

G226 is extremely talented and speaks 2 languages, Indonesian and English, fluently. Culturally G226 was raised in an environment where communication is direct and to the point. This is quite the opposite to the Javanese person's manner whose generally accepted habit is to use different expressions in conveying a purpose. For example, a mother does not need to tell her child that she is angry. Simply by being silent for some time and not responding to her child, then the child is expected to know that the mother is angry.

Another distinguishing factor about G226 that is different from the other children is the educational model developed by her family which keeps her free from very little adult direction. This situation appeared to have contributed to hindering G226's adjustment to her new environment when she moved to a different island with a new school, new teachers and new friends with different cultures and habits.

7.2. Consultant Interview with G226

7.2.1 Joined SMS

Q: Since what grade did you join this school?

G226: Grade 4

Q: Do you feel comfortable here?

G226: mmm, ... yes

Q: You sound not really sure

G226: Yeah. Boys bully me sometimes

7.2.2. Style of Play

Q: Which one do you prefer, alone or playing with your friends?

G226: I like playing by myself. I enjoy playing alone. I am the only kid of my parents. And every time I played with my friend, there would be a problem.

7.2.3. Bullying Understanding

Q: Ok, tell me what bullying means for you?

G226: Bullying means like you saying nickname to your friend, or you hurt your friend or tease them.

7.2.4. Bullying Victim

Q: What do boys do to you?

G226: I was playing puzzle today, teacher ask me to tidy up, but I was not finish yet, so teacher give me 5 more minute(s). Then in a while F came to me and ruined my puzzle. I was working very hard on that puzzle and it was almost finished.

Q: Why do you think he did that?

G226: He wants me to pack away the puzzle, but the teacher already gave me 5 more minutes to finish it. He did not believe me, and just knocked the puzzle down.

Q: What did you say to him then?

G226: I did not say anything. I just almost cry.

Q: Did you tell your teacher about it?

G226: No, I am afraid F would blame me for what I said

Q: Has it happened a lot?

G226: Sometimes. Sometimes I fight back. F ever punches me

Q: What??? Why do you think he did that?

G226: He started it. He called me 'paus' (a whale). And I got mad, I shouted at him to stop

Q: Do you always show angry reaction when he teases you?

G226: yes

Q: Like always ... always ... all the time?

G226: Yes. I asked him to stop

Q: What was his reaction back then?

G226: He said I have too many excuses

Q: Explain to me that part, what did he mean by that, you have too many excuses?

G226: I don't know. I just ask him to stop.

7.3. How the Teacher Handles the Situation (Consultant Report)

It must be admitted, that all the differences that exist in G226 caused bias to the teacher's handling of the situation. The way G226 responds to the teacher and her friends raises the stigma that G226 is a difficult child. G226 is easily offended and it is difficult for her to accept input from other people. This attitude reinforces the teacher's belief that it is natural for G226 to have a lot of problems and is rejected when socializing.

What the teacher didn't notice was the fact that G226's difficult behaviour was caused by the absence of her diplomacy skills. The negative reactions from friends stemmed from their failure to respond appropriately to situations they had never faced before.

Every time the teacher finds a difficult situation with G226, she just tries to persuade her without trying to map the problem and help G226 reflect. Also, the lecture method used to persuade the girl is clearly not an effective method for this situation.

Significant changes only occurred when the point-giving system for good behaviour was applied in G226's class. She is motivated to get many points because the holder of the most points has the opportunity to determine the game, book or activity that will be carried out in class.

This method appears to be successful because it helps children practice their new skills by receiving the right social response in the form of consequences and rewards (Cahyani, 2018).

7.4. Interview: Elementary Teacher

An Elementary teacher was interviewed to provide her perspective of this bullying incident as the bullying had persisted for over a year without the Consultant or Management being aware. It was brought to their attention when a parent complained that her daughter was being bullied by BF and became a bully herself. The teacher's report, following, is of her interpretation of G226's conduct and description of her response to BF and the situation.

7.4.1. *Bullying Situation: Report by Teacher 1*

G226 is always bitchy and fierce when answering questions. BF is upset with G226's bitchy behavior and calls her 'whale'. G226 gets upset when BF called her 'whale' then G226 writes on the blackboard that BF is crazy. G226 and BF become angry and shout at each other. BF pushes G226's shoulder in annoyance. G226 cries and reports it to the teacher.

The consultant followed up this report in an interview with the Head of the Elementary School.

7.4.2. *Date: November 9, 2018. Consultant report to YTCG about a Bullying Complaint at Elementary School*

Year 5-6 is a combined class of twenty-two (22) children with eleven (11) girls. G226 and BF were new to the school in Years 4 and 5 respectively. The Head of School (HOS) reported that G226 is more mature and advanced than her other friends and is not interested in joining class learning activities. She often rejects the teacher's instructions, does not do assignments and openly carries out different activities such as drawing during other lessons.

BF felt that the teacher allowed G226's defiance because there were never any consequences for her refusal to join activities. Conversely BF felt that his efforts to obey the

teacher and keep the class rules did not give him any advantage, making him feel that the teacher was acting unfairly.

The consultant explains G226 used to do everything she wanted, no-one had ever explained the effect her defiance had on the group and BF had no ability to explain what he thinks and feels.

BF's dissatisfaction spilled out onto G226 every time he saw her defy the teacher and responded with violence. This violence could take the form of taking G226's drawing books, throwing away her pencil or other items of her possessions.

Each time a disturbance occurs between the two, G226 reports it to the teacher who then punishes BF by preventing him from joining 'Free Play' time. However, this was never strictly enforced.

This situation frustrated everyone. G226 felt she was a victim of bullying, BF was upset because he felt that he was being treated unfairly and the teacher was frustrated because the commotion between the two happened almost daily: the parents were not satisfied because they thought the report was ignored by the teacher, and the situation only improved after the parents complained to the Yayasan. The parents complained that their daughter was bullied and no solution had been offered from the school. The head of the Yayasan forwarded the report to the consultant who followed the situation up with recommendations of possible behavior management systems that might work in this situation.

This study may draw attention to how we can further improve the quality of the classroom climate at SMS, instill gender equity principles and practice in all teachers and staff, and increase the enjoyment of learning in all girls, and particularly those who have extra learning needs that teachers or other people may not understand. This case study illustrates that school leaders must know and be aware of the learning climate in each classroom, the ability of every teacher to show empathy and understanding of girls and those who are different, and how to assist boys respect and care for the girls and children who need extra assistance.

CONCLUSION

Many girls commenced at SMS because of the Anti-Bullying program, and the lack of pressure of doing homework.

It was not obvious in this study that girls who experienced the SMS Anti-Bullying program in Pre-Elementary classes experienced less bullying than those girls who commenced in Elementary School. It emerged however that many girls in both groups used the Anti-Bullying strategies taught in the AB program to hinder, stop or prevent the bullying taking place.

The majority of all the girls had broken the Classroom Rules with over half of them experiencing negative feelings afterwards. Shame, sorrow and guilt were among the most frequent feelings experienced by the girls after breaking the rules. This reinforced the Activity Theory that reminds teachers of the time needed, with repetitions if necessary, before information and instructions sink below the level of consciousness and become everyday operations.

All girls were able to describe accurately the constitution of bullying behavior. The findings confirmed previous research that revealed that the children most likely to be bullied

were those who are different from the mainstream group: the case study girl was physically and culturally different, exceptionally talented and preferred playing alone.

The Case Study revealed a serious problem with reporting procedures for bullying in SMS with a situation not known by management until a parent complained. Streamlined reporting of difficult cases from child to teacher to Head of School to School governance is essential.

A long-time teacher's response to the bullying situation with a child who was different from the mainstream, showed a complete lack of understanding of the difficulties for children in adapting to a new culture, new friends, new environment and new ways of doing things. More in-class supervision of underskilled teachers who are not empathetic in classrooms is urgently needed.

Discrimination and bullying are alive and well in SMS despite the emphasis on planning and activities to reduce or eliminate these major issues being written into SMS policies and plans. While parents comment on the welcoming climate in the school, frequent in-service training and workshops for teachers addressing Gender Equity, and a year-long, whole school Anti-Bullying program, little change in some teachers' cultural habits appear to have been generated. Discrimination against girls and blaming 'difficult' girls for classroom upheavals and bullying, involving boys also, is a reflection of the discrimination in the wider society.

The preliminary findings in this study indicate that, despite fifteen years of a Gender Awareness focus and influence to the programs in SMS, teachers still fall back on their culturally embedded habits of selecting males to perform physical tasks or make presentations in classrooms.

All girls' understanding of, and possible responses to, bullying were similar. The study found that of the Group 2 girls who transferred into SMS, those who were bullied was because of their differences, physical, intellectual or talented, and, it appears their preference for solitary play: one had been a bully previously and one became a bully in retaliation for being bullied. All girls interviewed in SMS Elementary school and witnessing bullying incidents, tended to use strategies from the Anti-Bullying program to prevent the bullying thus becoming Upstanders instead of Bystanders to bullies. These girls said STOP and used body language to show disapproval of the behavior. After three attempts to prevent the bully from continuing, they would report the bully and the behavior to the teacher or responsible adult.

A case study describes a talented girl G226 who was constantly bullied by a male perpetrator BF. Both had transferred into SMS and were in Grade 5. Cultural differences, lack of prevention strategies by the teacher, the girl's preference for solitary play, and her parents' mode of parenting appear to be the causes of the bullying.

This study confirms many previous findings about the cause and incidence of bullying in schools, and the partial success of the Anti-Bullying programs in SMS. No other known schools in Indonesia have a dedicated Anti-Bullying program at Play Group or Kindergarten levels that follows through into the Elementary school years. The study confirms the need for updated and dedicated year-long Gender and Anti-bullying programs to be introduced in all Early Childhood Centers and continued until the end of elementary school.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- initiate a comparative research program into the extent of bullying throughout SMS identifying the prior schooling history of all SMS children, and the incidence of:

- pre-elementary school bullying between girls and boys
- elementary school bullying between girls and boys
- boys bullying boys
- girls bullying girls
- write and deliver short age-relevant lessons to all children transferring into SMS informing them of the SMS Gender Equity and Anti-Bullying policies and program focus, its effect on the school climate, the purpose of the Classroom Rules, and the consequences for any bullying behavior
- write a training program for all SMS teachers that reinforces the Gender Equity and Anti-Bullying focus, its effect on the school climate, the purpose of the Classroom Rules, and the consequences for any bullying behavior. Include:
 - indicators of bullying in their classrooms
 - positive strategies and tactics to prevent and stop bullying occurring
- approach teacher-training institutions to include Anti-Bullying and Gender Equity principles and practice into their undergraduate and graduate teacher-training courses.

APPENDIX 1: PARENTAL PERMISSION FORMS (ENGLISH)



Dear Parent,

With this letter, we inform you that in the next few months, we will carry out data collection in the framework of the Anti-Bullying program research project in schools. This activity was carried out to help draft the Anti-Bullying program that is relevant for all children in an effort to create schools that are free of bullying. The results of this study will be published in one of the chapters in the book that will be written by Dr. Margaret Shore and Riana Cahyani S.Psi. This book will be published by Nova Publishing in the United States in 2019. To avoid identification, all names involved in this study will be changed and all publications regarding this research can only be done with the permission of Sekolahku-My School.

Please allow the parents / guardians to complete the form below, as a statement allowing or not allowing children to be involved in this research. We hope that this form can be returned to school as soon as possible. If there are questions or information that you need, you can contact us at the email address: margaretshoredr@gmail.com or callmeriana@gmail.com.

Sincerely,

Dr Margaret Shore

Riana Cahyani S.Psi

Parental License

I, _____ (parent's name) give my permission for named _____ (child's name) to be involved in the Anti-Bullying program research at Sekolahku-MySchool, Yogyakarta.

Signature _____

Date _____

APPENDIX 2: PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM (INDONESIAN)



Dear Parents,

Bersama surat ini, kami beritahukan bahwa dalam beberapa bulan ke depan, kami akan melakukan pengambilan data dalam rangka penelitian program *Anti-Bullying* di sekolah. Kegiatan ini dilakukan untuk membantu penyusunan rancangan program *Anti-Bullying* yang relevan bagi semua anak sebagai upaya untuk menciptakan sekolah yang bebas *bullying*. Hasil Penelitian ini akan dipublikasikan dalam salah satu bab di buku yang akan ditulis oleh Dr Margaret Shore dan Riana Cahyani S.Psi. Buku ini akan diterbitkan oleh *Nova Publishing* di Amerika Serikat pada tahun 2019. Untuk menghindari Identifikasi, semua nama yang terlibat dalam penelitian ini akan diubah dan segala publikasi mengenai penelitian ini hanya bisa dilakukan atas ijin Sekolahku My School.

Mohon kiranya Bapak/Ibu wali murid melengkapi formulir di bawah ini, sebagai pernyataan mengizinkan atau tidak mengizinkan anak terlibat dalam penelitian ini. Kami mengharapkan sekali jika formulir ini dapat dikembalikan ke sekolah secepatnya. Jika ada pertanyaan atau informasi yang Bapak/Ibu perlukan, dapat menghubungi kami di alamat email: margaretshoredr@gmail.com atau callmeriana@gmail.com

Hormat Kami,

Dr Margaret Shore

Riana Cahyani S.Psi

Surat Ijin Orang Tua

Saya, _____ (nama orang tua) memberikan ijin anak saya yang bernama - _____ (nama anak) untuk terlibat dalam penelitian program *Anti-Bullying* di Sekolahku-Myschool, Yogyakarta.

Tanda Tangan _____

Tanggal _____

APPENDIX 3: RATIONAL FOR BULLYING QUESTIONNAIRE TO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

1. Early School Experiences

Early school experiences may incite children to develop positive or negative feelings towards learning. Making that experience enjoyable, exciting and challenging for the child will

contribute to the child's and parents' satisfaction. According to Kumara and Shore (2018) it is a positive school climate that assists children to enjoy learning (Kumara & Shore, 2018). The positive school climate is created, among other criteria, by committed teachers and other staff respecting each other and the children, and all having a common understanding of the school philosophy, and a mutual meaning structure of its vision and mission (Shore, 2000). Potential school parents quickly recognize this climate and that helps them make a choice if they are undecided.

2. Play Preferences

By elementary school most children have passed the solitary level of play development and would prefer to play co-operatively. Children who prefer to play alone may be, or prone to be, a victim of bullies.

3. Keeping Classroom Rules

Deciding collaboratively on Classroom Rules is an important part of the Anti-Bullying program at SMS. With rules that focus on respect for each other, helping and caring for their friends and not interrupting the learning, when introduced in Play Group or Kindergarten classes, become part of the total school environment.

4. Feelings After Breaking Rules

Girls who have the ability to recognize and act on the reasons for making classroom rules, have mastered the recommended actions that then sink below the level of consciousness and become part of their everyday operational functioning (Shore, 2000). Those girls who break the rules are still developing the intellectual ability to recognize and act on the reasons for having classroom rules.

5. Understanding the Constitution of Bullying Behaviour

Girls who are bullies or who know what bullying behaviour is, can try to stop it as a victim or bystander, if they are taught proven strategies; these could be using either words or actions.

6. Experience of Bullying

Social Media communication channels ensure that news about all types of face-to-face bullying, physical, psychological or social, and cyber bullying is now freely available around the world.

7. Bullying Experiences of Girls who Attended SMS Pre-Elementary Classes

Many reasons prevent girls from being actually involved in a bullying incident and become a Bystander. Bystanders could be scared of being hurt if they become involved; they might agree with the bully; they may think it is none of their business. With adequate strategies they could change this response by becoming an Upstander who takes action either with the victim, or against the predator, or, finally, report it to a senior person.

8. Bullying Experiences of Girls who Transferred into SMS Elementary Classes

The reasons parents transfer their child from one school to another after they have commenced elementary could be as varied as moving house, child going to live with a relative, a different curriculum or program, or convenience to a parent's workplace. Having no friends or being bullied at their previous school could also cause parents to change their child's school.

APPENDIX 4: QUESTIONNAIRE - CHILD (ENGLISH)



Questionnaire re: Cultural and Gender Differences in an Inclusive school in Java Indonesia

This questionnaire is part of a research project to ensure our Anti-Bullying program is relevant to each child. The research project chapter will be written by Dr Margaret Shore and Ibu Riana Cahyani and published by Nova Publishing in the USA next year. All names of participants will be changed to avoid identification. We trust you will assist us by answering the questions below that will help us develop a deeper awareness of the different cultural habits, mores, ways of thinking and gender development that improve our programs.

Personal Information:

Children (initial/Birth Date/Sex): _____ / _____ / _____

Length of time at SMS: _____

Research Questions:

1. Do you know all the rules in the classroom? Have you ever broken the rules? _____
2. How do you feel about breaking the rules? _____
3. Do you prefer to play alone or with friends? Why? _____
4. Do you know about bullying? What is it? How do you know about it? _____
5. Have you ever seen or experienced bullying? What did you do? _____

APPENDIX 5: Kuesioner - Child (Indonesian)



Kuesioner: Perbedaan Budaya dan Gender pada sekolah Inklusif di Jawa Indonesia

Kuisisioner ini adalah bagian dari proyek penelitian guna memastikan program Anti-Bullying kami relevan untuk setiap anak. Penelitian akan ditulis oleh Dr Margaret Shore dan Riana Cahyani untuk diterbitkan oleh Nova Publishing di Amerika Serikat tahun depan. Semua nama subyek penelitian akan diubah untuk menghindari identifikasi. Dengan menjawab kuisisioner ini, bapak dan ibu telah membantu kami mengembangkan kesadaran yang lebih dalam tentang budaya, adat istiadat, berpikir dan gender yang berbeda untuk meningkatkan program sekolah.

Informasi Pribadi:

Anak (Inisial/Tanggal Lahir/Jenis kelamin) : _____ / _____ / _____ Lama bergabung dengan SMS : _____

Research Questions:

1. Apakah anda tahu semua peraturan di kelas? Pernahkah kamu melanggar aturan kelas? _____
2. Bagaimana perasaanmu jika melanggar peraturan di kelas? _____
3. Mana yang lebih disukai bermain bersama teman atau sendirian? Mengapa? _____
4. Apakah anda tahu tentang bullying? Apa itu? Dari mana anda tahu soal itu? _____
5. Pernahkah kamu mengalami atau melihat peristiwa bully? Apa yang kamu lakukan? _____

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Chapter 42

MORAL DISENGAGEMENT AS AN ADAPTIVE STRATEGY IN THE FACE OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR AMONG PEERS

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ABSTRACT

Children's access to technological media and resources exposes them to new forms of communicating and relating which are characteristic of a dual society such as today's, but which they are not always prepared to handle. It is often observed that adults accompany youngsters' use of the new screens and access to Internet very little. All this has led to the emergence of novel forms of aggression that coexist with the more traditional forms, thus contributing to converting the victim's role to one of poly-victim. The present study's objectives were to: (1) identify and analyse the prevalence of poly-victims, and (2) determine how the levels of moral disengagement and the various defence mechanisms that victims use to explain abusive behaviour might function as predictors of poly-bullying. The sample consisted of 1328 participants of from 9 to 14 years old. The instruments used were two questionnaires. One, adapted from Cuadrado (2011) & Cuadrado and Fernández (2014), allows the prevalence of bullying and cyberbullying victims to be identified and analysed. It covers 8 modes of bullying in each of off-line and on-line scenarios. The other analyses the level of moral disengagement and the defence mechanisms to which the victims resort (Bandura, 1996). The results showed there to be a continuity of the role of victim in off-line and on-line contexts, turning those who are subject to these situations into poly-victims. The moral disengagement of these victims was found basically to be centred at two levels – a locus of behaviour, and a locus of outcomes. The commonest defence mechanisms used are moral justification and minimization of consequences. Finally, the results suggested that certain levels and mechanisms of moral disengagement may expose victims to a greater risk of suffering multiple abuses by their peers.

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Keywords: Poly-victim, moral disengagement, bullying, cyberbullying

INTRODUCTION

After its emergence, the use and popularity of the Internet has extended to the point that it is difficult to conceive life without this virtual network. One of the main achievements that the Internet has brought is the creation of a space which, although not physical, is very real: cyberspace. Cyberspace surpasses physical and social limits, and blurs the norms defining when and how to interact. This virtual space has also created numerous cyberscenarios that have become the bases for the virtual relationships that have arisen in diverse and numerous social networks. Social networks and instant messaging applications allow users to interact socially either person-to-person or within groups. This is the case of the social networks that are most popular among teenagers and young adults: Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and WhatsApp (Chang & Chen, 2014; Davenport et al., 2014; Lee, 2014; Reinecke & Trepte, 2014; Spies & Margolin, 2014).

The communications possibilities that these virtual tools have are huge, and they indeed have considerably expanded communicative exchanges between people. Research conducted in the United Kingdom has shown that 55% of children of 3 or 4 years old regularly use tablets and 24% use a computer or laptop. From 5 to 7 years in age, the proportions grow to 67% in the case of tablets and 49% for computers or laptops. They also start using smartphones. At ages 8 to 11, the percentages continue to increase: 80% for tablets, 66% for computers, and 32% for smartphones (Ofcom, 2016). Similar results have been found in North America (Pearson, 2015) and Spain, where around 93.8% of children and teenagers from 10 to 15 years in age have access to the Internet through the different technological resources they have available to them (Cuesta, Muñoz & Izquierdo, 2017).

Access to these tools from an early age is also exposing children and teenagers to dangerous situation, not only in physical contexts, but also in virtual ones, and which they often know little or nothing about. Inability to control the use children and teenagers make of the Internet and the lack of supervision by caregivers and parents are directly related to a series of negative consequences that have a direct influence on the daily lives of these young people (Spada, 2014).

Bullying, materialized as physical, psychological, emotional, and social mistreatment, includes such behaviour as derision, threats, insults, physical aggression, and isolation, inter alia. Additionally, with Internet and social networks, the digital society has made it possible for violent behaviour among peers to go beyond the physical context. In the cyberspace context, cyberbullying has recently become another phenomenon of a violent nature that is a cause of great concern, and consequently has already led to much research. This construct is materialized in threatening behaviour, insults, harassment, humiliation, etc., directed at peers through virtual media, whether using a computer, a mobile phone, or any other digital tool.

Previous studies have shown that different forms of violence tend to occur together, thus causing the traumatic events to overlap (Gustafsson, Nilsson & Svedin, 2009). Those who experience intra-familial and virtual victimization are therefore more likely to experience traumatic events in physical contexts outside the family (Fisher et al., 2015). The term “polyvictim” was coined in response to this trend. It is used to describe people who have

experienced more than one type of interpersonal violence (Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2007). In this regard, several studies have found that people who suffer from polyvictimization experience greater negative consequences in their lives than those who have had to bear a single negative stressor, even when that stressor is very serious or is repeated continuously throughout their life (Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2009). In addition, recent studies have found that there is a continuity in polyvictimization experiences from early childhood on through adolescence (Dierkhising, Ford, Branson, Grasso, & Lee, 2018).

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE POLYVICTIMIZATION PHENOMENON: CONSENSUS AND CONTROVERSIES

Approaches to the polyvictimization phenomenon still present important discrepancies concerning the number of forms of aggression suffered, and frequency or intensity of the abuse. In this regard, authors such as Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner (2009) consider children who indicate having suffered at least four different forms of violence during the preceding year to be polyvictims. However, more recent studies have stopped identifying polyvictims on the basis of the sum of the violent episodes they have experienced, to focus instead on the person. Within this current, Ford, Grasso, Hawke & Chapman (2013), Havlicek (2014), and Matos, Moleiro & Dias (2014) distinguish different victimization experiences (physical abuse, assault, sexual abuse, etc.), also measuring potentially harmful situations and adversities. These studies also indicate that the same number of stressors on different victims can trigger very different problems. The impact that such events can have on polyvictims depends therefore on the particular combination of events, on the victimization, and on the adversities faced. The nature of the stressors will determine whether the negative effects are triggered by a single harmful event, or by a combination of several specific traumatic events.

Taking into account the kind of negative stressor the polyvictims face, some studies find that the severity of the negative consequences experienced and their association with the development of mental illness would be explained by the polyvictims' feelings of injustice (Forbes et al., 2014). When an event of this kind occurs, the victims feel that they have been betrayed and that the rules governing the world have been transgressed. This then generates in them a feeling that is different from that provoked by such traumatic events as natural tragedies or accidents, which have completely different causes.

Continuing with the polyvictims' perspective, other workers have explored the reasons that lead these persons to repeatedly experience this type of situation over time. In this respect, the focus of these studies seems to be Seligman's theory of learned helplessness (1975). This theory predicts that people who have been repeatedly exposed to uncontrollable negative stressors will be unable to cope with other subsequent negative controllable situations due to a general sense of helplessness that prevents them from acting. The victimization to which children and teenagers are exposed would therefore be the cause of their decreased ability to respond to the repetition of violent situations. To deal with these situations, teenagers tend to use such ineffective strategies as avoidance or denial, which only increase their stress and frustration (Guerra, Pereda, Guilera & Abad, 2016). While there is still much research to be done into the coping strategies that polyvictims use to stop and overcome the abuse they suffer, some studies seem to confirm Seligman's predictions (Steiner, Erickson, Hernández & Pavelski, 2002).

The origin of the aggressions and the age variable have also been addressed in research on polyvictimization. In this sense, Grasso et al., (2013) point out that polyvictimization in early childhood is associated with events that take place in the context closest to the children – their home. These traumatic events include witnessing physical or psychological domestic violence. Polyvictimization in early childhood also seems to be associated with the prolongation of this symptomatic situation through later stages of life (Finkelhor et al., 2007). Thus, 9 out of 10 children who experience polyvictimization during early childhood are still polyvictims later on in their life (Dierkhising et al., 2018), although the actual experience of the harm is less in children than in teenagers or adults (Radford, Corral, Bradley & Fisher, 2013).

During adolescence, polyvictimization may also be associated with events outside the family since it coincides with a period of time when teenagers begin to have a more varied and extensive social life, generally decentralized with respect to the family core. During these years, together with the familial traumatic events there needs to be added other events such as sexual assaults, street violence, bullying, cyberbullying, etc. This age group should thus be identified as that of greatest risk (Finkelhor & Dzuiba-Leatherman, 1994). These facts lead to a lower likelihood of being able to establish satisfactory relationships of trust during their lives, which in turn arrests or hinders the development of their self-esteem and self-confidence (Soler, Paretila, Kirchner & Forns, 2012).

Data on the prevalence of polyvictimization in the scientific literature differ depending on the tools and scales used. Cyr et al., (2013) analyse polyvictimization in a sample community of North American teenagers, finding a prevalence of around 10%, but Ford, Wasser & Connor (2011) obtain a prevalence of 32.5%. In Chile, Pinto & Venegas (2015) indicate that 41.9% of the teenagers they surveyed experienced more than one type of victimization throughout their lives. In northern European countries, some studies classify only 9% of their sample as being polyvictims (Ellonen & Salmi, 2011).

In Spain, recent studies have found different prevalences in different groups of polyvictims. Thus, Pereda, Abad & Guilera (2015) distinguish between low-level polyvictimization (15.2%) and high-level polyvictimization (4.1%), with the two groups together corresponding to a total of 20% polyvictimization. Additionally, that study indicates that 10% of the polyvictims remain polyvictims throughout their lives, perpetuating the negative effects. Dierkhising et al., (2018) note that almost one third of the children categorized as of low polyvictimization move to the high victimization group in later stages of their lives.

Regarding the prevalence of teenagers suffering from high polyvictimization, Cyr et al., (2013) note that 1% of teenagers have experienced 7 or more victimization experiences, while Finkelhor et al., (2005) raise this proportion to 7%. Subsequent studies carried out with different samples and tools indicate that 68.1% of a sample of 706 students suffered 6 experiences of interpersonal violence, and 30.3% 7 or more (Pinto & Venegas, 2015).

MORAL DISENGAGEMENT: CONNECTIONS WITH BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING

The term moral disengagement was coined by Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara & Pastorelli (1996) to refer to the process or processes used to legitimize behaviour that goes against the beliefs, values, and norms of the victims. Moral disengagement consists of a series of cognitive

defence mechanisms that deactivate moral censorship and self-regulation with the aim of protecting self-esteem and self-concept. There are 8 defence mechanisms used in the process of moral disengagement:

- Moral justification, used to justify a questionable action as its having been carried out with appropriate motives.
- Euphemistic labeling, consisting in using indirect or ambiguous language to verbally minimize the severity of the objectionable actions carried out.
- Advantageous comparison, where the morally questionable action is compared with other worse actions performed before by other people.
- Displacement of responsibility, transferring the responsibility for the action carried out onto other people who have the necessary authority to order such actions, thereby legitimizing the act.
- Diffusion of responsibility, used to share the burden of the action over a group, and thus minimize the guilt that a single person would feel.
- Distortion of the consequences, consisting in diminishing the harm caused.
- Blaming the victim, in order to justify the action performed as a reaction to a previous reprehensible action by the victim.
- Dehumanization, reducing the human condition of the victim, and therefore their rights, thus making the behaviour carried out to not be so serious.

The aggressors' use of these mechanisms means that they have the possibility of legitimizing their violence as being standardized behaviour.

Within the context of school bullying, some studies indicate that children and teenage aggressors have higher levels of moral disengagement than those who are victim/aggressors, with those who are defenders being the group with the lowest degree of disengagement (Gini, 2006; Menesini, Fonzi & Sánchez, 2002). Similarly, those who express positive attitudes towards the actions of the aggressors have less moral engagement (Almeida, Correia & Marinho, 2010).

Studies focused on identifying and analysing specific moral disengagement mechanisms warn that aggressors accuse the victims of being mainly responsible for the situation they have lived through (Boulton & Underwood, 1992). In this sense, Camodeca & Gossens (2005) indicate that aggressors claim to feel anger when they commit an aggressive act, and that this anger is greater the more hostility they previously attribute to the victims' intentions. These results were confirmed and extended by Hymel, Rocke-Henderson & Bonanno (2005), who observed that the mechanisms most commonly used by teenagers of ages from 12 to 16 involved in these bullying situations are cognitive restructuring and blaming the victim.

With regard to moral emotions, various research studies have found that aggressors feel a greater number of moral disengagement emotions, such as indifference or pride in their actions. To this must be added the possession of fewer emotions related to moral responsibility, such as guilt or shame (Menesini et al., 2002). This translates into greater involvement of the aggressors in bullying situations since they perceive that their actions to be completely justified. Consequently, moral disengagement becomes a predictor of bullying (Barchia & Bussey, 2011).

In the virtual context, cyber-aggressors seem to show moral disengagement mechanisms that are similar to those manifested by physical aggressors. However, there are significant discrepancies between the results of different studies. Bauman & Pero (2011) and Perren & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger (2012) find moral disengagement to be more consistently related to bullying than to cyberbullying, with the characteristics of the latter involving different moral mechanisms. But other studies affirm that moral disengagement mechanisms are equally linked to bullying and to cyberbullying (Robson & Witenberg, 2013). In this sense, Lazarus, Barkoukis, Ourda & Tsorbatzoudis (2013) find that moral disengagement is a predictor of cyberbullying. This fact is especially pronounced in teenagers who have low levels of moral reasoning, a characteristic that determines a stronger linkage between moral disengagement and the involvement as aggressor in cyberbullying episodes (Wang, Lei, Liu & Hu, 2016). More recent studies warn that cyber-aggressors have a higher level of moral disengagement than the rest of those involved in this type of situation (Larrañaga, Navarro & Yubero, 2018). These results confirm those of earlier research such as that of Meter & Bauman (2010).

Moral disengagement as a protection mechanism for self-esteem and self-concept is present not only in the aggressors but also in the witnesses of these violent behaviours. These latter adolescents tend to look for explanations for their inaction when observing morally reprehensible situations. The use of such defence mechanisms helps them to explain their inactivity as witnesses, which allows situations which are highly damaging for the victims to be perpetuated. Some studies have even found that witnesses tend to blame victims in the same way as aggressors do (DeSmet et al., 2012), denying that they themselves have any responsibility to intervene (Van Cleemput, Vandebosch & Pabian, 2014), and arguing either that mediation in these situations is a task that should be carried out by friends of the victim (DeSmet et al., 2012) or that the actions perpetrated are unimportant (Huang & Chou, 2010).

Recent research suggests that perhaps the key is related to collective moral disengagement which would have a mediating effect on individual morality, increasing or reducing the likelihood that witnesses will intervene. Allison & Bussey (2017) note that, when teenagers perceive that their peers are morally committed to intervene, they themselves tend to get involved more frequently.

A review of the scientific literature shows that studies of moral disengagement have been linked more to the role of aggressor than to that of witness. As far as we have been able to verify, there have been very few, if any, research studies focusing on the analysis of the processes of moral disengagement experienced by victims subjected to multiple forms of abuse. In this sense, the objectives of the present work were to: (1) identify and analyse the prevalence of polyvictims, and (2) determine how the levels of moral disengagement and the various defence mechanisms that victims use to justify abusive behaviour can act as predictive indicators of polyvictimization.

METHODS

Participants

In particular, we shall present the results of a study conducted in Extremadura (Spain) in which 1328 teenagers between the ages of 9 and 14 participated ($M = 12.3$, $SD = 1.1$).

Instruments

The instruments used for data acquisition were two questionnaires.

The first was an adaptation of the questionnaires of Cuadrado (2011), Cuadrado & Fernandez (2014) which were aimed at studying the prevalence of bullying and cyberbullying victims. The adaptation was based on integrating into a single instrument the questions aimed at identifying the victims of bullying and of cyberbullying. The forms of aggression contemplated for the analysis of off-line contexts are grouped into six categories: exclusion, verbal abuse, direct physical aggression, indirect physical aggression, threats, and sexual harassment. In the case of the on-line contexts, eight categories are considered: insults (including homophobia), threats (including blackmail), spreading false rumours (in order to harm the reputation, damage friendships, or to humiliate), exclusion (from contact lists, social networks, etc.), impersonation (another's identity is used to send or post material of insulting, inappropriate, or embarrassing content in order to damage the reputation or friendships of the victim), sexting, publication of denigrating images or videoclips, and recording and disseminating physical aggressions. For the study of each of these categories, questions were included relating to the use of different technological resources (i.e., chats, e-mails, forums, smartphones, social networks) through which these abuses were carried out. The participants had to answer these questions indicating the frequency with which they had suffered each category of abuse during the preceding two months. The scale used consisted of four values: never, once or twice, once a week, and several times a week.

The second instrument was the questionnaire published by Bandura et al., (1996). This reveals the moral disengagement mechanisms that the participants apply to themselves. They are grouped into eight categories: moral justification, euphemistic language, advantageous comparison, displacement of responsibility, diffusion of responsibility, distortion of consequences, attribution of blame, and dehumanization. The presence of one or a combination of these categories provides information about the processes of moral control and the selective location of moral disengagement as a function of the focus of the behaviour, the agent of the action, the outcomes that flow from the behaviour, and the recipient of the actions.

RESULTS

Identification of Polyvictims

The controversies that are found concerning the definition of polyvictimization make it difficult to determine the number of forms of abuse that a victim must undergo to be labeled a polyvictim. To overcome this obstacle, the prevalence of victims was calculated as a function of the number of forms of aggression suffered (Table 1).

Similarly, the analyses of prevalence depending on the frequency of abuse suffered has also been the object of numerous discrepancies. In face of this debate, we grouped the participants' responses into two categories: 'often', which would correspond to suffering aggressions once or twice in the preceding two months, and 'very often', which would encompass the frequencies of once a week and several times a week during the preceding two months.

Table 6. Prevalence of polyvictims depending on the contexts to which the aggressions belong

N° of forms of bullying suffered	Bullying polyvictims		Cyberbullying polyvictims		Bullying & Cyberbullying polyvictims	
	Often	Very often	Often	Very often	Often	Very often
2	196	47	245	91	382	128
3	79	15	168	37	235	72
4	8	2	49	16	149	51
5	1	-	11	3	92	27
6	-	-	7	1	78	15
7	-	-	-	-	51	10
8	-	-	-	-	28	3
9	-	-	-	-	3	-

In light of the results obtained, and in accordance with the most consensual position that we found regarding the number of forms of abuse a victim had to suffer to be considered a polyvictim, in the present study we shall identify as polyvictims the participants who felt they had been subjected to four or more types of abuse, regardless of the context in which these had occurred. Regarding the intensity or frequency of the aggressions suffered, and in accordance with the “repetition of aggression” criterion present in the conceptualization of both bullying and cyberbullying, we shall only consider as victims those participants who had been subjected to continued abuse. In our case, the instrument used quantifies the victims and polyvictims who have suffered abuse in the last two months with different degrees of frequency. Given that this is a very short time interval, we consider both those who have suffered abuses “often” and those who have suffered them “very often” to come within the category of polyvictim.

The results reveal, on the one hand, the continuity between the off-line and on-line contexts in victimization processes. The prevalence data show a remarkable coexistence of the bullying and cyberbullying phenomena. In particular, there were more victims and polyvictims in this convergence of contexts than in each separately (Table 1). And on the other hand, we observed that the aggressions suffered through technological means surpassed those registered in face-to-face contexts. Together with other factors, the ease with which aggressions spread in the cybernetic world and the possibilities of anonymity the aggressors make use of when abusing other people without suffering reprisals would explain the tendency to use cyberspace as a channel through which to commit aggression, and therefore the greater number of cyberbullying than bullying victims. Likewise, the results show a significant decrease in the number of victims and cybervictims when the forms of abuse are experienced 'very often', regardless of the context in which these aggressions occur.

Finally, as the number of forms of aggression increases, the number of victims decreases. Narrowing the results to the participants who had suffered four or more forms of abuse, the prevalences were the following: bullying polyvictims 0.8%, cyberbullying polyvictims 6.5%, and bullying and cyberbullying polyvictims 38.2%.

Variations in the Polyvictims' Use of Moral Disengagement Mechanisms

A descriptive analysis shows the variability of moral disengagement mechanisms used by the different groups of polyvictims, taking into account the origin of the aggressions they had received (Table 2).

The results reveal that the moral disengagement mechanisms most used by polyvictims are moral justification, distortion of consequences, use of euphemistic language, and minimization of the consequences. The moral disengagement is at the lowest levels in the use of mechanisms related to dehumanization of the victim and blaming others (Table 2). The highest scores in the aforementioned mechanisms show that the polyvictims' moral disengagement is basically founded on two levels: control of the behaviour, and control of the result.

We observed differences between the mechanisms used by the different groups of polyvictims. In this case, however, one must speak of just a tendency towards various uses, since the great inhomogeneity in the sizes of the groups undermines the significance of those differences.

Specifically, the results show that the group of cyberbullying polyvictims scores higher than the other two groups in all the moral disengagement mechanisms (Table 2). This reflects higher levels of moral distortion that can lead to problems of greater severity, as well as to the persistence of the role of polyvictim and its possible transfer from physical to cybernetic contexts.

Table 7. Mean scores of the moral disengagement mechanisms used by the polyvictims

Moral disengagement mechanisms	Bullying polyvictims		Cyberbullying polyvictims		Bullying & Cyberbullying polyvictims	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Diffusion of responsibility	2.40	0.70	2.48	0.63	1.96	0.61
Displacement of responsibility	2.59	0.78	2.70	0.72	2.63	0.72
Euphemistic labeling	2.64	0.68	3.05	0.77	2.96	0.79
Advantageous comparison	2.71	0.73	3.15	0.82	2.89	0.74
Distortion of consequences	2.68	0.71	3.26	0.84	3.09	0.81
Dehumanization	1.15	0.40	1.26	0.42	1.19	0.42
Attribution of blame	1.67	0.51	1.73	0.56	1.65	0.51
Moral justification	2.93	0.74	3.10	0.83	2.89	0.80

Focusing on the group with the highest percentage of polyvictims, we are able to analyse whether the number of different forms of aggression suffered has any influence on the use of some particular moral disengagement mechanisms. In order to roughly equalize the distribution of the groups, we constructed three categories in terms of the number of forms of aggression suffered: 4, 5-6, and >6 (Table 3).

The results revealed that there were statistically significant differences among the polyvictims subjected to a greater or lesser number of forms of aggression in six of the eight moral disengagement mechanisms analysed (Table 3).

Table 8. Differentiation of bullying and cyberbullying polyvictims' use of moral disengagement mechanisms

Moral disengagement mechanisms	N° of forms of bullying suffered	Mean	SD	F _(3,107)	Sig
Diffusion of responsibility	4	2.23	0.67	5.311	0.039
	5-6	2.04	0.65		
	More than 6	1.81	0.61		
Displacement of responsibility	4	2.76	0.70	4.685	0.048
	5-6	2.67	0.75		
	More than 6	2.51	0.71		
Euphemistic labeling	4	2.87	0.78	28.143	<0.001
	5-6	3.02	0.80		
	More than 6	3.28	0.77		
Advantageous comparison	4	3.11	0.77	32.015	<0.001
	5-6	2.96	0.75		
	More than 6	2.74	0.71		
Distortion of consequences	4	3.38	0.84	18.136	0.041
	5-6	2.80	0.79		
	More than 6	2.91	0.79		
Dehumanization	4	1.07	0.40	2.004	0.182
	5-6	1.28	0.45		
	More than 6	1.15	0.42		
Attribution of blame	4	1.55	0.48	2.684	0.145
	5-6	1.72	0.53		
	More than 6	1.66	0.51		
Moral justification	4	2.68	0.83	19.489	0.029
	5-6	2.74	0.76		
	More than 6	3.01	0.81		

In particular, as victims suffer more forms of aggression they more frequently resort to mechanisms of euphemistic language ($p < 0.001$) and moral justification ($p < 0.05$). However, in the use of the diffusion of responsibility ($p < 0.05$), displacement of responsibility ($p < 0.05$), and advantageous comparison ($p < 0.001$) mechanisms, the trend is reversed, with those who make more use of them experiencing fewer forms of aggression. We obtained a similar result in the analysis of the distortion of consequences mechanism ($p < 0.05$), although those who suffer more than six forms of aggression usually employ this mechanism more than those who suffer 5 or 6 forms. Nonetheless, the differences between these two groups were not very pronounced.

CONCLUSION

This study has addressed a subject about which there still remain many questions to be answered. Previous studies have inquired into the possible causes leading a teenager to become an aggressor, finding moral disengagement to be a variable worthy of consideration. However, the relationships between moral development and victimization have often been pushed into the background, making any thorough analysis of the factors that intervene in the permanence of the role of victim difficult. The present results have shown that child and teenage victims of

peer abuse experience different levels of moral disengagement that may be able to explain how victims who have been abused in physical contexts also become victims in cybernetic contexts. These distortions in the development of morality may equally be leading to a greater number of forms of aggression suffered, so that the victim becomes a polyvictim, with all the aggravating factors that this label entails. In this sense, we consider that the data provided by this study open the way to new lines of research that urgently need to be explored and addressed.

The positive relationship found between moral disengagement and the condition of victim or polyvictim, in both off-line and on-line contexts and contexts in which the two coexist, reflects a situation of victims resorting to self-incrimination as a cognitive resource allowing them to justify the aggressions they have been subjected to. This fact reminds us of the postulates of the Stockholm syndrome, and would explain why the victims persist in enduring an abusive environment.

Among the contributions of this study, there stands out the analysis that was carried out in three different contexts, detecting the polyvictims and investigating the use they make of different moral disengagement mechanisms. The results showed that bullying in off-line contexts has been declining markedly, and has moved to the virtual, on-line context in which the aggressor can hide his or her identity, the harm done to the victim can be greater as a result of the rapid and widespread dissemination of the abuses suffered, and the victims' perception of helplessness is greater. In our results, fewer than 1% of the participants were definable as polyvictims of bullying, with this proportion increasing to more than 6% when dealing with polyvictims of cyberbullying.

However, the coexistence of two different worlds in which we operate in parallel, the off-line and the on-line worlds, has led to a new profile of victim resulting from the continuity of aggressions experienced in physical contexts passing into cybernetic contexts. The child or adolescent who is subjected to abuse by their peers in school probably also suffers abuse through technological media, thus becoming a cybervictim (Cuadrado & Fernández, 2016). Experiencing abuse in the two contexts allows there to be more forms of aggression that they might suffer, and hence an increase in the prevalence of bullying and cyberbullying polyvictims.

With regard to the moral disengagement mechanisms that the different categories of victims use, the most used were moral justification, distortion of consequences, use of euphemistic labeling, and minimization of the consequences. All of these are oriented towards lessening the importance of the actions that they have had committed against them and of the consequences deriving from those actions. These data provide information that is invaluable for the design and implementation of measures and programs for the prevention of, and intervention against, violence amongst peers, and especially against the durability of the role of victim or polyvictim.

The results confirm that some moral disengagement mechanisms are prioritized over others as a function of the number of forms of aggression the victim suffered. Those who have been subjected to more than six different forms of abuse tend to distort the actions committed against them by using language that masks or downplays the form and the seriousness of the aggression, as well as the harm it causes. They also resort to arguments that try to explain, justify, or even validate aggressive behaviour by showing that behaviour to be appropriate to the circumstances and moments it occurs.

Those who have been subjected to just four forms of aggression, however, tend to prioritize moral disengagement mechanisms that are related to the diffusion or transfer of the aggressor's

responsibility, or to comparing their situation with more serious situations that are experienced by others. In these cases, the victims are trying to palliate the pain and helplessness they feel by attributing responsibility to the strength of a group or of a person perceived by others as being impossible to stop or control due to their being attributed power, popularity, or exaggerated authority. These victims interpret their own situation as being bearable, acceptable, or even advantageous in comparison with the painful or traumatic experiences that other people may be suffering.

While these distortions may at first play the role of defence mechanisms, they nevertheless contribute to perpetuating the role of victim and favour the processes of polyvictimization.

In sum, one of the principal contributions of the present study is its approach to understanding the cognitive distortions that polyvictims use to justify the abuse they suffer, and the information it has provided is a key to going in greater depth into the causes of the perdurability of the role of victim and its transformation into that of polyvictim.

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Chapter 43

BULLYING AMONG HEALTH CARE PROVIDERS

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is defined by American Psychological Association as an aggressive behavior which is intended to cause distress or harm and that involves an imbalance of power or strength between the aggressor and the victim. Bullying in the workplace is angering enough people these days to be fueling a nationwide grass-roots legislative effort to force companies to draft and enforce policies aimed at stopping it. Requiring such policies, according to those pushing the legislation, is not an attempt to spawn lawsuits, but an effort to force organizations to deal with the problem. Bullying is blamed for unnecessarily creating high costs of turnover, insurance claims and thwarted productivity. Disruptive behavior has been observed in almost all members of the healthcare team from physicians and nurses to pharmacy, radiology, and laboratory staff members. Physician behavior, however, may have the greatest impact because of the position of authority that doctors hold as members of the healthcare team. A team member may, from fear of intimidation or patronization, withhold valuable or even critical input, such as a medication error or a breakdown in adherence to safety protocols. Hospitals, departments and individual personnel need to develop a higher level of awareness of the problem both in others and in them. Anti-bullying policies should be given a higher profile.

This Bullying is defined by American Psychological Association as an aggressive behavior which is intended to cause distress or harm and that involves an imbalance of power or strength between the aggressor and the victim. A more objective if somewhat wordy definition used by Swedish workers is that bullying emerges when one or several persons over a period of time persistently perceive themselves to be on the receiving end of negative actions from one or several persons in a situation where the one at the receiving end has difficulty in defending him or herself against these actions. This definition incorporates the subjective feelings of the person on the receiving end, even where an individual may have behaved aggressively but with no intention to harm. It puts an onus on each individual to be mindful of the effect of their actions on others. It does not offer protection to those falsely accused of bullying. The main

features of this definition are negative behaviors, persistence over time and an imbalance of power (Einharsen et al., 1994). Bullying can be physical, relational, peer sexual harassment and stereotyping. It is a way to gain power (Kozłowska et al., 1997). Bullying in the workplace is angering people these days. It is fueling a nationwide grass-roots legislative effort to force companies to draft and enforce policies aimed at stopping it. Requiring such policies is not an attempt to spawn lawsuits. It is an effort to force organizations to deal with the problem. Bullying is blamed for unnecessarily creating high costs of turnover, insurance claims and thwarted productivity (Rosenstein & O'Daniel, 2005).

In January 2009, a new standard issued by the Joint Commission [formerly JCAHO] went into effect. It requires hospitals to have “a code of conduct that defines acceptable, disruptive, and inappropriate staff behaviors” and for its “leaders [to] create and implement a process for managing disruptive and inappropriate staff behaviors.” The rationale for the standard states: “Leaders must address disruptive behavior of individuals working at all levels of the [organization], including management, clinical and administrative staff, licensed independent practitioners, and governing body members.” A Joint Commission sentinel alert includes “uncooperative attitudes” and “condescending language or voice intonation and impatience with questions” as disruptive behaviors. The Joint Commission’s first-ever alert about the problem is the latest industry effort to address an issue that has challenged the medical community for years (The Joint Commission, 2009). Suggested actions include systems to detect and deter unprofessional behavior; more civil responses to patients and families who witness bad acts; and overall training in “basic business etiquette,” including phone skills and people skills for all employees (Joint Commission Sentinel Event Alert, 2008). Administrative response to bullying has been so far ineffective. In some cases no action was taken. This lack of action could lead to serious liabilities since these incidents are not only about bullying, but also sexual harassment and discrimination. Disruptive behavior has been observed in almost all members of the healthcare team—from physicians and nurses to pharmacy, radiology, and laboratory staff members. Physician behavior, however, may have the biggest impact because of the position of power that doctors hold as members of the healthcare team (Quine, 2002). A team member may, from fear of intimidation or patronization, withhold valuable or even critical input, such as a medication error or a breakdown in adherence to safety protocols (Rosenstein, 2005). To ensure good patient care and respect among all healthcare professionals is at the very foundation of the ethics advocated by the American Medical Association. Intimidating, condescending, off-putting, or discouraging behavior by the physician inhibits positive team work. If OR staff works sub optimally because of disruptive behavior by the physician or another team member, overall care quality is compromised and patient safety is threatened. To mitigate these risks, healthcare organizations must re-examine their hospital harassment policies to ensure those policies include specific prohibitions against gender discrimination and harassment. Hospitals also need to create a workplace conduct policy forbidding bullying or harassment regardless of gender. Once policies are in place, comprehensive training courses should be given to all supervisors and physicians. When policies violated, action should be taken.

Bullying is a form of aggression. Physical bullying is obvious in our society. It tends to be the province of children. Adults are more subtle and devious in their approach, and their bullying can take a variety of forms, many of which may not be obvious to a third party. This allows bullies to continue their activities unchecked and enables them to do what they wish (Paice, 2004). The outburst in the OR by a surgeon or anesthesiologist is not uncommon.

Misconduct against nurses is common (Uhari, 1994). Bullying and mistreatment during training is also a part of the experience of many doctors, medical students or residents (Quine, 2002). Psychological abuse, gender discrimination, and sexual harassment were prevalent in one study (Stratton, 2005). Nursing staff have been implicated in intimidating and harassing residents by verbal comments (Farrell, 1999; Coverdale, 2005); senior residents have also been implicated (Cohen, 2008; Cook, 1996; Daugherty, 1998). Of course, sometime excessive mentorship can be misinterpreted by trainee as bullying. An individual's personal beliefs and lack of self confidence colors their interpretation of any communication; criticism may be inferred where none was implied. Curt behavior by senior doctors may be interpreted as criticism by juniors even when this was not intended. Where the recipient of certain critical or aggressive behaviors is more junior and therefore constrained in their perceived ability to respond to it, this can be a problem (Moscarello, 1994). A bully tends to be in a position of relative power. This allows him or her to behave towards one or many others in an unacceptable way. This can be as simple as making it impossible for subordinates to progress up the career ladder by ensuring that they are not given opportunities (Cohen, 2008). Bullies may prevent a subordinate from developing their ideas, and develop them as if they were their own. They may manipulate subordinates to take on unacceptable commitments by playing on their vulnerabilities. The bullies may be perceived as good managers because they get more work done. In the medical world, bullies may avoid taking their fair share of unpleasant tasks in a department. They may do this by offloading some of these tasks onto others who are powerless to protest. If the affected individual does complain, the bully may threaten to activate certain sanctions within their power, to which the victim is vulnerable (Daugherty, 1998). The situation is like that of blackmail. It is not that the victim cannot complain; it is that they perceive themselves as helpless (Cook, 1996; Kozlowska, 1997). Often bullying is an extension of forms of negative behavior frequently seen in the medical world (Carr, 1997). When and where does it cross the line? Is there then an acceptable level of bullying? Awareness of bullying as a problem has increased, and there is evidence that the prevalence is high in medicine. Nevertheless, there is also the possibility that the behavior experienced by some as bullying is perceived by others as normal (Ahmer, 2009; Quinne, 1999, 2002).

People who are accused of bullying fall into two groups. The first group is those who intend to hurt and humiliate their victim, and who choose their victim with a view to getting pleasure from their power over them. This is uncommon. The second group is made up of people who perceive their behavior as reasonable, while the victim perceives it as bullying. When individuals in this latter group are accused of bullying they are often mortified and suffer a major blow to their self-esteem. Problem situations for this second group often relate to a senior/junior interaction. There are several reasons for this. In the past, senior role models may well have shown bullying behaviors. Many senior doctors are focused, dedicated and, at times, obsessional individuals who do not suffer fools gladly. They are often very self-critical. They expect equal levels of self-criticism, dedication and focus from their junior staff. Where the levels of activity they require from trainees are outside the normal range they are likely to be accused of bullying (Paice, 2004; Daugherty, 1998). Another category of bully is the medical manager. Frequently, they have been given little training for the task in hand and the demands of the system are often unrealistic. A proportion of these doctors, under pressure, may resort to any method by which they can achieve results, even if this amounts to bullying (Houghton, 2003). Bullying is still part of the organizational culture. For example, even though junior doctors' hours have been agreed, there is, in some specialties, pressure to arrive early and leave

late, irrespective of the amount of work to be done. Lastly, even normally amiable senior doctors may behave badly when under personal or professional stress (Johnson, 2009; Roberts, 2009).

One of the reasons is the lack of training for doctors and sometimes other managers in management or leadership skills. They simply may not appreciate that people are different (Daugherty, 1998). Absence self-criticism may exacerbate bullies' reaction to the confrontational situation. Very self-critical people become depressed, while individuals with low levels of self-criticism have problems in relationships with patients and colleagues (Paice, 2004; Daugherty, 1998).

Victims of bullying often believe that a complaint would negatively affect their professional progress, and with an intentional bully this might be the case. Thus, incentives to complain are outweighed by the perceived incentives to keep quiet (Margittai, 1996). This creates a "survival" culture, not too far removed from that of prison or the armed forces. The consequences of bullying are devastating. Bullying is responsible for victims becoming stressed, depressed and intending to leave their jobs. The 2004 study reported that 37% of doctors in training had been bullied in the past year (Uhari, 1994). Although there would appear to be a difference between intentional and unintentional bullying, the initially unintentional violator may gain satisfaction or results from this form of behavior, which will then be reinforced. Intentional bullying is a dysfunctional form of behavior which needs intervention and help (Cohen, 2008). Approaches to unintentional bullying should be both educational and organizational. Work with the individual accused of bullying may need to include psychotherapy to explore the reasons for bullying or aggressive behavior. It should also include work on interpersonal and self-awareness skills so that the bully can explore and adopt alternative ways of behaving (Houghton, 2005). This approach, while emphasizing that bullying is unacceptable, also recognizes that bullying behavior may be understandable and that those using it need help to change (Einarsen, 1994). The organizational culture also needs to change. Many companies have put in place clearly defined written policies to prevent bullying and harassment at work, but the problem persists. Management pressures, which essentially amount to bullying, may compel senior doctors to take on impossible clinical loads or to work in unacceptable facilities. They may in turn adopt bullying behavior with subordinates in response to these pressures. The problem may also persist because, although there is more general awareness of the problem, many victims still do not speak out, for a variety of reasons. One appalling truth is that some of these individuals have such low self-esteem that they do not recognize their treatment as bullying (Kozłowska, 1997; Johnson, 2009).

Hospitals, departments and individual personnel need to develop a higher level of awareness of the problem both in others and in them. Anti-bullying policies should be given a higher profile. This should encourage victims to come forward so that individual bullies can be identified. The unintentional bully will usually, although not always, respond to the strategies outlined above and modify their behavior. They may well respond to personal approaches on the part of the victim. Direct approach of the bully may be counterproductive. The victim should keep a careful record of all behavior they perceive as bullying. It is important to ascertain that what you dealing with are bullying. Once confirmed that you are dealing with bullying, you should approach the bully's line manager or the human resources department. Finally, you could also approach your professional association for advice and support (Houghton, 2004).

We know little about how verbal abuse or bullying is triggered and how it might be prevented (Farrell, 1999). Primary preventive methods include providing educational materials and communication skills training for residents, staff, and educators (Baldwin, 1991). Education on abuse, discrimination, and harassment in the workplace, and how these can be addressed and averted, can also be presented in formal and informal curricula. Such initiatives should promote culture of collegiality and respect for all faculty, staff, and trainees (Quine, 1999). Secondary preventive measures rely on reporting mechanisms. Any occasion of abusive or discriminatory language or behavior needs to be addressed. Measures such as debriefing and supportive counseling should aim to alleviate the psychologically distressing consequences of these behaviors for all recipients and observers. Universal focus on professionalism in medical education and professional behavior of physicians in practice should help us to eradicate this unacceptable behavior (White, 2000).

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Chapter 44

CYBERBULLYING

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ABSTRACT

Bullies are individuals who use a superior force, whether it is physical or mental, to assert dominance over others in an effort to do what they ordinarily wouldn't. Recently, technology has become a fundamental part of life. People can't seem to escape technology without having to cut off all communication from the world. Access to the Internet has become more readily available through new technology such as tablets and mobile phones. As the need for physical communication decreases, use of cyberbullying as an alternative form of traditional bullying has become devastatingly prevalent. Cyberbullying is becoming more frequent throughout the world with advances in technology rapidly changing the traditional definition of bullying. Cyberbullying has become a way for those who typically would not bully, to terrorize without consequence, so it is not only affecting those who would have traditionally bullied, but it is also affecting a broader range of individuals including all ages through childhood, adolescents, and adulthood. Those who are bullied generally show more cognitive and affective empathy. Further, students who have pro-victim attitudes (i.e., the belief that bullying is unacceptable, victims are acceptable, and defending victims is valued) are less likely to be bullied than other students. Unfortunately, there are many dimensions to cyberbullying that make it easier to attempt than traditional bullying. One of these is the absence of physical strength. Those who were not strong enough to bully in a traditional setting, find it easier to bully via the Internet. Cyberbullying also decreases the level of awareness of the victim's distress. Another factor that makes cyberbullying easier is the ability to be anonymous to some extent over the Internet. There is a method of indirectly bullying people over the Internet as well. By tortuously posting a picture or statement on a social media page, cyberbullying can directly affect the victim without the bullying needing to target a specific person. Further, there is a lack of fear in cyberbullies, and they are often unaware or less aware of the consequences for their behaviors. Some cyberbullying attempts are even based on the ability of a teacher to intervene on traditional bullying attempts giving the bully an outlet with fewer consequences. Cyberbullying has the same side effects and consequences as traditional

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bullying. Low self-esteem and depression have been more consistent in victims rather than non-victims. In the past, bullying took place in specific environments such as school, work, home; places that are supposed to offer a sense of safety. Cyberbullying completely diminishes the idea of safety for victims of bullying. Victims are often unable to find a place of security due to the accessibility of technology and other people. However, many programs and organizations have worked to put an end to bullying by implementing constant awareness and guidelines within schools, workplaces, and social media.

In general, children are seen as the most prominent source of internet bullying. Although they are not the only age group that can be a source of cyberbullying, most of the research in cyberbullying has been done on this age group. Children and adolescents in the present have been raised as part of an internet generation. However, children and adolescents aren't the only age group affected by cyberbullying. Adults have also been involved with sides; bullying and being bullied with the use of social media and technology. Therefore, it is of great importance to note the amount of cyberbullying that occurs among children, adolescents and adults. In this paper, cyberbullying will be compared with traditional bullying by reviewing the similarities, differences, perceptions, and characteristics of multiple forms cyberbullying. Also, this paper will discuss a few cases that involved victims of cyberbullying, and prevention plans that have recently been added to intervene.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CYBERBULLYING AND BULLYING

First, it is of great importance to point out that cyberbullying is much different than traditional bullying. Although there is not a completely agreed upon definition of cyberbullying, it definitely lacks some components of traditional bullying that may have aided in decreasing ambiguity among the perpetrators and victims. For example, cyberbullying contains text that maybe easily misunderstood with no other types of communication to assist in meaning. When body language and eye contact are not taken into account, words can be easily twisted into different meanings than what was originally intended (Baruch, 2005). Because of this, cyberbullying can be much harder to identify than traditional bullying styles. Furthermore, text on the internet or through mobile devices may stay in cyberspace for unlimited amount of time or until someone takes the comments down, but the text may have gone viral at that point. There is no way to know for sure where text may end up on the internet. Spoken words may disappear, but hurtful comments through cyberspace may have a longer effect. In addition to this, some researchers are in disagreement as to whether or not this should be counted as repetition due to its lasting effect (Slonje & Smith, 2007). Another factor in cyberbullying that is different than in traditional bullying is that there is a certain amount of anonymity that comes with being a cyberbully.

Unfortunately, cyberbullies can mask their identities a number of different ways on the internet. A traditional bully may find masking themselves difficult. In fact, traditional bullies generally bully on the basis of physical strength whereas cyberbullies do not worry about appearance. Instead, they are able to focus more on emotional strength, ease of manipulation, and dominance (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). Further, the lack of exposure creates an environment where the bully has little chance of developing skills such as empathy because there are no

consequences for the bully (Froese-Germain, 2008). This is contrary to traditional bullying where the bully is face to face with the victim. Even though cyberbullying is much different than traditional bullying, it is also similar when it comes to the motive for attempting to cyberbully someone else. The motive behind traditional bullying is generally to cause distress to another person because of jealousy or dislike. The motive for cyberbullying is generally the same.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CYBERBULLY PERPETRATORS AND VICTIMS

As far as a profile for child and adolescent cyberbully victims, a definite profile has been unclear. Some researchers claim that there is no significant difference between the rate of cyberbullying toward boys and girls (Li, 2006; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006; Slonje & Smith, 2007). Some other research has shown that girls may be more prone to being cyberbullied than boys are (Li, 2007; Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, & Tippet, 2006). This difference could possibly be due to demographic differences as well as several other factors. Another factor that has been disagreed upon in the literature is age. Some research has shown that the chances of being cyberbullied increases with age (Kowalski and Limber, 2007; Patchin and Hinduja, 2006). Some has shown that there is a decrease in the chances of being cyberbullied as children and adolescents grow older (Slonje & Smith, 2007). Still other research has shown that there has been neither an increase nor a decrease in cybervictimization as children grow older (Smith et al., 2006, 2008). Still other research has shown that the ages in which cyberbullying seems to be the biggest problem are ages 11 to 18 years (Baumand, 2007).

Further, there are many characteristics of internet usage that may play a role in cybervictimization or perpetration. Li (2007) found that there was no link between the amount of time spent on the internet and the amount of time users bullied or were victimized by bullies. However, Ybarra (2004) found that the amount of time on the internet and the use of instant messaging were significantly correlated with cybervictimization among females. Ybarra (2004) also found that the amount of internet use in males was a small predictor for internet harassment. Patchin and Hinduja (2006) had similar results, and they found that those who spent more time on the internet were more likely to experience online bullying. Juvonen and Gross (2008) even found that webcam use was correlated with a higher risk of repeated cyberbullying.

In addition to these characteristics, some studies also have shown that different psychological characteristics may have a relationship to cyberbullying. Unfortunately, it is difficult to tell whether these characteristics are causes or symptoms of cyberbullying. 42.5% of cyberbullying victims felt frustrated according to Patchin and Hinduja (2006). Similarly, 40% felt angry and 27% felt sad. These figures could be due to the fact that cyberbullying can cause these problems, but it is also possible that these individuals have these characteristics already, making them more susceptible to cyberbullying and even traditional bullying. One study of males found that they were 8 times more likely to be bullied if they had depressive symptoms (Ybarra, 2004). Also, Juvonen and Gross (2008) conducted a study where a positive relationship was shown between social anxiety and cyberbullying. Most of these studies also found that those who were prone to being bullied in the traditional style were also prone to

being bullied through cyberbullying in up to one out of three cases (Deheu & Bolman, 2008; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Li, 2007).

PERCEPTIONS OF CYBERBULLYING

Cyberbullying clearly is a big problem, but it is unclear whether the perceptions of cyberbullying reflect this throughout each generation. In one study of children (Vandebosch & van Cleemput, 2009), when asked if they had been involved with cyberbullying, 11% said that they had been cyberbullied, 18% admitted to being the perpetrator in a cyberbullying situation, and 27.9% said that they were bystanders to a cyberbullying attempt. Further, 63.8% of respondents considered cyberbullying to be a big problem. These numbers come from when respondents were asked directly if they had been involved in bullying. However, when students were asked questions about specific types of cyberbullying but the word bullying was not used, there was a much greater response. It showed that 61.9% had been victims, 52.5% had been perpetrators, and 76.3% had been bystanders. On average, about 20% of people perceive themselves to be the victim of cyberbullying, but the reality is, that cyberbullying occurs much more often than that.

One of the most important factors of Cyberbullying is the perception of it by those who are perpetrators, victims, and bystanders. Many times, teachers are aware that cyberbullying and do not know how to effectively stop it from happening. One of the most difficult problems that administrators and educators face is the not infringing on first amendment rights by punishing students for cyberbullying that occurred outside the school (Willard, 2007). One study found that even when anti-bullying campaigns are promoted in schools, they are not necessarily effective (Ferguson, Miguel, Kilburn, and Sanchez, 2007). Many researchers have found that it is extremely difficult for a school to implement programs that effectively reduce cyberbullying (Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, & Isava, 2008; Smith, Schneider, Smith, & Ananiadou, 2004).

ONLINE GAMING

A newer realm to cyberbullying has become an increasing problem: online gaming. This method is not as anonymous as some other methods (i.e., the cyberbully may have an identifiable in-game avatar), but can still give the perpetrator a sense of superiority over the victim. With the use of screen names or avatars instead of real names or face-to-face interactions, it is completely possible for a perpetrator to remain anonymous if they feel that it is necessary (i.e., a perpetrator can create multiple avatars ensuring anonymity). Unfortunately, online gaming has become one of the most popular leisure activities for adolescents (Gross, 2010), so it may be easier for a perpetrator to victimize youth playing these games. Also, the aggressive nature of video games may play a role in increasing aggression (Huesmann, 2010), which could be referenced to the observational learning theory proposed by Bandura (1973). Some video games even reward aggressive behavior (Polman, Orobio de Castro, & van Aken, 2008), and video game addictions have been associated with aggressive behavior (Anderson et al., 2010).

Video games have become one of the most popular leisure activities among adolescents. Because they are being exposed more to video games, they are also being exposed to what is included in the video games. Most video games contain aggression in some form. It has been concluded that video games promote aggression through observational learning (Bandura, 1973; Huesmann, 2010). Not only do video games promote cyberbullying, but they may also play a role in promoting traditional bullying through exposure to violence and aggression. Those who engage in violent video games are less likely to show empathy and are more likely to show aggressive tendencies (Anderson et al., 2010). Unfortunately video games may be to blame for much of the cyberbullying and traditional bullying that occurs among youth.

ADULT CYBERBULLYING

Unfortunately, cyberbullying may even continue into adulthood. There has not been nearly as much literature on cyberbullying in adults as there has been on children and adolescents. Some researchers have tried to fill the gap in the literature, but there is still much to learn. Although the motives of bullying at this age are similar to those of younger children and adolescents and generally stem from jealousy and dislike, there are many more reasons that a person might be bullied. Another motivation for young adults to cyberbully is “trolling” or using cyberbullying as entertainment. One study found that up to 30% of adult perpetrators cyberbully purely for entertainment purposes (Rafferty & Vander Ven, 2014). One of the most common reasons for an adult to be cyberbullied or deal with cyber aggression is sexual orientation. One study explains that an increase in use of smart phones and social media by adults may be a cause for an increase of cyberbullying in adults (Lenhart, Purcell, Smith, & Zichuhr, 2010).

Among adults, cyberstalking seems to be a more prominent form of cyberbullying. Recent studies have shown that cyberstalkers tend to be more educated, struggle with internet addiction and are over the age of 16, which means that cyberstalking is much more prevalent among adults than children and adolescents (Reyns et al., 2012). Furthermore, cyberbullying in the workplace has become more common as technologies in businesses have advanced. One earlier study by Finn (2004) found that 10-15 percent of adults were victimized by some type of cyberbullying. Those numbers have increased greatly since that point. Walker, Sockman, and Koehn (2011) found that 56 percent of young adults had been victimized on social media sites like facebook, and 45 percent of young adults had been victimized through cell phones.

ADAPTATION OF BULLYING WITH TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL MEDIA

With the development of technology rapidly growing in today’s society, technology has worked its way into our daily tasks. Landline phones, dial-up Internet, and bulky desktop computers have been replaced by cellphones, Wi-Fi, and tablets. As these devices become more accessible, the use of them as tools to bully has increased also. In the 1980s, the words “YouTube,” “Facebook Post,” and “Tweet” did not exist, but these words are almost inescapable in conversation presently among adolescents. These are only a few examples of social media that have affected the way traditional bullying has progressed. Traditional bullying

required for the bully to be physically present to torment and manipulate the victim. However, with cyberbullying, the bully can be anywhere using technology and social media to manipulate the victim. Cyberbullying has been described as being cruel to others by sending or posting harmful material or engaging in other forms of social aggression using the Internet or other digital technologies (Willard, 2007).

There are many ways for bullies to use social media and technology to victimize. Willard (2007) explains 8 forms of cyberbullying. The term "flaming" is used to describe an online altercation using aggression and profanity. Flaming is not restricted to online social media such as Facebook and Twitter, but can also be done via text messaging and email. Once again, with the use of technology, people are able have arguments with each other without having to be physically present and without having to vocalize their aggression. If flaming develops into a common occurrence from the bully it becomes an even more problematic. "Harassment" is the repetition of sending vulgar and insulting messages after the initial situation(s) have occurred. This is seen in both traditional bullying and cyberbullying. The bully or bullies continually badger the victim(s) until they become submissive and more vulnerable. Both flaming and harassment can be unnoticed by other parties due to the lack of publicity. However, harassment can be made public directly and indirectly. "Denigration" is using social media to disrespect someone by posting horrid rumors and/or embarrassing pictures to hurt the friendships and reputation of the bullied. This is a method used by bullies to publically humiliate their victims and can commonly be done indirectly. The bully can publically post a distressing picture of the victim without "tagging" him or her to it. This will allow anyone to see it and the target not having to know the picture is being publicized.

"Impersonation" is the act of pretending to be someone else to send and post harmful material to incriminate or harm the person, friendships, and reputations. With the use of technology, the ease of accessing someone's social media profile and creating a fake, with the person's own pictures, has become an everyday occurrence. Often the bully doesn't have to create a fake profile; he or she can "hack" their victims' social media account and cause damage. Denigration and impersonation are two ways that bullies might "out" their victim. "Outing" is sharing someone's secret(s), embarrassing information, or private pictures online. This term is commonly heard in the LGBT community when someone who has not publically announced his or her sexuality is suddenly exposed as gay or lesbian. However, this term is universal when dealing with the exposure of personal information by a bully to harm or embarrass the victim. This type of exposure can be done directly or indirectly as well using deceit and manipulation. "Trickery" is the action of talking someone into revealing embarrassing information or images online. This is a method used by traditional bullies without the use of technology, usually by manipulation or blackmail. Another method used both online and offline is "exclusion." This occurs when the bullying party purposely and harshly omits someone from a group or event using rejection. Cyberbullies do this by excluding the victim from an exclusive online social group, causing the person to feel unwanted and unimportant. Online bullying takes an even more drastic progression from the traditional method of stalking to being able to stalk a victim without physically seeing or knowing the person. "Cyberstalking" is intense repetitive harassment towards someone using threats and denigration to bestow substantial fear.

EXAMPLES OF CYBERBULLYING IN THE MEDIA

Throughout advancements in technology there have been several cases in which people have been victimized by cyberbullies. There are several different ways that this is possible. In some cases bullies stalk their victims. In other cases they post hateful and rude comments and messages on social media sites and instant messaging. Cyberbullying happens everyday, but it goes unrecognized in most cases. However, there are some cases that have been brought to light by the news and social media.

Manti Te'o and Catfish

Perhaps one of the most devastating occurrences of cyberbullying is what is known as catfishing. Catfishing is the act of creating a false emotional relationship through an internet site with someone who believes that the relationship is with a real person. Most people who are considered catfish create fake profiles with real pictures that are stolen from a real person and made to look like a completely different person. In essence, an identity is stolen to create a fake relationship.

One of the most publicized times that this has happened was the instance of the Manti Te'o hoax. Manti Te'o was a football player at Notre Dame, and had begun to form a relationship with Lennay Kekua in his freshman year of college. At first it was a friendly relationship, but then it became much deeper. He began to form an emotional connection with her. There were times when he would attempt to meet her but his attempts would fail. There were also times when he would attempt to video chat but his attempts at that would also fail. This relationship went on for several months. At one point, Manti was informed that she had gotten into a terrible car accident and was left in a coma. When she was finally out of the coma, she was supposedly diagnosed with Leukemia. She was released from the hospital, and the next day Manti was informed that she had passed just hours after his grandmother. Then he was informed that the entire relationship had been a hoax. Lennay had never existed, but the pain he felt was real. He had been a part of a cruel prank, and had lost someone that he really cared about and really thought existed. His story went viral, and became a high profile case. This kind of thing happens quite frequently, but his story was in the limelight because he was well known prior to the incident. The media ridiculed him and said that he was a liar and even went as far as to spread the theory that he might have used this story to gain publicity or even to hide that he was gay.

Not only did this prank hurt Te'o, but it also hurt his family and friends. It also hurt Diane O'Meara, the face of Lennay Kekua. Tuisasosopo, who had gone to school with Diane, had stolen pictures from her facebook and even asked her to record videos, so he could send them to Manti. Diane was unaware of what Tuisasosopo was really doing with her pictures and videos as he had told her that he was using them for awareness for his ill friend. After her face was plastered across the media, she faced many challenges. People accused her of setting the hoax up as well as playing a role in the entire prank. She denies that she had anything to do with it. She was just as much a victim as Manti was. As for the perpetrator, Tuisasosopo used the scandal to test his sexual orientation. He had a crush on Manti, and used this fake profile to form a relationship with Manti. Things like this happen every day to average people. There is really no way to stop it from happening. Even setting privacy blocks on websites was not

enough for Diane O'Meara. There was also no way for Manti Te'o to know that this was all a hoax.

Richie Incognito and the Miami Dolphins

Richie Incognito was an offensive lineman for Miami Dolphins until he was released from the team in late October of 2013. His release was based on his past record of bullying other teammates, which he described as "toughening them up" (Sciullo, 2013). Jonathon Martin was a second year player for the Dolphins, until his lifestyle and the bullying from other teammates were causing him emotional distress. After an incident in the football team's cafeteria and because of the bullying from his teammates, particularly Incognito, Martin left the team. Afterwards, Martin's representative released a voicemail and other evidence of abuse from Incognito to the Dolphins. After leaving the team, Martin then began to face cyberbullying from other teammates and Incognito. Calling him a quitter and other harmful names, Martin's twitter account and phone began to receive all sorts of accusations of being a traitor to his team.

From this incident, a more thorough investigation was done on Incognito's past relationships with other teammates. His history of bullying goes back to 2002, when he was accused of bullying a walk-on offensive lineman, Jack Limbaugh. Incognito was only a freshman at the time, in Nebraska. More evidence appeared following the full investigation, where Incognito had been reported for bullying an Asian-American trainer as well. His history of abuse included harsh racial and sexual slander towards all those he bullied (Tracy, 2014). However, even after the proof of Incognito's bullying was exposed, his teammates defended him. The team blamed Martin for breaking the rules of locker room conduct by taking Incognito's jokes so personal. They viewed the text messages, voicemails, and verbal slurs as common horse-play. After the investigation was over, Incognito was taken off the non-football illness list and indefinitely released from the Miami Dolphins. Although he was released, he signed papers finalizing his retirement as a way to still receive an income and not be financially burdened.

The case between the Miami Dolphins and Richie Incognito did not lead to a tragic ending for Martin either. He was reunited with his first head coach after the Dolphins agreed to trade him for another draft pick with the San Francisco 49ers. This case opened a lot of closets, revealing cyberbullying and bullying among many professional athletics. This is only one case that shows how cyberbullying can affect adults rather than just children and adolescents.

New Jersey versus Dharun Ravi

Tyler Clementi was an 18-year-old individual who had recently graduated high school and was a freshman at Rutgers University. He was a prominent violinist and was an excellent student. The summer before his first semester at Rutgers University, Tyler Clementi told his parents that he was gay. His father was accepting and his mother was as well but was a little withdrawn. After coming out to his parents, Clementi posted on Twitter about this event and his newly found feelings. During this summer he was also assigned a roommate at the university. Both young men, Tyler Clementi and Dharun Ravi, used social media to learn a little about each other.

By visiting Clementi's Twitter page, Dharun Ravi discovered that his new roommate was gay. After reading this, he posted, "Just found out my roommate is gay." They went on as roommates with no evidence of animosity or detestation until Clementi asked to have the dorm room to himself on the night of September 19, 2010. Ravi complied with Clementi's request and left for the night, but not until he set up his webcam so that he could watch. Once Ravi left, he went to a friend's dorm room to watch what was happening in his own room. He had set up a live stream from his camera and was able to see Clementi and his date, in addition to broadcasting it to other friends. Ravi then posted on twitter, "Roommate asked for the room till midnight. I went into molly's room and turned on my webcam. I saw him making out with a dude. Yay."(Squawstar, 2012).

Clementi saw the post and reported this incident to the resident hall advisor as well as his beliefs that Ravi would again spy on him. Ravi's excuse for setting up the webcam was because he was worried about theft. The resident hall advisor showed little interest in the incident and Clementi left. Ravi posted early one day, "Anyone with iChat, I dare you to video chat me between the hours of 9:30 and 12. Yes it's happening again." Clementi then went and requested that he be assigned to a different dorm room, but nothing happened. After viewing Ravi's posts about seeing Clementi and his date engaged in romantic activities, Tyler Clementi walked to the George Washington Bridge and jumped off. Taking his own life at the age of 18, Clementi had felt humiliated and uncomfortable, because one person invaded his privacy and exposed it (O'Donnell, 2012)

Ravi was charged with 15 indictments, which included invasion of privacy and hate crimes, but not murder. He was found guilty on all counts and could have faced years in prison. However, Ravi was sentenced to 30 days in jail, 300 hours of community service, and 3 years of probation. He spent 20 days in jail before he was released. To the family of Tyler Clementi, this was far too tolerant and unjust. Since the incident, the Clementi family has created the Tyler Clementi foundation, which hopes to help teenagers and young adults against this type of bullying by promoting safe, inclusive, and respectful social environments.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

The result of cyberbullying has shown devastating psychological consequences to the victim. With symptoms of depression, anxiety, and even suicidal thoughts, cyberbullying prevention plans have been brought forward to help spot victims of cyberbullying as well as identify the bullies. Almost all settings, workplace and educational, have strict policies against bullying and cyberbullying. Policies that restrict people from using social media and electronics as tools to bully are fairly new, considering the advancement of technology in the past decade. Preventing cyberbullying is different than preventing traditional bullying.

Because of the rapid use of social media and other electronics, it is close to impossible to keep the bullying messages away from the victim. Second, because of the ability to release a rumor or statement on the Internet to the entire world, it is impossible to see how many people have seen it. Lastly, the ability for the bully to remain anonymous with ease makes it difficult for officials to pinpoint the bully. Educational, workplace, and most other settings have now implemented policies to intervene between bullies and their victims. However, it is usually up to the individual(s) to come forward and report the incidents. For instance, if a student posts a

humiliating video of another student off campus and after school hours, the school doesn't have the authority to fully punish the bully and must leave it up to local law enforcement to continue with the investigation.

Another problem that occurs is separating cyberbullying from just joking. This is up to the victim to decide. If the victim doesn't tell the cyberbully that their jokes are offending them, then the bully can say that he or she was just "joking". This does not include forward taunts or threats; those that are obviously causing harm cannot be passed off as joking. Cyberbullying cases are often passed off as simple joking or kids being kids, but through prevention programs and no bullying policies among schools and workplaces; it is more difficult to bully traditionally or through social media and with the use of technology. Federal and State governments have both implemented new policies to old bullying prevention methods, adjusting the way we view bullying and how we recognize victims (Jordan & Austin, 2012).

Since technology is growing more advanced every year, schools and offices have become more aware of what to look for when identifying possible victims of bullying. Almost all schools have implemented a no-bullying policy, which includes cyberbullying to a certain degree, and states have implemented laws that identify bullying as harassment (Goodno, 2011). These laws and policies help make it more difficult for bullies to succeed in victimizing others and overall find just for those that have been harmed, physically or mentally. However, with electronics and social media being around every corner, these laws and policies must consistently advance and adapt to new ways that cyberbullies impair others.

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Chapter 45

**BULLYING, PERSONAL SELF-REGULATION,
RESILIENCE, COPING STRATEGIES
AND ENGAGEMENT-BURNOUT: IMPLICATIONS FOR
AN INTERVENTION WITH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS**

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ABSTRACT

Introduction. Bullying is one of today's biggest problems in Public Health. It occurs very frequently, especially in adolescence, and action is needed to lessen its causes and alleviate its consequences. Research has shown that behavior problems usually interact with other risk and protection factors, as well as with factors of etiological development. The *objective* of this investigation was to establish a hypothetical relationship between *personal self-regulation, resilience, coping strategies* and *engagement-burnout*, which would serve as a foundation for new lines of intervention at university.

Method. A total of 253 university students participated in this research. Assessment questionnaires for *personal self-regulation, coping strategies, resilience* and *positive-negative emotionality* were completed on an anonymous, voluntary basis during class time, at different points during the 2012-2013 academic year. Correlation analyses and structural analysis were performed, using an ex post-facto design.

Results. Results showed significant association relationships between self-regulation and resilience, between resilience and type of coping strategies used to cope with stress, and between resilience and burnout-engagement.

Discussion and conclusions. Greater *personal self-regulation* is significantly associated and interdependent with a greater level of *resilient* behavior, and *resilient behavior* in turn is similarly related to more *problem-focused coping strategies*, and more *engagement behavior* in dealing with stressful situations. The results suggest a line of research for skill-training programs as a means to deal with bullying. This evidence should be applied to intervention programs, both for training in *personal self-regulation*, and for implementing *resilient behaviors* and *coping strategies* with *engagement behavior* for managing this type of stressful situation. Future investigations should explore this line of work, which has not been fully considered to date.

INTRODUCTION

Bullying is one of the major problems of Public Health. It occurs frequently and requires attention in order to mitigate its causes and consequences, especially during adolescence (Espelage & Horne, 2007). Research has shown that behavior problems are usually interrelated with other risk and protective factors, as well as with factors of etiological development. Bullying, substance abuse and the increase in a broad range of social problems all point to the need for children and adolescents to develop the skills needed for negotiation and interpersonal relationships (Swearer, Espelage & Napolitano, 2009).

Definition and Scope of the Problem

Olweus (1993) defined it as the situation where one or more students, whether bullies or victims, are repeatedly exposed to negative actions on the part of one or more of their peers. Bullying “is a process of intensification of a conflict (escalation) in which one person is in a position of inferiority and is the victim of systematic negative actions by one or more attackers. Bullying “refers neither to a conflict resulting from an accident or an isolated event, nor a conflict in which the aggressor and the victim have an equal power relationship” (Einarsen et al. 2011, p. 15). There are different types of bullying.

1. *Physical and verbal bullying.* Much research has focused on these two types of bullying, including name-calling, pushing and shoving, taking away objects and hitting. A distinction has been made between the motives for and purposes of bullying, as well as between *proactive* and *reactive* bullying.
2. *Relational bullying.* Bullying has generally been defined as behaviors intended to hurt someone else, whether by physical or non-physical means (Berkowitz, 1993). There are different types of non-physical bullying: *Relational* or *social* bullying takes many shapes and has to do with peer relationships, including hurting others through the withdrawal of relations or feelings of acceptance, friendship and inclusion in the group. Rumors and exclusion are used to maintain status between peers (Card, Stucky, Sawalani & Little, 2008). Social bullying has been related to deficient social skills and the increase of psychopathologies (Crick & Zahn-Warler, 2003). In addition, it has

been related to a lack of academic engagement, low academic achievement, conflicts with the teacher and health risk behaviors, such as use of substances (Murray-Close, Ostrov & Crick, 2007). Furthermore, exposure to relational bullying behaviors has a negative impact on the social, emotional and psychological climate of the school, with more feelings of insecurity among the students (Glew, Fan, Katon & Rivara, 2005), a decrease in classroom participation and school avoidance (Buhs, Ladd & Herald, 2006).

3. *Cyberbullying*. Technological systems are not free from relational issues. Bullying in these contexts has been referred to with such names as cyberbullying, e-bullying or digital bullying. As the use of these technologies has grown exponentially among teenagers, there has also been a rise in their misuse.

Academic and Psychological Correlates of Bullying

A recent study (Glew et al., 2005) illustrates the correlation between bullying experiences and low academic achievement. Victims of bullying report negative psychological, emotional and behavioral consequences, as well as poorer school adjustment, with greater levels of depression, avoidance, suicidal ideas and lower self-esteem, than their non-victimized peers. In addition, they report more *internalized problems*. In the long term, problems may become serious, with more *externalized problems* and more probability of psychiatric behaviors. Research that addresses the stability of *bullying* has focused on physical bullying, suggesting that it is a stable trait (Herrenkohl et al., 2009). It has also shown that *victimization* is also relatively stable during childhood (Beran, 2008).

Context of Bullying: Individual, Peer, Family and School-Related

1) *Individual characteristics*. Certain personal characteristics increase the likelihood of being bullied, such as not fitting into the group, obesity, receiving remedial classes and learning disabilities. Unlike early research (in favor of the girl students), some recent studies minimize the effect of gender on being victimized (Card et al., 2008). There is little research with regard to the role of ethnic groups or religion, but it has been observed that belonging to a minority ethnic group can be a cause of bullying.

There are individual protective factors against bullying. Empathy has a consistent, negative association with bullying, and a consistent, positive association with prosocial skills. This fact is especially important when the bully understands the emotional state of others and wishes to disturb this state. *Anger* and *hostility* have been consistent correlates of bullying, since some studies show anger to be a good predictor of bullying actions. *Impulsiveness* has also appeared to have an important role in victimization and in bullying actions (Espelaje, Bosworth & Simon, 2001). In one study with pre-adolescents, greater use of drugs and alcohol was found in those who practice bullying (Pepler et al, 2002).

2) *Characteristics of peers*. Bullying may be encouraged and sustained by certain characteristics of the peer group, especially by *attitudes* toward following group rules. There are different hypotheses, such as the homophily hypothesis, attraction theory, and dominance

theory. Prevention programs must take on systematic assessment and intervention in order to change the rules of peer interaction.

3) *Family characteristics.* With regard to the family context, research has reported that students who practice bullying have authoritarian parents who use physical punishment and show indifference toward their children (Olweus, 1995). Secondary students who were classified as bullies and bully-victims showed significant differences in terms of less social support from their parents, and there is evidence that students with affective maternal experiences showed fewer disruptive relationships and bullying behaviors.

Personal Determining Factors for Coping with Bullying: Personal Self-Regulation and Resilience

Personal Self-Regulation

Personal self-regulation refers to the capacity or ability to control our own thoughts, emotions and actions. Through self-regulation we are able to consciously control the amount that we eat, whether to act on an impulse, our task execution, obsessive thoughts, and even the extent that we allow ourselves to listen to our own emotions. We can therefore affirm that personal self-regulation is a vital process that allows people to behave adequately, carry out tasks properly, and abstain from activities that may be harmful to their own livelihood (Baumeister & Heatherton, 1996). Self-regulation is used in a number of processes including the regulation of emotions, thoughts and actions for physical or behavioral control or restraint (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998; Vohs et al., 2008).

Different theoretical models have outlined the characteristics of this psychological construct. From a sequential approach, Kanfer (1986) proposed a model within the so-called *open-loop* conception (Bandura, 1986), where self-regulation is conceived as a self-correcting procedure when faced with discrepancies, indications of imminent danger, or conflictive motivational states that activate the system of observation. The present study adopts this conception. Miller and Brown (1991) modify postulates of the Kanfer (1986) model, providing a better explanation for changes in addictions.

If there is a deficit in any of these self-regulation processes, one's behavior regulation will suffer. Within this theoretical framework, Brown (1998) defines self-regulation as a person's ability to "plan, monitor and direct his or her behavior in changing situations" (p.62). In essence, this model adopts the self-regulation postulates of Zimmerman (2002), by defining moments of planning, control and thoughtful evaluation of one's action. Hoyle (2010) also speaks of these discrepancies and of the actions that we carry out in order to obtain our objectives and what we desire. He calls these actions self-regulation, actions that are natural and often are automatic responses of a healthy person in order to cope with the day-to-day discrepancies that are found between one's expectations or desires and one's reality.

Self-regulation as described above has been related mainly to addictive behaviors: gambling, and alcohol and drug use (Brown & Newby-Clark, 2005; Neal & Carey, 2005). This self-regulation takes the qualifier "personal" in order to differentiate it from "academic", and has been studied in both adolescents (de la Fuente, Peralta & Sánchez, 2009; de la Fuente, Trianes, Peralta & Sánchez, 2007) and university students (de la Fuente, Berbén & Martínez, 2006). *Personal self-regulation* is a construct that has been used to a greater extent in the field of health (Brown, 1998; Muraven, Collins, Morsheimer, Shiffman, & Paty, 2005; Muraven,

Collins & Nienhaus, 2002). However, after Zimmerman (1998) showed the existence of processes that are common to different domains, experts have begun to show interest in analyzing the self-regulating components that are common to different spheres of life, such as education and work.

Brown, Miller and Lawendowski (1999) constructed the Self-Regulation Questionnaire (SRQ) to measure self-regulation based on their theoretical model. Later, after performing further analyses, they developed an abbreviated version, the *Short Self-Regulation Questionnaire* (SSRQ), which was validated in a Spanish sample by Pichardo, Justicia, Berbén, de la Fuente and Martínez-Vicente (in press). The data show good fit to the structure of seventeen items grouped under four factors (goal setting-planning, perseverance, decision making and learning from mistakes). This instrument has been used mainly in connection with substance abuse, and has been subjected to an examination of its psychometric characteristics on several occasions (Carey, Neal & Colling, 2004; Neal & Carey, 2005). Its use has also been extended beyond substance abuse to address aspects such as psychological well-being, disposition to happiness (Okum, Levy, Karoly & Ruleman, 2009), depression symptoms (Kogan & Brody, 2010) and career adaptability (Creed, Fallon & Hood, 2009), and is in demand in other areas such as education (de la Fuente, Peralta, Sánchez, 2009). However, its possible role as a personal characteristic in the bullying phenomenon has not been established.

Resilience

Spencer et al. (2012) have defined *resilience* as a psychological resistance characteristic (the opposite of vulnerability), especially in extreme situations such as catastrophes and social inequality. The PVEST Model, *Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory* (Spencer, 2008) makes several assumptions: Each person has a degree of vulnerability, based on different degrees of protection and of risk; 2) level of engagement in stressful situations refers to the support or possible changes that a person can make within his or her environment. The role of resilience in an individual's social problems, and specifically in bullying situations, has not been precisely established.

Procedural Determining Factors for Coping with Bullying: Coping Strategies

We find ourselves socially at a very complex time, when the word stress appears frequently in day to day life, and has become a familiar concept. When we speak about coping we refer to cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage stress (DeLongis, Holtzman, Puterman, & Lam, 2010). Holroyd and Lazarus (1982) define *coping* as “cognitive and behavioral efforts to master, reduce, or tolerate the internal and/or external demands that are created by the stressful transaction” (p. 843). Lazarus (1991) defines coping as “cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external or internal demands (and conflicts between them) that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of a person” (p. 112).

Coping strategies in the context of Educational Psychology are more related to academic stress and specifically to one of its main stressors, tests (Piemontesi & Heredia, 2009). We consider it of vital importance to examine coping strategies, since all university students must face the external stressor of tests, as well as other stressors. We must also keep in mind that university students are a very specific population, as are the ways that they deal with stress. Hence the importance of introducing this variable in the present research, as mentioned above.

Fewer studies have been carried out in this field, but relationships have been found between coping strategies and academic performance (Cohen, Ben-Zur & Rosenfeld, 2008) and student gender (de la Fuente, Cardelle-Elawar, Martínez-Vicente, Zapata & Peralta, 2013). In addition, students' levels of stress have been studied in conjunction with the coping strategies they use (Ticona, Paucar & Llerena, 2010).

Lazarus and Folkman (1986) consider one distinction to be extremely important: the difference between coping that is directed toward handling or altering the problem (*problem-focused coping*), and coping aimed at regulating the emotional response that the problem brings about (*emotion-focused coping*). The importance of the present study stems from the lack of research on coping strategies in conjunction with other variables of Educational Psychology, such as learning approaches, achievement and satisfaction with learning.

Attitudinal Determining Factors for Coping With Bullying: Engagement-Burnout Emotions

While *motivation* has been conceived as a psychological construct, *engagement* has been defined as emotional involvement that accompanies an object or experience of intense interaction. This is created by the dynamics of a situation or the immediate context, and is not very different from the concept of *situational interest* (Hidi & Anderson, 1992). *Engagement* has been conceptualized as a personal trait and as different *states of contextual interaction* (Schunk, Pintrich & Meece, 2008).

According to Shernoff (2012), *engaged students* are those who are absorbed in their scholastic, academic and learning concerns, while *non-engaged students* are bored, distant, separate from and alienated from school. Friedrichs, Blumenfeld, and Paris (2004), after observing diverse conceptualizations and measurements of this construct, conclude that *academic engagement* is a multidimensional construct that involves three dimensions: 1) *Cognitive engagement* (an investigation of learning, self-regulation); 2) *behavioral engagement* (positive behaviors, demonstrated effort); 3) *emotional engagement* (interest and not boredom). *Engagement*, as a psychological construct, arises from contributions from the Positive Psychology paradigm, in contrast to the *burnout* construct, a name for emotional fatigue or exhaustion, with loss of control that is produced in situations of ongoing stress. This construct has been studied extensively in different health- and stress-related problems, but it has not been sufficiently related to bullying.

Aims and Hypotheses

Based on the previous research, the *aim* of this investigation was to establish a hypothetical relationship between personal self-regulation and resilience (presage variables), with coping strategies (process variables), and engagement-burnout emotions (product variables), which would serve as a foundation for new lines of intervention in bullying problems at university. Consequently, our hypotheses were:

1. *Personal self-regulation* would be associated positively with *resilience* – where the former is an integral part of the latter – as well as with positive emotionality or *engagement*. It would also be associated negatively with *burnout*.

2. *Resilience* would be associated with greater use of *problem-focused strategies* and with less focus on emotions, thereby contributing to problem resolution in cases of bullying, and not only to avoidance.
3. *Resilience* would show a significant, positive association with the positive emotionality of *engagement*, and a negative association with *burnout*.
4. *Problem-focused coping* strategies would predict positive emotionality, or engagement, while *emotion-focused coping* strategies would predict negative emotionality or burnout.

METHOD

Participants

A total of 253 students from higher education participated in this research, including current students from the University of Almeria (Spain) and university graduates who were preparing for competitive exams for public employment. The current university students were pursuing degrees in general Psychology or School Psychology (*Psicopedagogía*). The mean age was 23.08 years (SD=4.4).

Instruments

1) *Personal self-regulation* was measured using the *Short Self-Regulation Questionnaire SSRQ* (Miller & Brown, 1991) in its Spanish version, the CAR (De la Fuente, 2003a). It has already been validated in Spanish samples (Pichardo et al, in press), and possesses acceptable validity and reliability values, similar to the English version with 16 items, including such factors as (1) personal goals, (2) perseverance, (3) decision making, and (4) learning from mistakes.

2) The *coping strategies* variable was measured using the *Escala de Estrategias de Coping* (EEC) [Coping Strategies Scale], in its original version (Chorot & Sandín, 1987; Sandin & Chorot, 1993, 2003). A total of 90 items are included where students respond to items on a 4-point likert-type scale ranging from 0 (never use the strategy) to 3 (always use the strategy). The scale possesses acceptable validity and reliability values. It was constructed according to theoretical-rational criteria, considering the Lazarus and Folkman questionnaire (1984) and taking coping assessment studies by Moos and Billings (1982) as a basis. The latter studies make up the theoretical framework, that is, the general dimensions of coping (appraisal-focused, problem-focused and emotion-focused coping), as well as the different categories that belong to these three dimensions. For each dimension in general, more specific subdimensions are identified. Psychometric properties are acceptable. This questionnaire is composed of 13 factors and two dimensions:

Dimension: emotion-focused coping F1. Fantasy distraction; F4. Religious support; F6. Help for action; F8. Preparing for the worst; F9. Venting and emotional isolation; F11. Resigned acceptance;

Dimension: problem-focused coping: F2. Help seeking and family counsel; F3. Actions aimed at the causes; F5. Self-instructions; F10. Positive reappraisal and firmness; F12. Communication of feelings and social support; F13. Seeking alternative reinforcement.

3) *Resilience*. Resilience was assessed using the CD-RISC Scale (Connor & Davison, 2003) in its validated Spanish version. It has adequate reliability and validity values in Spanish samples, with a five-factor structure: F1. Persistence/tenacity and strong sense of self-efficacy (TENACITY); F2. Emotional and cognitive control under pressure. (STRESS); F3. Adaptability/ability to bounce back (CHANGE); F4. Control/meaning. (CONTROL), and F5. Spiritual influence (SPIRITUAL)

4) *Engagement-Burnout*. Engagement burnout was assessed with a validated Spanish version of the *Marlach Burnout Inventory Survey-Utrecht Work Engagement Scale for Students* (Shauffeli et al., 2002). This version has shown adequate reliability and construct validity indices in this cross-cultural study.

Procedure

Information from self-reports was collected in the classroom during regular class hours from both types of students. For the university students, data on *Presage* variables (personal self-regulation, resilience, sex, age) was collected during the month of October. Later, in the month of February, students completed the scales measuring *Process* variables (coping strategies). In the months of May-June, engagement-burnout was assessed (*Product* variables).

Design and Data Analyses

The nature of this investigation, in addressing its objectives and hypotheses, adopts a non-experimental ex post-facto design. In terms of data collection, it is a survey investigation using self-reports (questionnaires and scales) and a cross-sectional strategy. Association analysis through Pearson bivariate correlations was used. Analyses were carried out to meet the proposed objectives and test hypotheses using SPSS version 21.00 for Windows. SEM analysis of structural relations was carried out using the AMOS program, v.16.

RESULTS

Personal Self-Regulation and Resilience

Total score on *personal self-regulation* was positively associated with the *Resilience* total ($r=.318, p<.001$), with high values for *tenacity* ($r=.290, p<.001$), coping with stress ($r=.262, p<.001$), adaptability to change ($r=.128, p<.01$), control ($r=.221, p<.001$) and spirituality ($r=.105, p<.05$). As for the components of self-regulation, *goals*, *perseverance* and *learning from mistakes* had significant, positive associations with tenacity (max. $r=.265, p<.001$), with coping with stress (max. $r=.299, p<.001$) and with control (max. $r=.279, p<.001$).

Personal Self-Regulation and Engagement-Burnout

Total score on personal self-regulation was positively associated with *engagement* ($r=.369$, $p<.01$), with high values for *vigor* ($r=.350$, $p<.01$), *dedication* ($r=.298$, $p<.05$) and *absorption* ($r=.299$, $p<.05$); and negatively associated with *exhaustion* ($r= -.203$, $p<.05$), as well as with lack of effectiveness ($r=-.380$, $p<.01$). As for the components of self-regulation, *perseverance* had a significant, positive association with *engagement* ($r=.363$, $p<.01$), while *goals* ($r=-.299$, $p<.05$) and *decision making* ($r=-.302$, $p<.05$) were negatively associated with exhaustion.

Resilience and coping strategies

Total *resilience* showed a significant, positive association with problem-focused coping strategies, but not with emotion-focused strategies. The *spirituality* component was associated with use of emotion-focused strategies. The *change* and *control* components were associated with the use of problem-focused strategies. Specifically, the components of *personal competence-tenacity* and *context of stress* were associated with the use of self-instructions, help-seeking, positive reappraisal and firmness, and seeking alternative reinforcement, and negatively associated with emotional venting and resigned acceptance. The *spirituality* component was positively associated with fantasy distraction, religious support and resigned acceptance. Inferential analyses confirmed these differences between the high-medium-low groups in resilience. See Table 1.

Table 1. Relations between coping strategies and resilience

	Tenacity	Stress	Change	Control	Spirituality	Total
F1. Fantasy distraction	.050	.159**	.015	-.044	.190**	.129*
F4. Religious support	.034	.073	-.080	-.032	.383**	.158**
F6. Help for taking action	.136*	.084	.030	.121*	.075	.128*
F7. Reduction of anxiety and avoidance	-.052	-.013	-.066	-.055	.059	.001
F8. Preparing for the worst	.033	.027	.013	-.090	.034	-.013
F9. Emotional venting and isolation	-.153**	-.095	-.244**	-.255**	-.031	-.225**
F11. Resigned acceptance	-.089	.019	-.175**	-.249**	.126*	-.099

Note. * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$.

Resilience and Engagement-Burnout

Total score in *resilience* was negatively associated with exhaustion and lack of effectiveness (burnout), and positively associated with vigor (engagement). The most clearly related component of resilience was control, with a significant positive association with vigor, dedication and absorption, and a negative association with exhaustion, cynicism and lack of

effectiveness. Similarly, competence-tenacity was positively associated with vigor and negatively with lack of effectiveness.

Table 2. Relations between resilience and engagement-burnout

	Tenacity	Stress	Change	Control	Spirituality	Total
Exhaustion	-.250	.093	.092	-.318*	-.337**	-.363**
Cynicism	-.193	.057	.034	-.341*	-.120	-.244
Lack of effectiveness	-.141**	-.039	-.010	-.403**	-.081	-.346*
<i>Burnout total</i>	-.313*	.055	.23	-.423**	-.248	-.379**
Vigor	.458**	.202	.097	.486**	-.135	.317*
Dedication	.225	-.006	-.067	.489**	.031	.026
Absorption	.197	.235	.049	.296*	-.160	.189
<i>Engagement total</i>	.316*	.156	.019	.482**	-.124	.267

Note.* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Coping Strategies and Engagement-Burnout

Total score for *coping strategies* was positively associated with *burnout* ($r = .409, p < .01$), but not with *engagement*. In complementary fashion, *emotion-focused* and *problem-focused* coping strategies were positively associated with *burnout* ($r = .358, p < .01$; $r = .368, p < .01$, respectively).

More specifically, some coping strategies were negatively associated with *engagement*, such as *resigned acceptance* ($r = -.419, p < .01$), and *emotional venting* ($r = -.457, p < .001$). However, there were numerous specific associations between *emotion-focused* coping strategies and *burnout*, such as *fantasy distraction* ($r = .300, p < .05$), *preparing for the worst* ($r = .536, p < .001$), *emotional venting* ($r = .495, p < .001$) and *resigned acceptance* ($r = .311, p < .05$). There was also a positive association between *problem-focused* strategies and *burnout*, referring to actions directed at the causes ($r = .352, p < .01$).

Building a Model of Relations

SEM analyses showed a significant relations model ($\text{Chi-square} = 25,085$; Degrees of freedom = 4; $p < .001$) with acceptable indices ($NFI = .988$; $RFI = .968$; $IFI = .983$; $CFI = .994$; $RMSEA = .05$). This model reveals how *personal self-regulation* (SRQABREV) positively predicts *resilience* (CDRISCTOTAL), as well as *problem-focused strategies* (AFRONT-PROBLEMA) and negatively predicts *emotion-focused strategies* (AFRONT-EMOCION).

At the same time, the model shows how *burnout* is predicted positively by *emotion-focused coping* (AFRONT-EMOCION) and negatively by *problem-focused coping* (AFRONT-PROBLEMA), while *engagement* is predicted positively by *resilience* (CDRISCTOTAL) and by *problem-focused coping*. See Figure 1.

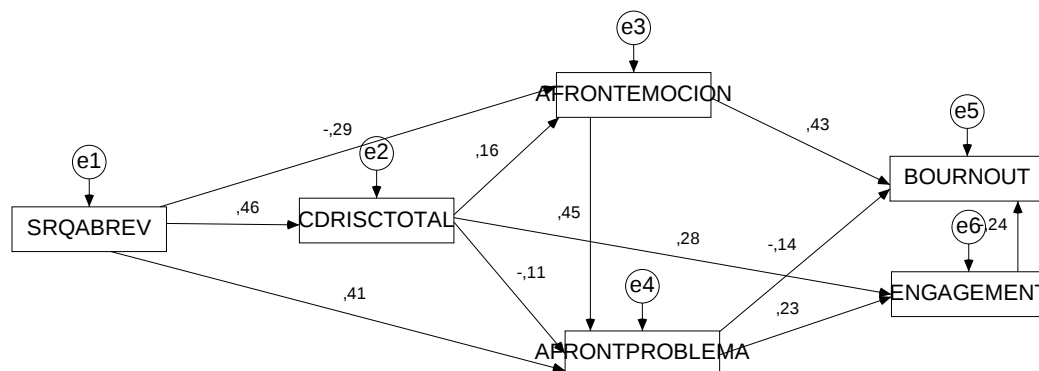


Figure 1. Structural model of relationships between self-regulation, resilience, coping strategies and engagement-burnout.

DISCUSSION

Prior research on *personal self-regulation* has provided evidence of its association with other constructs, such as learning approaches, coping strategies (de la Fuente & Cardelle-Elawar, 2011) and self-regulated learning (Zapata, 2013). Results from the present research are complementary, establishing a consistent connection between these motivational presage variables (personal regulation and resilience), process variables (coping strategies) and product variables (positive vs. negative emotionality), based on the 3P Model by Biggs (2001). In overall terms, they provide empirical support for the hypothesized relationships, helping us understand the role played by the presage variables in the process variables, and the role of both presage and process variables in positive vs. negative emotionality while learning at university. This would mean that, according to one's level of personal self-regulation and resilience, different coping strategies would be used, and these would ultimately produce an experience of psychological well-being and positive emotionality, or alternatively, some level of burnout or negative emotionality.

The results are important because they show how each component of *resilience* is differentially associated with a specific use of *coping strategies*. The common denominator of the resilience components is their positive association with strategies of *self-instructions*, *positive reappraisal* and *firmness*, and their negative association with *emotional venting* and *isolation*. There are implications for theoretical relationships between the constructs, as well as for psychological intervention with university students in stressful contexts, particularly in bullying situations.

Prior research has shown the relationship between emotions and attention, memory and problem-solving processes (Clore & Huntsinger, 2009). The direct effect of emotions on performance, especially in the case of test anxiety, has also been evaluated. The cognitive-motivational model by Pekrun (2006, 2009) offers evidence for this relationship, according to the different proposed categories of emotions. Traditionally, *positive emotions* have been considered maladaptive, because they would provoke unrealistic assessments of the situation, for example, about the likelihood of failure. However, a *positive emotional state* has been found

to act as an undergirding for activation of positive emotions that lead to engagement in academic performance. For example, a positive correlation has been found between enjoyment of learning and performance on achievement tests (Pekrun, 1992), as well as between positive emotions and students' engagement and achievement (Linnenbrik, 2007).

Additionally, the use of *emotion-focused* strategies for coping with stress is associated with negative emotionality or *burnout*, while use of problem-focused strategies is not. In short, these results reconfirm the need to study *positive emotionality* (engagement) vs. *negative emotionality* (burnout) as an essential element that interacts with motivational and cognitive processes in stressful situations.

CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The evidence offered here presents psychological mechanisms that are of interest in the study of bullying, but have not been sufficiently examined to date. If personal variables are indeed mediators of stress and stressful experiences, students' level of *personal self-regulation* and of *resilience* when exposed to bullying situations ought to be analyzed – and if appropriate, developed through training -- since these levels predict different use of coping strategies and result in different emotionality. Also, further research and therapeutic interest should be taken for the adjustment of *coping strategies* used in bullying situations. These coping strategies can prove to be essential tools or skills for managing these situations, for maintaining an adequate state of mental health, as has been seen in prior evidence (Hauge, Skogstad, & Einarsen, 2007). Finally, the emotional state of *engagement* or *burnout* can be considered an important correlate for evaluating the psychological impact that bullying may be making on academic achievement.

Therefore, despite the *limitations* of this investigation, with respect to the number of participants and the representativeness of our sample, the results found here alert us to the importance of evaluating levels of personal self-regulation, coping strategies, resilience and engagement-burnout that may be present in cases of bullying.

The *implications* of these results also refer to the importance these variables in understanding the individual characteristics of university students, and for taking steps to specifically train skills for managing academic stress in association with bullying or other stressful personal interactions (Giorgi, 2010; Giorgi et al, 2013). Specifically, these results are important because training in *resilience and coping strategies* can help university students become better adapted in stressful contexts and use more problem-focused strategies. It is a fact that the bullying phenomenon is a health problem, but this fact is mediated by psychological tools available to the person subjected to a bullying situation, thus increasing his or her capacity for taking action (Hoel, Faragher, & Cooper, 2004).

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Chapter 46

FROM BULLYING TO PANDEMY OF TERRORISM: SYNERGETIC BIO-PSYCHO-SOCIO-SPIRITUAL METODOLOGY OF MENTAL HEALTH PROTECTION

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ABSTRACT

The chapter examines special developmental features of the terrorist demoralization syndrome; it discerns terrorism in the classification of destructive social epidemics highlights mechanisms of manipulations with human consciousness in extremist organizations and formulates the characteristics of mental paradigm of national security. It also offers a synergetic bio-psycho-socio-spiritual system for preventive and correctional activities based on the mental medicine methodology.

Keywords: Mental terrorism, syndrome of terrorist demoralization, forms of terrorism, mechanisms of manipulations, spiritual immunity, synergy of defense, mental paradigm of national security

The pandemic of terrorism undermines civilizational fundamentals of the contemporary world. Fear and anxiety, that deform social consciousness, are becoming an everyday reality. Many countries have developed and implemented special technologies to provide special psychological and psychiatric help in case of emergency, disaster, terror, or violence. However, the questions of efficient resource provisions for the early and systematic prevention of destructive social epidemics still remain unsolved.

The chapter aims to present a conceptual and methodological explanation of terrorism and its forms, demonstrate its place in the classification of destructive social epidemics, single out mechanisms of manipulation with human conciseness in extremist organizations, show

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characteristics of the mental paradigm of national security, establish the synergy of effective defense in frames of the mental medicine methods.

1. SYNERGETIC BIO-PSYCHO-SOCIO-SPIRITUAL METODOLOGY

1.1. Mental Health Synergetics

Mentality is a worldview that is formed throughout upbringing, education, and life experience in a specific cultural environment. Mentality (from Late Latin *mentalis* "of the mind," from Latin *mens* "mind,") describes notions (like *mind* in English) that have no exact equivalent in Russian. Further research will help to outline scientifically all the main definitions in mental ecology and mental medicine.

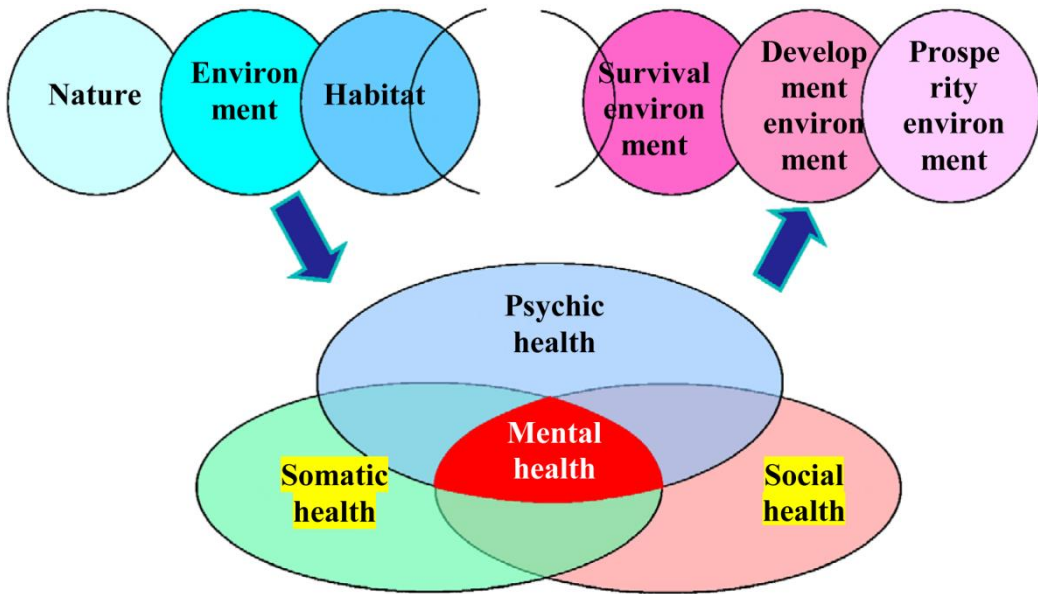
"The world health report 2001 - Mental Health: New Understanding, New Hope" (2001) by WHO reveals the decision to support scientific research that would aid a better understanding of the nature of mental health disorders and help to develop effective prevention methods.

Mental health is a state of well-being in which every individual realizes his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community (WHO, 2001). Most importantly, apart from the classic bio-psycho-social trinity this definition includes moral elements of self-fulfilment, resistance to stress, and productive work that are impossible without business communication ethics. The civil and political element in the appeal to "to make a contribution to her or his community" looks even more pretentious.

Mental ecology is a section of human ecology that studies connections in the "environment - society - individual" system alongside factors and resources of mental health.

Using the "Evaluation of health ecology" method we [33] quantified the effects of lifestyle (25%), environment (21%), mentality (20%), healthcare (18%), and genetics (16%) on health. Unlike the four groups of factors determined by the WHO (1992), mentality is categorised separately in our research as it is to a significant extent a behavioural expression of lifestyle (table 1).

The idiosyncrasies of the mental ecology mission lie in its interactive support for civilizational trends (picture 1). Mental health integrates the potential of moral, spiritual, psychiatric, somatic, and social health and is a constructively creative resource of the public consciousness and public health of a nation. The mental ecology mission substantially compliments the basic definition of psychotherapy as an interactive process of psychologically assembling the past, present, and future of a person, a family, a group, and society as a whole in order to achieve a set target [21]. Within synergetic methodology, a concise definition of psychotherapy as a science about adaptive management of mentality of individual and collective consciousness may be presented. Mentality is the matrix of psychotherapeutic influence in the consciousness of the client and patient, predetermining his or her lifestyle and trajectory of his or her destiny.



Picture 1. Mission of mental ecology in interactive provision of civilizational trends.

Table 1. Health components (%)

Author, year	FACTORS				
	Lifestyle	Environ-ment	Genetics	Health-care	Mentali-ty
Lisitsyn Yu.P. (1987)	49–53	17–20	18–20	8–10	-
Alexeev S.V. (1991)	50–52	10–20	18–25	10–20	-
WHO (1992)	50	20	20	10	-
Petlenko V.P. (1996)	40–50	25	20	11	-
Rubtsov A.V. (2005)	50–55	20–25	15–20	10–15	-
Koreneva M.R. (2005)	49–53	17–20	18–22	8–10	-
Sidorov P.I., Novikova I.A. (2008)	25	21	16	18	20

Devaluation of the moral-spiritual paradigm of development became a deep-seated cause of the global crisis and many of the problems in Russian society. Russia has essentially lost its official ideology and its society has lost its spiritual and moral ideals. “More modern” ideals replaced traditional upbringing and education:

- *christian virtues* – general humanitarian values;
- *teaching respect of the elderly and joint labour* – development of a creative egoistic personality;
- *virtue, abstinence, self-restriction* – total permissiveness and satisfaction of personal needs;
- *love and self-sacrifice* – pragmatic self-affirmation psychology;
- *interest in the culture of the motherland* – exceptional interest in foreign languages and foreign traditions.

All of this lead to growing dehumanisation and loss of ethics in the public consciousness, exposing the ineffectiveness of the pseudo-humanistic utopia connected to the idealisation of material values and self-regulating market economy. It is the main argument behind the "Concept for moral-spiritual development and character education of a Russian citizen" published by the Russian Federation Ministry of Education and Science in 2009.

Moral-spiritual education lies in forming:

- *moral feelings* - conscience, duty, faith, responsibility;
- *a moral portrait* - patience, mercy, humility;
- *a moral position* - ability to distinguish good from evil, to express selfless love, readiness to overcome life's difficulties;
- *moral behaviour* - readiness to serve the people and the motherland, obedience, good will.

A polymodal mentality is the target for (or matrix of) moral-spiritual training, education, and psychological and psychotherapeutic influence in the individual and public consciousness. To measure, figuratively speaking, the strength of personality and its potential we [33] developed and patented the "Mental ecology of a personality system" that provides for evaluation of the psycho-, socio-, somato-, and animogenesis of an individual or a group in a screening regime.

Anima, animus (Latin *anima* -soul, *animus* -spirit) are terms that in Ancient Greek culture express the phenomenon of the psyche, act as stages of the evolution of spiritual understanding: anima (soul) is inseparable from its bodily carrier, while animus (spirit) has an autonomous status.

Animogenesis is the term that integrates understanding of soul and spirit and signifies the central quarter in the three-dimensional bio-psycho-social model of mental health's ontogenetic development, filling it with bio-psycho-social-spiritual contents [32]. The major difference between animogenesis and psychogenesis is in unlocking of the content of polymodal mentality.

Synergetics is the new methodological instrument for examining the mental ecology of a person; it is an interdisciplinary science that studies formation and self-organisation. Hermann Haken coined the term "synergetics". It studies systems that consist of multiple parts, components or subsystems that interact in a complex manner.

The main principles of synergetics are its non-linearity, instability, openness, dynamic hierarchy and its observability. Synergetic methodology is based on an integrative approach to studying thermodynamically open dissipative structures far from equilibrium [2].

Dissipative structures are discretionary self-organising systems that dissipate energy, distinguished by their spiral formation in multidimensional space, its trajectory and a stable amplitude have a multifactorial quality and are predetermined by a combination of forces from varying directions and by factors relating to differing bifurcation points.

Dissipative structures form and exist in society and in the biosphere and are intermittently going through self-organisation, following their internal formation logic, they become more complex and degrade throughout their existence.

A strange attractor is an important concept in synergetics – an object in the phase space that almost all the trajectories aim for and upon which they are unstable. An *attractor* is a *fractal* (from

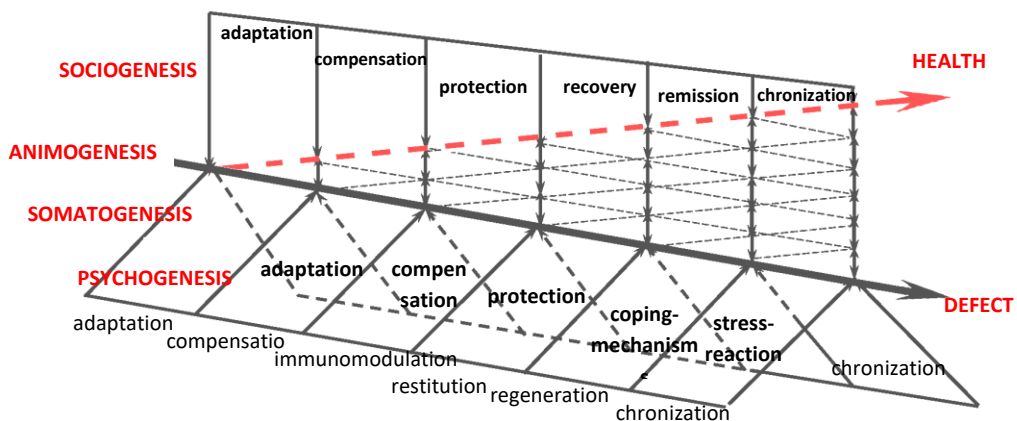
Latin *fractus* - fragmented) characterized by its fractional size and is a region in which trajectories disperse in some directions and attract in others.

A *fractal* is a self-similar figure made up of parts that are each similar to the whole and has nontrivial structure in all scales.

Fractal dynamics is the transformation of a quantum system from one condition to another via bifurcation, bypassing which, a dissipative structure starts aiming for a new attractor and a new structure, which in clinical psychiatry equates to the development of psychiatric disorders or recovery - depending on which of the attractors (leading to progression or remission of a mental illness) turns out to be more relevant.

Synergetics views the human body as a complex open system with non-linear processes. Its behaviour cannot be called determinate. The change of the system does not follow linear laws because of presence of internal fluctuations [28, 34], that change trajectory of development

When accumulating a large number of fluctuations, exaltation of the system towards internal or external influences grows to such an extent that those variables whose changes have not caused any significant influence on the system, start to affect change. Such points that the system passes (bifurcation points) make it possible to use the mechanism of a local increase in small fluctuations, which will enable change to the behaviour and the trajectory of the system's development in the right direction (picture 2).



Picture 2. Fractal trajectory of conditions' (illnesses) development and defence mechanisms.

The term developmental “trajectory” of a condition or illness is often used in modern foreign and Russian literature [3]. However, its use by Russian Academy of Medical Sciences member A.B. Smulevich [38] regarding “problems of personality disorder trajectory in the field of minor psychiatry” met reprimands from reviewers because it was deemed a “beautiful” term. From our point of view, the term “trajectory” is completely justified and is borrowed from the synergetic methodology for describing development in multidimensional (at least three-dimensional) space, when traditional “flat dynamics” become incapable of describing the multi-modal relationships and scenarios with multiple options of development within modern evidence-based medicine.

The synergetic concept of ontogenesis that we developed presupposes interplay of equal factors:

- *somatic health* that forms as a result of biogenesis;
- *psychic health* that appears during psychogenesis;
- *social health* that develops in the sociogenesis process.
- *moral-spiritual health* that forms during animogenesis.

The sum of the separate parts of these factors for a certain population provides an estimate of the level of its somatic, mental, social, and moral-spiritual functioning, and uniting these results helps to conduct systematic monitoring of the level of public health and public consciousness of the population under study.

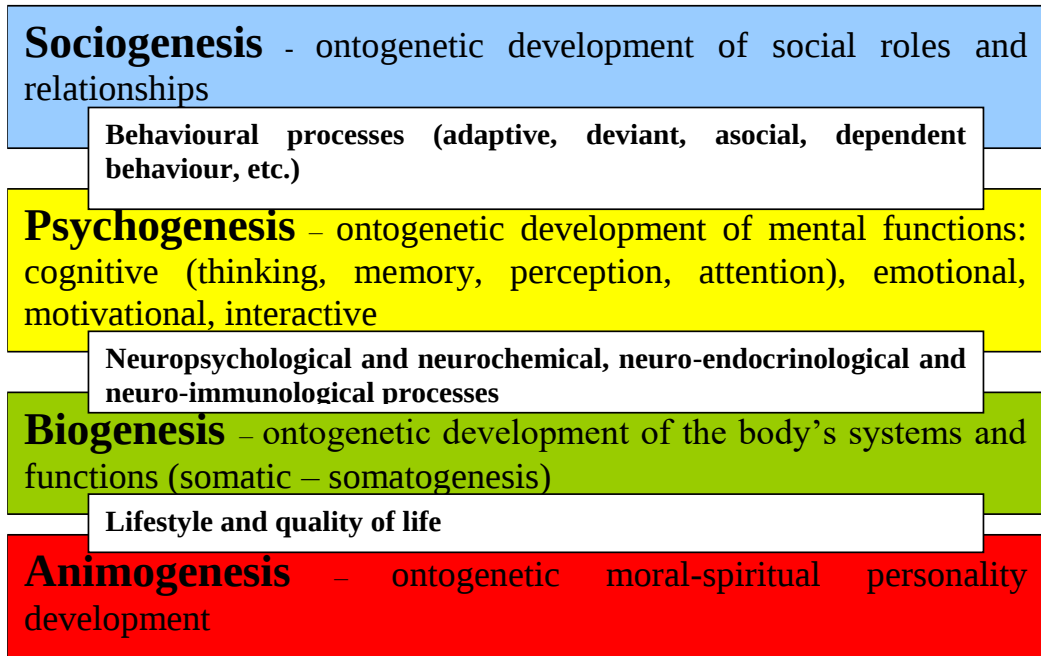
Psycho-somato-social and moral-spiritual health of an individual (and public health) are impossible to imagine in isolation – independent to the effect of external factors, which in turn transform as a result of various influences on them from individuals, influencing the environment. These relationships result in a formation of a complex, nonlinear, unstable, open, self-organising system of a dissipative type that conducts energy exchange and is defined in its development by influence of multidirectional forces.

The synergetic approach can be visualised (picture 3) through the main plains (vectors) of the bio-psycho-social model of ontogenesis: somato-, psycho-, and sociogenesis. Somatogenesis presupposes the development of systems and functions of the organism; psychogenesis is the development of psychic functions; sociogenesis is the development of social roles and relationships. The central part of the intersection and integration of the three vectors forms the fourth and the main aspect – the moral-spiritual aspect of animogenesis, the core of which is a polymodal mentality. The model promotes an interdisciplinary and integrated approach to complex and complicated cause and effect relationships. The synergetic model is multidimensional and nonlinear, unstable and open. The developmental trajectories of the condition or the illness are set and corrected at bifurcation points, achieving spiral-like qualities and multiple possibilities. Nonlinear discretion and fractality replace linear and nosocentric dynamics.

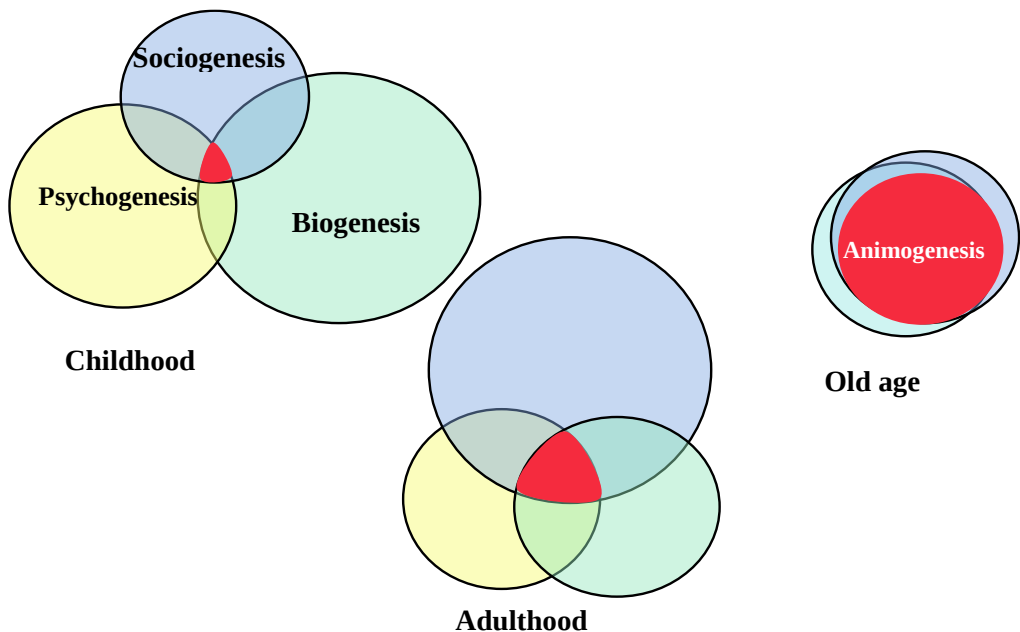
The main planes of ontogenesis penetrate each other, forming transit zones and a central zone that contains consciousness, an integral part of mental health, the highest level of self-regulation and reflection of reality that accumulates moral-spiritual potential (picture 4). In the dynamics of ontogenesis the amplitude and rhythm of the main aspects diminish and by the time they fade the person's soul and consciousness become the last relevant factors [32,34].

According to the synergetic concept the development of any disorder has non-linear dynamics, the trajectory of which includes the following fractals: predisposition (family disontogenesis); latent (diathesis); initial (functional disorders); clinical picture; chronicity (forms and types of progress of the illness); outcome. In clinical medicine, a fractal is both progress and condition, uniting temporal and qualitative characteristics of the system and organism.

Synergetic methodology permits the systematic and successive integration of the whole variety of factors and resources of mental ecology in order to promote an optimal level of national health.



Picture 3. Bio-psycho-socio-spiritual model of ontogenesis.



Picture 4. Age dynamics of bio-psycho-socio-spiritual assimilation.

1.2. System Crisis of Psychiatry and Alternative Mental Medicine

The urgency of the problem of the scientific and methodological system crisis in psychiatry, that found itself on the verge of exhausting habitual concepts, often becomes a subject of discussion for experts that propose changing paradigms in psychiatry [28,33] as it appears to be a particular example of a more common difficulty faced by many modern sciences that have reached the end of another cycle of civilisation. The interdisciplinary nature of psychiatry and even more so that of psychotherapy determine the interest of various disciplines in this problem: natural sciences, humanities, technical sciences. It makes the synergetic approach all the more relevant.

Modern system problems in psychiatry are illustrated by the ICD-10 that displays eclecticism, lack of unified stylistic and ideological concepts, and a deficit of new ideas, whereas old concepts no longer measure up to the challenges of the times. These circumstances augmented the contradictory tendencies of modern psychiatry: “globalisation of approaches... and classification criteria” and “the increasing informational excessiveness of various data” [17] that divided psychiatry into a “psychiatry of facts” based on diagnostic standards and a “psychiatry of values” that individualises the approach to the patient [5].

The interdisciplinary quality of psychiatry was engendered by its interaction with other sciences leading to its unique integrity. However, in the ICD-10 the psychiatry’s interdisciplinary nature and integrity look like a mechanical union of ideas and different styles, which are often contradictory. Because of this, the problem of terminology became more relevant, highlighting on the one hand the limits of some classical terms, and on the other hand – the artificiality of new definitions. The mechanical and eclectic unity of the two approaches determined the system crisis of the ICD-10 that, along with obvious “successes” contains definitions that seem to be “multiplying the essence without need” [18]

It is notable that countries using the DSM IV diagnostic system, with all of its shortcomings, did not challenge tradition in the face of changing psychiatric treatments and their ethical and legal aspects, by adjusting to the latest ICD, which thus cannot be considered truly “international”.

The solution may lie only in establishing new synergetic methodology.

Synergetics permits us to examine mental health and mental illnesses within a single methodology. The same group of professional psychotherapists, psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, and social workers is using the same technologies and is working on both strengthening mental health of clients (who have difficulties in adapting in the absence of a diagnosis) and treating the mental health of the patients. As such mental medicine is built on an interdisciplinary synergetic methodology which unites nosocentric clinical psychiatry and health centric preventive mental health care.

Mental medicine is a science that studies etiopathogenesis and diagnostics along with the clinical picture and treatment of mental disorders, bio-psycho-socio-spiritual resources of personality and societal development, strategies and mechanisms of adaptation and professiogenesis based on a single synergetic methodology. This wording includes the classical definition of psychiatry in all the modes, specified in the mental health definition by WHO (2001), which are the priorities of mental preventology.

Mental preventology is a section of general preventive medicine, a science that studies methods of achieving and maintaining the optimum level of mental health, psycho-hygiene and psycho-prophylactics on a systematic and interdisciplinary synergetic basis.

The main tasks are combining the classical psychiatry's sphere of use with the field of interest of *mental medicine* that apart from mental illnesses studies bio-psycho-socio-spiritual resources of personality development, mechanisms of socialisation and adaptive professiogenesis, and the search for a new health-centric concept that widens the possibilities for de-stigmatisation and the work of experts in donosologic field.

In light of the aforementioned thoughts it seems relevant to compare and combine classical clinical psychiatry and mental preventology against the most important criteria of their content - direction and nature of functioning (table 2) within unified mental medicine.

Table 2. Mental medicine as a unified theory of improving mental health and treatment of mental illnesses

Criteria	Mental medicine	
	Clinical psychiatry	Mental preventology
Concept	Nosocentricity	Health-centricity
Strategy	Illness treatment	Prevention of pathology
Aim	Return of mental health	Raising quality of life
Task	Removing symptoms	Preserving functions
Object	Ill person	Healthy person
Focus	Psychiatric disorder	Normal function
Technologies	Treatment, rehabilitation	Preservation, optimisation
Priorities	Clinical	Holistic
Relationships	Paternalism	Partnership
Process	Hospitalisation	Socialisation
Dynamics	Linear	Multidimensional
Ethics	Stigmatisation	De-stigmatisation

This table permits us to compare the direction of mental preventology and clinical psychiatry, outlining their mutual compatibility when solving tasks in strengthening the mental health of the nation. Integration in mental medicine of the traditional psychiatric nosocentricity with the growing health-centric trend of improving mental health became possible via synergetic methodology and interdisciplinary teamwork. This information casts doubt on the concept of viewing the psychiatric disorder as the main and only aim and task of psychiatry. In today's context, diagnostics, treatment, and prophylactics of psychopathology have become a tactical fragment of the common strategy and direction of mental medicine towards preserving and optimising a person's mental health and increasing his or her quality of life. Mental medicine becomes a unified science pertaining to mental health and mental illnesses.

Thus, the more intensive development and research of branches of medicine, both already existing and those that have not been fully formed yet, is a natural and relevant task of modern science – not only from a scientific determinism point of view, but also from the point of view of other methodological approaches, one of them being synergetics as the base for organisationally functional interdisciplinarity, capable of forming a new paradigm of mental medicine. Projecting it on the traditional field of classical psychiatry widens the area of use for specialist knowledge, directing it at situations that do not have a clinical interpretation yet. It

demands perfecting of mental health's systematic monitoring technologies that can compliment and transform traditional clinical examination; formalising the prophylactic monitoring activity of specialists (with the appearance of specialities like "preventive medicine", "monitoring and strengthening health"); forming strategies for work on nosological field, screening mental health factors and resources; multiple potentials of trajectories of correctional prophylactic and treatment rehabilitation routes; evaluating the quality of life and social functioning, which in the end secures better results in improving the mental health of the population.

1.3. Anti-Psychiatry

Philosophical discrepancies of the mid-20th century lead to the appearance in 1960s of a movement called *anti-psychiatry* within classical psychiatry that chose existentialism and socially critical philosophy as its foundations. World Psychiatric Association President Mario May (2008) said the following about anti-psychiatry: "Anti-psychiatry is a reality in some countries. Our profession is unique in that it can create its own antibodies."

The period of decline of empires in the post-war era generated anti-system leanings in many spheres of human life. The traditional system of classical psychiatry was subjected to revisionist attempts from its opponents. Supporters of anti-psychiatry were aiming to "discover the truth hidden amongst the drivel," and in the process almost doubting the status of classical psychiatry itself as a medical science, protesting against its claims to qualifying people as mentally ill.

Anti-psychiatrists Ronald Laing, David Cooper, Thomas Szasz and others thought that the decision not to treat patients was right and that their individual and social needs, including those expressed in psychotic motives, had to be satisfied: "Instead of psychiatric hospitals, these processing plants, we need places where people who went further than psychiatrists in their wanderings and consider themselves mentally healthy would have a possibility to go even further in internal time and space and return from there"[19]. Or, as clinical practice demonstrates, never come back.

American sociologist Erving Goffman highlighted the negative sides of *psychiatric total institutions*. In Italy Franco Basaglia, the initiator of de-institutionalisation of psychiatric hospitals became the leader of the anti-psychiatry movement. In the Netherlands Jan Foudraine lead the student movement targeted against professional authority in psychiatric hospitals. Classical psychiatry was accused of having discriminating procedures within its regulations. A movement appeared for banishing psychiatric intervention from the framework of a hospital structure that for almost two hundred years had been seen as treating psychiatric patients in a space isolated from society. In 1965 David Cooper, Ronald Laing and others created the Philadelphia association, aimed at "changing the perception of *mental health and illness of the soul*" [1].

Anti-psychiatry expressed fundamental criticism of the following:

- a) illegal use of medical categories and methods regarding social and psychiatric phenomena;
- b) conventional nature of nosologic categories in classical psychiatry, their highly provisional nature, dubious medical status;

- c) not enough theoretical and clinical reasoning for distribution of these categories into rubrics in classifications;
- d) toxicity and side effects of psychotropic medicine;
- e) lack of a clearly and legally defined standard of psychiatric norm;
- f) use of non-voluntary treatment;
- g) ignoring other approaches to the problem of psychiatric disorders;
- h) compromising connections of classic psychiatry with pharmaceutical companies;
- i) cruel treatment and tight control regarding the mentally ill.

Anti-psychiatry brought to the fore the following problems:

- a) existential factors for psychiatric disorders;
- b) pathological status of psychiatric disorders
- c) place of the mentally ill in society;
- d) institutionalisation/ de-institutionalisation of the mentally ill;
- e) psychiatric disorders treatment methods;
- f) personality suppression and functioning of the institutions of authority;
- g) peculiarities of inter-personal interaction;
- h) unconscious mechanisms of society's functioning;
- i) human rights protection for people with mental illnesses.

Not one of the pioneers of anti-psychiatry developed a complete theoretical system: Laing and Cooper worked with phenomenological and existential concepts based on the theory of pathology of communication inside the family; Basaglia was concerned with politics, ideology and revolutionary social reforms; Szasz's views formed under the influence of Ludwig Binswanger and Freudianism. However, the anti-psychiatry movement influenced classical psychiatry, the nature of work by its institutions, and the quality of help for the mentally ill. Anti-psychiatry brought to light some contradictions of classical psychiatry – its conceptual and philosophic disagreement; known diagnostic arbitrariness that depends on priorities of regional schools and philosophical preferences.

Thanks to the anti-psychiatry movement, starting from the 1960s, new methods and forms of working with the mentally ill became more popular. Therapeutic communities (soterias) appeared and became popular again, but they were a modification of a method used by classical psychiatry in the 19th century (housing patients in peasant families for their full social rehabilitation and labour therapy like in the Belgian town Geel and a number of other European locations); stricter laws were passed that limited the use of non-humane methods of treatment and the regulation of non-voluntary hospitalisation; a more humane view of the mentally ill appeared; social and psychological methods became more common in their treatment and rehabilitation. Perceptions of ethical norms in classical psychiatry formed. The monopoly of the biological approach to psychiatry was broken; psycho-social approaches appeared and became more active.

Anti-psychiatry became the *antithesis* to the *thesis* of classical psychiatry, criticising its important concepts, achievements and theories, doubting its practical implementation and viability. Anti-psychiatry attacked the foundation of nosology and epistemology of classical psychiatry, criticised its lack of satisfactory criteria for diagnostics and the objectivity of its methods; doubted the very medical model of a mental illness accepted by the classical

psychiatry, considering the nosological classification arbitrary; criticised methods of therapy (“pharmacotherapy is chains locked from the inside”) and prophylactics that did not take into account social conditions; put the psychosocial aspect of the problem instead of the biological one to the foreground, treating psychotherapy as social manipulation and control; protested against obligatory hospitalisation, considering it a measure of segregating the mentally ill bereft of their human rights.

The philosophical ideology of anti-psychiatry was also eclectic and cumulative, combining the philosophical concepts of the sentimental humanism of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre, and anarchism of Peter Kropotkin. Student riots in Paris in 1968 do not look coincidental in this context: readers of Sartre were prisoners of romantically viewed anarchism and Trotskyism. It was the first example of mental design and strategies, technologies and mechanisms of the future artificial “colour revolutions.”

The difference between the authorities’ thoughts on the forms of realising the ψ -function and peculiarities of its social use were expressed through psychiatric hospitals and the mentally ill in socialist and capitalist countries. Inside the socialist system, the ψ -function came down to isolating this category of people in conditions where it was easy to conduct monitoring of this cohort. It is the *totalitarian* option of ψ -function implementation. Capitalist socio-economic formation featured the *liberal* option, declaring human rights a priority and regulating psychiatric activity with this point of view in mind.

There was an explosion of popularity and the network distribution of such methods of psycho-correction and psychotherapy as group sessions, family psychotherapy, training, role games, and behaviour modification among others. All of this became the prologue to the modern *Era of Psychotherapy*. Psychotherapy, having achieved the revolutionary breakthrough to the medical nosological field, radically changed the focus of the ψ -mission of the state and society from mental illnesses to mental health. This secured dynamic development of the whole complex of neurosciences and sped up the development of social psychiatry and narcology, leading to the birth in the last decade of mental ecology and mental medicine.

1.4. System Synthesis of Mental Medicine

If before the 20th century it was possible to talk about long-term paradigms in philosophy and science (particularly in classical psychiatry), then now various concepts of philosophical directions that exist simultaneously form a contradictory ontology and a perception of the worldview as unstable.

The world is losing stability and steadiness at the speed of a gallop and it is important to note that this is not simply the perception of “shadows of scientific illusions”. Terrorist attacks by suicide-bombers and online hacker attacks easily explode the global public consciousness, demanding principally new approaches to protecting the mental resources of the civilisation. Psychiatric fences and bars in the global and open world became totally anachronistic. Humanity as a whole and each one of us individually are so defenceless that the very realisation of this fact creates ground for social stress disorders.

Acceptance that the former canons of scientific world study turned insolvent became a common topic of polemic statements. Urgent desire for defenceless integration of classification systems in classical psychiatry is today accompanied by “the known futility of the announced methodological approach; its lack of theory; change from nosological to syndrome level of

clinical evaluations; bulkiness; inability to reflect cultural variety even when using the descriptive method, and eclecticism because of a lack of theoretical principle” [24].

Materialistic science and philosophy fully humiliate the person and the truth. Almost all empirical theories of the 19th and 20th centuries were refuted by the verdict of history as strained and pretentious exhibits of vain erudition. Despite the significant number of historical, statistical, pseudo-experimental, clinical and other data, not a single unified theory was created. At best, they only restored in a vulgar and more primitive form the generalisations of the previous generations [40].

This problem was formulated by Carl Gustav Jung in relation to classical psychiatry and psychotherapy [11]: “Modern medicine can no longer understand the psyche as part of the body and is thus considering the so-called *psychic factor* more.” “Practical loss of empiricism of modern culture is revealed in our growing inability to control humanity and the course of social and cultural processes” [40]. However, it is psychiatry that is the slowest in leaving behind the empirical period of scientific development.

In the context of a globally permanent and paroxysmally progressive crisis that fundamentally relates to the mental paradigm, modern possibilities for perfecting classical psychiatry and anti-psychiatry have almost been exhausted. “We are, seemingly, at the dusk of an era” [20]. But this “...imaginary dying agony is nothing else but sharp pain from the birth of a new form of culture, labour pains, accompanying new creative forces” [40], “a reassuring sign of possible deeper changes of the spiritual disposition” [13].

“The 21st century will become the century of returning to continuity, to all-round understanding of common problems. The key will be technologies of a certain system integration, *system synthesis*” [22], because “the main thing in the study of the living phenomena are not the elements that do not matter by themselves and do not exist, but something else – *synthesis, form, idea*” [14]. “Gradually the understanding that there is *one* humankind with *one* psyche is born and developed ... would also do away with the awkward hypothesis of psychophysical parallelism and afford us an opportunity to construct a new world model closer to the idea of the *unus mundus*” [10]

The crisis of classical sciences in the 20th century generated the use in scientific methodology of *various* interpretative and methodological systems, which lead to the understanding that it is necessary to utilise the *principle of complementarity*. “Being can only be described in part, as the other part remains at any given time unrecognised and unlimited. Life processes cannot be explained based on just the causality principle” [12].

Contradiction unites into a whole the battle and the unity of opposites, and *unity* mutually supposes and *battle* mutually exclude opposite sides. The battle of the thesis of classical psychiatry and the antithesis of anti-psychiatry brought these concepts to unipolar renditions in which both failures and achievements of these areas were subject to relativism from the opposing side. However, the thesis of classical psychiatry that was replaced by the antithesis of anti-psychiatry created conditions both for formation through the complementarity principle of a constructive *synthesis* of these contradicting concepts in mental medicine, promising a qualitatively new level of understanding and interpretation of mental health problems and mental illnesses (table 3).

Internal contradictions of the thesis and antithesis are removed by the synthesis of former ideas, capable of using new philosophical *ideology of synergetics*, called exactly “system synthesis,” “synthesis with the developed analysis” (which shows a meaningful combination

of former methodological priorities and achievements) as a base for forming a new scientific discipline – *mental medicine*.

Synergetics that uses a complex approach, and has among its most important systematic concepts the complementarity principle, can creatively unite the achievements of classical psychiatry and anti-psychiatry, evading their shortcomings that first of all appear in their methodological relativism that denies the ideological priorities of the opposing side. The appearance of a new holistic philosophy inevitably generates new synthetic methodology, capable of retrieving the practical psychiatric science from the dead end of today's contradictory and irreconcilable concepts: theory will inspire practice. Elements of new practical trends are noticeable in the achievements of psychotherapy, narcology, and social psychiatry, with their more varied forms and methods of work, that fall outside the repertoire of traditional classic psychiatry. Mental medicine, whose polymodal structure is aimed at the *wholesome* holistic approach to mental illnesses, that considers not only nosological categories, but also *potential risks* of their formation can be the new base for implementation of the new synergetic philosophy in the mental health field.

Table 3. System synthesis of mental medicine

№	Criteria	Clinical psychiatry (thesis)	Anti-psychiatry (antithesis)	Mental medicine (synthesis)
	<i>Philosophy</i>	Positivism, neopositivism, scientism	Existentialism	Synergetics
	<i>Concept</i>	Nosocentricity	Existential freedom of personality	Health-centricity
	<i>Priorities</i>	Clinical	Social	Holistic
	<i>Trend</i>	Biological	Socio-psychological	Bio-psycho-socio-moral- spiritual
	<i>Strategy</i>	Treatment of mental illnesses	Individual mentality	Preventive correction and treatment rehabilitation
	<i>Aims</i>	Return of mental health	Implementing individual rights and freedoms	Improving quality of life and mental health levels
	<i>Tasks</i>	Removing the symptoms	Maintaining the subject's right to his or her uniqueness	Preserving functions and mental potential
	<i>Objects</i>	Sick person	Psychiatry as the ψ -functional institution of authority	Healthy person – client- patient
	<i>Focus</i>	Mental disorder	Peculiarities of interpersonal interaction	Normal – changed – unbalanced mentality
	<i>Technologies</i>	Treatment, rehabilitation	Communication	Preservation – optimisation - recovery
	<i>Process</i>	Hospitalisation	Liberalisation	Adaptation – socialisation- humanisation – re- adaptation
	<i>Dynamics</i>	Linear	Counter-linear	Multidimensional
	<i>Relationship</i>	Paternalism	Protectionism	Partnership
	<i>Ethics</i>	Stigmatisation	Presumption of mental uniqueness	De-stigmatisation
	<i>Forms of implementation</i>	Hospital, clinic, care home	Therapeutic communities	Systematic monitoring of mental health

Considering that mental illnesses consume up to 50% of the budget in developed countries' healthcare systems, the central task is the answer to the sacramental question – what is more effective socially and economically, more clinically viable and humane: to preserve the subpopulations with mentality disorders in their changed reality or to bring them to a legitimate reality which they do not accept? Mental medicine provides the answer; it allows the strengthening of mental health in multiple scenarios and the treatment of mental illness. Mental medicine allows us to justify and implement a worthy care path and fate for any patient or client with specific resources of the polymodal mentality in an adequate for him or her multicultural or virtual hospital reality.

The dialectics of history in general and scientific research in particular are made up of the stages of “throwing away the stones” and their “gathering,” meaning, respectively, processes of analysis and synthesis. However, in essence, they are just procedural thesis and antithesis, and this dyad demands its own logical conclusion, which must be the third stage – construction of the new Cathedral of Science from the gathered stones. This stage can be called the system synthesis of mental medicine.

2. TERRORISM AS AN OUTCOME OF THE DEMORALIZATION SYNDROME

The terrorist attack in Volgograd (December 2013) and its following media coverage “exploded” Russian public conscience and revealed the existing exhaustiveness of traditional obstructive strategies used to counteract suicidal terrorism.

The experience of other countries demonstrates that one must not respond to terror with terror as it only spurs violence and the spiral of terror unwinds even further. That is why the announced formation of a new antiterrorist unit in the city of Volgograd (07.01.2014) was perceived by terrorists as an official recognition of defeat from Russian authorities and a call for expanding the geography of violence. The serial murders in Stavropol (January 2014) became a continuation of this antiterrorist scenario. Psychologists have spent many years discussing the phenomenon of terrorism and compared it to a flood when antiterrorist measures are an attempt to scoop out water with a teaspoon: “Personally addressed counterterrorism only procreates terrorists” [23].

The escalation of terror and state counterterrorism represents the best way to eliminate countries and peoples. Every day we can find the confirmation of this fact in our “mental TV sewerage”, it is present even on family and history channels. Thus, hundreds of millions of TV viewers all over the world enjoy a wonderful TV serial “The Magnificent Century”. It draws a bright and convincing picture that shows how the awe of unmotivated death, terrorism and state counterterrorism created the great Ottoman Empire. The same terror, having reached its apogee and worldwide protest reaction (that was caused by the barbarian genocide of Armenians) destroyed the Empire and made it possible for Atatürk to create a secular republic. This republic has recently undergone the difficult times of “Islamic reformation”.

Since ancient times terror has been the most archaic way of governing people and societies. In the contemporary technological-virtual world it is acquiring new epidemic features that symbolize the completion of another global civilizational cycle. The point here is that *terror itself has become the universal form of war prosecution*, it has radically changed the concept

of warfare and armed forces. There is no front line and there can be no battle line in the contemporary world, that functional and organizational army infrastructure is a thing of the past, it has lost its efficiency with the parity of space military forces.

Ten years ago it was possible to try and compare terrorism and guerrilla warfare, terrorism and revolutionary violence, terrorism and struggle for national liberation. In the past this comparison could be based on the subject's position and on differential diagnostic evaluations. Today there are practically no alternatives – it is more and more obvious that terrorism is becoming a new universal form of war prosecution. In this new quality terrorism demonstrates independent epidemic mechanisms of self-development and has nothing to do with the traditional reasons and factors that used to provoke it in the past. Terrorism is becoming an independent tool for solving political problems: “The future picture of the world is no longer possible without terror and violence” [6].

The notion of civil population is disappearing from our lexicon, and what we have left is *already dead and still alive, everyone is contused by the informational explosion waves brought by the pandemic of terrorism*.

The special feature of the Volgograd tragedy is the fact that, for the first time, Russian mass media stopped spreading explosive informational waves of this attack and damage the public conscience of the country. To intimidate and demoralize a society – is the objective of terrorists, it is not the objective of mass media. Russian leading psychologists have been discussing the necessity of censoring reports on terrorist attacks for 10 years.

It is possible to try and link the tragedies in Volgograd and Stavropol with the preventive intimidation of Russia before the Olympic Games in Sochi. But it is much more important to see and hear another communicative message from terrorists – “Russia is destroying itself”, and it happens because more and more frequently (according to Russian mass media) terrorists are of Slavic origin.

Sorrowful information about civilian casualties and the *consequences of yesterday's failed “Volgograd battle”* are known, with the active phase of the antiterrorist war only beginning. It is important to learn the lesson in a timely manner and make adequate conclusions by building a system of effective defense.

Long before becoming suicide bombers terrorists themselves became victims of *mental terrorism* – destructive manipulation with their conscience in extremist camps, gangs, and armies [31]. As a result of this “brain wash” they developed a fanatic belief in their messianic and self-sacrificing role of fighters against the “infidels”. The outcome of *terrorist demoralization syndrome* manifests itself in the deranged formation and deranged development of moral feelings, cast of mind, social position, and behavior, which are responsible for personal moral socialization.

The ontogenetic approach forms the foundation of this definition. Derangements in the formation of *primary moral feelings* (conscience, duty, faith and responsibility) are most often predetermined by spiritual and moral deficit as well as by family ambivalence. Such derangements develop even above orthodox and pious backgrounds as well as above patriarchal characters.

During adolescence derangements in moral socialization cause a delay and disharmony in the development of *moral make-up fundamentals* – such as patience, tolerance, mercy, humanism, honor, and dignity. At the same time manipulative characteristics of conscience and susceptibility to nationalistic provocations with xenophobia begin their formations.

Derangements in the formation and development of the *spiritual and moral position*, accumulated in the personality's motivational and mindset complex, manifest themselves by the decreased ability to differentiate between good and evil, friendship and love, amorphous personal position and low level of self-criticism in everything that does not include the categories of "infidels" and "strangers", inability to see life perspectives, pessimistic and catastrophic perceptions of the world, capitulation before encountering difficulties sublimated in sacrificial struggle, inability to realize the value of human life.

As a result of the *terrorist (fanatic, extremist) demoralization syndrome* there appear: a complete loss of the socially accepted moral norms of behavior, demonstrative neglect of traditional concepts concerning what is due and what is unallowable, rejection of any moral duties and moral self-control, inability to act independently and irresponsibility for one's actions, increased suggestibility and dependence, complete devaluation of legal awareness and law-abidance, loss of social and personal identity. All this allows a militant-manipulator to easily "create" new generations of suicidal terrorists. The recruitment of suicide terrorists looks even more tragic and dramatic when it comes to women, aged people, mentally ill and disabled individuals, teenagers and children. On January 08, 2014 the 1st Russian channel reported a story of a 10 year old Afghan girl whose farther and elder brother were forcing the child to become a suicide attacker. It was a miracle that she managed to escape and reach the police station that she was supposed to explode by the order of her relatives. This story reflects the monstrous *family variant of the terrorist demoralization syndrome*, when parents are ready to send children to their death. In this case it is not so important whether they do it for money or fighting for an "idea". Any form of terrorism inevitably destroys and eliminates individual human lives of terrorists as well as the lives of family members who support it. That is why from the psychiatric point of view terrorism represents the most destructive form of the *epidemic suicidal behavior*. To launch and support such destructive social epidemics of suicidal terrorism three conditions are sufficient and must be met [41]: religious culture of martyrdom, decision of a terrorist organization, possibility of compulsory but made to appear as voluntary recruitment of future suicide attackers.

The development of demoralization syndrome has multiple variants in the ethno-cultural environment. It has minimum dependence on the intellectual potential and quality of education. Terrorism, like alcoholism and drug addiction can derive from rich and poor backgrounds. There is no coincidence that the number one and most mythologized terrorist of the world Ben Laden came from a well-educated and wealthy family.

3. TERRORISM AS DESTRUCTIVE SOCIAL EPIDEMICS

Demoralization syndrome – is a moral and psychological foundation of any social epidemic regardless of its form: drug addiction, fanaticism, extremism, terrorism and many others.

Social epidemics– is the appearance (outbreak) of a social decease in a community (or on a given territory) when the rate of this decease exceeds regular expectations. Social epidemics become *destructive*, when they begin to threaten the national security of a country as a whole. This is when the mechanisms of social ailment generation and their extensive and uncontrolled reproduction become active and transform an epidemic into a *pandemic* that can overtake not only countries but also continents [6].

Generalization shows itself in the form of new infringements when more serious and punishable social norms are more and more often violated. Thus hard drinking primarily represents a phenomenon of immoral behavior that breaks ethics rules. It is followed by alcoholism that represents a medical/psychiatric condition which is likely to result in administrative infringements of the law after which some of the patient's rights will be restricted. Sever forms of alcohol abuse or alcohol psychosis are bound to unlawful behavior and criminal responsibility.

Extended reproduction shows itself in a highly latent form of social ailments. At best, every out-patient department for drug addicts has an official record of only 1 alcoholic out of 10. Furthermore, it has an official record of only 1 drug addict out of 30 habitual abusers. The remaining addicts successfully continue their personal destruction together with the destruction of their families. They get new generations involved into the consumption of drugs. The first vacant place is always reserved for youth. We have the same situation with grave crimes and AIDS because only 1 case out of 5 is detected. There exists no accurate statistics or estimation that could reflect the actual spread of tuberculosis, STDs, corruption and prostitution, gambling addiction, extremism and fanaticism as well as many other problems.

The uncontrollability of social epidemics is predetermined by the absence of a mental health monitoring system and the presence of immediate interdepartmental barriers that exist in organizations with preventive and correctional missions as well as in treatment and rehabilitation clinics.

Epidemiological recognition of the threats and challenges posed by terrorism and extremism is not another myth or banal abuse of psychiatric terminology. It is not what happened in the case of trappidomania diagnosis or so the called pathological craving for freedom among American slaves, delirium of reformation, and criminal prosecution of homosexuality in the USSR. Today clinical psychiatry makes diagnoses, which yesterday were viewed as a purely social phenomenon. For example, the Mobbing syndrome evolved from banal "office wars". Today it is a form on non-lethal mental terrorism that destroys the mental health of its "Mobbing targets" and corporate society.

It is of fundamental importance to note the unity and universality of the social epidemic base. Drug and alcohol addictions, crime and violence, extremism and terrorism unite the subpopulations of people "exiled" from the normative social systems [1].

The following [6] groups of conditions initiate the epidemiological spread of terrorism:

1. *formation of the information society*, that indefinitely spreads the potential effect of terrorisms;
2. *vulnerability of the technological environment* that is responsible for human existence, it makes the pinpoint destruction of the technological environment's social, natural, and technological foundations possible;
3. *smearing of the traditional society* with modernization and liberal values: concept of the social contract, ideas that proclaim state authorities responsible before their society, ideas promoting the value of law and human life;
4. *crisis stages of social development* accompanied by the ideas of separatism, religious, ethnic, and ideological conflicts.

Terrorism represents one of the most polymodal types of *destructive social epidemics*, its working classification includes:

1. *Social epidemics of dependent disorders:*

- a) chemical: alcoholism, drug addiction (drug dealing is the financial foundation of terrorism) and others;
- b) non-chemical: gambling and others;
- c) vicarious, those that fill moral and psychological emptiness: workaholism, sectarianism, radicalism, fanaticism, extremism, mental terrorism and others;
- d) electronic: internet and computer (cyber terrorism) and others;
- e) changing people's dietary habits: dietmania, manipulative nutraceutics (nutritional supplements) and others;
- f) expansive forms of sexual self-assertion: public group exhibitionism, hypercompensatory sex parades and others.

2. *Social epidemics of induced disorders:*

- a) early hysteria-demonic: manarik and emiryachenie (Yakut hysteria), lishinka and kila, ikota and sheva (that require to "draw blood" of the chaki - a sorceress who put an evil curse, in order to regain health) and others;
- b) hysteria-demonic renaissance: shamanism, magic, sorcery, pseudo-religious extremism and terrorism and others;
- c) induced nervous-psycho disorders: somatoform, social - stress and others;

3. *Epidemics of social ailments:*

- a) infectious diseases: especially dangerous infections (bio-terrorism), tuberculosis, AIDS and others;
- b) psychic disorders: mobbing-terrorism, social phobias, panic reactions to terrorist attacks and others;

4. *Epidemics of sociopathy:*

- a) suicidal behavior: suicides, suicidal terrorism and others;
- b) organized serial crime: terrorism, corruption and others.

Terrorism is an exceptionally polymorph phenomenon with different types and classes of usable aggressive agents. That is why it is present in all four groups of the suggested classification. Thus, the arsenal of bio-terrorism includes 13 types of viruses, 7 – bacteria, 3 – rickettsiae that cause dangerous infectious diseases, 12 microbial toxins. Long ago special methods of diagnostics and therapy have been developed to counter these threats.

The situation with *mental terrorism* appears to be much more dramatic. This form of terrorism affects mental health together with ideological, spiritual, and moral bases of culture, society, and statehood. Furthermore, it is followed by the stirring of national hatred, depreciation of spiritual and moral values with their ideals, marginalization and criminalization of social consciousness. This is an everyday reality for Russia while it keeps on sinking in the "waterfalls of mental TV sewage". As a result of this phenomenon there developed increased uncertainty about tomorrow and hesitancy about the state, profound sense of anxiety, aggression and emotional instability, suggestibility and trustfulness, distrust to official information with preference given to rumors, decreased criticality [31, 43].

Such peculiarities of the public consciousness are characteristic of emergencies. It turns out that in Russia the state of emergency, caused by mental terrorism, exists de-facto, but de jure the society is already unable to perceive it adequately. Furthermore, public consciousness and the Russian state itself are undergoing painless destruction under the anesthetization of the mental TV-sewage. This image has a serious associative and medical interpretation. Psychiatric

practice has encountered and described cases of cloacae gas poisoning that lead to the instant death of the cerebral cortex and visualize in the form of profound encephalopathy (hydrogen sulfide intoxication can be in-plant or take place in natural environments: areas of natural gas release, around sulfurous mineral waters, in deep wells and pits, with rotting organic substances that contain sulphur). During my 40 year clinical practice there have been only several cases of such intoxication. For example, when construction workers opened airtight pits half of them died and the remaining half acquired dementia. With this decease they produced the impression of preteens. All this really reminds me of the situation on the Russian television where infantile intonation is being used in order to facilitate the manipulation of human consciousness.

It is the decrease of the stress-resistance threshold by means of the infantile *reverberatory* tuning of public consciousness through electronic mass media that allows exploding the public consciousness with the informational shock waves of any terrorist attack or any kind of emergency. The chain reactions of anxiety and fear are multiplied and doubled. Their cumulative effects are amplified as they provoke different kinds of induced socially stressful and somatoform neuropsychic disorders. Today's mass media policy significantly favors this harmful influence. It relies on the "sinister charm of violence and fear" [7, p. 432] and is guided by the principles like "corpses make our picture more alive" [7, p. 428]. This is how mass media imprints the image of our contemporary society on the public consciousness. It is the society of utter and unpredictable violence. Due to perverted professional ethics and esthetics the media coverage of any terrorist attack or tragedy literally turns into a "satanic necrophilic feast" that creates epidemic waves of induced disorders.

The following classification of social epidemics can be based on their epidemiological scale:

1. social epidemics (all forms);
2. destructive social epidemics (all forms);
3. generalized destructive social epidemics: nationalistic bashing and massacre, "color" revolutions, genocide, civil wars and others;
4. pandemics of destructive social epidemics: drug addiction, terrorism, corruption and others.

The world epidemics of drug addiction and terrorism are closely interconnected. According to the American Drug Enforcement Administration, 39 % of terrorist organizations are associated with drug dealing. The global volume of drug traffic, according to different estimations, makes up from 400 to 1 000 billion dollars every year. There is no coincidence that the former president of Columbia M. Pastrana called drug dealing "the main financier of terrorism and death in the world" [27]. One can easily add here the total corruption that systematically embraces the entire civilized infrastructure and creates premises for *planetary suicide*.

Social epidemics become *generalized* as a significant percentage of the dependent subpopulation (population suffering from dependent personality disorders) gets involved. According to our data, it makes up 30 % of the whole population.

The first generalized social epidemics in Russian history was "Smutnoe vremya" (the Time of Troubles), that ended about 400 years ago. It was accompanied by large scale hysteria-demonic and infectious epidemics, plunder, robberies and demolitions, burning of witches and

magicians, appearance of various impostors, summoned and recognized by the corrupt elite. The whole country and its population have remembered this lesson for 300 years and it was only in 1917 when the October revolution demonstrated its blood red results and dramatic scenarios.

The student disturbances in Paris (1968) are an example of a *bloodless color revolution* in the contemporary European history. The organizers of this coup d'etat who overthrew president Charles de Gaulle gave young people a possibility to “let off some fume” on barricades. That protesting youth was sincerely engrossed with the ideas of Sartre and was held captive by the romantic illusions of Anarchism and Trotskyism.

Today the mental design of the technological-virtual world (which is composed of numerous ideas and illusions) quickly changes its arrangement of the public consciousness and it happens as if somebody unnoticed swings his mighty wand to conduct the show. One way or another, the newest generations of “color” revolutions industrialized the strategies, tactics, forms and techniques of destroying traditional, natural, cultural and socioeconomic structures of countries and people for the benefit of the financing party. That is why it is extremely difficult to develop a spiritual immunity to all kinds of social epidemics; the development of such immunity has become one of the major priorities of the state. Spiritual immunity is composed of moral and value-based potential of a personality realizing its unity with countrymen and motherland. Here is no coincidence it is the spiritual culture that happens to be the first target of the contemporary aggressor.

Anomia forms the foundation of any destructive social epidemics, it becomes apparent when fundamental moral values of a system get corrupted. Contradictions typically develop between the announced objectives and the impossibility for the majority of citizens to accomplish them using traditional methods. It results in the personality's isolation from society and depressive disillusionment in life. Anomia favors the spread of permissivity – destabilization and the abolishment of socially accepted prohibitions that are structural and ethical elements of society. In such conditions any person can lose his supporting point and be left without his system of moral values as well as support of traditional public morals. All this creates basic conditions for the recruitment of individuals among the dependant subpopulation and their further participation in different forms of destructive social epidemics. The most tragic form of these epidemics is terrorism.

4. FORMS OF TERRORISM AND MECHANISMS OF PERSONALITY DEFORMATION

Terrorism (from Latin *terror*) – is a weapon of mass destruction, that combines direct physical damage of the victims with the significant damage done to the bio-psycho-socio-spiritual resources of a society. The meaningful content of terror is restricted to three characteristics: act of intimidation, request of submission, meaningful content [6, 23, 31].

Generalized psychological portrait of a terrorist [45, 30, 31, 41, 43] most often includes the following characteristics:

- young people around 20 (+/- 5);
- patriarchal or highly religious family culture;

- dominant view about some historic injury of his nation;
- deep emotional connections with his ethnos;
- anxiety about pinched national pride;
- distorted and mythologized views about some historical insulters and need for revenge;
- topical psychological injury, often this injury is caused by the death of relatives in front of the future terrorist;
- early deprivation of parental care and attention;
- deficit of emotional connections during childhood;
- high level of pretensions that showed up since childhood, overrated self-esteem, tendency to fantasize and demand of increased attention;
- as a rule “black sheep”, outsider among his peers;
- disposition towards aggression and vandalism;
- often has obvious or hidden physical defects;
- traumatogenic youth with privations, humiliations, bereavement;
- disturbance of moral socialization;
- settlement of conflicts only through violence;
- difficulties with adaptation to social principles and regulations;
- seeking recognition and self-assured;
- prevalence of hysteric explosive traits of personality;
- high level of neurosis and frustration;
- personality disorders with high level of aggression and self-actualization;
- submission of one’s individuality to group identity;
- high impulsivity, inclination to immediate actions.

Among the most characteristic *mental peculiarities of terrorists* [45, 15, 30, 31, 41, 43] it is possible to single out the following features:

- displacement of time perception (present includes past);
- archaic and binary picture of the world;
- disappearance of borders between reality and fantasy;
- infantilism and naivety, high suggestibility;
- primitiveness of cognitive styles;
- presence of apocalyptic feelings and fantasies;
- ideas of messianism, unique purport of life and sacrificial service;
- ambivalent sadomasochist position;
- identification with aggressor;
- no receptiveness to counterarguments and dissuasion;
- loss of pragmatism and rationality;
- religious arrangement of ideas promoting struggle and revenge;
- cultivation of conceptions about death and life after death;
- glorification of sacrificial death and the heroic deeds of martyrs;
- absence of fear and repentance;
- derangements in the formation and development of moral feelings (conscience and duty, faith and responsibility), character (patience and tolerance, mercy and humanism, honor and dignity), position (ability to differentiate between good and evil, expression of friendship and love), behavioral ethics and communication;

- predilection for illusory-compensatory way of satisfying one's needs instead of active and creative;
- tendency to quick, final and easy solutions;
- primitive mythologizing and sign-symbolic mediation of one's primary activity with compulsory emphasis made on the list of enemies;
- utmost, terminal and artificial dramatization of the situation;
- loss of tactical prognostication resources and vision of strategic perspectives in life.

Contemporary terrorism is characterized by the galloping tempos of its cruelty growth, usage of newest lethal and non-lethal weapons, cyber and nanotechnologies, expanded reproduction of terrorist movements' quantity, generalization and globalization of their activity scale, high level of organization and professionalism, sacrificial fanaticism and shocking corruption. It is not without reason that long time ago Israeli psychologists came to the conclusion that it is impossible to reconstruct or reform the personality of convicted terrorists. This conclusion might be connected with the fact that quite recently special antiterrorist units all over the world began to liquidate terrorists rather than detain them. However attempts to find corrective methods have not been stopped. Thus, neurobiologists from the Oxford University made an announcement about the development of a pilot technology for treating Islamic fundamentalists. This announcement was made two weeks after a shocking public murder in London when two Nigerians cruelly killed a soldier of the British army (Lee Rigby) [8]. The technology includes both biological methods and psychotherapeutic sanitization of extremist beliefs. Moreover, the scientists have suggested that "radical attitudes" should be classified as psychic disorders! It was revealed that the British security service MI5 had attempted to hire one of those Nigerians six month before the terrifying murder took place. This episode really reminds of the contacts that the Russian special service had established (as reported by the Russian mass media) with one the Volgograd suicide bombers prior to the terrorist action in the city. It means that in the struggle against terrorism one cannot rely solely on special services. They simply cannot have all necessary information to prevent such acts of terrorism. These tragedies have demonstrated that the approach towards terrorism requires a systematic synergetic review. It goes without saying that special operations and systematic monitoring of the information field are absolutely necessary antiterrorist activities, however, fighting against destructive social epidemics of terrorism requires, figuratively speaking, *adyke of spiritual immunity that is structured by the moral and value-based potential of the population and cemented with the energy of creative and rallied nation.*

It is deeply symbolic that last year the world mass media proclaimed the president of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin a *spiritual leader of humanitarian anti-terror* after the threat of Syria's terrorist annihilation was overturned with the help of Russia. Of course opponents have not forgiven Russia and Putin for that and the tragedies in Volgograd and Stavropol serve as evidence of this fact.

The classification of terrorism forms includes: ideological and religious, political and ecological, chemical and physical, nuclear and biological, psychological and suicidal, spiritual and mental forms. According to its territorial scale terrorism can be classified as corporative (including the syndrome of mobbing-terrorism in "office wars"), municipal (for example in Volgograd), provincial, regional (republics of the Northern Caucasus), federal, international.

We have singled out [31] the following mechanisms of exposing influence on personality in extremist and terrorist organizations. These mechanisms lead to the practically irreversible deformation of one's personality.

1. *Monologue* – unidirectional impact that excludes alternative sources of information.
2. *Mythological* – use of tested mythological schemes that inspire to die for some idea.
3. *Emotional* – compensation of emotional feelings and care that were not received in society.
4. *Collectivism* – use of group forms self- and mutual induction: training “referent group” prepares a suicide terrorist and leads him till the very end.
5. *Counter argumentation* – suggestion of counter arguments to anticipated doubts and contradictions that is done in advance.
6. *Intolerance* – stimulation of suggestibility in the background of psychophysical exhaustion, especially in field conditions and underground.
7. *Selectivity*– recruitment of suicidal terrorist among the most non-adapted and deficient people.
8. *Manipulative* – use of an extensive psycho-technological arsenal of suggestion.
9. *Paranormal* – use of fictional achievements based on supersensory experience.
11. *Controllability* –ensuring total control of personality and his behavior.
10. *Ritualistic*– creation and nailing down of behavioral habits and models of killing and committing a suicide.

Teaching hatred and brainwashing have three objectives:

1. to deny a positive emotional evaluation of the enemy;
2. to cultivate malice and fear (a classical example of it can be found in the novel of D.Orwell “1984” «five-minute periods of hatred»);
3. generation of decisions based on mistaken cognitive conclusions and faulty critical thinking [42].

The model of psychology of hatred developed by Robert Sternberg [42] has three components and the following blocks:

1. Disgust or rejection of closeness with the enemy. Its source can be found in the peculiarities of the subject's personality, his own actions or propaganda.
2. Passion as a measure of emotional energy, connected with the dynamics of hatred, described in the terms of fear emotions, malice and rage.
3. Obligation that consists of two components: cognitive aberration to decrease the value and significance of the hated group of people: individuals who compose it are viewed as not quite human and very often as “subhuman”. Its second component is behavioral; it is a decision to struggle, use violence an even die.

Interaction between these three elements allowed the author [42] to single out six types of hatred:

1. Hatred expressed in the form of *disgust* towards a hated group (for example a nation).The subject does not want to have anything in common with them because they, from his point of view, have very little in common with people.
2. «*Furious*»hate is expressed in extreme emotional manifestations of malice and fear and it can lead to violence or attempt to avoid the threat that is (in the view of the hatred subjects) posed by the hostile group.
3. «*Cold*»hate that is characterized by the perception of a hostile group as low and mean.
4. «*Boiling*»hate that combines disgust towards a hated group with the need to illuminate the threat that this group poses.
5. *Hardly restrained* hate is characterized by the feeling of constant disgust and fear; at the same time the hostile group is perceived as a gathering of “supermen”.
6. «*Burning hate*»this type of hate is associated with feeling of necessity to physically exterminate the hated enemy. In this case all three elements of hate are present and this type of hate most often becomes the subject of study in frames of terrorism research and studies.

This is how –*through brainwashing and teaching hatred*– the personality of a future suicidal terrorist gets destroyed in order to turn him into a simple “means of transportation”. Only the organizers get the greater part of the client’s reward. There is nothing personal here. Some action appears on TV screens and a sum of money is transferred to someone’s bank account. *A terrorist war* is a business for its organizers and bloody politics for the ordering party.

5. MENTAL SYNERGY OF TERRORISM

The conventional and generalized synergetic concept that demonstrates the development of social epidemics of terrorism is presented in table 1. The illustration to this table shows only the basic markers of this dynamic disorder which has a great polyvalence and multivariance; those markers are connected with the clinical psychopathological and somato-neurologic, socio-psychological, spiritual and moral personal topologies as well as the forms and trajectories of epidemic development.

To make it more convenient for perception, the model of synergetic epidemic is presented in the flat-bed projection even though it is multidimensional, non-linear and unlocked. Its trajectories of development are set and corrected in the points of bifurcation demonstrating multivariance and strombuliform. Non-linear discreteness and fractality have come to replace the nosocentric dynamics with its traditional its stages. Fractal — is a projection onto the wide natural-science field of quantum views. Fractal — is an integral of the dissipative system development that has its inner mechanisms of self-organization, self-development, multivariate trajectories of motion in the multidimensional space. Table 1 demonstrates only the progredient variant of the terrorism epidemic development, it shows four interdependent planes of sociogenesis, psychogenesis, somatogenesis, and animogenesis. The epidemic nature of this disorder and its individual trajectories of development are defined by the unique combination of different bio-psycho-socio-spiritual factors, effectiveness of defense, compensatory and adaptation mechanisms, methods of mental preventology and mental medicine.

Animogenesis (ontogenetic spiritual and moral development of a personality) begins in the fractal of *predisposition* — *mobbing family* (and/or environment), it is distinguished by *spiritual and moral deficiency* and ambivalence, high frequency of asocial and dependant disorders of parents and close relatives, various forms of violence, harassments, cavils, intimidations, insults, mockery, rudeness, deception, moral pressing and isolation.

Early imposition of the “mobbing target” image on children and adolescents leads to “mobbing sensibilization” of the inner world, formation of perverted and simplified mental models of interpersonal interaction and behavior. This family and millisocial environment have anomic and permissive nature, they are very likely to marginalize and dehumanize the moral values of a personality.

During the *latent fractal of bullying diathesis* defensive and compensatory, spiteful and aggressive protest reactions of behavioral nature develop for self-assertion; they increase the polarization of relationship and isolation.

The formation of primary moral feelings is disturbed: conscience, duty, faith and responsibility.

The deformation of spiritual development shows itself in the form of distorted self-esteem and failure to understand the purport of life, unreadiness to act independently as a full-grown individual, undeveloped moral self-consciousness and moral responsibility.

In the initial fractal of crowding mass outbreaks (mass forms of sadistic aggression and vandalism) a *deformed moral image* becomes fixated through training and behavioral practice in street teenage gangs and groups, various legal and illegal fan movements, radical and extremist movements; it lays the corner stone to the development of the demoralization syndrome. Delay and disharmony of the development of the moral image foundations show themselves as the absence of tolerance, patience, mercy, humanism, honor, dignity, deficiency and disharmony of creative potential in spiritual, figural and productive activities; unreadiness and inability to be professionally and socially labile, inability to maintain continuous development and education; manipulative capability of consciousness, susceptibility to nationalistic provocations; painful emotional stress caused by strangulated national pride and xenophobia; exceptional stereotypical reactions to challenges and difficulties – aggression and vandalism.

In the debut fractal of the social epidemic of terrorism the pro-social spiritual and moral position of personality is lost and the syndrome of terrorist demoralization is formed; at the same time the abilities to differentiate good and evil, friendship and love decrease. An affected personality becomes amorphous and deficient, low self-criticism develops together with the personality’s impairment. The vision of life becomes stereotyped with the only purport of life being the struggle for the right and the inability to realize the value of human life. Crowding terrorists are distinguished by the archaic and binary ethical picture of the world that has blurred borders between reality and fantasy. They are fixated on dominant ideas of the nation’s historical trauma and perverted mythologized image of the enemy. Crowding terrorists remain prisoners of their obsessions with messianic ideas and believe in a special meaning of life that infers selfless service in the name of justice and historical revenge. They distinguish themselves with easy perception and neglect of multiple adaptation difficulties to social conventions and moral rules, inclination to “solve problems” only with the help of quick and easy solutions based on violence, preference to primitive styles of mental representation, and armed aggression, religious ritual coverage of their struggle for the right, cultivation of heroized ideas about martyr death and redemptive life after death.

The fractal of chronization of the destructive social epidemic of terrorism is characterized by different forms and types of immoral and illegal behavior development; this behavior threatens the national security of a country. The syndrome of terrorist demoralization shows itself as a complete loss of the socially accepted mediated moral behavior that is based on the concepts of good and evil, indebted and unacceptable, demonstrative disregard of any moral duties and rejection of moral self-control, dependence and irresponsibility of personal actions, inability to carry out moral self-evaluation of one's behavior and inability to respect the ethical norms of business communication, loss of personal and social identity, devaluation of legal awareness and law-obedience, avoidance of personal moral choice making as well as any kind of responsibility. The anonymity of cyber-terrorists and facemasks on participants of terroristic civil wars demonstrate it.

The fractal of outcome is characterized by the maximum epidemic level of pandemic, terminal complications and consequences for the society and terrorists. The ethical component of personality's difficult asocial development makes terrorists absolutely insensitive to counterarguments and dissuasion. Together with comorbid and associated disorders it leads to mental defects, results in the loss of pragmatism and rationality, absence of fear and repentance, super- glorification of sacrificial death and heroic martyrdom in the terrorist civil war.

All this allows militant manipulators to "create" new generations of suicidal terrorists easily. *In fact, they are engaged in mental terrorism – individual, distractive and mercenary creation of adherents.* The only difference of mental terrorism from traditional forms of propaganda and agitation is in the population format of the public consciousness, that is "being attacked" by mass media. The growing network interactivity of the global world is making the information front line the primary battlefield in the war against terrorism.

Serial and deadly equifinal terroristic wars develop according to the mechanism of a dependant disorder when only an injurious act of terrorism can provide a psycho-emotional relief and fill a desperate and inescapable existential situation with illusionary meanings. These illusionary meanings are literally covered with the masks of "unknown soldiers".

The development of the terrorist demoralization syndrome is exceptionally multivariate, it is predetermined by the initial ethical topology of personality, ethno-cultural and socio-economic, religious and political factors of the environment. The latter factors are turning into a dehumanized and demoralized "*terroristic world*" that is *undermining the civilizational foundations of humanity.*

Sociogenesis (ontogenic development of social roles and relations) in the fractal of predisposition is characterized by the high frequency of various disorders in the structure and functions of the mobbing family. They substantially predetermine the mental representation of destructive cognitive models of disharmonious interpersonal relations: the cult of strength and aggression, humiliations and insults, social deprivations and isolations, negativism and protest.

In the latent fractal of bullying diathesis the dispersion and inversion of the "mobbing target" and "mobbing terrorist" take place as a result of the personality's maturation and socialization disorders. These disorders develop in a disharmonious millisocial environment and are later followed by the "bullying terrorist" whose distinctive features are hyper-compensatory cruelty and aggression. Such personalities do not have psychosocial resources for productive self-realization through their professional and educational activities, inside their families and social networks. To a significant extent that is the exact reason why non-pathological dependant behavior develops through compensatory mechanisms.

Table 3. Fractal dynamics of epidemic development of terrorism

	Prenosological fractals			Nosological fractals		
Vectors of ontogenesis	Predispositions: mobbingogenic family and/ or environment	Latent: bullyingogenic diathesis	Initial: mass crowding	Debut: Social epidemic	Chronizations: Destructive social epidemic	Outcome: Pandemic and terminal complications
Somatogenesis	Hereditary somatic burden	Derangements of neuroprocesses	Somatoform dysfunctions	Somatized disorder	Comorbid psychosomatic illness	Somato-neurological complications and degradation of public health
Psychogenesis	Psychopathological burden	Polymodal psychopatization of personality	Asocial and/or dependent personality outside personal space	Asocial and /or dependent personality disorder	Asocial and/ or dependent personality development	Psychic defect and destruction of public consciousness
Sociogenesis	Derangements of structure and family function	Derangements of personality socialization	Non-pathological dependent and /or asocial behavior	Pathologic dependent and / or asocial behavior	Social decompensation	Social disadaptation and dehumanization of society
Animogenesis	Moral and spiritual family deficiency	Derangements in moral feelings formation	Deformation of moral image	Loss of moral position	Amoral and unlawful behavior	Serial criminality and suicidal terrorism, demoralization of public consciousness

It is characterized by perverted obsessive fantasies that are realized through sadistic and cruel compulsive group tortures of defenseless animals and vulnerable peers, subordination of personal interests to some kind of paraphilia, long fixation of attention and, decreased ability to control, immersion into asocial dependence, dependency and passivity when choosing behavioral strategies and verbal response strategies, self — and mutual induction during *mass outbreaks of crowding terrorism in the initial fractal*.

In the fractal of the social terrorism epidemic debut the reference nucleus of the epidemic hotbed and its leaders display *pathologic dependent and asocial behavior*; it is notable for the episodes when changed conditions of consciousness are present at the moment of psychological and physical dependence realization, irresistibility and compulsivity of the asocial activity, stereotypization of the terroristic lifestyle, cancelation syndrome between delicts and acts of terrorism.

In the chronization fractal a destructive social epidemic of terrorism unfolds, it has different instruments and mechanisms depending on the type and form of terrorism, however, it inevitably leads the participants of an epidemic process to social decompensation and threatens the national security of a country as a whole.

In the outcome fractal a total social disadaptation is formed at liberty; in the case of lifetime imprisonment a forced adaptation to the prison conditions develops. The development of terroristic pandemic is accompanied by and matched with various social markers of the global dehumanization crisis and civilization degradation: famine, unemployment, migration, etc.

Psychogenesis (ontogenic development of mental functions) *in the fractal of predisposition*. To a significant degree psychogenesis is predetermined by the premorbid psychopathological complication of the mobbing family, it is distinguished by non-motivated psycho-emotional instability and communicative deficiency. Children who grow in such families, even those with orthodox and patriarchal backgrounds, experience an acute shortage of emotional connections, and painfully go through the early loss of parental care. Trying to compensate for them they develop an aptitude to fantasize and demand increased attention. Very often an early psychological trauma is related to a glorified martyr death of a relative or another close acquaintance that was witnessed by the future terrorist. This death becomes a matrix of mental representation for tomorrow's terroristic lifestyle and death.

In the latent fractal of bullying diathesis addictive radicals of an early psychopathic disorder and personal deformation are formed and fixated, they show themselves as anticipating malicious and aggressive verbal reactions to all challenges and difficulties; they stereotype aggressive and auto-aggressive styles of behavior, launch the mechanism of hypercompensatory "asocial hysteria" and polymodal asocial dependant disorder. Such a personality can demonstrate various socially stressful disorders even in the situation when it encounters banal life difficulties. All this speeds up the formation of a primary dependant pattern, that will be able to change its modality later as well as the form of dependence. However, the asocial radical of this dependence will be steadily preserved engrossing the personality's nucleus.

In the initial fractal of crowding terrorism mass outbreaks behavioral realization of previously learned mental schemes and scenarios of asocial self-assertion takes place, this is the only outcome based on the cognitive and cultural personal resources. An asocial and dependant personality demonstrates vivid realistic reminiscences and fantasies glorifying terrorism outside his disorder. It happens above the background of infantilism and suggestibility, openheartedness and sensory spontaneity, curiosity and high searching activity,

minimalism and egocentrism, impressionability and impatience, aptitude to taking risks and provoking dangerous situations, generalized aggression and vandalism. This personality gets a chance to overcome the inferiority complex of an individual rejected in his prosocial environment and get rid of the “black sheep” label only in street gangs, extremist and fanatic groups. The extrusion and disactualization of such obsessive reminiscences about one’s traumatic youth, that had multiple humiliations and losses, is accompanied by the hyper-compensatory necessity to revenge not only some particular offenders, but the whole cruel and unjust world, revenge for one’s nation. This is how the psychological mechanisms of epidemic terrorism generalization demonstrate themselves.

All 10 types of personality disorders, described in ICD 10, can take place among terrorists and extremists. However, the most significant role in launching epidemic processes belongs to mutually reinforcing asocial and dependant disorders with their radicals. They easily create a TV image that shows the unity of people and their leaders. An epidemic develops according to self and mutual induction mechanisms as it adds complications to the existing personality disorder.

Borderline personality disorder — is a severe emotional instability and impulsive aggression, disturbance of interpersonal relations and self-destructing behavior. Prevalence among population 1,5-2 %.

Personality disorder - are deep-rooted styles of behavior and thinking with rigid response reactions in excessively expressed forms. Prevalence 6-18 % [2].

At the time of K. Schneider [7] not only the afflicted person suffered from this disorder, the whole society was affected as well. Today the epidemic spread of extremism and terrorism mobilizes the mechanisms of induction and generalization, it turns them into a global populational mutation, and poses the threat of civilization suicide. Moreover, it is necessary to take into account the fact that up to 30% of the population suffer from various forms of dependences [4], the controlled social switching of their modality can quickly lead to the emergence of social epidemics.

The debut fractal of the social epidemic of terrorism is most often represented by asocial and dependant personality disorders of the epidemic hotbed referent nucleus. It induces the fellow-fighters who make part of the polymodal subpopulation.

Dependant personality disorders are characterized by the deficiency of normative sociality and widening of the asocial manifestation’s specter, personality deformation and emotional burnout, inability to make decisions independently outside one’s terroristic lifestyle, frequent combinations of schizoid personality features with bad tolerance of loneliness. It facilitates the development of anxious depression, urging an individual to commit excesses, delicts and acts of terrorism that provide a temporary psycho-emotional relief.

The fractal of chronization of the destructive social epidemic of terrorism is represented by multivariate *asocial and dependant personality developments*, terrorism begins to take the leading position in the their constellation and it turns into a dominant dependence. A changing personal and social identity, new cognitive schemes and mental models of business interaction allow moderators to easily find suitable euphemisms (“red brigades”, “right sector” and etc.), and complimentary-compensatory labels (commandant, centurion, national guardsman, etc), although, all this is unable to change a developed terroristic nucleus of a paraphilic personality.

In April 2014 all Russian TV channels showed the recording of Alexander M. (one of the leaders of Kiev Maidan) when he expressed his sadistic threats to the deputies of the regional council; in this video he appeared dressed in camouflage and was holding an assault rifle as if

it was a phallus like prosthesis. In a different video he experiences a masochistic ecstasy from the strikes of female heels against the head. Undoubtedly, internet screening and TV pictures can let us express only a supposition about sadomasochism or multiple disorders of sexual preferences, that are usually represented by a combination of such paraphilias as fetishism, transvestism and sadomasochism. The producers of tragedy could not allow this militant (who sincerely believed in his messianic role of a fighter) to continue his vivid illustration of this clinical case of paraphilia. This “tele-hero” was doomed to failure from the moment of his TV screen debut. *Terror inside a terroristic community is a law of moral anomia in a legion of assassins.* The classification of paraphilia as a dependant disorder [1], the same refers to mobbing, bullying and crowding [6], makes it possible to view terrorism as an independent type of polymodal dependant disorder.

There is no doubt that the participants of mass murders and sexual violence in Odessa's Hatyn, (those that were registered by audio and video devices) will never be found by any international commission.

The weapons of terrorists, besides their direct purposes, serve as a *hypercompensatory attribute that masks*; the inability to make decisions without advice of their senior leaders and financing mentors; readiness to delegate them rights without demur when it comes to making decisions of critical importance; anticipating preparedness to agree with their masters caused by the fear to be rejected (even when knowing that they are wrong); difficulties when starting something independently; readiness of one's own free will to carry out risky and dangerous orders in order to get a reward or appraisal from the principle; bad tolerance of loneliness and readiness to undertake any efforts in order to avoid it; feeling of being drained or being helpless when falling out of one's “national guard”; easy susceptibility and vulnerability to manipulability, enchainment with anxiety and fear to be rejected that pushes to commit new and new delicts and acts of terrorism.

In the outcome fractal one can expect a psychic defect – it differs considerably depending on various forms of terroristic asocial dependencies that range from the syndrome of emotional burn out and destructive professiongenesis with mobbing-, bullying- and crowding –terrorism to the psychoorganic syndrome with traumatic lesion of the brain or chemical dependences.

The escalation of a terroristic civil war inevitably leads to the augmented *destruction of the public consciousness as an integral quality of the nation's mental health.*

Somatogenesis (ontogenic development of somatic functions) refers to the least studied aspects. It is generally accepted that nonspecific hereditary burden (fractal of predisposition), unfavorable intra- perinatal exposures play an important role in it. Different normative psychosomatic reactions can be response reactions to challenges and difficulties; later they transform into functional psychosomatic disorders — organ neuroses (*latent fractal*) and somatoform disorders, they provide a clinical description of an individual with forming “withdrawal syndrome” (*initial fractal*). The severity of possible somatization disorders (*debut fractal*) and comorbid psychomotor disorders is defined by the duration of the “withdrawal syndrome”, unwillingness and inability of a deformed personality to attain psycho-emotional relief in frames of his adaptive and prosocial behavior (*chronization fractal*).

All forms of social epidemics are characterized by the absence of parallelism in the expression of mental and somato- neurological, moral and spiritual, social and psychological disorders. While chemical dependences during their somatogenesis result in the evolution of the given disorders and are strongly connected to the toxic agent, the non-chemical ones (as a compensatory variant of development) more often lead to comorbid psychosomatic disorders.

The accepted name of this mechanism is somatization of dependence. *In the outcome fractal* one can expect different somato-neurological complications; as for the level of social health – regress and degradation can be expected. The notion of comorbidity is not so much based on traditional views about compatibility of pathologies but on etiopathogenic unity of all dependent behavior forms [3].

Dependency signs may stipulate dangerous aggressive actions in frames of self- and mutual induction of social terrorism epidemics; they become evident with the following classic syndromes:

- 1) *syndrome of changed reactivity* is represented by a higher rated of delicts and acts of terrorism, growth of multimodal tolerance and sadistic aggressiveness, impoverishment and exhaustion of the out of episode normative sociality;
- 2) *syndrome of psychic dependence* is represented by an obsessive attraction, mental comfort condition during a deviant and criminal situation, changed and perverted form of emotional experience towards delict or act of terrorism;
- 3) *syndrome of physical dependence* is represented by a compulsive attraction, composed of physical comfort during a deviant or criminogenic situation; changed and perverted forms of delict and terrorist act manifestation, “withdrawal syndrome”.

The syndromes of psychic and physical dependence determine the multi-episodic and compulsory nature of the epidemic generalization with asocial dependent behavior as well as the involuntariness of its appearance and difficulty in overcoming anomalous attraction of the commenced episode. They influence the degree of freedom when it comes to choosing a behavioral pattern. That is how they act as a psychopathologic foundation of possible dangerous serial actions [1]. Unfortunately, “Odessa’s Hatyn”, is just the beginning...

The growth of tolerance acts as a psychopathological foundation for the increased amount of aggressiveness and autoaggression, severity of repeated and serial delicts, acts of terrorism.

The out of episode dynamics of social terrorism epidemic shows itself in the form of growing destructive professiongenesis, emotional burnout and personality deformation, development of associated and comorbid psychosomatic disorders.

It is of principle importance to emphasize, that the *model of “synergetic individual”* allows to obtain a unified bio-psycho-socio-spiritual methodology of analysis for all epidemic forms of dependent disorders — ranging from alcoholism and drug abuse to fanaticism and terrorism, it corresponds to the high-priority directions of the mental medicine development [5].

6. MEDICAL-PSYCHO-SOCIO-SPIRITUAL DEFENCE FROM DESTRUCTIVE SOCIAL EPIDEMICS

The synergetic approach, that forms the foundation of mental medicine, presupposes a significant review of medical treatment, rehabilitation and preventive strategies of providing help to the dependent population and changing their ideology. The methodology of traditional socio-therapeutic and psychotherapeutic, socio-psychiatric and addiction relief services must be reviewed as well. Every dependent personality requires constant and interactive sanitization and correction that can only change the vector and modality of dependence.

When treating a dependent personality the main objective is to replace the modality of his dependence and change it from destructive to constructive, from non-adaptive to adaptive, from asocial to prosocial, from autoaggressive to self-preserving. This needs to be done at the earliest stage possible. The preventive strategy for treating dependent subpopulation requires adequate and regular loading of *adaptive socio-psychological and moral-spiritual content*.

On the basis of the synergetic concept of the destructive social epidemics development [11] we have elaborated a program of treatment and rehabilitation with preventive and correctional help. It represents a *unified multidisciplinary protocol* that is being implemented by a brigade of specialists. This program includes four blocks: medical, psychiatric, spiritual and moral, social (see table). These blocks are based on the four main types of ontogenesis planes (sociogenesis, psychogenesis, somatogenesis, and animogenesis) and are interconnected. All together they represent the synergetic methodology of mental medicine [10].

Medical block includes professional help of qualified psychiatrists,, narcologists,, general practitioners and physicians in frames of somatogenesis (ontogenetic development of the organism systems and functions).

Psychological block presupposes professional help of mental health specialists such as psychotherapists, clinical psychologists, psychiatrists in frames of psychogenesis (ontogenetic development of psychic functions).

Social help is provided in frames of sociogenesis (ontogenetic development of social roles and relationships) with the participation of social services (specialists in social work, social workers).

Spiritual and moral block animogenesis (ontogenetic spiritual and moral development of personality) this block is implemented with consultants and experts in ethics, clinical psychologists and general practitioners who know the peculiarities of the patient's family moral climate. Psychotherapeutic, educational and training methods together with the personal growth and coaching techniques block the syndromes of demoralization and destructive professiogenesis. When conflict situations emerge mediation on the basis of ethical committees is administered. Patients and clients get involved into development programs of different social organizations. This is how they consolidate the adaptive strategies of business communication ethics. The same objectives are reached when patients become participants of voluntary and social movements of paraprofessionals. They are needed in the rehabilitation programs for dependent people. Church-going patients may be effectively helped by spiritual mentors—representatives of official confessions.

Primary preventive measures should be taken in the *predisposition fractal*, where they can be used to determine hereditary and psychological predispositions as well as help with the psycho-psychological, spiritual and moral harmonization of the family relationship.

In the *latent fractal* special measures are taken to detect those individuals who are prone to organ neuroses. Attempts are made to correct the moral socialization of a personality as well as any psychopathic personality traits.

In the *initial fractal* when a non-pathological dependent behavior develops, special medicamental and psychiatric treatments are administered. This treatment prevents the development of dependent behavior and deformation of the moral make-up. In the fractal with *revealed clinical findings* early professional anti-addiction, psychotherapeutic, psychological, social, moral and spiritual help is required.

Table 5. Programme for medico-psycho-socio-spiritual help in social epidemics

Donosological fractals				Nosological fractals		
Blocks	Predispositions	Latent	Initial	Detailed clinical finding	Chronisation	Outcomes
Medical	Detection of people with hereditary predisposition, including them in the group of risk, early preventive examination	Detection of people with organ neuroses	Diagnostic of somatoform dysfunctions; medicamental and non-medicamental treatment	Detection of comorbid psychiatric diseases, prescribing medical therapy, prevention of complications	Adequate medicinal therapy of psycho-organic stigmatisation and psychosomatic diseases	Treatment for somato-neurological complications
Psychological	Detection of people with psychological load and taking preventive measures with them	Sanitation of psychopathisation of the personality	Detecting the dependent personality beyond personal disorder and correction of disorders	Correction of major personal disorders, psychotherapy.	Psychotherapy and psych-pharmacotherapy of dependent personality disorder	Psychological rehabilitation for psychiatric defect
Social	Detection and correction of violations of family structure and function	Correction of personality socialisation disorders	Correction of non-pathological dependent behaviour	Complex treatment of pathologically-dependent behaviour	Correction of social decompensation	Social rehabilitation
Morally-spiritual	Screening and correction of the family's "moral climate"	Correction of formation and development of moral feelings	Correction of formation and development of moral portrait	Reconstruction of moral positions	Reconstruction of moral behaviour	Morally-spiritual rehabilitation

Mental preventology

Clinical psychiatry

Mental medicine

In the *chronization fractal* adequate medicament therapy, psychotherapeutic treatment of the dependent disorder, socio-psychological, spiritual and moral corrections of the demoralization syndrome are administered regardless of the demoralization syndrome variant. These procedures are used with the alcohol demoralization syndrome as well as with the terroristic demoralization syndrome.

In those cases when there is a threat of *psychic defect or social dezadaptation* psychological, social, medical, moral and spiritual rehabilitations become necessary. They can be organized on the multidisciplinary basis with the help of the mental health service.

Mental health service – is a synergetic bio-psycho-socio-spiritual Ψ -cluster of society and state. It provides preventive and correctional protection of mental health and medical rehabilitation help for people with mental disorders.

The mental health service methodologically and technologically utilizes the resources of mental medicine, it creates a synergetic foundation that integrates classical clinical psychiatry, mental preventology (see table), makes it possible to organize a *systematic monitoring of mental health* and cardinally increases the efficiency social protection from destructive social epidemics. It is necessary to *reevaluate the mission of the prophylactic medical examination* (that are currently undergoing reforms) and conceptualize the systematic monitoring of the nation's social and mental health, expand the spectrum of its activity from narrow-specialized tactical tasks (infections, customer oriented, and others) *to strategic objectives that would create a social platform of national security*.

V. A. Medvedev [23] singled out the levels of motivation that give birth to terror and arranged them in a regressive sequence. This sequence shows the regression of generic and sociocultural nature and progression of individual personality components: biological (population), historic and cultural (mythological), ethno-psychological, group, individual psychopathology and sociopathy. The mirror reflection of these levels structures *the echelon system of antiterrorist defense*. All contemporary humanitarian counterterrorism models are based on the *systematic spiritual and ideological construction of national security that is founded on the life-forming meanings and moral values*.

The mental paradigm of national security includes: abatement of mental ailments consequences, strengthening of the nation's mental health; reduction of the spread of social destructive epidemics, self-destructive and dependent behavior, decrease of high mortality rates and social violence; lessening of the social stratification, poverty and unemployment; elimination of social vulnerability of seriously ill people and individuals with disabilities; overcoming of anomia and permissivity, deformation of social and individual consciousness, social isolation of an individual; formation of multivariant strategies of adaptive professiogenesis and effective self-management.

All preventive, correctional, therapeutic and rehabilitation measures of the bio-psycho-socio-spiritual programs, administered by the mental health service, must be inspired with the ideology of correction. The pessimistic and disastrous paradigm of world perception needs to be removed and replaced with the constructive life strategy that predetermines adaptive professiogenesis and stable development, prevention of endemic dependent disorders and spiritual immunity to destructive social epidemics.

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Chapter 47

BULLYING INTERVENTIONS

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ABSTRACT

Bullying has been defined as recurrent harassment of a student or group of students by another student or group. More specifically, bullying encompasses repeated negative actions with an intention to harm or disturb that involves a differential of power, where the more powerful individual attacks or harasses the individual who is less powerful individual. Studies have shown that bullying may lead to long-term negative effects, such as violence and depression, for the both perpetrator and the victim. Therefore, the development and examination of bullying interventions and their effectiveness is important in order to gain an understanding of which interventions may be the most effective in reducing bullying behavior. In general, school-based and/or whole-school approach to anti-bullying programs have been found to be the most empirically-supported intervention technique. However, other interventions, such as interventions aimed at changing the social norms around bullying behavior, have also been shown to be effective. The current chapter provides a thorough review of theoretically diverse bullying interventions that have been shown to be empirically effective at reducing bullying behaviors.

Bullying has been defined as the recurrent harassment of a student or group of students by another student or group. More specifically, bullying encompasses repeated negative actions with an intention to harm or disturb that involves a differential of power, where the more powerful individual attacks or harasses the individual who is a less powerful (Olweus, 1993). Bullying can occur in person, or over the Internet, as social media and other online outlets are becoming more and more popular. Internet bullying is more commonly referred to as “cyberbullying” and involves the use of primarily mobile phones and the Internet in the forms of text messaging, emailing, chatting, picture imaging, and social networking (Smith, 2011). Through these outlets, bullies can act in the forms of threats/intimidating, hacking/impersonation, manipulation/blackmail, and disclosing secrets (O’Higgins, Norman, & Connolly, 2011).

Studies have shown that there are long-term negative effects that result from bullying, such as violence and depression, for the both perpetrator and the victim (Ttofi, Farrington, & Losel, 2012; Ttofi, Farrington, Losel, & Loeber, 2011). One study examining the impact of bullying found that even when accounting and controlling for child psychiatric and family hardships, child victims of bullying were more likely to continue to have emotional problems in adulthood. Moreover, children who did not have pre-existing problems were also more likely to have later emotional problems if they were bullied (Copeland & Wolke, 2013). In addition, the behaviors that bullies utilize at school, both internalizing and externalizing, can be disruptive to the learning process and threaten the already limited teaching time that is available to both the teachers and the students (Paul, Smith, & Blumberg, 2012).

Studying interventions and their effectiveness is important to gain an understanding of which interventions have been shown to be the most effective in reducing bullying behaviors. Typically, bullying intervention and prevention efforts have focused on the school, targeting school policies, protocols, and procedures for responses to bullying incidents. School-based or whole-school approaches to anti-bullying programs have been found to be the most empirically supported intervention techniques (Ttofi & Farrington, 2012; Wurf, 2012). Generally, these methods consist of administrative elements such as anti-bullying policies, close monitoring, raising bullying awareness, curriculum activities and established management plans for incidents of reported bullying (Smith, Pepler, Rigby, 2004). Programs differ across schools, states, and countries; as such, program theories shift but can be loosely associated with theories regarding social learning, social development, and social interaction (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009).

Veeram and Carroll (2007) conducted a systematic review of school-based interventions to prevent bullying. Interventions were categorized into different types, such as curriculum (e.g., lectures), whole-school or multidisciplinary (e.g., teacher training, individual counseling), and social skills groups (e.g., group training in behavior modification). Of the different types of intervention, more whole-school approaches were found to directly reduce bullying more than other approaches (i.e., curriculum and social skills groups approaches; Veeram & Carroll, 2007).

Similarly, Ttofi and Farrington (2011) conducted a large-scale meta-analysis of 40 school-based anti-bullying programs across various countries. The results of the systematic review were congruent with the aforementioned systematic reviews. That is, results indicated that both bullying and victimization decreased as a result of a whole-school intervention program. Key elements such as intensity of the program (i.e., duration of children's participation and teachers' training), inclusion of parent meetings and firm disciplinary methods were found to be particularly effective (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011). In addition, the review also found school-wide anti-bullying policies, information for parents, improved playground supervision and classroom management were associated with decreased bullying. Further, Lee, Kim, and Kim (2013) conducted a meta-analysis of the effect of school-based anti-bullying programs. Findings emphasized that effective school-based interventions included training in emotional control, peer counseling, and a school policy on bullying. Taken together, these reviews provide convincing evidence for the investment, development, and implementation of school-based anti-bullying programs.

Other studies have examined what students perceive to be the most effective approaches to managing traditional bullying and cyberbullying. A study by Paul, Smith, and Blumberg (2012) measured various student perceptions of individual coping strategies and school interventions for bullying and cyberbullying and discovered that the highest intervention item ratings were

for School Sanctions and Disciplinary Action, primarily permanent suspension from school as the consequence for bullying or cyberbullying. Following behind student ratings for these two intervention items were the Informal Approach and Support Approach, and rated the lowest was the Curricular Approach. In Paul et al.'s 2012 study, results showed that students rated the support of family members, predominantly parents, to be the most helpful coping strategy.

In general, whole-school approaches to anti-bullying programs consist of combined support from the school, teachers, students, and parents in both prevention and intervention efforts (Smith, Pepler, & Ribgy, 2004). As mentioned before, these efforts often translate to administrative elements of intervention such as school-wide anti-bullying policies, close monitoring, raising bullying awareness, curriculum activities and established management plans for incidents of reported bullying (Smith, Pepler, & Ribgy, 2004; Wurf, 2012). Further, although intervention theories may vary amongst schools, states, and countries, most school-based programs have an underlying model that can be loosely associated with theories regarding social learning, social development, and social interaction (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). This underscores the interpersonal aspect of anti-bullying intervention in promoting social skills and positive peer relations.

One particularly prevalent aspect of school-based approach intervention is the Shared Concern method (SCm; Pikas, 1989, 2002). It is a five-phase bullying intervention conducted by a teacher or counselor within a school setting. Adhering to a conflict resolution model, the intervention elicits non-punitive discussion with students involved and follow-up monitoring. The essence of this model stresses problem solving amongst the students involved, as opposed to traditional methods in which students are questioned, judged and punished (Rigby, 2005). In fact, many school-based programs within Farrington and Ttofi's (2011) meta-analysis consisted of this approach.

According to a recent study conducted by Wurf (2012) in which SCm is applied to four Hong Kong International Schools, the following are the five phases of the intervention. Phase one involves a one-on-one discussion with the student(s) suspected of bullying. Similarly, phase two consists of one-on-one discussions but with victimized student(s) to provide individuals with support and empathy for the situation. It is important to note this phase allows for the teacher or counselor to question whether the victim(s) provoked the bullies' behaviors. During phase three, another meeting is held with the student(s) who bullied to check their commitment to cease bullying behaviors. Then, phase four allows for the teacher or counselor to establish an agreement between both parties to prevent bullying. Lastly, phase five requires a follow-up to monitor whether bullying has ceased.

Importantly, the SCm has been found to be especially effective in bullying situations in which perpetrators consist of group involvement (Rigby, 2005). This is the case because it allows for a diffusion of responsibility such that the behavior of the group involved in bullying is addressed, as opposed to the behavior of one single perpetrator. In addition, this method emphasizes the importance of exploring group dynamics and individual motives for such behaviors.

In addition to the Shared Concern method, various other programs have been developed to target traditional bullying at school as whole-school approaches. The Bully Busters program was developed by Horne, Bortolomucci, and Newman-Carlson (2003) and provides teachers and administrators with ways to focus on raising awareness of the prevalence of bullying and to develop the essential skills for everyone involved at the school to deal with the problems that stem from bullying. Another focus of the Bully Busters program is to prevent bullying before

it starts by showing both students and faculty how to be proactive by acquiring skills, knowledge, and self-efficacy. In addition, there is a parental component that allows parents to learn what they can do to reduce incidence of aggression and bullying.

Whole-school approaches can also be implemented to target cyberbullying. As the use of technology in school-aged children is increasing, and will most likely continue to increase, it is important to target cyberbullying in interventions. Various studies have shown that evidence suggests most students who are cyberbullied are also bullied in other traditional ways (Beran & Li, 2007; Pearce, Cross, Monks, Waters, & Falconer, 2011). Therefore, it may be the case that strategies to address noncyberbullying behaviors, like the whole-school approach, may also effectively target cyberbullying behaviors (Pearce et al., 2011). Other current cyberbullying programs are centered on logical approaches and practical beliefs about prevention instead of scientific evidence (Snakenborg, Van Acker, & Gable, 2011). In these programs, schools implement various interventions, such as teaching students how to prevent bullying and how to effectively address instances in which they might become the victim or the bystander of an incident. In addition, some schools will introduce strategies to their students, such as cooperative learning, peer mediation, and social skills. In particular, some schools may especially focus on emphasizing these strategies to students who are deemed to be more at risk for becoming cyberbullying victims. These students may be anxious, withdrawn, insecure, physically weak, or smaller in size than other students (Snakenborg et al., 2011). However, these aforementioned strategies for addressing cyberbullying, both by itself and as a branch of more traditional bullying, are designed by individual schools and not based on scientific evidence. Researchers have been advocating for studies designed to investigate attributes of both bullies and their victims in order to develop more empirically based interventions (Wong-Lo, Bullock, & Gable, 2009).

Although the whole-school approach mainly targets interventions for bullying, and occasionally cyberbullying, once incidents occur, other approaches have been developed that aim to target bullying before it even happens. Traditionally, research has focused on individual factors (e.g., psychopathology) as well as contextual factors (e.g., socioeconomic status) as potential predictors of bullying behavior. Although this research has provided much insight as to what may contribute to a child engaging in bullying behavior, factors such as social norms and the perceptions of social norms also may play a significant role in bullying. Broadly, research on social norms and the perceptions of these norms has demonstrated that individuals have a tendency to conform to the social norms of his/her group (Asch, 1956). This may be particularly true for children and adolescents as their peers significantly influence their actions. For example, children who perceive bullying as a socially normative behavior amongst their peer group are more likely to engage in the behavior themselves than children who do not perceive bullying as a normative behavior amongst their peers (Duffy & Nesdale, 2008). This social influence on bullying is not exclusive to physical bullying; in fact, a youth's individual beliefs and perceptions of the presence of bullying in their school has also been shown to be predictive of relational aggressive behaviors (Elsaesser & Gorman-Smith, 2013).

It is also important to note that social influence has been found to play a role in bystanding behavior. Specifically, children who perceive that their classmates expect active interventions (e.g., telling a teacher) in bullying situations are less likely to engage in passive by standing behavior (e.g., not telling a teacher and allowing the bullying to continue). Interestingly, this effect on by standing behavior was not influenced by teacher expectations (i.e., perceiving that

the *teacher* expected the active intervention) and was stronger for children enrolled in middle school (Pozzoli, Gini, & Vieno, 2012).

These findings highlight the importance of social influence on bullying as well as by standing behavior. Overall, it would appear that if a child perceives bullying to be a socially abnormal behavior in his/her peer group or classroom, he/she might be less likely to engage in the behavior. In addition, if it is socially acceptable among a peer group to actively intervene in a bullying situation, a child may be more likely to intervene. This appears to be increasingly true for middle school aged children and may be due to the significant impact of social influence in their development. Specifically, adolescents may be more likely to adhere to their peer group's social norms in order to "fit-in." However, it is often the case that children and adolescents misperceive the actual norm of their school and communities. For example, a study observing health and well being in adolescents found that adolescents of a normal weight perceived themselves as being overweight and were more likely to experience a larger weight gain into young adulthood than those who did not have this misconception (Cuypers et al., 2012). In other words, adolescents held misconceptions of what constituted a normal weight and, as a result, were more likely to experience negative effects due to this belief. Thus, it may be that adolescents hold misconceptions about their peers' normative behaviors (e.g., high occurrences of bullying, few intervening behaviors) and that this misconception exacerbates the problem of bullying (Perkins, Craig, & Perkins, 2011). As such, interventions that attempt to alter perceptions of bullying as a socially normative behavior, as well as correct any misconceptions about the prevalence of bullying, may be more effective in reducing the behavior long term.

Perkins et al. (2011) developed a research intervention based on the premise that bullying is a function of conforming to peer norms as well as the perceptions of peer norms. The authors hypothesized that children who engage in bullying behavior may perceive that their peers are engaging in the behavior as well, thus conforming to a social norm. The authors also hypothesized that a misconception of the prevalence of bullying may actually exacerbate the bullying behavior. For the intervention, Perkins et al. (2011) obtained an initial baseline of students' perceptions of bullying. Next, the authors provided the students with feedback of the results of the survey in which conveyed the school's actual positive norms. An example of a norms message was, "most middle school students (9 out of 10) agree that students should always try to be friendly with students who are different from themselves" (Perkins et al., 2011).

Overall, Perkins et al. (2011) found that students' perceptions of the prevalence of bullying as well as peer support for bullying was widely misperceived. Specifically, students overestimated how often bullying occurred at their school and their peers' support for bullying. In addition, there was a positive association between students' perceptions of bullying as a supported and common behavior at their school and engaging in bullying behavior. Post-intervention scores indicated a statistically significant decrease in students' perceptions of bullying, self-reported victimization, and perceived peer support for bullying. Further, there was an increase in students' perceptions of peer willingness to report bullying to a teacher. In other words, it became more socially normative to report bullying behavior.

Also based on the notion that bullying may stem from social influences, Botvin, Mahalic, and Grotperter (1998) developed a program called "Life Skills Training." As a part of this program, school faculty help students in sixth- through ninth-grade to develop social skills in order to learn how to prevent violence, substance use and abuse, and other high-risk behaviors.

The students learn these social strategies by developing personal awareness about their own inter-and intrapersonal responsibilities and objectives.

Interventions aimed at changing the social normative beliefs about bullying, such as the intervention described above, may be effective in reducing bullying. In addition, these interventions also may be effective in making positive interventions (e.g., telling a teacher) a more socially normative behavior among a peer group. These interventions could be less likely to be susceptible to many of the barriers often observed with implementing a manual driven intervention into a school. Specifically, the intervention may not require a third party to train the school administration and teachers on how to implement the intervention and could also be freely available to schools. In addition, the intervention could be easily combined with an existing intervention program.

Although the various aforementioned programs have encompassed different focal points and goals, they all have a commonality in that they are universal interventions. In other words, the majority of the programs have been designed to target all students. However, there are also group interventions that focus on students who have demonstrated a high risk for bullying and/or aggression problems, both as instigators and victims. These group methods can take place in the classroom as a part of small group activities or counseling programs, and can coincide with teacher training groups as well that include support groups for maintaining and extending program activities as programs are implemented in their classrooms or with their students. The most common forms of group interventions are the psychoeducational groups, which are effective in assisting and guiding group members with issues they may have with adjustment, therefore possibly preventing future dysfunction (Home, Stoddard, & Bell, 2007). These psychoeducational groups can also help groups of normally functioning students by teaching fundamental skills in communicating respectfully and with empathy, building relationships with other students in the group, engaging in humor, and empowering each other, all while students practice teaching these skills to each other while minimizing outside discussion and promoting positive exchanges during group (Home, Stoddard, & Bell, 2007.).

Counseling groups are also used to target certain groups of students in the school setting. These groups can target more specific students than the psychoeducational groups, and spend more time addressing particular behaviors that the student(s) have previously demonstrated by examining and developing strategies to eliminate these negative bullying behaviors in the future (Home, Stoddard, & Bell, 2007). These groups typically spend more time on facilitating discussion with group members in order to discover the nature of their problems and allow for time to process emotional and cognitive content in order for the students to develop insight. Instead of teachers leading these counseling groups, typically, mental health professionals will offer guidance over these groups. For both psychoeducation groups and counseling groups, researchers have provided evidence that aggression-reduction focused group counseling may be as effective as individual counseling, which makes these interventions not only effective in reducing bullying behaviors, but also cost-effective (Schechtman, 2007).

The various interventions that are available to target bullying allow for schools to select an option that best fits their resources and theoretical orientation. Having multiple options also allow for adults to choose how they want to target bullying, in that they can select to prevent it through policies, educate students through discussions and literature, or appropriately punish to eliminate it. A critical first step in decreasing adolescent bullying is to become aware of the various interventions available and understand the empirical evidence of each intervention's effectiveness in different environments as depicted in scientific literature.

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Chapter 48

CYBERBULLYING VALIDATION

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Chapter 48

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Abstract

Cyberbullying is widely recognised as a serious social menace which affects millions of people around the world, especially teenagers and adolescents. In this Chapter, we present the results of an online survey, which is conducted to understand and differentiate between real cyberbullying and cyberbullying-like instances in user-generated content. We study the subtle differences between the motives of the sender of messages similar to cyberbullying, and how messages are perceived by the recipient. In particular, we investigate forms, prevalence, and key indicators of cyberbullying within written contents. Firstly three variants of cyberbullying are introduced, namely: 'direct', 'indirect' and 'misinterpreted' forms of cyberbullying, based on the involvement of the recipient in these types of cyberbullying. Then we validate the key indicators which make written contents becomes cyberbullying, based on users' online experiences and the frequency with which they received and/or sent cyberbullying messages.

The findings reveal that: i) For direct cyberbullying, 'presence of loud language' and 'teasing - repeated comments or messages that may upset someone' are the main indicators in social networks. ii) For indirect cyberbullying, 'bullied or picked on by someone indirectly, as a third person, while online', 'been talked about online in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset', and 'been mentioned in a message to someone else in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset' are the main indicators. iii) For misinterpreted form of cyberbullying, 'bullied or picked on a friend or relative while online', 'been talked about online by a friend or relative, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset' and 'been mentioned in a message to a friend or relative in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset' are the main indicators. These results are discussed in the light of the relatively limited cyberbullying detection research undertaken to date.

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Keywords: cyberbullying, victimization, prevalence, social networks, cyberbullying indicators

1. Introduction

This study is driven by an urgent need for the early detection of cyberbullying activities in social networks. Recently, a public row broke out when seemingly private messages of an Indian Union minister were published on his Twitter feed, which resulted in tragic suicide of his wife. He is a former U.N. diplomat, a prolific author, and one of the most active users of the microblogging site in government, whose Twitter account shows more than 2 million followers. In another case, an Australian top model committed suicide on 21 February, 2014 because of cyberbullying. Therefore, more generalised opinion of online community's who either experienced or were involved in cyberbullying needs further investigation.

Cyberbullying is defined as "an act of posting cruel or harmful material to others or engaging in other forms of social aggression using the Internet or other communication technologies" [1]. Though cyberbullying is a common phenomenon among adolescents and children, breakthrough advancements in information and web-based technologies, such as social networking sites, straddle age groups, where non-physical aggression is often observed among different age group users. Research conducted in various countries, including Serbia, the UK, the USA, Korea, Turkey, Italy, and Australia clearly indicate that nearly 90% of school-aged students access the Internet at home, with over 50% reporting daily use [2–4], which they use to interact in cyber space. Teachers and administrators have recognized student's use of information and communication technology, particularly in their social interaction via the expanding use of electronic communication in school classrooms [5, 6]. World-wide, studies reveal that most school-aged students now own a mobile phone and this increases with age [2]. An empirical study conducted by Aricak (2009) in the Turkish environment reveals the fact that ease of maintaining anonymity in cyberspace is one of the most significant causes of cyberbullying [7]. He also found that males are more likely than females to validate that they would engage in cyberbullying in the future. Furthermore, this study also suggests that cyberbullying is not limited to children and adolescents, but extends to adults as well.

The very act of a bullying activity is harmful in some way or the other and its implication are so dangerous that it may destroy the precious lives of youths when they fail to cope with the unbearable pressure of insulting or humiliating messages, especially on the Internet, where the potential audience of cyberbullying is limitless [8]. In such settings, it is beneficial to have an automatic system which can monitor such harmful messages and alert users of its repetitive occurrence. This will help to maintain a safe and healthy online environment for all users and confirms there is a need for detection software.

In the view of the facts that: (i) Young people have seized the Internet as both an option and a means for socializing [1] such as Social Networking sites; (ii) There is increasing evidence of the existence of cyberbullying, including situations where the outcome has been suicide; (iii) Bullying in cyberspace is a difficult occurrence for parents or guardians to monitor young children/students' actions [9]; (iv) Young people (especially teenagers) are reluctant to tell adults about incidents where they are being bullied, whether in real life or cyberspace. In addition, only a few participants use appropriate means to prevent incidents

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of online bullying [10]. This chapter aims to study the online user's comprehension of the existence and frequency of cyberbullying. The study is based on the frequency of received and sent messages under varying conditions, including participation in direct, indirect and the misinterpreted forms of cyberbullying. In addition, this study explores the cyberbullying indicators in user-generated content that can be utilised for the detection of cyberbullying on social networks [11--22].

Though cyberbullying is a problem that gets a lot of attention from a Social Science point of view, less attention has been paid to it from an automatic detection angle. A number of definitions of cyberbullying, revealing the principal characteristics of cyberbullying are: an imbalance of power, repetitive patterns, intentional hurt, and where a victim is unable to defend him or herself.

To differentiate between cyberbullying and cyber teasing requires understanding the subjective difference between the way a message is intended in relation to how it is perceived. As a result, automatic detection becomes an important research challenge. The aim of this study is to establish a number of rules that can be included in cyberbullying detection tools. Rules will be established based on the frequency of potentially offending messages and the patterns of communication between online users taking part in harassing/cruel or threatening/unpleasant messaging. In this chapter, we examine a number of indicators in user-generated content which identify the online content as apparently of a bullying nature. We look at the frequency of offensive or hurtful messages being sent and received as a basis to predict the communication pattern of intentionally hurtful acts.

Based on the above-mentioned literature, previous compiled research into the characteristics of cyberbullying, and profiles of cyber bullies; this chapter will take the following into account:

First, the demographic characteristics (gender, age and religion) of the Internet users, who have involved or experienced cyberbullying will be studied. Second, indicators of direct cyberbullying and the frequency where users see themselves engaged as a bully, or a victim, of a direct form of cyberbullying will be included in the analysis. Third, indicators of indirect cyberbullying and the user's engagement based on the frequency in indirect cyberbullying will be examined. Forth, indicators of misinterpreted form of bullying, and the frequency of the misinterpreted form of bullying (cyberbullying-like posts or messages between close friends or people in close a relationship) will be explored.

2. Methodology

2.1. Participants and settings

The study focuses on obtaining feedback on the nature and prevalence of cyberbullying from the Internet users of different age groups and genders, based on the frequency of offensive posts received. Consequently, in this study, an anonymous online survey via SurveyMonkey was conducted through Social Media websites (Twitter and Facebook). A link to the questionnaire was distributed on social networks including Twitter and Facebook, and participants were randomly invited to complete it.

Voluntary participants included but were not limited to students/staff/members of the University of Queensland (UQ) community. Students, academics and research peers were

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also approached to fill out the online questionnaire. Although not specifically targeted, people from communities outside of the UQ have also participated. As a strategy to obtain informed consent, it was requested that people under 18 years seek the permission from a parent or guardian before participating in the survey. Prior to the research being conducted, the study had been cleared in accordance with the ethical review processes of the University of Queensland, Australia.

2.2. Procedure

To closely investigate the amount of cyberbullying and cyber harassment, we chose groups in various age ranges (12-17 years, 18-21 years, 22-25 years, 25-30 years) and grouped users above 30 years as a single entity. In addition, we made the assumption that these Internet users had Social Network accounts on Twitter and Facebook. The questionnaire was separated into five parts:

Part A: Relating to demographic factors;

Part B: Relating to direct cyberbullying;

Part C: Relating to indirect cyberbullying;

Part D: Relating to misinterpreted form of cyberbullying;

Part E: General questions about cyberbullying.

The pilot survey was carried out by interviewing a few UQ students and academics.

After this, modifications were made based on the feedback and the revised questionnaire was posted on the SurveyMonkey website.

A filter question (Have you experienced or been involved in cyberbullying?) was used to filter out participants who have never been involved in, nor experienced cyberbullying. To determine the best indicators of direct, indirect and misinterpreted forms of cyberbullying; the definitions of these types of cyberbullying were provided explicitly. Additionally, indicators were prepared for each type of cyberbullying independently.

Respondents were asked to respond to each question regarding what constitutes cyberbullying, and the number of times they have experienced or been involved in any of the three types of cyberbullying. The statistical analysis of all the data was done by computing the Cronbach's alpha, the Spearman's Correlation Coefficient, Linear Regression Analysis and the Coefficient of determination using SPSS. Significance was calculated both 5% and 1% levels.

2.2.1. Demographic Factors

Participants were asked for their age, gender and religious background in order to study their profile, which constitutes Part A of the questionnaire.

Cyberbullying is defined as "an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself" [23]. After giving this definition, four indicators - 'appearance of bad words in messages such as insults, e.g., fool, or crude words, e.g., bitch', 'direct use of bad words to describe someone, e.g., You are a fool', 'presence of

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loud language, foul words, names written in capital letters making it obvious in a message, e.g., 'You FOOL!!', and 'teasing' - repeated comments or messages that may upset someone, were examined to measure what constitutes cyberbullying on the Likert six-point scale from 'Strongly agree' (scale level - 5) to 'Not applicable' (scale level - 0). Another Likert six-point scale from 'Every day' (scale level - 5) to 'Never' (scale level - 0) was constructed to measure their experiences and involvement with cyberbullying in Part B of the questionnaire. The participants were asked how frequently they had been involved in cyberbullying as a victim or as a bully by explaining their experience using eleven indicators.

For the bully, the indicators included: 'bullied or picked on someone online', 'sent or posted offensive message to others', 'sent or posted a secret message to someone and that person was upset about this', 'sent a message online, which mocked the receiver or otherwise upset them' and 'sent an offensive message online to a friend or relative'. For victims, indicators included: 'been bullied or picked on by someone, or a group, online', 'received offensive message from others', 'been frightened to go online', 'received a message that you did not want others to see', 'received a message online, which mocked you or otherwise upset you' and 'received an offensive message online from a friend or relative'.

2.2.2. Indirect Cyberbullying

In Part C of the questionnaire, a model for 'indirect cyberbullying' was created. The definition of indirect bullying was defined as 'the presence of bad words in a message in association with the third person pronoun (i.e., 'he', 'she' etc.) e.g., He is a fool'. Then, to measure participants' experience with indirect cyberbullying, they were asked how often they had experienced or been involved with indirect cyberbullying, using the Likert six-point scale from the 'Every day' (scale level - 5) basis to the 'Never' (scale level - 0).

Another Likert six-point scale from 'Every day' (scale level - 5) to 'No cyberbullying' (scale level - 0) was developed to measure their engagement as a victim or as a bully in indirect cyberbullying, based on the five points scale. The indicators for the bully are: 'talked about others, in ways that would make them feel uncomfortable or upset', and 'mentioned someone in a message to a third party in a way that was mocking or otherwise makes them feel uncomfortable or upset'. For the victim, indicators include: 'bullied or picked on by someone indirectly, as a third person, while online', 'been talked about online in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset' and 'been mentioned in a message to someone else in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset'.

2.2.3. Misinterpreted Form of Cyberbullying

The fourth model (Part D) is defined as a 'misinterpreted form' of cyberbullying, which is introduced in the questionnaire to understand the difference between cyberbullying and cyber-teasing. A misinterpreted form of cyberbullying is defined as 'the harassing or rude behaviour that appears between close friends or in close relationships'. Close friends may often use coarse or rude language without intending to hurt/insult/upset each another, for example simply cracking a joke may sometimes be seen as an insult. To measure misinterpreted form of cyberbullying and bullying behaviour, instances within close relationships and friendships were carefully examined. Two questions similar to those used for indirect cyberbullying were constructed on the same scale. In addition, to understand the reaction

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of the receiver of bullying-like message online, a new question is added. Respondents indicated their reaction through multiple-choice options: 'took it seriously and replied with a bullying message', 'took it seriously and never replied', 'didn't take it seriously and replied in a normal way', 'didn't take it seriously and ignored it' and 'other - please specify'. Another Likert six-point scale from 'Every day' (scale level - 5) to 'No cyberbullying' (scale level - 0) is developed to measure their engagement as a victim or as a bully in misinterpreted form of cyberbullying, based on the five points scale. The indicators for misinterpreted form of cyberbullying are: 'talked about a friend or relative, in ways that would make them feel uncomfortable or upset', and 'mentioned by a friend or relative in a message in a way that was mocking or otherwise makes them feel uncomfortable or upset'. While for the victim, indicators include: 'bullied or picked up by a friend or relative, while online', 'been talked about online by a friend or relative, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset', and 'mentioned by a friend or relative in a message in a way that was mocking or otherwise makes them feel uncomfortable or upset'.

2.2.4. General Questions about Cyberbullying

In Part E, three multiple-choice questions were developed regarding the general questions about cyberbullying, such as main sources of cyberbullying, motives of cyberbullying, and participants' reactions to cyberbullying messages. A question to measure the level of severity of cyberbullying based on the percentage of cyberbullying was developed. Four severity levels were defined including 'Severe', 'Moderate', 'Normal', and 'Non-bullying'. Participants were also asked to provide five unusual bullying words they have encountered for the first time.

3. Results and Discussions

This study into cyberbullying among Internet users explored the phenomenon of cyberbullying from the perspective of identification of the indicators of cyberbullying in user-generated content. In this study, the prevalence of cyberbullying is investigated only from the respondents who have experienced or been involved in cyberbullying.

3.1. Demographic Details

Figure 1 shows the percentage distribution of participants based on gender. Of those who took part in the study, a total of 53.4% female, 42.7% male, and 3.9% of respondents did not mention their gender. We can note that the female participation is slightly higher than males. Nevertheless, the study was consistent to obtain almost equal opinions of male and female online users of their cyberbullying experiences.

The age is divided into five groups: 12-17 years, 18-21 years, 22-25 years, 26-30 years and 30 years plus. As shown in Figure 2, out of the total participants, 27.3% belong to the age group 12-17 years, which is the highest percentage, followed by 24.1% users aged over 30 years, 19.0% of 18-21 years group, 16.8% people of 26-30 years, 11.9% users fall in to the 22-25 years of age group and 1% of users didn't reveal their age. For our study, we can also conclude that people over 30 years are almost equal in number that those who

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42.7%

53.4%

3.9%

Gender

Male

Female

Prefer not to say

Figure 1. Victim and Predator Identification graph.

27.3%

19.0%

11.9%

16.8%

24.1%

1.0%

Your age (in years)

12-17

18-21

22-25

26-30

Over 30

Prefer not to say

Figure 2. Victim and Predator Identification graph.

are between 12-17 years old. This shows that not only teenagers and young children are users on social networking sites, but elder group of people are also frequent users of these websites. This is in line with our intuition that with the proliferation of social networks, people of all ages are being affected by online bullying and abuse.

0.0%

5.0%

10.0%

15.0%

20.0%

25.0%

30.0%

35.0%

Christianity Judaism Islam Hinduism Buddhism Prefer not

to say

Other

(please

specify)

What is your religious background?

Figure 3. Victim and Predator Identification graph

Figure 3 illustrates the religious background of the respondents. The highest number of participants were Christians, which was 33.1%, followed by Hindu with 16.2% participations, then Islamists (15.4%), Jews (12.0%) and Buddhists (7.8%) in decreasing order. Also, 4.4% of users preferred not to reveal their religion and 11.8% said 'other'. In our

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Table 1. Correlation between involvement or experience of cyberbullying, and age groups (Q3 & Q6)

Correlations

Have you experienced or involved in cyberbullying?

Have you experienced or involved in cyberbullying?

Pearson Correlation 1

Sig. (2-tailed)

N 408

Your age (in years)

Pearson Correlation -.107*

Sig. (2-tailed) 0.031

N 408

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 2. Recent involvement in cyberbullying based on age groups

Indicators Age (years)

12-17 18-21 22-25 26-30 Over 30

Last month 52.4% 23.1% 23.5% 8.3% 16.7%

Last two months 23.8% 61.5% 41.2% 41.7% 6.7%

Prefer not to say 9.5% 3.8% 11.8% 20.8% 16.7%

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

3.1.2. Age Groups and Involvement or Experience of Cyberbullying (Q3 & Q6)

As shown in Table 1, the correlation coefficient between experience or involvement in cyberbullying and age groups is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed), which shows a strong relationship existed between these two variables as teenagers are more vulnerable to cyberbullying.

3.1.3. Age Groups and Frequency of Experience or Involvement in Cyberbullying (Q3 & Q7)

Table 3. Recent involvement in cyberbullying based on age groups

Indicators Age (years)

12-17 18-21 22-25 26-30 Over 30

Last month 52.4% 23.1% 23.5% 8.3% 16.7%

Last two months 23.8% 61.5% 41.2% 41.7% 6.7%

Prefer not to say 9.5% 3.8% 11.8% 20.8% 16.7%

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 3 shows that during the last month, teenagers were most frequently involved in cyberbullying or targeted by cyberbullies (52.4%), compared to other groups. The frequency of the involvement of people of other age groups is lower in the previous month compared to the previous two months. Also, we can observe that the frequency of the involvement decreases as age increases. It shows that teenagers are the most involved group, whereas

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the least involved people are over 30 years old. We can see that involvement in cyberbullying activity is decreasing with the age, and there is an immediate need to spread awareness among teens.

Table 4. Correlation between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and frequency of cyberbullying (Q6&Q7)

Correlations
Have you experienced or involved in cyberbullying?

Have you experienced or involved in cyberbullying?

Pearson Correlation 1

Sig. (2-tailed)

N 408

When last time you have been experienced or involved in cyberbullying?

Pearson Correlation 0.333*

Sig. (2-tailed) 0.000

N 267

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

As shown in Table 4, the correlation coefficient between experience or involvement of cyberbullying and last time involvement in cyberbullying is highly significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), which shows a strong relationship existed between these two variables.

3.2. Direct Cyberbullying

The internal reliability of the four indicators of Q8 and the eleven indicators of Q9 and experience or involvement of cyberbullying (Q6) is calculated by using Cronbach's alpha. The overall alpha coefficient is 0.953 (range if one item deleted, from 0.958 to 0.946), suggesting excellent reliability.

3.2.1. Involvement or Experience of Cyberbullying and Indicators of Direct Cyberbullying (Q6 & Q8)

Participants were asked what constitutes direct cyberbullying, by providing the list of four indicators: 'appearance of bad words in messages', 'direct use of bad words to describe someone', 'presence of loud language' and 'teasing - repeated comments or messages that may upset someone'. In addition, five options from 'strongly agree' (scale level - 5) to 'not applicable' (scale level - 0) were given in the questionnaire. The 'strongly agree' indicators (at scale level - 5) proving to be most common were the 'teasing - repeated comments or messages that may upset someone' (56.8%) and 'presence of loud language' (48.7%). Furthermore, 'direct use of bad words to describe someone' (63.2%) and 'appearance of bad words in messages' (51.3%) were the most frequent 'agree' items (at scale level - 4). It is important to note that none of the respondents answered 'Not applicable' for any of these four items, while less than 2% of the respondents marked the occurrences of these indicators as 'strongly disagree' as a sign of cyberbullying. This demonstrates that the four given points are good indicators to identifying online bullying content. Nevertheless, the 'presence of loud (capitalised) language' and 'teasing' are more prominent than the 'appearance of bad words' and the 'direct use of bad words' to describe the constitution of cyberbullying. The detailed table is given in Appendix II.

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Table 5. Involvement or experience of cyberbullying and indicators of direct cyberbullying (Q6 & Q8)

S. Indicators Percent Mean Standard R R 2 Adjus-

No. Deviation ted R 2

a. Appearance of bad

words in message,

such as insults (e.g.,

'fool'), or crude

words (e.g., 'bitch').

51.3 (Agree) 3.848 0.986 0.247** 0.061 0.056

b. Direct use of bad

words to describe

someone, e.g., 'you

are a fool'.

63.2 (Agree) 3.968 0.776 0.183* 0.034 0.028

c. Presence of loud

language - bad words/

name written in

capital letters to

making it obvious in a

message. e.g., 'you

FOOL!!'

48.7

(Strongly

agree)

4.225 0.938 0.357** 0.127 0.123

d. Teasing - repeated

comments or

messages that may

upset someone.

56.8

(Strongly

agree)

4.494 0.649 0.331** 0.109 0.105

N=422

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The experience and involvement in cyberbullying is a dichotomous variable coded 1

if the respondent answered 'Yes', 2 if a respondent answered 'No'. As shown in Table 5,

the correlation coefficient between experience of, or involvement in cyberbullying, and the

'appearance of bad words in messages, such as insults', 'presence of loud language' and

'teasing' is 'highly significant' at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), which shows a strong relationship

existed. Whereas, significant for 'direct use of bad words to describe someone' at the 0.05

level (2-tailed). However, linear regression analysis between the dependent variable (expe-

rience of or involvement in cyberbullying) and independent variables (as given in Table 5

from serial letters 'a' to 'd') suggests that the coefficients of determination (R^2) between

involvement in or experience of cyberbullying, and 'Presence of loud language' and 'Teas-

ing' are 12.7% and 10.9% respectively. This means these independent variables accounted

for 12.7% and 10.9% of the total variation in the dependent variable i.e., involvement in or

experience of cyberbullying. These two independent variables are the main indicators of

direct cyberbullying, whereas the R^2 between involvement or experience of cyberbullying

and all the four indicators of Q8 is 15.6% as shown in Table 6.

3.2.2. Involvement or Experience of Direct Cyberbullying and its Frequency

(Q6 & Q9)

Given the list of eleven cyberbullying examples, participants were asked the frequency on

a scale from 'Every day' to 'Never' by which they have been bullied or have bullied others.

The majority of participants agreed on the 'A few times' option as they 'had received an

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Table 6. Regression (stepwise) analysis, model summary (Q6 & Q8)

Coefficients a

S. No. Model Unstandardised

Coefficients

Standardised

Coefficients

t Sig.

B Std. Error Beta

(Constant) -0.540 0.258 -2.095 0.038

a. Appearance of bad

words in message,

such as insults (e.g.,

'fool'), or crude

words (e.g., 'bitch').

0.060 0.047 0.120 1.271 0.205

b. Direct use of bad

words to describe

someone, e.g., 'you

are a fool'.

-0.067 0.060 -0.106 -1.118 0.265

c. Presence of loud

language - bad words/

name written in

capital letters to

making it obvious in a

message. e.g., 'you

FOOL!!'

0.122 0.057 0.232 2.124 0.035*

d. Teasing - repeated

comments or

messages that may

upset someone.

0.146 0.067 0.192 2.170 0.031*

R R 2 Adjusted R 2 d.f.1 d.f.2 Signifi-

cance F

0.395 a 0.156 0.137 4 183 0.000**

a. Dependent Variable: Have you experienced or been involved in cyberbullying?

**Significant at p # 0#01

*Significant at p # 0#05

offensive message' (41.0%), 'they had received a message online which mocked or upset

them' (40.4%), 'had received a message that they did not want others to see' (39.9%), 'had

been bullied or picked on by someone or a group online' (37.0%), 'they felt frightened to go

online' (35.4%), and 'they received an offensive online message from a friend or relative'

(34.8%). Furthermore, the majority of the respondents (43.8%) said that they never sent a

message online which mocked the receiver or otherwise upset them. The detailed table is

given in Appendix III.

On one hand, around 50% people said that they have received cyberbullying messages,

while on the other hand fewer than 10% of people accepted that they have ever sent bullying

messages. This opens up a new direction of research to discover if people are ignoring

the fact they are bullying others; or if they have done it unknowingly. Here we can see

that there is a huge gap between intentional cyberbullying and unintentional cyberbullying.

Nevertheless, whatever the case is, around 50.0% of people accepted that they felt bad on

receiving a message of an apparently cyberbullying nature.

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Table 7. Involvement or experience of direct cyberbullying and its frequency (Q6 & Q9)

S. Indicators Percent Mean Standard R R 2 Adjusted

No. Deviation R 2

a. You have been bullied or picked up by someone or a group online.
37.0 (A few times)
1.434 1.388 0.679** 0.461 0.458

b. You have bullied or picked up someone online.
48.7 (Never),
23.5 (Once/twice)
0.952 1.174 0.549** 0.302 0.298

c. You have received offensive message from others.
41.0 (A few times)
1.617 1.317 0.617** 0.380 0.377

d. You have sent or post offensive message to others.
48.7 (Never),
26.2 (Once/twice)
0.904 1.113 0.495** 0.245 0.240

e. You have been frightened to go online.
35.4 (A few times)
1.201 1.353 0.569** 0.323 0.320

f. You have received a message that you did not want others to see.
39.9 (A few times)
1.436 1.254 0.539** 0.290 0.286

g. You have sent or posted a secrete message of someone's and that person is upset about this.
53.5 (Never),
14.4 (A few times)
0.866 1.163 0.485** 0.235 0.231

h. You have sent a message online, which mocked the receiver or otherwise upset them.
43.8 (Never),
28.1 (Once/twice)
0.995 1.120 0.476** 0.226 0.222

i. You have received a message online, which mocked you or otherwise upset you.
40.4 (A few times)
1.447 1.259 0.611** 0.374 0.370

j. You have sent an offensive message online to a friend or relative.
50.5 (Never),
16.1 (A few times)
0.914 1.164 0.465** 0.216 0.212

k. You have received an offensive message online from a friend or relative.
34.8 (A few times)
1.342 1.364 0.582** 0.339 0.335

N=422

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The experience and involvement in cyberbullying is a dichotomous variable coded 1 if the respondent answered 'Yes', 2 if a respondent answered 'No'. As shown in Table 7, the correlation coefficient between experience and involvement of cyberbullying, and for all the indicators of direct cyberbullying, is highly significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), which shows a strong relationship existed. However, linear regression analysis between the dependent variable (experiences of or involvement in cyberbullying) and independent variables (as given in Table 7 from serial letters 'a' to 'k') suggests that the coefficients of determination (R^2), between involvement in or experience of cyberbullying and 'had been bullied or picked on by someone or a group online', 'had received an offensive message', 'received a message online, which mocked you or otherwise upset you', 'they received an offensive online message from a friend or relative', and 'they felt frightened to go online',

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is 46.1%, 38.0%, 37.4%, 33.9%, and 32.3% respectively. This means these independent variables accounted for 46.1%, 38.0%, 37.4%, 33.9%, and 32.3% of the total variation of the dependent variable i.e., involvement in or experience of cyberbullying. These five independent variables are the main indicators of direct cyberbullying based on frequency, whereas the R 2 between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and all the eleven indicators of Q9 is 48.8%, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Regression (stepwise) analysis, model summary (Q6 & Q9)

Coefficients a

S. No. Model Unstandardised

Coefficients

Standardised

Coefficients

t Sig.

B Std. Error Beta

(Constant) 0.220 0.046 4.793 0.000

a. You have been bullied

or picked up by

someone or a group

online.

0.231 0.066 0.641 3.517 0.001**

b. You have bullied or

picked up someone

online.

-0.017 0.061 -0.041 -0.281 0.779

c. You have received

offensive message

from others.

0.016 0.051 0.043 0.324 0.746

d. You have sent or post

offensive message to

others.

0.022 0.075 0.049 0.288 0.774

e. You have been

frightened to go

online.

0.041 0.050 0.110 0.814 0.417

f. You have received a

message that you did

not want others to see.

-0.040 0.041 -0.101 -0.970 0.333

g. You have sent or

posted a secrete

message of

someone's and that

person is upset about

this.

-0.118 0.065 -0.276 -1.813 0.072

h. You have sent a

message online,

which mocked the

receiver or otherwise

upset them.

-0.041 0.068 -0.093 -0.602 0.548

i. You have received a

message online,

which mocked you or

otherwise upset you.

0.105 0.062 0.263 1.692 0.093

j. You have sent an

offensive message

online to a friend or

relative.

0.028 0.066 0.067 0.430 0.668

k. You have received an

offensive message

online from a friend

or relative.

-0.001 0.056 -0.003 -0.018 0.985

continued . . .

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... continued

Coefficients a

S. No. Model Unstandardised

Coefficients

Standardised

Coefficients

t Sig.

B Std. Error Beta

R R 2 Adjusted R 2 d.f.1 d.f.2 Signifi-

cance F

0.698 a 0.488 0.454 11 170 0.000**

a. Dependent Variable: Have you experienced or been involved in cyberbullying?

N=422

**Significant at p # 0#01

*Significant at p # 0#05

3.3. Indirect Cyberbullying

Table 9. Involvement or experience of indirect cyberbullying and its frequency (Q6 &

Q11)

S. Indicators Percent Mean Standard R R 2 Adju-

No. Deviation sted R 2

a. You have been bullied or

picked up by someone

indirectly, as a third

person, while online.

35.4 (A few

times)

1.284 0.452 0.622** 0.387 0.384

b. You have been talked

about online, in ways that

make you feel

uncomfortable or upset.

39.2 (A few

times)

1.382 1.406 0.613** 0.376 0.373

c. You have talked about

others, in ways that make

them feel uncomfortable

or upset.

13.6 (A few

times)

1.455 1.237 0.454** 0.206 0.201

d. You have been mentioned

in a message to someone

else in a way that is

mocking or otherwise

makes you feel

uncomfortable or upset.

38.8 (A few

times)

1.084 1.224 0.638** 0.406 0.403

e. You have mentioned

someone in a message to a

third party in a way that is

mocking or otherwise

makes them feel

uncomfortable or upset.

32.6 (Once/

twice)

1.421 1.238 0.465** 0.217 0.212

N=422

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The internal reliability of Q10 and the five indicators of Q11 and experience of or involvement in cyberbullying (Q6) is calculated by using Cronbach's alpha. The overall alpha coefficient is 0.940 (range if one item deleted, from 0.922 to 0.951), suggesting excellent reliability. Given a model for 'Indirect cyberbullying', which includes a series of indirect cyberbullying examples, respondents were asked the frequency by which they had been involved in or experienced indirect cyberbullying on the scale of 'Every day' to 'No cyberbullying'. The majority of people accepted that 'A few times' they have 'been talked about online, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset' (39.2%), 'been mentioned in a message to someone else in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel

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uncomfortable or upset' (38.8%), and 'bullied or picked up by someone indirectly, as a third person, while online' (35.4%). These three items are identified as the most common examples for the involvement in indirect cyberbullying activities. In addition, nearly the same percentage of respondents said that they have not bullied others in any of these ways. This also suggests that the majority of victims of indirect cyberbullying did not indirectly cyberbully others. These findings are in line with the direct versus indirect measurement of cyberbullying [10], where indirect measures includes the experience of youngsters with traditional bullying, and their Information and Communication Technology's (ICTs) use was measured in order to situate cyberbullying within these youngsters' lives. Their findings suggested that 61.9% of respondents had been victims, 52.5% had been perpetrators, and 76.3% had been bystanders to at least one POP (potentially offensive Internet and mobile phone practice). The detailed table is given in Appendix IV.

Table 10. Regression (stepwise) analysis, model summary (Q10 & Q11)

Coefficients a								
S. No.	Model	Unstandardised Coefficients	Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.			
B Std. Error Beta								
(Constant)		0.243	0.043	5.624	0.000			
a. You have bullied or picked up by someone indirectly, as a third person, while online.		0.155	0.041	0.439	3.803			
b. You have been talked about online, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset.		0.054	0.059	0.136	0.919			
c. You have talked about others, in ways that make them feel uncomfortable or upset.		-0.092	0.062	-0.224	-1.472			
d. You have been mentioned in a message to someone else in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset.		0.122	0.065	0.305	1.870			
e. You have mentioned someone in a message to a third party in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes them feel uncomfortable or upset.		0.003	0.069	0.008	0.051			
R R 2 Adjusted R 2 d.f.1 d.f.2 Significance F								
		0.674	a	0.454	0.438	5	169	0.000**
a. Dependent Variable: Have you experienced or been involved in cyberbullying?								
**Significant at p# 0.01								
*Significant at p # 0.05								

The experience and involvement in cyberbullying is a dichotomous variable coded 1 if the respondent answered 'Yes', 2 if a respondent answered 'No'. As shown in Table 9, the correlation coefficient between experience of or involvement in cyberbullying and all the indicators of indirect cyberbullying is highly significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), which shows a strong relationship existed. However, linear regression analysis between the dependent variable (experience of or involvement in cyberbullying) and independent variables (as given in Table 9 from serial letters 'a' to 'e') suggests that the coefficients of determination (R 2), between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and 'been mentioned in a message to someone else in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset', 'bullied or picked on by someone indirectly, as a third person, while online', and 'been talked about online, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset', is 40.6%, 38.7%, and 37.6% respectively. This means these independent variables accounted for

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40.6%, 38.7%, and 37.6% of the total variation in the dependent variables i.e., involvement or experience of cyberbullying. These three independent variables are the main examples of indirect cyberbullying based on frequency, whereas the R² between involvement in or experience of cyberbullying and all the five indicators of Q11 is 45.4%, as shown in Table 10.

3.4. Misinterpreted Form of Cyberbullying

Table 11. Involvement or experience of misinterpreted form of cyberbullying and its frequency (Q6 & Q13)

S, No. Indicators Percent Mean Standard R R² Adjusted

Deviation R²

a. You have been bullied or picked up by a friend or relative, while online.

38.2 (No cyberbullying),

33.1 (A few times)

1.241 1.116 0.659** 0.434 0.431

b. You have been talked about online by a friend or relative, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset.

36.4 (A few times)

1.369 1.044 0.650** 0.422 0.419

c. You have talked about a friend or relative, in ways that would make them feel uncomfortable or upset.

37.3 (Once/twice),

36.2 (No cyberbullying),

0.904 0.788 0.534** 0.285 0.281

d. You have been mentioned in a message to a friend or relative in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset.

34.8 (A few times), 28.7

(No cyberbullying)

1.365 1.055 0.660** 0.436 0.433

e. You have mentioned by a friend or relative in a message in a way that was mocking or otherwise makes them feel uncomfortable or upset.

36.5 (Once/twice), 36.5

(No cyberbullying)

0.904 0.793 0.496** 0.246 0.242

N=422

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The internal reliability of Q12 and the five indicators of Q13, and experience of or involvement in cyberbullying (Q6) is calculated by using Cronbach's alpha. The overall alpha coefficient is 0.927 (range if one item deleted, from 0.903 to 0.933), suggesting excellent reliability.

A list of five items and the frequency scale from 'Every day' to 'No cyberbullying' were given for the 'misinterpreted form' of cyberbullying model. Participants were asked the frequency by which they had been involved in or experienced misinterpreted form of cyberbullying on the scale of 'Every day' to 'No cyberbullying'. Of the total, 38.2%, 37.3%, and 36.5% respondents opted 'No cyberbullying' for the 'bullied or picked up by a friend or relative, while online', 'talked about a friend or relative, in ways that would make them feel uncomfortable or upset', and 'mentioned by a friend or relative in a message in a way that was mocking or otherwise makes them feel uncomfortable or upset', respectively. The majority of people accepted that 'A few times' they have 'been talked about online by a friend or relative, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset.' (36.9%), and 'been mentioned in a message to a friend or relative in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset.' (34.8%), and 'bullied or picked up by a friend or relative, while online' (33.1%). These three items are identified as the most common examples for

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the involvement in misinterpreted form of cyberbullying activities. In addition, nearly the same percentage of respondents said that they have not bullied others in any of these ways. This also suggests that the majority of victims of misinterpreted form of bullying did not bully others in the same way. The detailed table is given in Appendix V.

Table 12. Regression (stepwise) analysis, model summary (Q12 & Q13)

Coefficients a	S. No.	Model	Unstandardised Coefficients	Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.	
B Std. Error Beta							
(Constant)	0.170	0.046	3.729	0.170			
a. You have bullied or picked up by a friend or relative, while online.	0.154	0.046	0.350	3.346	0.154		
b. You have been talked about online by a friend or relative, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset.	0.063	0.064	0.134	0.991	0.063		
c. You have talked about a friend or relative, in ways that would make them feel uncomfortable or upset.	0.087	0.082	0.140	1.056	0.087		
d. You have been mentioned in a message to a friend or relative in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset.	0.136	0.066	0.290	2.059	0.136		
e. You have mentioned by a friend or relative in a message in a way that was mocking or otherwise makes them feel uncomfortable or upset.	-0.110	0.086	-0.179	-1.287	-0.110		
R R 2 Adjusted R 2 d.f.1 d.f.2 Significance F	0.701	a	0.492	0.477	5	169	0.000**
a. Dependent Variable: Have you experienced or been involved in cyberbullying?							
N=422							
**Significant at p # 0#01							
*Significant at p # 0#05							

The experience of and involvement in cyberbullying is a dichotomous variable coded 1 if the respondent answered 'Yes', 2 if a respondent answered 'No'. As shown in Table 11, the correlation coefficient between experience of or involvement in cyberbullying and all the indicators of misinterpreted form of cyberbullying is highly significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), which shows a strong relationship existed. However, linear regression analysis between dependent variables (experience of or involvement in cyberbullying) and independent variables (as given in Table 5.10 from serial letters 'a' to 'e) suggests that the coefficient of determination (R 2), between involvement in or experience of cyberbullying and being 'been mentioned in a message to a friend or relative in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset', 'bullied or picked up on a friend or relative, while online', and 'been talked about online by a friend or relative, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset' is 43.6%, 43.4%, and 42.2% and respectively. This means these independent variables accounted for 43.6%, 43.4%, and 42.2% of the total variation in the dependent variable i.e., involvement in or experience of cyberbullying. These three independent variables are the main indicators of misinterpreted form of cyberbullying based on frequency, whereas the R 2 between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and all the five indicators of Q13 is 47.7%, as shown in Table 12.

Research demonstrates that the differentiation between cyberbullying and cyber-teasing depends on the subjective difference between the ways messages were intended versus how

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they were perceived. Given that the use of coarse or rude language is often a common phenomenon among close friends or those in close relationships, without intent to hurt each other. Of the total, 43% of respondents agreed that they had experienced this type of bullying behaviour 'A few times'.

Therefore, participants were asked for their reaction while experiencing this behaviour, through multiple-choice questions. Of the total, 44.4% of respondents said that they 'took it seriously and replied with a bullying message', and 46.3% mentioned that they 'took it seriously and never replied'. Here, based on the frequency, we formed a rule by computing the likelihood of the given rude or hurtful messages, m , sent between friends, so the probability that m is cyberbullying ($y = 1$) or not ($y = -1$) can be defined as:

$$y = X(m \# f); y \# \{1, -1\} \quad (1)$$

$$y = \# 1 \text{ if } 0 \# 06 < f < 0 \# 23;$$

$$-1 \text{ if } 0 \# 23 \# f \# 1 \text{ or } 0 \# 0 \# f \# 0 \# 06$$

(2)

where, f is the frequency of the hurtful message over the total number of messages, over a period of one month ($n = 30$), and range of f is given as $0 \# f \# 1$.

This demonstrates that people ignore rude or coarse behaviour between close friends or in close relationships for 'A few times', but as the frequency of such occurrences increases, it may result in more serious cases of cyberbullying and not just jokes or intentional acts of poking fun at a friend. Similarly, it is also not classified as cyberbullying if it happens so frequently that it can be considered as the usual way of communication between two good friends who have a mutual understanding of the comments made. However, unusual patterns can indicate that there is something wrong and the behaviour could be an intentional act to hurt a friend. Also research demonstrates that cyberbullying victimisation is more frequent among peer groups [24].

These inconsistent results clearly indicate that not all online variants of cyberbullying (or what appears to be cyberbullying) are considered as real cyberbullying cases [25]. It is a matter of perception of the message sender as well as the message recipient whether they consider the message or behaviour as 'funny' or 'hurtful' [25]. Similarly, findings from the study regarding cyberbullying behaviours of teenagers from different socio-economic backgrounds among public and private school students revealed that participants from private schools did not mind cyberbullying because they thought it was a joke, whereas participants from public schools reported that they felt angry when faced with cyberbullying [26].

Conclusion

With regards to the prevalence of cyberbullying in social networks, the following observation seems to be especially relevant in light of the development of the cyberbullying indicators from the user-generated content: For direct cyberbullying, 'presence of loud language' and 'teasing - repeated comments or messages that may upset someone' are the main indicators in social networks. For indirect cyberbullying, 'bullied or picked on by someone indirectly, as a third person, while online', 'been talked about online, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset', and 'been mentioned in a message to someone else in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset' are the main

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indicators. For misinterpreted form of cyberbullying, 'bullied or picked up on a friend or relative, while online', 'been talked about online by a friend or relative, in ways that make you feel uncomfortable or upset' and 'been mentioned in a message to a friend or relative in a way that is mocking or otherwise makes you feel uncomfortable or upset' are the main indicators.

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Chapter 49

CYBERBULLYING PREVALENCE - MEDIUM, MOTIVE AND REACTION

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Chapter 49

CYBERBULLYING PREVALENCE - MEDIUM,
MOTIVE AND REACTION

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Abstract

Nowadays, cyberbullying is becoming an increasingly obvious concern, especially among children and teenagers. Cyberbullying can have an extremely negative impact on victims and in the worst scenarios, it can actually result in suicidal attempts. In this Chapter, we present the results of an online survey, which is conducted to study the sources, motives and reaction to cyberbullying. The study focuses on obtaining feedback on the nature and prevalence of cyberbullying from the Internet users of different age groups and genders, based on the frequency of offensive posts received. Findings reveal that in social networking websites, instance messaging and chat rooms are the main sources of cyberbullying. Items 'to show hate', 'to make fun of someone', and 'to copycat others in cyberbullying activities' are the main motives of cyberbullying. The main reactions to cyberbullying are 'replied in a bullying manner', 'never replied' and 'blocked someone'. To differentiate real bullying from cyberbullying-like or non-bullying messages, the frequency between sender and receiver over a long period of a time can be seen to demonstrate whether it is an unusual (intentional) act of teasing, or a usual (unintentional) act that generally exists between good friends or those in close relationships. However, it is important to note that a frequent pattern should not be confused with frequent coarse language at one particular time. The unusual patterns over a long period of time should be considered as clear indicators of true bullying.

Keywords: cyberbullying, victimization, prevalence, social networks, cyberbullying indicators

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1. Introduction

Though cyberbullying is a common phenomenon among adolescents and children, breakthrough advancements in information and web-based technologies, such as social networking sites, straddle age groups where non-physical aggression is often observed among different age group users. Research conducted in various countries, including Serbia, the UK, the USA, Korea, Turkey, Italy, and Australia clearly indicate that nearly 90% of school-aged students access the Internet at home, with over 50% reporting daily use [1–4], which they use to interact in cyberspace. Teachers and administrators have recognized students' use of information and communication technology, particularly in their social interaction via the expanding use of electronic communication in school classrooms [5,6]. Worldwide, studies reveal that most school-aged students now own a mobile phone and this increases with age [1, 2]. An empirical study conducted by Aricak [7] in the Turkish environment reveals the fact that ease of maintaining anonymity in cyberspace is one of the most significant causes of cyberbullying. He also found that males are more likely than females to validate that they would engage in cyberbullying in the future. Furthermore, this study also suggests that cyberbullying is not limited to children and adolescents, but extends to adults as well.

The very act of a bullying activity is harmful in some way or the other and its implications are so dangerous that it may destroy the precious lives of youths when they fail to cope with the unbearable pressure of insulting or humiliating messages, especially on the Internet, where the potential audience of cyberbullying is limitless [8]. In such settings, it is beneficial to have an automatic system which can monitor such harmful messages and alert users of its repetitive occurrence. This will help to maintain a safe and healthy online environment for all users and endorses the need for detection software.

In light of the facts that (i) young people have fully embraced the Internet as both an environment and a tool for socialising [9] on place like social networks; (ii) there is growing evidence of the existence of cyberbullying, including cases which have resulted in suicide; (iii) bullying in virtual reality is a difficult phenomenon for adults to monitor young children/students' actions [10]; (iv) young people (especially teenagers) do not tell adults about cyberbullying incidents and only a minority of participants use digital tools to prevent online bullying incidents [11]. This chapter aims to study the online users' understanding of the prevalence of cyberbullying.

Based on the frequency of sent and received messages under various conditions, such as involvement in direct, indirect and the misinterpreted form of cyberbullying, this chapter investigates the cyberbullying indicators in user-generated content that can be used towards cyberbullying detection in social networks. While cyberbullying is a problem that receives a lot of attention from the social science perspective, it has received much less research attention from the automatic detection perspective. Various definitions of cyberbullying, revealing the attributes which are inherent in the act of cyberbullying are: intentional hurt, repetitive patterns, an imbalance of power, and where a victim is unable to defend him/herself.

The differentiation between cyberbullying and cyber-teasing depends on the subjective difference between the ways messages were intended versus how they were perceived, and as a consequence automatic detection poses an important research challenge. The aim of

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this study is to develop rules, which can be incorporated within cyberbullying detection tools. Rules will be based on the frequency of offensive messages and the communication patterns between online users engaging in harassing/cruel or offensive messaging. In this chapter, we study various indicators in user-generated content which makes the online content appear as bullying content. We consider the frequency by which offensive or hurtful messages are sent and received as a basis to predict the communication pattern of an intentionally hurtful act.

As a part of this research, we conducted an online survey where we examined users understanding on how they consider cyberbullying-like posts as real-cyberbullying or non-cyberbullying. Previous investigations have been conducted based on the formal definitions of cyberbullying, indicators of cyberbullying, opinions of the people who are actually involved in or who have experienced cyberbullying, and their reactions to the cyberbullying incidents. Based on the above-mentioned literature relating to the prevalence of cyberbullying and involvement of the Internet users in cyberbullying activities, the current studies sources and causes of cyberbullying as well as the reaction to cyberbullying.

2. Methodology

2.1. Participants and Settings

The study focuses on obtaining feedback on the nature and prevalence of cyberbullying from the Internet users of different age groups and genders, based on the frequency of offensive posts received. Therefore, in this study, an anonymous online survey via SurveyMonkey 1 was conducted through social networks. A link to the questionnaire was distributed on social networks including Twitter and Facebook, and participants were randomly invited to take part.

Voluntary participants included, but were not limited to, students/staff/members of the University of Queensland (UQ) community. Students, academics and research peers were also approached to fill out the online questionnaire. Although not specifically targeted, people from communities outside of the UQ have also participated. As a strategy to obtain informed consent, it was requested that people under 18 years seek the permission from a parent or guardian before participating in the survey. Prior to the research being conducted, the study had been cleared in accordance with the ethical review processes of the University of Queensland, Australia.

2.2. Procedure

To examine the extent of cyberbullying and cyber-harassment, we selected different age groups (12-17 years, 18-21 years, 22-25 years, 25-30 years) and grouped users above 30 years as a single entity. In addition, we assumed that these Internet users have accounts on social networks such as Facebook and Twitter, which are the most popular social networks, and the mode through which the survey was conducted. The questionnaire was divided into five parts:

1 <http://www.surveymonkey.com> (last visited [13 May 2014])

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Part A: Relating to demographic factors;

Part B: Relating to direct cyberbullying;

Part C: Relating to indirect cyberbullying;

Part D: Relating to misinterpreted form of cyberbullying;

Part E: General questions about cyberbullying.

The pilot survey was conducted by interviewing a few UQ students and academics.

After this, modifications were made based on the feedback and the revised questionnaire was posted on the SurveyMonkey website. A filter question 'Have you experienced or been involved in cyberbullying?' was employed to filter out participants who have never been involved in or experienced any form of cyberbullying. In order to determine the best indicators of direct, indirect and misinterpreted form of cyberbullying, an explicit definition of each type of cyberbullying was provided. Also, indicators were independently prepared for each type of cyberbullying. Respondents were asked to answer each item about what constitutes cyberbullying, and the frequency by which they have experienced or been involved in these three types of cyberbullying. The statistical analysis of data is done by computing the Cronbach's alpha, the Spearman's Correlation Coefficient, Linear Regression Analysis and the Coefficient of determination using SPSS. Significance is calculated at 5% and 1% levels.

2.2.1. General Questions about Cyberbullying

This chapter focuses on the Part E of the questionnaire (for the details of Part A, B, C, and D of the questionnaire, please refer [12, 13]. In Part E, three multiple-choice questions were developed regarding the general questions about cyberbullying, such as main sources of cyberbullying, motives of cyberbullying, and participants' reactions to cyberbullying messages. A question to measure the level of severity of cyberbullying based on the percentage of cyberbullying was developed. Four severity levels were defined including 'Severe', 'Moderate', 'Normal', and 'Non-bullying'. Participants were also asked to provide five unusual bullying words they have encountered for the first time.

3. Results and Discussions

3.1. Cyberbullying Prevalence -- Medium, Motive and Reaction

Through the multiple-choice questions, participants were asked to indicate the mediums, causes, and their reactions based on their experience while involved in cyberbullying.

3.1.1. Involvement or Experience of Cyberbullying versus Sources of Cyberbullying (Q6 & Q15)

Given the list of communication tools as a medium through which cyberbullying takes place, as shown in Table 1, 'Social networking websites (SNs)', 'Chat rooms (CR)' and 'Instant Messaging (TM)' are identified as the most common sources for the involvement in cyberbullying activities. The most prevalent tool is social networking websites among

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Table 1. Involvement or experience of cyberbullying and sources of cyberbullying (Q6 & Q15)

S. Indicators Percent Mean Standard Correlation R 2 Adju-

No. Deviation (R) sted R 2

a. Text messages

(TM)

12.8 0.05 0.21 0.261** 0.068 0.066

b. Phone calls via

mobile phones

4.5 0.02 0.013 0.169** 0.029 0.026

c. Chat rooms (CR) 51.9 0.19 0.39 0.644** 0.415 0.413

d. Social networking

websites (SNs)

75.0 0.28 0.45 0.704** 0.495 0.494

e. Images or videos

via mobile phone

camera

4.5 0.02 0.13 0.127* 0.016 0.014

f. Emails 17.9 0.07 0.25 0.110* 0.012 0.010

e. Instant messaging

(IM)

49.4 0.18 0.39 0.679** 0.461 0.460

N=422

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

a Correlation between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and sources of cyberbullying

76.3% male and 74.2% female participants of those who have been involved in cyberbullying across all age groups. CR was the second most common medium selected by 68% male and 42% female, with the majority from 12-17 years old candidates, while IM was also an equally likely place for 64% male and 40% females, especially among the 12-17 years olds. Vandebosch et al# [14] conducted a study on cyberbullying in Flanders (Belgium)

among primary school children and students in secondary education. On asking respondents directly whether they had been actively or passively involved in bullying via Internet or mobile phone, they found 10% were victims and 20% were perpetrators in this category. In addition, 61.9% of respondents had been victims and 52.5% had been perpetrators of at least one potentially offensive practice via the Internet or a mobile phone, which are generally considered as a 'form of bullying'.

The internal reliability of the seven sources and experiences of or involvement in cyberbullying is calculated using Cronbach's alpha. The overall alpha coefficient is 0.772 (range if one item deleted, from 0.681 to 0.790), suggested acceptable reliability. The experience and involvement in cyberbullying is a dichotomous variable coded 1 if the respondent answered 'Yes', 2 if a respondent answered 'No'. As shown in Table 1, the correlation coefficients between experience of or involvement in cyberbullying and for TM, phonecalls, CR, SNs and IM is highly significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), which shows a strong relationship existed, whereas it is significant for images and emails at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). However, linear regression analysis between dependent variables (experience or involvement of cyberbullying) and independent variables (as given in Table 1 from serial number '1' to '7') suggests that the coefficient of determination (R²), between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and SNs, IM and CR is 49.5%, 46.1% and 41.5% respectively.

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Table 2. Regression (stepwise) analysis, model summary (Q6 & Q15)

S. Coefficients a

No.

Model

Unstandardised

Coefficients

Standardised

Coefficients

t Sig.

B Std. Error Beta

(Constant) 0.049 0.017 2.996 0.003

a. Text message 0.201 0.067 0.097 3.019 0.003*

b. Phone calls via

mobile phones

-0.013 0.119 -0.004 -0.114 0.910

c. Chat rooms 0.198 0.051 0.176 3.894 0.000**

d. Social networking

websites

0.423 0.039 0.424 10.919 0.000**

e. Images or videos

via mobile phone

camera

0.116 0.116 0.033 0.996 0.320

f. Emails -0.020 0.055 -0.011 -0.372 0.710

g. Instant messaging

(IM)

0.337 0.052 0.292 6.446 0.000**

R R 2 Adjusted R 2 d.f.1 d.f.2 Signifi-

cance F

0.798 a 0.637 0.631 7 398 0.000**

a. Dependent Variable: Have you experienced or been involved in cyberbullying?

** Significant at p# 0.01

* Significant at p # 0.05

This means these independent variables accounted for 49.5%, 46.1% and 41.5% of the total

variation in the dependent variable i.e. involvement or experience of cyberbullying. These

three independent variables are the main sources of cyberbullying, whereas the R 2 between

involvement or experience of cyberbullying and all the seven indicators of Q15 is 63.7%,

as given in Table 2.

3.1.2. Involvement or Experience of Cyberbullying versus Motives of Cyberbullying

(Q6 & Q16)

Participants were then asked for their opinion for the most significant motive for cyberbul-

lying in which they were involved, as given in Table 3. 'To make fun of someone', 'To show

hate', 'To copycat others in bullying activities' and 'To show superiority' were the various

motives given for bullying others. The most common cause of cyberbullying among males

(73.8%) and females (74.2%) between 12 to 30 years of age was 'to make fun of someone'.

'To show hate' was the second most prevalent cause selected by 60.7% of males and 39.8%

of females between 12 to 30 years of age. Of the total, 33.0% of participants mentioned

that 'copycat others in bullying activities' was also a common cause, with the majority of

respondents (66.7%) belonging to the 22-25 years of age group. Double the number of fe-

males than males in the age group 26-25 years and over 30 years said 'To show superiority'

as the fourth most common cause of bullying others online.

The internal reliability of the six motives and involvement in and experience of cy-

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Table 3. Involvement or experience of cyberbullying and motives of cyberbullying (Q6 & Q16)

S. Motives Percent Mean Standard Correlate R 2 Adjusted

No. Deviation t (R) Std R 2

a. To make fun of

someone

69.8 0.263 0.441 0.626** 0.391 0.390

b. To show

superiority

32.7 0.123 0.330 0.234** 0.055 0.052

c. To show hate 47.8 0.180 0.385 0.625** 0.424 0.423

d. To take revenge 17.0 0.064 0.245 0.282** 0.080 0.077

e. To copycat others

in bullying

activities

33.3 0.126 0.333 0.503** 0.253 0.251

f. To show anger 22.0 0.083 0.276 0.333** 0.111 0.109

N=422

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

b Correlation between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and sources of cyberbullying

Table 4. Regression (stepwise) analysis, model summary (Q6 & Q16)

Coefficients a

S. Model Unstandardised

Coefficients

Standardised

Coefficients

t Sig.

No. B Std. Error Beta

(Constant) 0.070 0.019 3.782 0.000

a. To make fun of

someone

0.309 0.046 0.305 6.664 0.000**

b. To show

superiority

0.092 0.048 0.068 1.932 0.054

c. To show hate 0.333 0.063 0.288 5.313 0.000**

d. To take revenge 0.183 0.067 0.099 2.711 0.007**

e. To copycat others

in bullying

activities

0.223 0.059 0.167 3.810 0.000**

d. To show anger 0.162 0.066 0.101 2.467 0.014*

R R 2 Adjusted R 2 d.f.1 d.f.2 Signifi-

cance F

0.735 a 0.540 0.533 6 400 0.000**

a. Dependent Variable: Have you experienced or been involved in cyberbullying?

** Significant at p# 0.01

* Significant at p# 0.05

berbullying is calculated using Cronbach's alpha. The overall alpha coefficient is 0.781

(range if one item deleted, from 0.701 to 0.797), which indicates acceptable reliability.

The experience and involvement in cyberbullying is a dichotomous variable coded 1 if the respondent answered 'Yes', 2 if a respondent answered 'No'. As shown in Table 3, the correlation coefficient between 'involvement or experience of cyberbullying' and motives of

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Table 5. Involvement or experience of cyberbullying and reactions to cyberbullying (Q6 & Q17)
S. Reactions Percent Mean Standard Correlat- R 2 Adjusted
No. Deviation tion (R) squared R 2
a. Didn't take it seriously and reply in normal way
16.6 0.062 0.241 0.082 0.007 0.004
b. Replied in bullying manner
46.5 0.173 0.379 0.682** 0.464 0.463
c. Never replied 55.4 0.206 0.405 0.538** 0.289 0.288
d. Blocked someone 47.1 0.175 0.381 0.454** 0.206 0.204
e. Changed User ID 3.8 0.014 0.119 0.150** 0.022 0.020
f. Discussed it with parents/close friend/someone
12.7 0.0474 0.213 0.135** 0.018 0.016
g. Reported it to the service provider or to police
3.2 0.0118 0.108 -0.020 0.000 -0.002
N=422
**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)
c Correlation between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and sources of cyberbullying
cyberbullying from serial number '1' to '6' in Table 3 is highly significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), which shows a strong relationship existed. However, linear regression analysis between the dependent variables (involvement or experience of cyberbullying) and independent variables (as given in Table 5.14 from serial number '1' to '6') suggests that the coefficient of determination (R 2), between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and 'to show hate', 'to make fun of someone' and 'to copycat others in bullying activities', is 42.4%, 39.1% and 25.3% respectively. This means these independent variables accounted for 42.4%, 39.1% and 25.3% of the total variation in the dependent variable i.e. experience of or involvement in cyberbullying. These three independent variables are the main motives of cyberbullying, whereas the R 2 between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and all the six indicators of Q16 is 54.0%, as given in Table 4.
3.1.3. Involvement or Experience of Cyberbullying versus Reaction to Cyberbullying (Q6 & Q17)
Respondents were also asked how they have reacted while being involved in cyberbullying. As shown in Table 5 'never replied', 'blocked someone' and 'replied in a bullying manner' were the most common reactions among the participants. The majority of male participants (61%), who also belonged to the age range 12 to 25 years, indicated that they also replied in a bullying manner, while the majority of females (56.0%), generally of all ages, said that they never replied at all. Here we found two interesting things about the reaction to cyberbullying, in that only 12.7% of respondents 'Discussed it with parents/close friend/someone' and 3.2% 'Reported it to the service provider or to the police'. This shows

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that there is an urgent need to spread awareness about cyberbullying so that victims can easily and openly discuss this crucial issue with their parents or service provider, and take action against these activities.

The internal reliability of seven reactions to cyberbullying and experience of cyberbullying is calculated by using Cronbach's alpha. The overall alpha coefficient is 0.688 (range if one item deleted, from 0.564 to 0.717). The experience and involvement in cyberbullying is a dichotomous variable coded 1 if the respondent answered 'Yes', 2 if a respondent answered 'No'. As shown in Table 5, the correlation coefficient between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and all the reactions except 'didn't take it seriously and reply in normal way' and 'reported it to the service provider or to police', is highly significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), which shows a strong relationship existed. However, linear regression analysis between the dependent variable (involvement or experience of cyberbullying) and independent variables (as given in Table 5 from serial number '1' to '7') suggests that the coefficient of determination (R^2), between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and 'replied in a bullying manner', 'never replied' and 'blocked someone' is 46.4%, 28.9% and 20.6% respectively. This means these independent variables accounted for 46.4%, 28.9% and 20.6% of the total variation in the dependent variable i.e. involvement or experience of cyberbullying. These three independent variables are the main reactions to cyberbullying, whereas the R^2 between involvement or experience of cyberbullying and all the seven indicators of Q17 is 57.7%, as given in Table 6.

Table 6. Regression (stepwise) analysis, model summary (Q6 & Q17)

0.25cm

S. Coefficients a

No. Model Unstandardised

Coefficients

Standardised

Coefficients

t Sig.

B Std. Error Beta

(Constant) 0.071 0.018 3.969 0.000

a. Didn't take it

seriously and reply

in normal way

0.159 0.061 0.086 2.604 0.010**

b. Replied in bullying

manner

0.648 0.045 0.549 14.399 0.000**

c. Never replied 0.342 0.043 0.311 7.952 0.000**

d. Blocked someone 0.016 0.051 0.014 0.313 0.755

e. Changed User ID 0.079 0.127 0.021 0.618 0.537

f. Discussed it with

parents/close

friend/someone

0.269 0.072 0.129 3.742 0.000**

g. Reported it to the

service provider or

to police

-0.267 0.138 -0.065 -1.936 0.054

R R 2 Adjusted R 2 d.f.1 d.f.2 Signifi-

cance F

0.760 a 0.577 0.570 7 399 0.000**

a. Dependent Variable: Have you experienced or been involved in cyberbullying?

** Significant at p# 0.01

* Significant at p# 0.05

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3.2. General Questions about Cyberbullying

Four severity levels of cyberbullying were defined including 'Severe', 'Moderate', 'Normal', and 'Non-bullying'. Respondents were asked to select one suitable range based on the severity level of cyberbullying. The value in percentage terms shows the malevolence of a message. Out of the total, 59.1% respondents selected Severe (86%-100%), Moderate (51%-85%), Normal (16%-50%), and Non-bullying (1%-15%) category of cyberbullying. Participants were also asked to provide five unusual bullying words they had encountered for the first time. We were surprised to see that people were being targeted in the name of caste, religion, race, region, gender, and age etc. We have included these words in our swear-keyword list during the feature space modelling for the cyberbullying detection approaches.

Conclusion

'Social networking websites', 'instant messaging' and 'chat rooms' are the main sources of cyberbullying. Items 'to show hate', 'to make fun of someone', and 'to copycat others in cyberbullying activities' are the main motives of cyberbullying. The main reactions to cyberbullying are 'replied in a bullying manner', 'never replied' and 'blocked someone'. To differentiate real bullying from cyberbullying-like or non-bullying messages, the frequency between sender and receiver over a long period of a time can be seen to demonstrate whether it is an unusual (intentional) act of teasing or a usual (unintentional) act that generally exists between good friends or those in close relationships. However, it is important to note that a too frequent pattern should not be confused with frequent coarse language at a particular time. The unusual patterns over a long period of time should be considered as a clear indicator of real cyberbullying.

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Chapter 50

MODULATING VARIABLES OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOR OF AGGRESSIVE-VICTIMS OF BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

Previous research has revealed the existence of a transfer from bullying to cyberbullying of the roles of aggressor and victim. However, the interaction of physical and cyber environments in adolescents not only fosters this transfer or co-occurrence but also accentuates the adoption of more complex roles such as that of aggressive-victim. This profile, simply defined in traditional bullying situations, takes on new dimensions with the many combinations that arise from the co-existence of the phenomena of bullying and cyberbullying.

The aim of the present chapter is to contribute to knowledge of the aggressive-victim profile in the different categories resulting from physical and cyberspace bullying situations. To this end, we considered two questions to answer. The first was to ask what is the actual prevalence of the aggressive-victim in the various forms that this role might be found in the context of bullying and cyberbullying, and then to analyse the behaviours that it involves. The second concerns the variability of these manifestations according to the mode and frequency of the abuses suffered in the two contexts: physical and cyberspace. To answer these questions by presenting the results of research with 1648 Spanish adolescents (aged from 12 to 16 years).

The most relevant contributions of the chapter reside in the identification of variables that modulate the type of abuse that the different categories of aggressive-victims commit against their peers. Gender, mode and frequency of the abuses suffered by aggressive victims are the three variables that influence in the type of violent behavior that they manifest. Also, the results show the victims of aggression in physical or virtual environments tend to use the same context to in turn abuse their peers.

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INTRODUCTION

The continuous advances in ICTs, the availability and accessibility of much of the population, especially adolescents, to these resources, as well as the rapid development of a networked society parallel to the presential one, mean that one can expect there to arise quite novel scenarios of action that will impose their own specific rhythms and norms of interaction. To the mechanisms used in physical contexts, one must add those used to relate specifically with others in networked (virtual or cyber) environments. This co-existence of physical and cyberspace scenarios has generated new questions about the processes of victimization and aggression that adolescents experience in them, and about the co-occurrence of the two phenomena (Bonano & Hymel, 2013). Traditional forms of bullying now coexist with modes of aggression that use the resources of the Internet, and that come under the term of “cyberbullying”. There is particularly great interest and uncertainty in determining the scope and implications of the co-existence of the two phenomena – bullying and cyberbullying – amongst youngsters.

BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING: DEPENDENT OR INDEPENDENT CONSTRUCTS?

The scientific community seems to have reached a consensus on the conceptualization of bullying, understanding it to be an aggressive behaviour that is repeated over time and that is manifest in a physically, psychologically, or socially stronger person who intends to hurt another who is considered weaker (Olweus, 1993). From this definition, three identification criteria are extracted that distinguish the aggressive behaviours specific to bullying situations: the intention to cause physical, psychological, or social harm to another person; repetition of the aggressive behaviour; and an imbalance of power in favour of the aggressor. However, recently, with the emergence of new forms of aggression, the analysis of special and exceptional situations, the consideration of new characteristics and contextual and personal situations, among other factors, imperative compliance with these three criteria is being called into question.

Guerin and Hennessey (2002), for instance, do not believe that intentionality can be considered a defining characteristic of bullying, but rather that an aggressive situation that causes harm can be categorized as bullying, regardless of whether or not there is an intent to harm the victim. Moreover, one can ask in what way the intent of the perpetrator is to be determined.

Similar questions arise about the repetition criterion. Olweus (1993) argues that a single aggressive behaviour could be considered a manifestation of bullying in certain circumstances. However, even today, 20 year later, there has been no specification as to what those circumstances might be. For other authors, an isolated aggression can be catalogued as bullying if the negative effects it has on the victim go on for a long time (Arora, 1996).

Finally, reflections on the criterion of a power imbalance have focused on who should confirm the existence of the abuse of power -- whether the aggressor or the victim -- and on whether such an imbalance must really exist or it is enough for it to be perceived. In this latter aspect, while it has been argued that, indeed, the imbalance of power does not have to be real

but that it is enough that the victim perceives it as such for it to be considered an episode of bullying (Tattum, 1997). Smith, del Barrio, and Tokunaga (2013) note the difficulty faced by researchers to correctly assess the perception that victims construct around the abuse of power. There are also questions about how to quantify any imbalance of power -- whether it should be in the form of a dichotomous scheme expressed in absolute terms (yes or no) or in relative terms covering a greater range (Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, & Sadek, 2010).

The discrepancies found concerning the conceptualization of bullying are multiplied even further when it comes to delimiting and defining the phenomenon of cyberbullying. Indeed, this is a concept that is still under construction and that is arousing increasing interest and is the subject of continuous debate among researchers (Law, Shapka, Domene, & Gagné, 2012). While some authors consider cyberbullying to be an indirect form of bullying which needs technological resources for its execution (Slonje & Smith, 2008; Werner, Bumpus, & Rock, 2010), others argue that bullying and cyberbullying are two quite different concepts that have their own characteristics that define and differentiate them (Casas, Del Rey, & Ortega, 2013). The characteristics or criteria attributed to cyberbullying, and which enable it to be differentiated from other aggressive acts carried out between peers with the use of technological and cyber resources include: intent to harm (Kowalski, Limber, & Agatston, 2008), repetition (Slonje, Smith, & Frisé, 2013), imbalance of power (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2008), anonymity (Mishna, Saini, & Solomon, 2009), and publicity (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010). The application of these criteria would allow cyberbullying to be defined as acts of abuse, intimidation, and unjustified aggression that one or more persons carry out against one or more others with the use of technological and cyber resources to enhance the diffusion of the aggression, the repeated re-living of the harm that was done, and the feeling of helplessness.

However, compliance of the concept with these criteria is also the subject of major controversies. Regarding the criterion of the intention to harm, its detection in the cyber context involves difficulties related to the absence of face-to-face communication, the ignorance in many cases of the identity of the aggressor, and the aggressor's ignorance of the consequences their actions cause to others (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009). In the case of the repetition of aggressive behaviour, Slonje et al. (2013) note that repetition does not necessarily imply a succession of violent acts from the same aggressor. They understand that a single abuse can be experienced by the victim on numerous occasions due to the permanent and public nature of virtual communications.

The imbalance of power criterion applied to the cyberbullying phenomenon takes on new dimensions that are not related to the physical, emotional, or psychological superiority of the aggressor, but to an asymmetry in the mastery of ICT skills (Slonje et al., 2013). Moreover, although the anonymity or ignorance of the identity of the aggressor is considered a specific criterion of cyberbullying (Nocentini et al., 2010), there are studies which show that most of the victims recognize their cyber aggressors, and identify them with peers belonging to their own school, their own neighbourhood, or their own immediate environment (Slonje et al., 2013). Finally, the publicity criterion, understood as the open and uncontrolled dissemination of aggressive behaviour, despite having a more widely extended presence in acts of cyberbullying (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010), should not necessarily be considered an essential characteristic defining and delimiting an act of cyberbullying, although its relevance in reflecting the seriousness of the aggression has to be recognized (Nocentini et al., 2010).

Modes of Bullying and Cyberbullying

The differences that exist in how cyberbullying is conceptualized are equally present in determining the forms in which it manifests itself. This is different from the case of studies of traditional bullying, in which there seems to be a consensus on the classification of its forms (Olweus, 1993), with five major categories (social exclusion, physical abuse, threats, sexual harassment, and verbal aggressions), which are in turn subdivided into direct and indirect manifestations. In studies addressing the phenomenon of cyberbullying, one finds significant variations in the categories described, with three types of classification being applied: the technological resources used in the aggression; the action instigating the aggression; and the direct or indirect nature of the abuse.

Regarding the technological resources used to cyberbully others, the advances in ICTs have contributed to a progressive diversification that requires continual updating. Some researchers bin the various resources used into two major categories: the Internet, and mobile telephony (Brighi, Guarini, & Genta, 2009). The former include such actions as sending and receiving e-mails, on-line chats, sharing audiovisual material, being part of a virtual community, etc. But the arrival and rapid spread of smartphones combines these two types of action into one resource, so that the above classification requires some kind of redrafting to match current reality. Other studies establish a more specific classification, considering from seven (Smith et al., 2008) to nine (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010) types of media, including phone calls, text messages, sending photos and videos, e-mails, on-line chat, instant messaging, and websites such as those of social networks. Subsequently, network games have also been included in the list (Tippett & Kwak, 2012). Kowalski et al. (2012) follow this classification but add some subdivisions of the website block. They do not, however, consider that these constitute modes of cyberbullying, but rather simple communication channels that facilitate the perpetration of bullying.

When the classification criterion applied is the action instigating the abuse, Willard (2007) formulated seven modalities of cyberbullying that were subsequently expanded to eight (Kowalski et al., 2008): electronic insults, harassment, denigration, supplanted identity, blackmailing and deceitful cajoling, exclusion, and happy slapping (physical aggression of a person which is recorded on the mobile phone and the posted on the Web). Taking the essence of this classification criterion as referent, Nocentini et al. (2010) put forward four categories of cyberbullying behaviour: verbal (spoken or written), visual, supplanted identity, and exclusion. They admit, however, that this classification can not be considered universal, and would vary depending on the country to which it is to be applied. While in Spain these four categories are accepted as forms of cyberbullying, in Italy only two of them are recognized (verbal and visual), and in Germany supplanted identity is excluded as being considered a criminal act (Menesini et al., 2012).

The diversity of categories is reduced to a dichotomy when the classification criterion is related to the private or public nature of the bullying. The resulting modes are grouped under the terms of direct or indirect, respectively. The direct cyberbullying mode refers to cyberattacks perpetrated against the victim without any public disclosure of them. Only the victim receives the messages, telephone calls, audiovisual material, etc. In contrast, indirect cyberbullying involves either the use of others to harass the victim in cyberspace, or disseminating materials, comments, or messages over the network making the attack public to

an unknown number of people. In the case of using accomplices, it may be that they are not even aware that they are being used or manipulated to inflict pain on others.

TRANSFER OF ROLES BETWEEN PHYSICAL AND CYBER SCENARIOS: NEW TYPES OF AGGRESSIVE-VICTIMS

The co-existence of physical and virtual contexts in today's society of readily available information and knowledge has led to many studies being conducted on adolescents' ability to adapt to these new situations, integrating the two types of scenario and interacting with them practically simultaneously (Laghi, 2013; Mishna et al., 2009; Valkenburg, 2011). In this line, Subrahmanyam, Smahel, and Greenfield (2006) detected a high level of agreement between the behaviour that adolescents manifest in their off-line and on-line lives, with the behaviours presented in cyber environments showing a continuity with or being a mirror of those in physical environments. They therefore understand cyberbullying to be an extension of bullying. Studies examining the co-occurrence of bullying and cyberbullying confirm this relationship between the behaviours that adolescents' manifest in the two types of scenario, and note the transfer of roles from the physical to the virtual context (Kowalski et al., 2012; Pearce, Cross, Monks, Waters, & Falconer, 2011). This implies that adolescents who have been victims or aggressors of bullying will also be so in the cyber environment. Specifically, Juvonen and Gross (2008) find an interval of between 60% and 80% for the coincidence of roles in situations of bullying and cyberbullying in adolescents, and Olweus (2012) finds this figure to reach more than 90%.

In recent years, some studies have shown that many of the cyberbullies previously played the role of aggressor in traditional bullying. Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) found 3% of the victims of bullying to also be victims of cyberbullying. Smith et al. (2008) report a much greater prevalence, with 14.1% having the victim's role in both physical and cyber contexts. Juvonen and Gross (2008) found 85% had experienced at least one episode of bullying and one episode of cyberbullying in the previous 12 months. However, their study reveals neither whether the roles of victim and cybervictim overlapped nor which came first.

Subsequent studies also present conflicting data. For example, Hemphill et al. (2012) found that few youngsters (7.3%) are involved simultaneously in situations of traditional and cyber bullying. This is in line with the finding of Gradinger, Strohmeier and Spiel (2009) that there was co-occurrence of these two roles in 6.2% of adolescents. In contrast, Olweus (2012) reports that very few youngsters have a purely cybervictim or cyberaggressor role. Instead there is a very strong overlap of roles between the physical and the virtual contexts. In particular, 88% who had felt themselves victims of at least one situation of bullying in the past two months had also suffered episodes of cyberbullying. This co-occurrence of roles has served as a guide for some cyberbullying prevention measures by considering the role played previously in bullying situations as a predictive factor.

The relationship between these two phenomena has also been studied in the reverse sense, with some authors noting a low likelihood of first experiencing episodes of cyberbullying and subsequently being involved in bullying situations (Del Rey, Elipe, & Ortega-Ruiz, 2012; Hemphill et al., 2012).

The study of the co-existence of bullying and cyberbullying has not been limited to the analysis of the coincidence of the dual roles, such as would be the case with a traditional bully becoming a cyberbully, or with the victim of traditional bullying becoming the victim of cyberbullying. There is less empirical evidence about the other more complex situations which can arise and which pose new questions. The study of the co-occurrence of bullying and cyberbullying has yielded new data which require variations in the definition of other roles such as that of the aggressive-victim. For instance, Sabella, Patchin, and Hinduja (2013) argue that the victims of bullying can take on a different role in cyberspace and become cyberbullies. Those authors understand that since these children can not retaliate presentially in the classroom, they use technological means by way of compensation. Del Rey et al. (2012) reinforce this association of roles in showing that victimization in physical contexts can help to predict cyber abuse. However, Hemphill et al. (2012) suggest that the role of cyberaggressive-victims can only be understood as something temporary and that cyberaggressive behaviour can not be predicted from the experiences of victimization in traditional bullying. These authors argue rather for the establishment of a new category of cyber aggressive-victim and note that the victims in cyberbullying episodes show, at least in part, a tendency to manifest cyberaggressive behaviour.

This co-existence of roles has also been studied by Li (2007), but in a different direction. That author analyses the likelihood that those playing the different roles in traditional bullying situations can become cybervictims. Among her conclusions is that there is a high probability that both victims and aggressors of bullying will become cybervictims.

In connection with the transfer of the role of the aggressive-victim of bullying to cyber scenarios, Smith et al. (2008) note that there the observations have not been of any stability of roles between the two contexts, but rather of a shift towards the figure of the cyberbully. These discrepancies in the various investigations reported in the literature, and the unexplored relationships concerning the co-existence of the phenomena of bullying and cyberbullying in other roles such as the aggressive-victim, point to the need for new studies aimed at achieving a more comprehensive view of the reality of teenagers' lives that will contribute to enhancing the effectiveness of prevention and intervention measures.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

The adoption of one or another role as a function of gender, and the influence of this variable on the manifestation of different types of aggressive behaviour, have been extensively studied in bullying situations (Smith, Cowie, Olafson, & Liefoghe, 2002). For the case of aggressive-victims of bullying, Cuadrado and Fernández (2009) confirm a trend towards the predominance of the prevalence of boys over girls, although they state that when the frequency of the aggression is 'sometimes', the trend inverts, and more girl aggressive-victims are detected than boys. The opposite is the case when the frequency increases to 'always'. Moreover, those authors note that the modality of bullying suffered changes the ratio between boys and girls who play that role, with there being detected more girls when the aggression is related to indirect verbal abuse (spreading false rumours) and more boys when there is direct physical aggression, threats, verbal abuse, or social isolation.

However, the results of studies on the influence of the gender variable on the roles involved in cyberbullying have often been contradictory. While some studies conclude that there are no significant gender differences in the roles taken (aggressor or victim) in cyberbullying among adolescents (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011), others do find such gender differences, although they recognize that these differences are complex (Tokunaga, 2010). In this regard, it is noted that girls are more likely to participate as cybervictims and boys as cyberbullies (Salmivalli & Poyhonen, 2012). Li (2006), while finding no gender differences in the prevalence of cybervictims, states that the number of cyberbullies is twice as high in boys than in girls. In contrast, Rivers and Noret (2010) find that, regardless of the role played, girls are more involved than boys in cyberbullying situations. Other work has nuanced these differences by indicating that the greater participation of girls is generally associated with indirect relational cyber-harassment through text messages or phone calls (Smith, 2012). While Monks, Robinson, & Worlidge (2012) find no significant association between gender and cybervictims, they find such an association between gender and cyberbullies, with the prevalence of girls being higher than that of boys in the use of a wide range of modes of cyberbullying.

The disparity and contradictions in the results, as well as the lack of studies which address the differences of gender in roles such as that of aggressive-victim in its various manifestations that originate from the co-occurrence of the phenomena of bullying and cyberbullying, highlight the need to undertake further research to clarify the situation and provide a solid basis for the design of new prevention and intervention programs addressing violence among adolescents.

ANALYSIS OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOR OF AGGRESSIVE-VICTIMS. AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

Previous research has revealed the existence of a transfer from bullying to cyberbullying of the roles of aggressor and victim. However, the interaction of physical and cyber environments in adolescents not only fosters this transfer or co-occurrence but also accentuates the adoption of more complex roles such as that of aggressive-victim. This profile, simply defined in traditional bullying situations, takes on new dimensions with the many combinations that arise from the co-existence of the phenomena of bullying and cyberbullying. The few studies that have been published on this issue have not been able to provide conclusive data allowing one to gain a clear vision of these new and varied forms of bullying that teenagers face, and thereby better match bullying prevention and intervention measures to today's reality.

In the present chapter, we try to contribute to knowledge of the aggressive-victim profile in the different categories resulting from physical and cyberspace bullying situations. To this end, we considered two questions to answer. The first was to ask what is the actual prevalence of the aggressive-victim in the various forms that this role might be found in the context of bullying and cyberbullying, and then to analyse the behaviours that it involves. The second concerns the variability of these manifestations according to the gender, mode and frequency of the abuses suffered in the two contexts: physical and cyberspace. To answer these questions by presenting the results of research carried out in Extremadura (Spain), involving 1648 adolescents (48.9 % girls; $SD = .5$) with ages between 12 and 16 years ($M = 14.1$, $SD = 1.3$).

The instrument used for data acquisition was a revised version of the questionnaire applied by Cuadrado and Fernández (2009) to identify and define the profile of the aggressive-victim of bullying. The modifications made to this questionnaire consisted of the insertion of two new categories that corresponded to the phenomenon of cyberbullying: cybervictimization and cyberbullying itself. Thus, the final version of the questionnaire consisted of four categories: victimization, bullying, cybervictimization, and cyberbullying. The first two (corresponding to traditional bullying) comprise behaviour related to six modes of aggression: exclusion, verbal aggression, direct physical aggression, indirect physical aggression, threats, and sexual harassment. The last two (corresponding to cyberbullying) comprise behaviour related to four modes of cyberaggression (Nocentini et al., 2010): written-verbal aggression, visual aggression, impersonation, and exclusion. The response options to all the items were presented on a 4-point Likert scale indicating the frequency of the attack suffered or perpetrated in the preceding two months: 1 – never; 2 – once or twice; 3 – once a week; and 4 – various times a week.

Continuity vs. Discontinuity between Physical and Cyber Contexts as a Key Element in the Identification and Classification of Aggressive-Victims

Depending on the type of bullying suffered and the means used for its perpetration, the role of victim acquires a twofold dimension: victim (when the abuse corresponds to traditional modes of bullying and is manifested in presential, classroom contexts), and cybervictims (when the abuse is experienced through the Internet, or by electronic or telephony devices). Similarly, the role of aggressor also has this twofold dimensionality: bullies (in traditional bullying) and cyberbullies (when ICTs are used to perpetrate the abuse). The combination of these dimensions yields four profiles of adolescents who are themselves bullied and then turn to bullying others of their peers: aggressive-victims (166 boys, 123 girls), cyberaggressive-victims (93 boys, 59 girls), aggressive-cybervictims (37 boys, 30 girls), and cyberaggressive-cybervictims (30 boys, 23 girls).

The values of Pearson's correlation coefficient and the level of significance found for these four types of aggressive-victim indicate that their presence in the school context is neither random nor extraordinary: aggressive-victims (.485**), cyberaggressive-victims (.502**), aggressive-cybervictims (.280*), and cyberaggressive-cybervictims (.637**).

The composition of these four modes corresponds to pure profiles. However, the results revealed the existence of a group of 89 participants who did not strictly fall in to any single one of these categories. These were aggressive-victims who were being bullied in both the physical and the virtual contexts, and who in turn, rather than adopting a specific pattern of perpetrating aggression, combined different modes of bullying and cyberbullying to hurt their victims. In the present study, we have excluded this group of adolescents from the analysis since they present behavioural patterns shared with members of the four "pure" aggressive-victim types.

Modulating Variables of Violent Behavior of Aggressive Victims

The results reveal the existence of three variables that modulate the type of abuse that the different categories of aggressive-victims commit against their peers: the type of aggression

suffered, gender of the victim and the frequency of the abuse suffered. Then we analyses the profile of different categories of aggressive-victims depending of each of these modular variables.

Abuse Suffered as a Determinant of the Type of Aggression Committed

The analysis of the synergy established between the modes of bullying suffered and perpetrated shows significant differences depending on the category of aggressive-victims.

Aggressive-Victims of Traditional Bullying

The results show that, regardless of the type of abuse suffered, the type of aggression they usually perpetrate against their peers is that of a verbal character (insults, name-calling, and spreading false rumours), followed by indirect physical (hiding, breaking, or stealing personal items). They also show that sexual harassment is just a residual behaviour among the totality of manifestations of violence. Even in those cases, however, there was no significant relationship between the types of bullying suffered and perpetrated (Table 1).

Table 1. Correlations between abuses suffered and perpetrated by aggressive-victims

Bullying perpetrated Bullying suffered	Exclusion	Verbal	Indirect physical	Direct physical	Threats	Sexual harassment
Exclusion	.207	.502**	.538**	.291	.163	.027
Verbal	.157	.421*	.476*	.202	-.108	.098
Indirect physical	.235	.605**	.647**	.606**	.664**	.049
Direct physical	.347*	.754**	.275	.868**	.623**	.103
Threats	.170	.597**	.546**	.363*	.121	-.058
Sexual harassment	.239	.591**	.360*	.149	.695**	.156

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

However, there are a certain mimicry of the type of bullying perpetrated with the type of bullying experienced, whether verbal (.421*), indirect physical (.647**), or direct physical (.868**). Also, those who have been victims of direct physical bullying tend to attack their peers with indirect physical bullying (.606**), or threats (.363*). And those who had suffered indirect physical bullying tended to exclude others (.538**) and to attack with insults (.476*), indirect physical bullying (.647**), threats (.546**) y sexual harassment (.360*).

Cyberaggressive-Victims

The cyber abuse that the cyberaggressive-victims mostly commit are verbal (spoken or written) and visual, independently of the aggression suffered (Table 2). The results also show that supplanted identity is a behaviour that is often used by those who suffer intimidating threats from their peers (.367*). Similarly, exclusion from forums and virtual spaces tends to be behaviour adopted by those who have suffered isolation in physical contexts (.618**). Also, they show an inclination to disseminate compromising or ridiculing audiovisual material of other classmates and to send messages via telephone or the Internet (.543**), or to make threatening telephone calls in order to instil fear and cause pain (.369*).

Table 2. Correlations between abuses suffered and perpetrated by cyberaggressive-victims

Cyberbullying perpetrated Bullying suffered	Written-Verbal	Visual	Impersonation	Exclusion
Exclusion	.369*	.543**	.333	.618**
Verbal	.257	.259	-.101	.176
Indirect physical	.565**	.490*	-.111	.385*
Direct physical	.283	.579**	.117	-.078
Threats	.580**	.588**	.367*	.254
Sexual harassment	.462*	.756**	.673**	.302

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

The cyberaggressive-victims who suffer indirect physical bullying tend to commit cyber-attacks via telephone calls, on-line chats, or text messages (.565**). Those who suffer threats and sexual harassment also show a very similar pattern of aggressive behaviour, with cyberbullying transmitted visually or verbally, or supplanting the identity of others to commit misdemeanours or to ridicule the victim in front of the rest of their companions (Table 2).

Aggressive-Cybervictims

The analysis of the bullying behaviour perpetrated by aggressive-cybervictims shows only three adolescents who turn to sexual abuse to hurt their peers, and that this manifestation was unrelated to any particular mode of cyberaggression suffered. Also, regardless of the type of bullying suffered, the adolescents in this group attack their peers with insults, name-calling, or spreading rumours (verbal), hiding, breaking, or stealing their personal items (indirect physical abuse), and hitting, kicking, and shoving (direct physical abuse) (Table 3).

Table 3. Correlations between abuses suffered and perpetrated by aggressive-cybervictims

Bullying perpetrated Cyberbullying suffered	Exclusion	Verbal	Indirect physical	Direct physical	Threats	Sexual harassment
Written-Verbal	.332	.706**	.693**	.635**	.324	.112
Visual	.847**	.799**	.429*	.896**	.771**	.056
Impersonation	.235	.605**	.647**	.606**	.664**	-.091
Exclusion	.301	.671**	.466*	.584**	.417*	-.217

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Those who had suffered abuse consisting of the dissemination of compromising visual or audiovisual material added to their register of aggression in response the modes of social exclusion (.847**) and threats (.771**). This latter mode was also reported by those victims who had had their on-line identity supplanted (.664**) and by those who had been excluded from social networks, forums, on-line chat rooms, or other types of virtual events (.417*).

Cyberaggressive-Cybervictims

With respect to the cyberaggressive-cybervictim group, there was a certain mimicry between the types of bullying suffered and perpetrated except in the case of those who had suffered supplanted identity who responded with other modes of aggression such as sending messages or making anonymous calls (.805**), exclusion (.587*), or dissemination of visual material that threatens the integrity of their victim (.421*). Regardless of the mode of bullying suffered, this group of teenagers used many modes of bullying to attack their peers. This was especially so of those who had been the object of intimidating or harassing messages or telephone calls (Table 4).

Table 4. Correlations between abuses suffered and perpetrated by cyberaggressive-cybervictims

Cyberbullying perpetrated Cyberbullying suffered	Written-Verbal	Visual	Impersonation	Exclusion
Written-Verbal	.702**	.760**	.829**	.675**
Visual	.361	.711**	.445*	.324
Impersonation	.805**	.421*	-.247	.587*
Exclusion	.403*	.279	.126	.789**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Variability of Violent Responses of Aggressive-Victims by Gender

The results indicate that boys and girls have different patterns of behavior and react differently to abuse sufferers. Then, we describe the profile that defines of the different categories of aggressive victims based on their gender.

Aggressive-Victims of Traditional Bullying

The differences between boys and girls in the aggressive behaviours that they manifest depend on the abuse they have suffered. Boys who have been verbally and physically abused show a mimetic behaviour when they attack their peers (Table 5). In girls, however, this mimicry is only found in the case of direct physical abuse (.904**).

Table 5. Correlations between abuses suffered and perpetrated by aggressive-victim by gender

Bullying perpetrated Bullying suffered	Exclusion		Verbal		Indirect physical		Direct physical		Threats		Sexual harassment	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Exclusion	.288	-.162	.587**	.570**	.329	.815**	.244	.529*	.146	.116	.071	.019
Verbal	-.130	.578**	.495**	-.321	.490*	.446*	.257	-.164	.381	-.212	.103	-.071
Indirect physical	.311	-.160	.490*	.741**	.583**	.497*	.475*	.720**	.454*	.903**	.055	.
Direct physical	.539**	-.468	.674**	.755**	.379*	-.184	.819**	.904**	.411*	.883**	.097	.113
Threats	.285	-.381	.691**	.645**	.593**	.362	.300	.220	.232	-.712**	-.064	.009

Table 5. (Continued)

Bullying perpetrated Bullying suffered	Exclusion		Verbal		Indirect physical		Direct physical		Threats		Sexual harassment	
Sexual harassment	.157	.111	.436*	.671*	.257	.265	-.217	-.184	.638*	.840**	.184	.145

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Other gender differences indicate that boys who have been victims of direct physical aggressions diversify their own violent behaviour, resorting to exclusion (.539**), threats (.411**), verbal (.674**), and physical (direct and indirect, .819** and .379*) aggression. In contrast, girls tend to abuse their peers through verbal (.755**), direct physical (.904**), and threat (.883**) aggression. When the aggression suffered corresponds to patterns of social exclusion, boys tend to resort to verbal abuse, whereas girls also incorporate into their behaviour direct and indirect physical abuse. Finally, when the adolescents suffer threats, boys abuse their peers verbally (.691**) and with indirect physical aggression (.593**), and girls use verbal abuse (.645**) but not threats (-.712**).

Cyberaggressive-Victims

There is a stronger correlation between the modes of abuse suffered and perpetrated in the case of girls. Boys do not have a well-defined mode of cyberaggressive behaviour, except for the cases in which they are victims of exclusion or threats (Table 6).

Table 6. Correlations between abuses suffered and perpetrated by cyberaggressive-victims by gender

Cyberbullying perpetrated Bullying suffered	Written-Verbal		Visual		Impersonation		Exclusion	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Exclusion	.451*	.508	.616**	.406	.376	.234	.511*	.739**
Verbal	.197	.649**	.193	.545**	.171	.551**	.093	.315
Indirect physical	.371	.711**	.316	.912**	-.250	.217	.261	.488*
Direct physical	.356	.701*	.132	.870**	-.151	.447	-.145	.006
Threats	.645**	.304	.600**	.845**	.441*	.624*	.197	.327
Sexual harassment	.022	.926**	.423	.686*	.412	.603	.334	.420

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

In the case of the boys, visual aggressions can be predicted from previously experienced aggression in physical contexts, e.g., exclusion (.616**) and threats (.600**). Also, when they receive threats, they tend to manifest verbal (spoken or written) aggressive behaviour (.645**). For the girls there are mimicry of the abuse committed with that suffered in the cases of exclusion (.739**) and verbal abuse (.649**). Experiences of being victims of threats, and

direct and indirect physical abuse were predictors of visual aggressive behaviours (.845**, .870**, .912**, respectively).

Aggressive-Cybervictims

The results also showed significant gender differences in the synergistic relationship between the modes of abuse suffered and perpetrated. Overall, boys present more diversified aggressive behaviours than girls, except in the cases in which they are victims of impersonation (Table 7). In those situations, girls resort to threats (.586*) and indirect (.716*) and direct (.560*) physical aggression, while boys are inclined to abuse others mainly through social isolation (.554*).

Table 7. Correlations between abuses suffered and perpetrated by aggressive-cybervictim by gender

Bullying perpetrated Cyberbullying suffered	Exclusion		Verbal		Indirect physical		Direct physical		Threats		Sexual harassment	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Written-Verbal	.337	.125	.604*	-.558	.759**	-.778	.831**	.857*	.590*	.765	.112	.
Visual	.635**	.807*	.790**	.463	.546*	-.271	.700**	.807*	.342	.919**	.097	-.103
Impersonation	.554*	-.226	.524	-.513	.308	.716*	.502	.560*	.287	.586*	.016	.238
Exclusion	.270	.578	.794**	.625	.574*	.802*	.629*	.590	.735*	.829*	-.119	-.308

* p<.05; ** p<.01.

A result that stands out refers to the verbal abuse perpetrated by aggressive-cybervictims. In the case of boys, this behaviour manifests itself when they are victims of verbal (.604*), visual (.790**), or exclusion (.794**) cyberaggression, whereas in girls this behaviour is uncorrelated with any of the modes of cyber abuse suffered (Table 7).

Prediction of aggressive behaviour is more limited in the case of the girls than in that of the boys. Threats are the commonest type of abuse used when the girls had been victims of cyber-exclusion (.829*) or visual aggression (.919**). For the boys, when the abuse suffered is verbal, they tend to attack others through both direct (.831**) and indirect (.759**) physical aggression. When the aggression suffered is visual, the boys' aggressive behaviour tends to consist of insults and spreading false rumours (categorized together under the verbal mode: .790**) or direct physical abuse (.546*). When the abuse suffered is cyber-exclusion, the boys' manifest aggression in the form of threats (.829*).

Cyberaggressive-Cybervictims

The analysis of gender differences shows that, when this group of adolescents suffers impersonation, while boys present no well-defined pattern of cyberaggression (Table 8), girls are strongly inclined to commit verbal (.954**), visual (.764**), or exclusion (.818**) modes of cyber abuse. Also, when the aggression suffered is related to cyber-exclusion, as well as the

mimetic behaviour presented by these cyberaggressive-cybervictims, boys also tend to commit verbal abuse (.540*), whereas girls opt for visual abuse (.677*).

Table 8. Correlations between abuses suffered and perpetrated by cyberaggressive-cybervictims by gender

Cyberbullying perpetrated	Written-Verbal		Visual		Impersonation		Exclusion	
Cyberbullying suffered								
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Written-Verbal	.615*	.867**	.520*	.917**	.850**	.748*	.749**	.517
Visual	.332	.463	.727*	.713*	.526	-.316	.302	.420
Impersonation	.504	.954**	.135	.764**	.071	-.460	.394	.818**
Exclusion	.540*	.298	.155	.677*	.192	-.214	.720**	.819**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Synergy between Frequency of the Abuse Suffered and the Aggression Perpetrated

In this chapter we present the results of the correspondence between the frequency of the aggressive-victim's being or having been mistreated and the frequency with which they themselves attack their peers in each of the categories of victims aggressive analyzed.

Aggressive-Victims of Traditional Bullying

There are a positive correlation between the frequencies of the abuse suffered and the abuse perpetrated. In this regard, about 60% of the aggressive-victims who had been subjected to social exclusion, threats, or verbal or physical aggression had suffered these episodes of bullying with a frequency of 'once or twice' in the preceding 2 months, and had resorted to attacking their peers with this same frequency. Also, more than 20% of the aggressive-victims who had been subjected to social exclusion, or direct and indirect physical or verbal bullying had suffered these episodes 'various times a week', and had resorted to these or other types of bullying with the same frequency. However, this percentage varied in the case of 'various times a week' aggressive-victims of sexual harassment, being 35.2%. The correlation established between the frequencies of bullying suffered and perpetrated indicates that these sexually harassed aggressive-victims 'various times a week' threaten and attack verbally and indirectly physically others of their peers. Similarly, there were 12% of the aggressive-victims who are threatened 'various times a week' and resorted to verbally and physically abusing others with the same frequency.

Finally, analysis of the 'once a week' frequency of bullying revealed that more than 20% of the aggressive-victims suffering sexual or physical (direct and indirect) abuse or threats resorted to perpetrating bullying with this same frequency. Only 10% of the aggressive-victims who suffered verbal abuse or social exclusion stated that they suffered these abuses 'once a week' and attack others with verbal or indirect physical abuse with the same frequency.

Cyberaggressive-Victims

Regarding the relationship between the frequencies of bullying suffered and perpetrated, over 60% of the cyberaggressive-victims who are subjected to situations of exclusion, threats, and verbal bullying suffered these attacks and attacked others 'once or twice' in the preceding two months. About 50% of the cyberaggressive-victims who suffered direct and indirect physical bullying also experienced these situations 'once or twice' and attacked their peers with the same frequency. Only 38% of the sexually harassed cyberaggressive-victims suffered this mode of bullying 'once or twice', and they tended to respond perpetrating written-verbal, visual, and impersonation attacks with the same frequency.

When the frequency of the bullying increases to 'once a week', the results showed that around 20-29% of the cyberaggressive-victims suffering threats, direct and indirect physical bullying, or sexual harassment with this frequency committed attacks against their peers also 'once a week'. In contrast, only 10% of the cyberaggressive-victims who suffered exclusion reported a frequency of 'once a week' and perpetrated attacks with this same frequency in the modes of verbal or visual bullying and supplanted identity.

Finally, the results showed that over 30% of the cyberaggressive-victims who suffered sexual harassment and direct physical bullying experienced and perpetrated these episodes with a frequency of 'various times a week'. Also, about 22% of the cyberaggressive-victims who suffered exclusion and indirect physical bullying experienced these episodes 'various times a week', and perpetrated attacks in the modes of exclusion, written-verbal, and visual bullying with the same frequency. In the case of cyberaggressive-victims who were subjected to presential threats, 10.6% reported suffering these situations 'various times a week', and tended to supplant the identity of others in cyberspace, disseminate compromising audiovisual material, or send intimidating messages with the same frequency.

Aggressive-Cybervictims

The frequency of the bullying suffered greatly influenced how often this group itself bullied. Of the aggressive-cybervictims who suffered bullying related to the dissemination of upsetting, compromising, or insidious visual material, 69.6% had experienced these attacks 'once or twice' in the preceding two months, 21.7% 'once a week', and 8.7% 'various times a week'. The correlation found between the frequencies of bullying suffered and perpetrated indicates that these aggressive-cybervictims tend to bully in physical contexts with the same frequency as that with which they themselves suffer cyber-attacks.

In the case of the aggressive-cybervictims who had suffered supplanted identity abuse, 45.5% had experienced this mode of bullying and themselves bullied other peers 'once or twice' in the preceding two months, 36.4% 'once a week', and 18.1% 'various times a week'. The results were similar for the frequencies of bullying suffered and perpetrated by aggressive-cybervictims who had been subjected to on-line exclusion.

Of the aggressive-cybervictims who had suffered written-verbal cyberbullying, 22.7% had experienced these episodes 'once or twice' in the preceding two months and had perpetrated verbal and physical bullying with the same frequency. Similarly, 45.5% of these aggressive-cybervictims had experienced these episodes 'once a week', and they reported this same frequency of their own bullying attacks. The remaining 31.8% had experienced these episodes

'various times a week', and themselves subjected their peers to bullying in physical contexts with the same frequency.

Cyberaggressive-Cybervictims

Results show that, of the cyberaggressive-cybervictims who suffered bullying related with the dissemination of written messages or telephone calls, 36.7% stated to have experienced these situations 'once or twice' in the preceding two months, another 36.7% 'once a week', and 26.6% 'various times a week' in the preceding two months. The correlation between the frequencies of suffering and perpetrating abuse showed these cyberaggressive-cybervictims to abuse their peers with the same frequency that they themselves suffered written-verbal cyberbullying.

When the type of bullying suffered corresponded to impersonation or exclusion, the percentage of cyberaggressive-cybervictims suffering and perpetrating attacks 'once or twice' in the preceding two months was close to 45%, 'once a week' was around 35%, and 'various times a week' was around 20%.

In the case of cyberaggressive-cybervictims who were victims of visual material disseminated to violate their dignity, 44% of them had experienced these attacks 'once or twice' in the preceding two months and had bullied others in the same way and with the same frequency. Some 28% of this group had experienced these visual attacks 'once a week', and had attacked others with the same frequency by means of visual and impersonation modes of bullying. The same results were obtained for the 'various times a week' frequency of attack.

DISCUSSION

The co-occurrence of bullying and cyberbullying in today's dual society calls for specific intervention measures designed to forestall the emergence of new problems and to slow the increase and diversification of violent forms of behaviour. The modulating variables provided in this chapter, together with the definition of the profiles of the different categories of aggressive-victims, may contribute to a deeper understanding of the processes of victimization and aggression that adolescents experience in both physical and cyber contexts. Such knowledge is considered to be one of the keys in the search for effective anti-bullying and anti-cyberbullying programs since it will allow specific actions to be designed for the particular characteristics of those involved and their prior experiences of victimization or cybervictimization, instead of relying on the myths that have grown around these phenomena or on certain general notions that might explain them (Sabella et al., 2013).

Modulating variables shown in this chapter are summarized in three: type of abuse suffered, gender of the victim and the frequency of the aggression suffered.

A first variable is the type of abuse suffered. In the four categories of aggressive-victims analysed, a certain mimicry is found between the modes of abuse suffered and perpetrated, especially when the aggression suffered corresponds to indirect or verbal aggression. This mimicry has been described in previous studies (Cuadrado & Fernández, 2009), and some authors explain it on the basis of the perceptions that these adolescents have of the potential

that the type of abuse they have suffered has to cause pain to their peers (Hughes & Trafimow, 2012). The experience of the harm that a certain mode of abuse has caused them can give rise to false beliefs about the potential of that behaviour to hurt others, without their realizing that the others may not have the same vulnerabilities, and will not, therefore, necessarily suffer the same consequences. In the cases in which this mimicry does not occur, there is a synergistic relationship between exclusion suffered, in either physical or cyber contexts, and primarily verbal and indirect physical aggressive behaviour perpetrated. Schwarzwald, Koslowsky, & Brody-Shamir (2006) explain the tendency towards these modes of aggression by referring to the imbalance of power criterion. The situations of victimization which they had suffered previously caused these adolescents to experience such a strong sense of inferiority that it is difficult for them to confront their peers directly.

A second variable is the gender variable. The relevance of this variable lies not only in the detection and identification of aggressive-victims and their subsequent classification into the four resulting categories (aggressive-victim of traditional bullying, cyberaggressive-victim, aggressive-cybervictim, and cyberaggressive-cybervictim), but also in its mediating role in determining the abusive behaviour they demonstrate against their peers. With respect to identification and classification, there is a stronger correlation in the case of girls towards performing the roles of cyberaggressive-victim and cyberaggressive-cybervictim. Girls give greater importance than boys to the imbalance of power criterion in situations of bullying and cyberbullying, which may in part explain that their aggressive behaviour is preferentially committed in a cyber environment as a result of the anonymity that affords them when they are hurting their peers (Cuadrado, 2012). In the same sense, the tendency of boys towards direct aggressive behaviours, more characteristic of physical than cyber scenarios (Erdur-Baker, 2010), could explain the strength of their correlations in the aggressive-victim and aggressive-cybervictim categories.

The last variable is correspondence between the frequency of the aggressive-victim's being or having been mistreated and the frequency with which they themselves attack their peers. In particular, it is found that those who suffer occasional episodes of bullying and cyberbullying, themselves also bully others sporadically. Likewise, those who are constantly being mistreated themselves adopt continual aggressive behaviours.

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Chapter 51

BULLYING AMONG TRAINING SCHOOL MALE ADOLESCENTS AND MALE ADULT PRISONERS: DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

The current study aims to address the lack of research exploring differences between male adult prisoners and male juvenile training school students in relation to their bullying behavior.

A training school is a correctional facility that is used for the custody and re-education of juvenile offenders. Training schools are a part of the educational system in Estonia and they are used to prepare incarcerated youth for returning to society. The first sample of this study consists of all 53 male adolescent offenders (13–17 years old with average age 14.7 years) at the only maximum security male juvenile training school in Estonia, and the second sample consists of 105 male adult offenders (21–66 years old with average age 33.1 years) at one of four maximum security male prisons in Estonia.

The present study used a self-reported questionnaire developed by Ireland and Archer (1996) to provide not only a descriptive analysis of the nature and extent of bullying among adolescents in training school and among adults in prison, but also a comparison between two study group to assess the hypothesis that adolescents' bullying would involve a greater proportion of direct forms than adults' would, and that adults' bullying would display a greater proportion of indirect forms than youth' would.

The perceived extent of bullying was higher in prison compared with juvenile training school. Bullying in the juvenile training school was predominately physical (direct) but adult reported a higher frequency of indirect bullying in prison. A particular characteristic of individuals (e.g., vulnerable) was viewed as being predisposed to become a victim of bullying and various reasons (e.g., victims are easy targets) were suggested as to why a person was bullied, but adults in prison were significantly more likely than juveniles in

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training school to suggest sex offenders, and adolescents more likely than adults the physical weakness of victim. Bullying was seen to occur at locations out of sight of staff but more in living areas in the prison and more at school and private areas in the juvenile training school. More juveniles at training school than prison inmates reported that both they and staff were willing to help the victims of bullying. A relatively higher percentage of inmates in both institutions - prison and training school, admitted to being bullies, victims and bully/victims with on average 2 to 4 bullying incidents in previous week.

Keywords: Bullying, prison, training school, male adolescent and adult inmates

INTRODUCTION

Research on bullying in diversity of settings (Monks, Smith, Naylor, Barter, Ireland & Coyne, 2009) has grown rapidly during the last two decades, initially in schools but also in other settings and relationships: between siblings, in children's homes, in prisons, and in the workplace among children, adolescents, and adults. Common trends across contexts include age and sex differences. For example, general trends in prison bullying can in part be understood in terms of the developmental model (Björkqvist, Österman, & Kaukiainen, 1992) whereas younger inmates are more likely to use direct and physical forms of bullying and older inmates more indirect and less physical bullying forms; and with special trends in prison settings. Namely, indirect aggression is used to the same extent (or even more), than direct aggression as and due to its covert nature, it reduces the risk of being caught and of the perpetrator being subjected to any official punishment (Ireland, 1999a).

Main settings of studying bullying are schools (overview: Smith, 2011) and prisons (overview: Ireland, 2011), but bullying in training schools is a setting that interweaves these two abovementioned study areas. Bullying in prison occurs more frequently than among schoolchildren (Ireland 2005). For example, between 15 and 20 per cent of children and adolescents experienced intense and repeated victimization during their school years, which give an example to the extensive range of research on school bullying in whole world (Smith and Brian, 2000; included Estonia: Kõiv, 2009). Nearly two decades there is a scientific interest to the topic of prison bullying with leading role of studies in the United Kingdom (Ireland, 2002a).

Within school context, bullying tends to be defined as specific phenomenon as a subsection of aggressive behavior (intended, repeated attack with power imbalance), whereas in the prison context it is seen within the wider approach indicating that frequency, duration and intent as criteria for defining bullying may be not always applied (Coyne & Monks, 2011; Ireland, 2005a). But other researchers (Edgar, 2005) have argued that repetition is an essential element for behavior to be labeled bullying in prison. Ireland (1999a) has noted that one way in which researchers try to avoid definitional problems in bullying research is to present respondents with a definition of the phenomenon. In addition to the different definitions applied to prison-based studies, a variety of methods have also been used to collect data: interviews, official records, and self-report questionnaires (Ireland, Jarvis, Beck, & Osiowy, 1999), and in this field research has commonly used self-reports to measure the nature and the extent of bullying (included direct measurement of bullying, and measurement of behavior indicative of bullying),

which have been found to be more reliable and valid than either staff or peer-reports (Connell and Farrington, 1997).

This chapter compares the nature and extent of bullying by male inmates in two settings – one is juvenile training school and the other is adult male prison. Training schools are correctional facilities that are used for the custody and re-education of juvenile offenders. The primary focus of training schools is to provide care, treatment, education and custody for juveniles committed by the courts and to create programs that will rehabilitate, re-educate and re-socialize juvenile offenders. To keep juvenile offenders from falling behind in their education, the training school offers a full range of academic courses as well as art, sports and music electives, and also vocational training. At the same time, juvenile courts reserve the power of incarcerating the juveniles in this type of correctional institutions (e.g., Milan, 1996). The effectiveness of these schools has been the subject of recent controversy (e.g., Inderbitzin, 2006). The age of training school inmates more closely matched samples of juveniles in prison-based research.

Although, the overall interest in prison bullying research has increased covering full remit of the prison population – adults, young offenders, juveniles, men and women, although of these juveniles and women remain the least researched (Ireland, 2005a), with Ireland and Monaghan (2006) stressing the need for more research in juveniles in correctional institutions. The current study aims to assess the lack of research exploring differences between juvenile males in training school and adult males in prisoners in relation to bullying behavior, whereby both facilities were maximum security correctional institutions.

The focus of prison bullying research has been on adult offenders, especially to men (Ireland, 2011), whereby few studies focus on the differences in bullying behavior in prison among 18–20 year old (young offenders) and 14–17 year old (juveniles) offenders.

At one side, research exploring differences between adults and young prisoners self-reported bullying behavior have been restricted to five studies: two of them exploring bullying behavior across sample of male and female inmates (Ireland, 1999a; 1999b), one examining bullying behavior and attachment and emotional loneliness among males (Ireland & Power, 2004); one exploring bullying and psychological health among males and females (Ledy & O'Connell, 2002); and another (Smith, Pendleton, & Mitchell 2005) concentrated to bullying behavior and prison anti-bullying policy experiences among males. Ireland et al. (1999) conducted a brief review studies and reported a high prevalence rate for self-reported bullying and victimization in young offender institutions compared to adult institutions. In prison settings male youth offenders reported more psychological, physical and verbal bullying than adults (Ireland, 1999a, 1999b; Ireland & Power, 2004); adults did demonstrate a preference for indirect aggression, whereas young offenders demonstrated a preference for direct aggression displaying physical and verbal bullying types towards others.

On the other side, only few studies explored self-reported bullying behavior among juveniles in prison: four studies (Ireland, 2002b, 2005b; Ireland & Archer, 2004, Ireland & Monaghan, 2006) had examined the nature and extent of bullying between young and juvenile male offenders, with focusing on the aggressive traits (Ireland & Archer, 2004), and on the psychological health (Ireland 2005b); one descriptive study explored the perceptions of male adult, young and juvenile prisoners with regards to how bullying was defined (Ireland & Ireland, 2003); and one study compared juvenile, young and adult prisoners within the same dataset (Ireland & Hafiz, 2010).

The prison-based research with regards to adolescents has been descriptive in nature exploring the nature and extent of bullying: Juveniles were found to be more likely to report behaviors indicative of “being bullied physically” than young offenders (Ireland, 2002b; Ireland & Monaghan, 2006), with indicating (Ireland, 2005b; Ireland & Monaghan, 2006) that this extended to psychological, verbal, and overall direct forms of victimization; juveniles were more likely than young offenders to be classified as bully/victims, whereas young offenders were more likely to be classified as not involved than juveniles (Ireland, 2005b; Ireland & Hafiz, 2010), and both juveniles and young offenders reported similar levels of indirect bullying behavior (Ireland, 2002b).

The present study used a self-reported questionnaire to provide a descriptive analysis of the nature and extent of bullying at training school among male adolescents and at prison among male adults, and the aim of the study was to compare the nature and extent of bullying between these two male institutionalized study groups. It was hypothesized that adolescents’ bullying at training school would involve a greater proportion of direct forms than adults’ would; and that adults’ bullying in prison would display a greater proportion of indirect forms than juveniles’ would. It is hoped that this will address the lack of research which examines nature and extent of bullying in training school setting for male juvenile delinquents.

METHOD

Samples

The first sample consists of 105 male adult offenders 21 - 66 years old with average age 33.1 years (SD=9.3) at one of the four maximum security male prisons in Estonia (overall: five prisons and one of them for females) in Estonia. All had been sentenced with an average length of 3.1 years; the combined range of offences included property crimes (43.8%), violent offences (18.9%), drugs offences (11.9%), homicide (9.4%) sex offences (4.6%), criminal damage (3.55%), and other offences (7.9%). 54% were Estonians, 44% Russians and 2% mixed nationality.

The second sample consists of 53 male adolescent offenders (whole sample) 13-17 years old with average age 14.7 years (SD=1.24) at the only maximum security male juvenile training school (the other training school is for girls) in Estonia. All male adolescents at training school had been *incarcerated* with an average length of 1.1 years; the combined range of offences included public order crimes (72.1%), property crimes (36.6%), violent offences (44.2%), drugs offences (49.0%), and other offences (4.5%). 57% were Estonians, 40% Russians and 3% mixed nationality.

The men’s maximum security prison was part of the correctional system, whereas the juvenile training school was part of the educational system. Both institutions had no anti-bullying policies.

Instrument

The self-report questionnaire developed by Ireland and Archer (1996) was used to measure the awareness of bullying in the correctional institution, individual involvement in bullying,

characteristics of bullies and victims, types of bullying, staff and peers intervention, the prevention of bullying and places in the institution where bullying occurred consisting of close end and open end questions. A definition of bullying was given near the start of the questionnaire. Questions about temporal occurrence of bullying (during day and week) in the institution were added into the questionnaire. Additionally, the extent of bullying was measured using the number of inmates who reported themselves as being involved in bullying behavior.

Pretest and Procedure

After approval was received from the prison and training school institutions' internal review boards, an announcement was made on all of the units in both facilities to participate in the study. Before survey research, the Estonian and Russian version of questionnaire was pre-tested in prison and juvenile correctional facility by the authors. Pre-testing was done on a small sample of respondents (N=16) from the target population. After the pilot test respondents were asked a series of questions regarding the survey as well as the process of data collection during the debriefing session.

Participants were invited to *participate voluntarily* and asked to fill in an anonymous questionnaire without being informed of its nature. *The authors conducted questionnaire surveys* in both correctional institutions. The questionnaire was administered in small groups of two or three, with respondents seated in available rooms, at separate corners, facing away from each other. They were asked individually to read the information preceding the questionnaire including definition of bullying and the explanation of the research. The anonymity of questionnaire was stressed. Each respondent was provided with unmarked sealable envelope in which to place their completed questionnaire. Respondents were asked if they had any difficulties in reading and if so the questionnaire was conducted individually and verbally. All defaced, non-completed questionnaires (total 2.4%) were disregarded and not entered into the analysis.

The results were content analyzed and differences assessed through Chi-square or *t*-tests. The overall percentage of agreement between two raters on the descriptive categories of open-ended questions developed after data collection was 92.3% (these data were unsuitable for analyze).

Results

Extent of Bullying

The perceived extent of bullying, based in the Likert scale of 0 (none) to 7 (a lot) showed a mean of 4.08 among adult prisoners and 2.50 among juvenile delinquents, with prisoners responding a significantly higher value than young offenders ($t=4.46$, $p<0.001$).

Number of Inmates Seen or Heard in the Past Week ~~Has Been~~ Being Bullied

Most of the inmates (77% adults and 62% adolescents) reported having seen an inmate being bullied with highest frequency of inmates was seeing 2 – 4 (59% in both institutions).

More inmates in prison (63%) compared with inmates in juvenile training school (44%) have heard about bullying of inmates in the past week ($\chi^2=4.1$; $p<0.05$) with highest frequency of involving of 2 - 4 inmates.

Bullies, Victims and Bully/Victims

The *self-reported prevalence* rates of *bullying*, *victimization*, and *bully/victims* in the prison were accordingly: 21%, 18%, and 17%. In the juvenile training school the rate of bullies was 17%, prevalence of victims 13%, and bully/victims 15%. Overall 56% of inmates were involved in bullying behavior in prison versus 45% in juvenile correctional facility (there were no significant differences between rates between two types of correctional facilities).

About a half of all bullies reported having 2 to 4 occasions of bullying (among adults 52% and youth 55%), and half of victims reported ~~has~~ being a target of bullying 2 to 4 occasions (among adults 54% and youth 57%) during past week. (Henceforward: Subjects offered more than one response across categories.). More than one third (prison: 36%, training school: 40%) of bullies know their victims beforehand, and more than 70% (prison: 71%, training school: 82%) victims know their bully beforehand.

Most common reasons given as to why they bullied included “the victim deserved it”, but differed in some aspects: adults explain bullying more by boredom and with victims’ sex offenders than adolescents (15.8% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=8.9$; $p<0.01$; 49.1% vs. 10.3%; $\chi^2=8.3$; $p<0.01$), and adolescents mentioned more often than adults that victims had low physical power (34.6% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=9.7$; $p<0.00$), whereby about one tenth of inmates had an attitude, that bullying involves all inmates in the institutions (Table 1).

Reasons offered as to why victims felt they had been bullied included being different/minority and older/younger inmates with more attention to reasons connected to boredom or fun for adults (41.7% vs. 10.3%; $\chi^2=9.0$; $p<0.00$), to isolation or rejection for adults (14.6% vs. 3.6%; $\chi^2=5.0$; $p<0.05$), to refusing to comply with bully’s demands for prisoners (12.4% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=5.8$; $p<0.05$), to their offence for prisoners (9.2% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=4.8$; $p<0.05$), and to physical weakness for adolescents (67.9% vs. 12.5%; $\chi^2=12.0$; $p<0.00$) in correctional institutions (Table 2).

Table 1. Overall ranked responses (%) among male adult prisoners and juveniles in training school to the open-ended question “Why they are bullied?”

Category	Adult prison inmates (N=105)	Juvenile delinquents (N=53)
The victim deserved it	14%	27.6%
Victim is sex offenders	15.8%	0%
Boredom/fun	49.1%	9.3%
Those considered of low physical power	0%	34.6%
Bullying involves all	10.5%	10.9%
Those considered of low intelligence	1.8%	6.9%
Minority/differences/not liking	5.3%	3.4%
No real reason	3.5%	8.2%

Table 2. Overall ranked responses (%) among adult prisoners and juvenile offenders in training school to the open-ended question “Why do they get bullied?”

Category	Adult prison inmates (N=105)	Juvenile delinquents (N=53)
Minority/difference	12.4%	13.7%
Older/younger inmates	8.1%	10.7%
Boredom/fun	36.7%	3.5%
Refusing to comply with bully's demands	12.4%	0%
Isolated/rejected	14.6%	3.6%
Because of their offence	9.2%	0%
Bully wishes to assert power/physical weakness of victim	9.5	67.9%
Victims are easy targets	2.1%	3.6%

Who Was Bullied

Adults in prison were significantly more likely than juveniles in training school to suggest sex offenders ($\chi^2=12.2$; $p<0.00$), and adolescents more likely than adults the physical weakness ($\chi^2=12.4$; $p<0.00$) younger inmates ($\chi^2=5.4$; $p<0.05$), whereby both study groups viewed victims as vulnerable and introvert, as different from others inmates (mentally, socially, nationally) with little connections with peers (subculture) network (Table 3).

Table 3. Overall ranked responses (%) among adult prisoners and juvenile offenders in training school to the open-ended question “What sorts of people get bullied here?”

Category	Adult prison inmates (N=105)	Juvenile delinquents (N=53)
Vulnerable, introverts	21.1%	19.4%
Physically weak	14.5%	40.3%
Young inmates	1.6%	13.9%
Sex offenders	19.1%	0%
Those considered of low intelligence	12.5%	6.9%
Minority/difference	6.3%	1.4%
No effective social skills	2.3%	4.3%
All are bullied	6.6%	6.9%
Non-conformists with criminal subculture	9.4%	6.9%
No social support from other peers	3.1%	2.6%
Problem history	1.2%	0%
Staff is bullying	2.3%	0%

Why Inmates Were Bullied

Men in prison were significantly more likely than male youth in youth institution to offer the category “because of their sex offence”, and “boredom”(accordingly: $\chi^2=6.7$, $p<0.00$; $\chi^2=4.7$, $p<0.05$), whereas adolescents were significantly more likely to offer “physically or mentally weak” ($\chi^2=4.9$, $p<0.05$) and the category “victims are easy targets” ($\chi^2=8.6$, $p<0.01$) and then adults, whereby the last category was most characteristic for both study groups (Table 4).

Table 4. Overall ranked responses (%) among adult prisoners and juvenile offenders in training school to the open-ended question “Why do they get bullied?”

<i>Category</i>	<i>Adult prison inmates (N=105)</i>	<i>Juvenile delinquents (N=53)</i>
Victims are easy targets	31.8%	50.7%
Boredom	11.8%	1.6%
Because of their sex offence	11.4%	0%
Physically or mentally weak	4.1%	14.9%
Bully wishes to assert power	9.8%	8.0%
Non-conformists with criminal subculture	9.5%	13.4%
Isolated or rejected	9.1%	11.9%
Belonging to the lower hierarchy	3.2%	1.5%
Unable to look after themselves	3.2%	1.5%
Younger inmates/old inmates	1.4%	4.5%
Bullied by staff	0.9%	0%

Who Was Bullying

Both groups of inmates generally characterized bullies as those persons who wish to assert power, but adolescents more likely than adults ($\chi^2=11.9$, $p<0.00$). Prisoners mentioned more frequently bullying of inmates by staff than juveniles ($\chi^2=5.5$, $p<0.05$) (Table 5).

Table 5. Overall ranked responses (%) among adult prisoners and juvenile offenders in training school to the open-ended question “What sorts of people bully others here?”

<i>Category</i>	<i>Adult prison inmates (N=105)</i>	<i>Juvenile delinquents (N=53)</i>
Bully wishes to assert power	58.9%	85.8%
Staff is bullying	13.0%	0%
Aggressive/violent	10.3%	8.1%
Low intelligence/education	4.1%	0%
Young/old inmates	4.8%	4.1%
All are bullies	2.7%	2.0%
Boredom	6.2%	0%

Types of Bullying

The main common category of bullying in two types of institutions was mainly verbal bullying (about one third of cases) and also in some degree (less than 3%) sexual bullying, but juvenile offenders were significantly more likely than adults to report gossiping ($\chi^2=4.1$, $p<0.05$), intimidation ($\chi^2=13.1$, $p<0.00$), rejecting ($\chi^2=4.2$, $p<0.05$), and ostracising ($\chi^2=4.0$, $p<0.05$), whereby juvenile male offenders report more often than men physical assaults ($\chi^2=23.8$, $p<0.00$) (Table 6).

Table 6. Overall ranked responses (%) among adult prisoners and juvenile offenders in training school to the open-ended question “Describe the type of bullying that takes place in as much detail as possible?”

<i>Category (type of bullying)</i>	<i>Adult prison inmates (N=105)</i>	<i>Juvenile delinquents (N=53)</i>
Verbal (direct)	33.9%	32.9%
Gossiping (indirect)	7.5%	0%
Intimidation (indirect)	20.8%	2.6%
Rejecting (indirect)	9.0%	1.3%
Ostracising (indirect)	6.5%	0%
Physical (direct)	12.9%	56.6%
Sexual (direct)	3.3%	1.3%
Taking things (direct)	6.1%	6.6%

When the categories were conducted into direct and indirect aggression, then adolescents in training school were more likely than adult prisoners to report direct forms of bullying (93.6% vs. 57.1%; $\chi^2=4.0$, $p<0.01$), and prisoner more likely report indirect forms of bullying than youth inmates (42.9% vs. 6.4%; $\chi^2=4.0$, $p<0.01$).

A brief description of the names given to specific acts of bullying by: (1) the prison inmates includes words describing forms of verbal, indirect bullying, and also bullying for fun, and (2) the juvenile offenders describing consists forms of physical bullying using their mother tongue and English synonym, whereby both study groups described specific acts of sexual bullying.

Where Bullying Occurs

The main categories arising from the question “Where do they get bullied?” were “anywhere” (in prison: 25.7% and in juvenile training school: 21.5%) and “out of sight of staff” (in prison: 14.1% and in juvenile institution: 15.2%), and in the yard (prison: 5.6% vs. juvenile institution: 5.6%). Differences between two study groups revealed among three categories: prisoners were significantly more likely than juveniles in training school tended to offer category “living quarters” (accordingly: 45.1% vs. 24.1%; $\chi^2=13.4$, $p<0.00$), and adolescents more frequently than adults reported category “washrooms/toilets” and “classroom” (accordingly: 2.1% vs. 13.7%; $\chi^2=9.4$, $p<0.01$ and 3.3% vs. 24.1%; $\chi^2=14.9$, $p<0.00$).

When Bullying Occurs

Answers to the questions “When does bullying occur during the day in the institution?” were as follows: Morning (significant differences between two study groups with more prevalent results among adolescents compared with adults: accordingly 15.1% vs. 6.4%; $\chi^2=5.3$, $p<0.01$), afternoon (in prison: 32.3% and in juvenile training school: 17.8%), evening (in prison: 38.5% and in training school: 24.7%), and at midnight (more frequently mentioned among adolescents compared with adults: accordingly 2.4% vs. 21.9%; $\chi^2=15.2$, $p<0.00$).

Research results indicated that more prisoners than juveniles reported that bullying occurring in the institution during all days in the week (79.6% vs. 47.8%; $\chi^2=8.4$, $p<0.00$) whereas more juvenile offenders mention significantly more likely that bullying occurs in the institution during working days compared with prisoners’ opinions (10.2% vs. 29.3%; $\chi^2=7.4$, $p<0.00$).

Interventions with Bullying

The majority of inmates (prison: 56%, training school: 62%) stated that other inmates would try to help when bullying is occurring. Nearly one sixth of adult prisoners and adolescents revealed that when someone of inmates is being bullied they try to calm the situation down (accordingly: prison inmates: 14.9% and juvenile delinquents: 13.1%). Also, juveniles in training school were significantly more likely than inmates in prison to say that they try to help the victim unconditionally (accordingly: 57.9% vs. 17%; $\chi^2=13.6$, $p<0.00$) and reported to the help of adult staff members (accordingly: 23.7% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=8.9$, $p<0.001$). Adult prisoners were significantly more likely than juveniles to reveal that they help conditionally: when the victim is friend (29.8% vs. 5.3%; $\chi^2=4.1$; $p<0.05$), when it is useful for them (21.3% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=7.2$, $p<0.01$) or even support the bully (17% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=4.2$, $p<0.05$).

Reasons given as to why other inmates would not help included “non of their business/not want to get involved” (prison: 45.4% and training school: 28.1%), “fear of retaliation” (prison: 39.4% and training school: 50.0%), “the victim usually deserves it” (prison: 9.1% and training school: 6.3%), and “there are many bystanders of bullying” (prison: 6.0% and training school: 15.6%), whereby no significant differences was found.

Staff Intervention

Juvenile offenders in training school were significantly more likely than inmates in prison to say that staff try to intervene when bullying occurs in correctional institution (87.5% vs. 57.9%; $\chi^2=15.4$, $p<0.00$). Most prison inmates and juvenile delinquents stated that staff would intervene by “placing the bully on report on punishment” (prison: 21.7% and training school: 16.7%), “warning/confronting bully” (prison: 37.7% and training school: 29.6%), and “separating the bully and victim” (prison: 20.3% and juvenile training school: 25.9%). Additionally, inmates in prison revealed more likely than juveniles at training school that staff intervention is ineffective (37.7% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=10.4$, $p<0.00$), and juveniles stated two more possibilities for staff intervention: monitoring and talking to the victim (14.8% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=7.6$, $p<0.00$; 13.0% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=4.2$, $p<0.05$).

Reasons given for why staff would not help included: “unaware of the problem” (significant differences between two groups with more prevalent results among adolescents compared with adult inmates accordingly: 93.8% vs. 34.8%; $\chi^2=11.7$, $p<0.00$), “not bothered/don’t care” with frequent answers among prisoners compared with juveniles (45.5% vs. 62.%; $\chi^2=8.8$, $p<0.01$), “indulgent attitude towards bullying” (13.6% vs. 0%), and “can’t really do anything to stop it” (7.1% vs. 0%) with prisoners’ prevalent answers.

To Whom Would an Inmate Advise a Victim of Bullying to Speak to

The two main choices were “another inmate” (prison: 21.8% and training school: 17.8%) and “prison officer or school teacher” (prison: 22.8% and training school: 18.7%), and “nobody” (prison: 2.1% and juvenile institution: 5.0%). Additionally, adolescents in training school revealed more frequently than adult prisoners that they prefer friends and family members (accordingly: 20.8% vs. 1%; $\chi^2=13.6$, $p<0.00$; 19.8% vs. 5.8%; $\chi^2=10.7$, $p<0.00$) as sources of help about bullying issues, and prisoners tended to prefer more frequently specialists in institution than adolescents in training school (40.3% vs. 18.8%; $\chi^2=11.3$, $p<0.00$).

Intervention into Bullying

Most frequent suggestions for intervention of bullying included “nothing” (prison: 23.9% and training school: 37.7%), “more activities and work” (prison: 30.2% and training school: 20.8%), “victim must be more *assertive*” (prison: 10.6% and training school: 13.2%), remove the bullies (prison: 6.9% and training school: 17%), harsher punishment (prison: 7.4% and training school: 11.3%), and increase staff awareness about bullying (prison: 6.3 % and training school: 4.1%). Adult prisoners were more likely than adolescents to suggest “stop mixing prisoners with violent/sex offence history” (17.7% vs. 0%; $\chi^2=13.2$, $p<0.00$).

CONCLUSION

This study provides a descriptive analysis and compares bullying behavior in the male adult prison and in the male juvenile training school, whereby both institutions were maximum security facilities. Male adults in prison and male adolescents in training school were surveyed by self-report questionnaire developed by Ireland and Archer (1996) about the extent of bullying, the frequency the respondent had bullied or been bullied, their perception of bullying, possibilities about prevention and intervention of bullying; and time and place where bullying occurred.

The research aims of the present study were to provide a descriptive analysis of the nature and extent of bullying to examine differences between the male adults in prison and the male adolescents in training school.

Differences between male adolescents in training school and male adult prisoners were found in relation to extent of perceived bullying in these correctional institutions: the perceived extent of bullying was higher in prison compared with juvenile training school. Previous studies support this tendency among juvenile prisoners compared with young offenders (Ireland, 2002b) and among adult prisoners (Ireland & Archer, 1996).

Reports of actually seen of bullying incidences was high (higher than reported among adult prisoners: Ireland & Archer, 1996) - more than 60% of adults and adolescents reported in prison and in training school, whereby the prevalence of hearing of bullying incidents was more frequent in prison compared with juvenile training school setting. Thus, the findings confirm that bullying is a widespread problem not only in male prison, but also in male adolescent training school too, and the key question is not whether, but to what degree.

Overall, 56% of adult males in the prison (not involved 54%), and 45% (not involved 55%) adolescent males in the training school classified, when asked directly, as bullies, victims or bully/victims, with on average 2 to 4 victims each in previous week. Also, approximately the same prevalence of bullying behavior was found among juvenile prisoners (Ireland, 2002b; Ireland & Monaghan, 2006; Leddy & O’Connell, 2002). The overall percentage of self-reported bullying behavior in this study was relatively high, with nearly equal proportion of bullies, victims and bully/victims in both male institutions (prison: 21%, 18%, 17%; training school: 17%, 13%, 15% respectively). Previous studies showed that the proportion of prisoners reporting behaviors indicative of “being bullied” and of “bullying others” were broadly consistent among male young and juvenile offenders (Ireland, 2002b; Ireland & Archer, 2004; Ireland & Monaghan, 2006) and among male young offenders and adult offenders (Ireland & Power, 2004) with regards to classification into these groups; although there was a trend for a

higher proportion of young offenders to be classified as bully/victims than adults (Ireland & Power, 2004), and less proportion of young prisoners to be classified as bully/victims than juveniles in prison (Ireland, 2005b; Ireland & Monaghan, 2006). Regardless of the specific method to classify prisoners into groups bully/victims tending to be the most common and representative of the categories in prison (measured by the behavior indicative of bullying: e. g. Ireland, 2002a; Ireland & Ireland, 2008), in this research direct measurement of bullying was used and differences between proportion of bully/victim category among adult prisoners and juveniles in training school was not revealed.

A particular characteristic of individuals (e.g., vulnerable, introvert) was tended to be viewed as being predisposed to become a victim of bullying among both study groups, as reported previously among adult prisoners (Ireland & Archer, 1996). Additionally, it was revealed that among the male adults in prison, the description of potential victims concurred with reported by Ireland & Archer (1996) and Brookes (1993) featured – sex offenders, but juveniles in training school empathized more frequently the physical weakness of victim and young inmates as victims. Also, Ireland (2002b) revealed that male juveniles were less likely than young offenders in prison to perceive sex offenders as targets for bullying and juveniles were more likely than young offenders to report younger prisoners. The present study confirms these tendencies and specifies it across to settings – male prisoners reported significantly more sex offenders and male juvenile delinquents ~~reported more~~ physically vulnerable and young inmates as potential victims of bullying with general trend for both groups to report victims as vulnerable and introvert characteristics.

Perceptions of causes of victimization included different reasons viewed (1) by juvenile offenders as being predisposed to become victims of bullying as weak (physically or mentally), easy targets and bullies as perpetrators assessing power over victims; and (2) *boredom and particular offence (sex offence)* was behind many incidents of bullying in prison with acknowledgement that bullying may occur as bullying of prison inmates by staff. Thus, juvenile offenders' perceptions about the causes of bullying included the notification of the bullying phenomenon in the area of overt power imbalance, and prisoners perceived the causes of bullying as reflection of specific aspects of lower-stimulation closed prison environment, supporting previous studies (e.g., Ireland & Archer, 1996). As school bullying is defined as subsection of aggressive behavior with repetitiveness and power imbalance (Olweus, 1996), the essence of bullying for juvenile delinquents was analogical for this concept. Additionally, it was revealed that bullying was more probably motivated by boredom in prison than in training school, supporting previous (Spain, 2005) studies among incarcerated youth. Some previous research advocated that bullying in young offenders prison (Spain, 2005) and in juvenile offenders prison (Peterson-Badali, & Koegl, 2002) raveled not only among prisoner, but also between prisoners and staff - bullying of prisoners by staff; and this study support these findings first of all in the male adult prisoners setting.

It was hypothesized that adolescents' bullying at training school would involve a greater proportion of direct forms than adults' would; and that adults' bullying in prison would display a greater proportion of indirect forms than juveniles' would; and these hypotheses were supported.

Overall, the majority of adult prisoners' and juvenile offenders' bullying behavior comprised verbal bullying followed by physical bullying by adolescents in training school and indirect bullying by prisoners. Namely, the types of bullying in prison among men were predominately indirect (gossiping, intimidation, rejection, and ostracizing), corresponding

with previous evidence from male prisoners (e.g., Brookes, 1993; Ireland & Archer, 1996; Turner & Ireland, 2010), whereby male juveniles in training school used predominately physical forms of bullying, corresponding with previous evidence from males in juvenile prisons (Ireland & Monaghan, 2006; Ireland & Hafiz, 2010) and from male young offenders in prison (Ireland, 1999b; Ireland & Power, 2004). The finding that juveniles reported being subjected to more physical bullying than adult offenders is consistent with developmental pathways (Björkqvist, Österman, & Kaukiainen, 1992) suggesting that younger age groups may indeed use more physical aggression. Indirect aggression, on the other hand, carries a higher chance of being caught and the perpetrator risks retribution (Ireland, 2002a), empathizing the possibility that in a prison setting adult prisoners have come to recognize the value of indirect bullying over direct, and employ it. However, male prisoners used more indirect forms of bullying than juveniles in training school did, and both contingents used also direct verbal forms of bullying, whilst sexual bullying was the least common - a pattern also akin with previous prison research (Connell & Farrington, 1996; McGurk & McDougall, 1986, Ireland, 2005b).

In the adult prison and juvenile training school settings the terms connected with bullying (but not the term bullying) were not culturally sensitive, but tended to reflect the prevalent forms of bullying in the detention facility with holding negative connotations. Ireland and Ireland (2003) also asked young and juvenile male prisoners through a self-report questionnaire about their perceptions of bullying and results indicated that bullying could include predominately direct forms of bullying.

Bullying was seen to occur: (1) at locations throughout the correctional institution – mainly out of sight of staff, but relatively more frequently in living areas in prison and more private areas (e. g. bathrooms) in juvenile training school; and (2) during all days a week and all time of day, but relatively more frequently in the morning and midnight during working days among juvenile delinquents. In previous studies young offenders have mentioned more than juveniles that bullying occurred in their living areas in prison (Ireland, 2002b) and much of bullying happened during evening and meal time, on social period in the evening, and at night in the dormitory in young and adult male prisons (Smith, Pendleton, & Mitchell, 2005).

Male inmates of both correctional institutions in this study reported that both they and staff were willing to help victims of bullying, but relatively more (1) prisoners admit that staffs' help was ineffective; self-help was conditional (helping friends, beneficial support), and they even supported the bully; and (2) juvenile offenders tended to believe that staffs' help was effective: monitoring and talking to the victim, and self-help was unconditional. Also, Spain (2005) examining young offenders' attitudes regarding ways for the establishments to combat bullying in prison showed that the majority of participants revealed staffs' failure for supervision.

Regarding interventions, most training school juveniles and prison inmates reported that staff and inmates would intervene – it is consistent with previous studies (Ireland & Archer, 1996; Ireland, 2002b). The reasons why prisoners and juvenile offenders do not intervene were the same as was revealed previously (Ireland & Archer, 1996) in prison context: Fear, detach, blame of victim, but differentiated concerning with perceived reasons of staff nonintervention – more juveniles revealed that staff is unaware of the bullying problem in the institution than prison inmates, and more prisoners than juveniles had accepting attitude toward bullying or even supported bullies. Researchers (Ireland, 2005c) have reported attention on the motivators and functions underlying prison bullying, pointing out also the role of fear.

Two main choices for which an inmate in prison and juvenile training school would advise a victim of bullying to approach were either peer or prison office/school teacher, whereby prisoners prefer more often specialists in prison and juvenile offenders' friends and family members. The last trends were revealed in previous studies (Ireland, 2002b): Juveniles were more likely than young offenders to advise a victim of bullying to speak to their family, a specialist, and a prison officer.

Regarding the possibility of preventing bullying, the most frequent suggestion, as in previous works (Ireland & Archer, 1996I), was "nothing" illustrating attitude that bullying is part of every day's life in prison and in training school too. Parallel with this pessimistic view, there were also suggestions connected with improvement of social environment of both institutions (activation of inmates, punishment of bullies, and increasing of staffs' awareness about bullying), whereby the only prison settings related suggestion was made concerning with separating violent or sex offenders from other inmates. Additionally, previous studies revealed that the most common piece of advice by young or juvenile offenders in prison with reference to how to combat bullying was action on the part of the young offender being victimized (Spain, 2005; Ireland, 2002b). This highlights the importance of taking into account the specific environment (e. g. training school versus prison; male versus female correctional institution) in which the bullying behavior is taking place before applying prevention and intervention.

Like early studies in the research history in the emerging area of prison bullying (Ireland, 2011) employed measures based on school-based definitions that asked offenders directly about their experiences of bullying, using the term "bullying" itself (e.g., Ireland and Archer, 1996), our study is the first one in this area in Estonia. Needless to say that issue of bullying behavior within prison settings has been started now in Estonia and should be continue within adolescent and adult and male and female offenders in prison-based settings as a part of research (Kõiv, 2009) on bullying in diversity settings. Although only descriptive in nature, the present study is the first to offer a valuable insight into bullying behavior that occurs within juvenile training school setting. It demonstrated that, in this setting, bullying is a prevalent phenomenon, which takes various forms and which is worth further investigation. Building on prison-based research among juvenile, young and adult offenders, this paper also highlighted the importance of addressing research across comparison of different age and sex groups to have focus on similar correctional settings. By applying a questionnaire which did use the term bullying, this study has not managed to overcome the methodological difficulties connected with shortcomings leading to possible underestimation of the extent of bullying as mentioned by Ireland (2002b). It is important to note, however, that the current study employed a relatively small sample of adult prisoners and juvenile training school adolescents and thus the conclusions drawn with regard to developmental differences must be done with caution. By examining differences in the nature and extent of male bullying behavior, intervention programs can focus on specific juvenile inmate population in different correctional institutions, included juvenile training schools.

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Chapter 52

COPING STRATEGIES AND COGNITIVE PROCESSES RELATED TO PEER VICTIMIZATION AND THE ROLE OF INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

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ABSTRACT

Peer victimization occurs when an individual is a repeated target of intentional aggression by one or more peers (Olweus, 1999). Bullying is the intentional repeated aggression directed at a target individual. There is substantial evidence of the negative psychological and health outcomes associated with bullying and peer victimization. In this chapter, we review literature demonstrating the association between bullying/peer victimization and psychological problems (e.g., depression, anxiety, PTSD symptoms). We then consider how peer victimization/bullying impacts the way people think about and process their experiences (particularly their social interactions) as well as how their self-concept is affected. Being bullied affects people's social relationship schemas as well as their cognitive processing. For example, literature indicates that people who are rejected by peers are higher on rejection sensitivity (e.g., anxious expectations about future rejection) and are more likely to engage in dysregulated emotional processing compared to people who are accepted by peers. We also consider how this psychological impact of bullying on cognitions affects an individual's mental health status. Finally, we consider possible avenues for bullying interventions/prevention programs.

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INTRODUCTION

Developing and maintaining positive peer relationships predicts healthy emotional and developmental well-being in people of all ages. Positive peer relationships are particularly important in children and adolescents as childhood creates a framework for later thoughts and perceptions of the social world and influences adult behavior. Because most people have an innate desire to create and maintain meaningful interpersonal relationships with others (Baumeister and Leary, 1995), peer victimization can negatively affect an individual. Peer victimization is defined as the perpetual, intentional aggression of a person(s) of higher power directed at someone of lower power (Olweus, 1993). A plethora of problems arise as people try to cope with peer victimization. These coping strategies can manifest as adjustment problems (i.e., internalizing and externalizing problems), symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and loneliness. Despite the negative implications of peer victimization, intervention strategies and anti-bullying campaigns in the United States have limited empirical evidence supporting their effectiveness.

We begin this chapter by reviewing the association between peer victimization and these negative outcomes. We then present several cognitive biases and assumptions that may contribute to the association between peer victimization and these negative outcomes and consider the role that social cognition and social information processing play. We conclude by reviewing some of the intervention and prevention strategies and argue that there is a clear and growing need for more effective prevention programs.

PEER VICTIMIZATION AND ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS

Peer relationships are an important indicator of emotional development and adjustment both concurrently and later in life (e.g., Rigby, 2000; La Greca and Prinstein, 1999). When peer victimization occurs, the social pain experienced by the victim can manifest as adjustment problems (Perren, Ettekal, and Ladd, 2012). Some people who experience peer victimization externalize their problems (e.g., disruptive behavior, hyperactivity, aggressive symptomology) whereas other people internalize their problems (e.g., anxiety, depression, loneliness; Cicchetti and Toth, 1991). In many cases externalizing and internalizing problems predict further peer victimization and/or intensifies emotional pain (Kochenderfer-Ladd and Skinner, 2002). In this section, we consider the association between peer victimization, externalizing problems, internalizing problems, and other negative outcomes related to mental health.

Externalizing Problems

Externalizing problems are characterized by disruptive, oppositional, and/or aggressive behaviors, a lack of regulation and control, attention deficiency, hyperactivity, or impulsivity (Chan et al., 2008; Eisenburg et al., 2000; Olson et al., 1999; Prinstein et al., 2009). Externalizing problems are typical psychopathological responses used to adapt to social situations (Ollendick and King, 1994; Prinstein et al., 2009).

Numerous longitudinal studies have demonstrated that peer rejection is robustly associated with externalizing problems later in life (i.e., delinquency, conduct disorders, attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder) and that externalizing problems occur most frequently when rejection is experienced repeatedly (Laird et al., 2001; Prinstein et al., 2009). Troop-Gordon and Ladd (2005) ascertained that peer victimization exacerbates social dysfunction in ways that intensify externalizing problems. In addition, externalizing problems typically further compound antisocial behavior or poor social skills that may put people at risk for future peer victimization (Dodge and Pettit, 2003; Fox and Boulton, 2005; Kochenderfer-Ladd and Skinner, 2002).

Internalizing Problems

Peer victimization can also lead to internalizing problems such as depression and anxiety (Ollendick et al., 1994; Zwierzyńska et al., 2013). Individuals who have been indirectly victimized (e.g., gossiped about) are more likely to internalize problems than individuals who have been directly victimized (e.g., hit, called names; Benjet et al., 2010). There is a complex bi-directional dynamic as internalizing problems can be the result of peer victimization and can also be a risk factor for peer victimization (Zwierzyńska et al., 2013).

Depression

One of the most common consequences of peer victimization is depression (Hawker and Boulton, 2000). There is a cognitive triad associated with depression in which depressed individuals have negative perspectives of themselves, their world, and their future (Beck, 1987; Leahy, 2002). Researchers have shown that severe or frequent peer victimization increased the likelihood of having depressive symptoms in adulthood (Gladstone et al., 2006; Lund et al., 2009), although girls who have been both directly and indirectly victimized were more likely than boys to show depressive symptoms concurrently (van der Wal et al., 2003). Zwierzyńska et al.'s (2013) longitudinal study of 3,962 children and parents demonstrated that children who were peer victimized were not only more likely to internalize problems but they were also more likely to show persistent depressive symptoms two years later. Though there is some debate about the direction of influence between peer victimization and depression, Barchia and Bussey (2010) proposed that rumination, school efficacy, and self-efficacy to find support against bullying may mediate the link between peer victimization and depression. In their study of 1,167 school children, Barchia and Bussey (2010) found that individuals who were frequently peer victimized tended to ruminate more than children who were infrequently victimized; this increased rumination predicted depressive symptoms. Children who were bullied were also less likely to believe that school officials and other individuals could provide support and were therefore less likely to seek support which also predicted increased depressive symptoms.

Anxiety

Anxiety is another consequence of peer victimization. Because anxiety can lead to social withdrawal, it can affect the formation of successful interpersonal relationships, lead to disorders or phobias, and be a precursor to negative self-medication tactics like alcohol or substance abuse (La Greca and Mackey, 2007; Moutier and Stein, 1999). Siegel et al. (2009) examined the short-term longitudinal relationships between peer victimization (i.e., overt,

relational, and reputational) and social anxiety in adolescents from November (Time 1) to January (Time 2) of the same school year. They found that all types of peer victimization at Time 1 were associated with social anxiety at Time 2. This relationship was stronger for relational victimization; the more an individual was relationally victimized, the more socially anxious they were. Relational victimization at Time 1 predicted an increase in social anxiety over time but this relationship was stronger for girls than boys. In addition, social anxiety was also a predictor of relational victimization. Anxiety at Time 1 increased the likelihood of being relationally victimized at Time 2.

Again, this pattern of findings suggests that the association between anxiety and peer victimization is bidirectional in nature (La Greca, 2001). Since anxiety, if unchecked, can lead to major depressive disorder, developing intervention techniques might be particularly helpful if employed in anxious victims before depressive symptoms form.

Other Related Negative Outcomes of Peer Victimization

In addition to adjustment problems, being bullied has been associated with other mental health and developmental problems. For example, children (e.g., Idsoe, Dyregrov, and Idsoe, 2012) and adults (e.g., Matthiesen and Einarsen, 2004) who are bullied are more likely to exhibit symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) than their counterparts who are not bullied. PTSD was considered to be an anxiety disorder in the DSM-IV-TR (American Psychiatric Association, 2000) and is now listed in the Trauma- and Stressor-Related Disorders section of the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). PTSD develops after an individual is exposed to an extreme traumatic event (e.g., actual/threatened death, serious injury, sexual violation). Mikkelsen and Einarsen (2002) found that victims of bullying who met all of the diagnostic criteria for PTSD were more likely to report adverse events other than bullying compared to victims of bullying who met some, but not all, of the diagnostic criteria for PTSD.

Although an estimated 29% - 42.6% of victims of bullying meet all diagnostic criteria for PTSD, between 47% - 54.1% of people who were bullied failed to meet A1 diagnostic criterion (i.e., exposure to event(s) that involve actual or threatened death/serious injury or a threat to own or others' physical integrity) but met the other diagnostic criteria for PTSD (Mikkelsen and Einarsen, 2002; Rodríguez-Muñoz et al., 2010). In addition to having more symptoms of PTSD, people who were bullied at work had more negative views of themselves, others, and the world compared to those who were not bullied.

Loneliness is also associated with peer victimization. Loneliness is the feeling experienced when an individual's current peer relationships are thought to be less than what the individual feels they should be (Peplau and Perlman, 1982). Loneliness is predicted by the *perception* of relationship quality rather than the actual quality of relationships (Peplau and Perlman, 1982). The size of the social group is not important, but lower quality friendships are more likely to be associated with feelings of loneliness than are higher quality friendships (Jones, 1982; Parker and Asher, 1993). According to Kochenderfer-Ladd and Wardrop's (2001) longitudinal study of elementary school children, when children were bullied their loneliness increased and social satisfaction decreased over time.

Even children who made the transition from victim to nonvictim did not see a significant decrease in their feelings of loneliness or an increase in their social satisfaction over time.

Individuals who were chronically lonely were more likely to have trouble in school or become a delinquent during childhood than those who were not lonely (Brennan, 1982).

Although teachers may attempt to intervene to stop bullying, these interventions are not always perceived as effective and may contribute to children's prolonged feelings of loneliness (Berguno et al., 2004). Loneliness can also be a precursor to a number of psychiatric disorders including Social Anxiety Disorder and Major Depression (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). In addition to increased loneliness, people who are bullied are also more likely to have more suicidal thoughts (Klomek et al., 2008; Rigby and Slee, 1999) and suicide attempts (Hinduja and Patchin, 2010) compared to people who bully others and those who are not bullied.

As briefly reviewed in this section, the association between being bullied and adjustment problems and other negative outcomes has been robustly demonstrated. Moreover, this association is bidirectional such that being bullied predicts further adjustment problems and negative outcomes which in turn is a risk factor for future peer victimization. We suggest that this cyclical relationship is difficult to break, in part, due to the cognitions associated with being bullied and adjustment problems/poor mental health.

SOCIAL COGNITION AND PEER VICTIMIZATION

In this section, we consider some of the social cognitive biases that may contribute to the cyclical relationship between bullying involvement and negative outcomes. We also review literature demonstrating that social cognition both influences and is affected by social interactions. Social cognition is the study of how people think about others and themselves as well as how they process social situations (Baldwin, 1992; Fiske, 2014, Chapter 3). It is worth noting that social cognition is unlikely to be the only component that affects the link between bullying involvement and adjustment or developmental problems. We focus on social cognition because despite evidence that social cognition affects how we attend to, process, and respond to the general social environment, there is little research examining how being bullied is associated with specific changes in cognitive processing.

Cognitive Biases and Assumptions

People generally want to accurately perceive their world as well as see themselves in a positive and consistent manner (Taylor and Brown, 1988; Taylor and Brown, 1994). However, there are cognitive mechanisms that impede accuracy. These cognitive components may affect the relationship between being bullied and adjustment problems. For example, schemas and scripts affect what information people attend to in the environment and how the information is interpreted (Baldwin, 1992). Schemas are mental representations of objects or categories; scripts are mental representations of situations or events. These schemas and scripts are formed based on a combination of personal experiences and general knowledge. They help people make sense of experiences by creating templates for what to anticipate during a similar experience. Schemas and scripts are especially useful in ambiguous situations to interpret ambiguous information. In the classic "Donald study," Higgins, Rholes, and Jones (1977)

primed participants with words to activate either a positive, adventurous schema or a negative, reckless schema. Participants then read a description of Donald and subsequently rated their perception of Donald. Participants who were primed with positive words rated Donald more positively than participants who were primed with negative words. Because all participants read the same description of Donald, these results suggested that schemas influence what information we attend to and how we interpret the information. Over time and situations, people rely on some schemas/scripts more than others (i.e., chronic accessibility; Breckler, Olson, and Wiggins, 2006, Chapter 3).

The way schemas and scripts affect how people attend to and interpret information in the environment is important because this information is used to make attributions about others' behavior and determine one's own behavior. For example, when responding to ambiguous scenarios that could be interpreted as either aggressive/intended to be hurtful or non-aggressive/not meant to be hurtful, children classified as bully-victims (i.e., were both bullied and bully others) were more likely to blame and be angry with the perpetrator and retaliate than children not involved in bullying (Camodeca et al., 2003). Camodeca and colleagues concluded that bully-victims interpreted the cues within the ambiguous scenario as being malicious/hurtful rather than attributing the perpetrator's actions as being accidental/non-hurtful. In contrast, people who are habitually aggressive tended to attribute ambiguous behavior as being aggressive; this tendency is known as the hostile attribution bias (Fiske, 2014, Chapter 10). In play groups of 8-year-old boys, peer victimization was associated with submissive behavior, hostile attribution bias, and reactive aggression (Schwartz et al., 1998). Boys who were bullied also had negative expectations about the outcomes of aggression and assertion. According to Fiske (2014), this tendency to attribute ambiguous behaviors as being aggressive rather than benign is partially a function of people's daily experiences and the schemas/scripts that are developed.

Classical and operant conditioning may also affect the relationship between being bullied and adjustment problems. Classical conditioning occurs when people learn that two events in the environment are associated. A well-known example of classical conditioning is Pavlov's dogs learning to salivate at the sound of a bell. Operant conditioning occurs when people learn that their behavior elicits consequences (i.e., reward or punishment). For example, a child might learn that hitting a playmate leads to being put in time out whereas sharing with a playmate leads to extra playtime. MacDonald, Borsook, and Spielmann (2011) argued that perceived rewards and punishments within social relationships affect people's behaviors. MacDonald et al. suggested that perceived rewards of social interactions could include anticipating comfortable self-disclosure, making new friends, and developing meaningful connections whereas perceived punishments or risks of social interactions could include social anxiety, the potential of not being liked, and being embarrassed. As people who are bullied begin to anticipate negative outcomes from social interactions, they may begin to overestimate the likelihood of further negative outcomes (e.g., rejection) and underestimate the positive outcomes (e.g., acceptance; MacDonald, Borsook, and Spielmann, 2011). Indeed, Storch and Masia-Warner (2004) found that being bullied was correlated with fear of negative evaluation as well as social avoidance and loneliness. In contrast, people who bullied others felt more secure and less anxious when bullying (Batsche and Knoff, 1994). Bullying behaviors are often reinforced through achieving goals (e.g., controlling others, gaining power) or removing threats from others (Batsche and Knoff, 1994; Vaillancourt, Hymel, and McDougall, 2003).

Dual Cognitive Processing Systems and Social Information Processing

There is consensus within the cognitive psychology field that at least two cognitive processing systems exist (Evans, 2008). The rational cognitive processing system (also referred to as the controlled, systematic, or analytic system) is characterized by reason and logic. Processing within this system is conscious, analytical, relatively slow, and effortful (Evans, 2008; Pacini and Epstein, 1999). In contrast, the experiential cognitive processing system (also referred to as the automatic, heuristic, or intuitive system) is characterized by automatic and instinctual responses. Processing within this system is unconscious, intuitive, relatively rapid, implicit, and low effort (Evans, 2008; Pacini and Epstein, 1999). These two processing systems typically operate in a synchronous manner to allow people to adjust to social situations.

In order to understand how people use and process information from social experiences to determine behavioral responses, Crick and Dodge (1994) proposed that social information processing consisted of six steps: (1) encoding the cues from the social interaction, (2) interpreting the cues, (3) clarifying goals, (4) accessing or constructing a response, (5) deciding how to respond, and (6) executing the behavioral response. Crick and Dodge's model accounted for past experiences, social schemas, and knowledge of social rules affecting each step of social processing. Although Crick and Dodge's model is comprised of specific discrete steps in social information processing, much of the research examining how social information is processed during negative social interactions includes multiple steps rather than specific discrete steps. Below we review some of this literature to provide a brief overview of how negative social experiences such as being bullied affect cognitive processing (Bernstein et al., 2008).

Attention to and Interpretation of Social Information

Attention to social cues increases after being socially rejected (Bernstein et al., 2008) and may be an attempt to successfully reestablish social connections (Hess and Pickett, 2010). Individuals who are periodically bullied or excluded from a group were better at interpreting the non-verbal cues of others. For example, people who were periodically bullied were more accurate in assessing facial expressions and emotions compared to people who were not periodically bullied (Bernstein et al., 2010). This heightened awareness of social surroundings suggests that a change in rational cognitive processing may occur due to an individual's willingness to adapt to social situations in order to cope with social rejection. Increased attention to social cues may also be due to an increase in depressive symptoms (which have been shown to reduce rational processing) that often accompanies peer victimization (Gibb et al., 2004; Pacini and Epstein, 1999). Individual differences in rejection sensitivity may also affect how people attend to and process social information, especially in situations where rejection cues are ambiguous. Individuals high on rejection sensitivity anxiously expect, readily perceive, and overreact to rejection (Downey, Feldman, Khuri, and Friedman, 1994; Feldman and Downey, 1994). For example, Downey and Feldman (1996) manipulated feedback provided to participants following a 10-minute interaction with a confederate (participants were expecting a subsequent 5-minute interaction; Study 2). Participants were either told that the confederate did not want to continue the study (i.e., ambiguous rejection information) or that there was not enough time for the second interaction. Individuals high on rejection sensitivity were more likely to report higher levels of perceived rejection compared to people low on rejection sensitivity. Zimmer-Gembeck et al. (2013) also demonstrated that adolescents who

overestimated their peer victimization (i.e., had higher self-reported peer victimization compared to their peer-reported peer victimization) were high on rejection sensitivity.

Moreover, the specific types of attributions people make regarding why they are bullied affect the strategies used to cope with being bullied. For example, children who attributed being bullied to their race were less likely to seek out support from friends, whereas boys, but not girls, who attributed being bullied to not being cool were likely to seek support from friends (Visconti, Sechler, and Kockenderfer-Ladd, 2013). In addition, children who attributed being bullied to their own behavior were less likely to attempt to problem solve and more likely to retaliate. The variation in attributions made in response to bullying suggests that emotional cues can trigger a specific set of behavioral response tendencies that differ among individuals (Gross and John, 2003).

Forming and Clarifying Social Goals

In addition to attributions about the intent of behaviors, the broader social goals people have are related to involvement in bullying and how people behave during ambiguous and negative social interactions. For example, Smalley and Banerjee (2013) found that low concern about getting along with a perpetrator in ambiguous scenarios was related to physical and relational bullying (even after accounting for affect and attributions). Avoiding the perpetrator was associated with both relational bullying and physical victimization; in addition, submissiveness predicted relational victimization. Rudolph et al. (2011) found that children's broader social goals predicted situation-specific goals. Children who wanted to develop harmonious, high-quality relationships were more likely to report adaptive responses (e.g., want to cooperate and reduce conflict, less likely to want to retaliate and control others), whereas children who wanted to obtain positive judgments were more likely to have maladaptive responses (e.g., less likely to want to cooperate, more likely to want to retaliate and control others).

Behavioral Responses

Involvement in bullying also affects behavioral responses. Researchers have demonstrated that children who are repeatedly bullied often have inappropriate and/or ineffective responses to negative social situations (Crick and Dodge, 1996; Olweus, 1978; Rosen et al., 2007; Schwartz et al., 1993; Schwartz et al., 2001). For example, peer victimized children can engage in behaviors that elicit further victimization (e.g., submissive behaviors, angry but ineffectual retaliation, aggression; Perry et al., 2001; Perry et al., 1990). Boys who responded to provocation by fighting back were more likely to continue to be bullied, whereas boys who had a friend help during provocation were less likely to continue to be bullied (Kochenderfer and Ladd, 1997). In a hypothetical provocative scenario, Camodeca et al. (2003) examined how children responded to situations that clearly involved a perpetrator being intentionally aggressive to a child. Children who were bullied and who bullied others responded in less assertive ways than children who were not involved in bullying (however, no differences were found in use of aggression, help, avoidance, or irrelevant strategies). There is also evidence that negative self-views predicted social disengagement which in turn predicted interpersonal stress, more negative self-views, and social disengagement (Caldwell, Rudolph, Troop-Gordon, and Kim, 2004). Another common behavioral response, especially among girls, is co-rumination. Co-rumination occurs when two friends repetitively and excessively discuss problems and negative moods (Rose, 2002; Rose, Carlson, and Waller, 2007). Co-rumination is both a

protective measure against and a risk factor for adjustment problems. On one hand, co-rumination predicted increased satisfaction in friendships and higher perceived friendship quality. On the other hand, it predicted more symptoms of depression and anxiety, particularly in girls (Rose, Carlson, and Waller, 2007; Stone, Hankin, Gibb, and Abela, 2011). In boys, co-rumination appeared to be indicative of symptoms of depression and anxiety but did not increase these symptoms. Moreover, co-rumination (but not normal self-disclosure of problems) mediated the spread of internalizing problems between friends (Schwartz-Mette and Rose, 2012). Rumination, defined as repetitively thinking about one's negative mood (Smith and Alloy, 2009), is also associated with negative outcomes. For example, rumination predicts future peer victimization, particularly among adolescents who have high levels of depression (Shapero et al., 2013) and is considered to be a risk factor for depression (Erdur-Baker, 2009; Smith and Alloy, 2009).

As reviewed in the above sections, the robust association between peer victimization and negative outcomes is well documented. Given the number of students who are either the recipients or perpetrators of bullying and the negative coping mechanisms employed when individuals are confronted with peer victimization, the next step is to understand and implement systems that can potentially offset the negative consequences.

BULLYING PREVENTION STRATEGIES

Over the last 20 years bullying prevention research has been slow to accumulate in the United States, whereas in Europe, Australia, and Canada, intervention innovation has been addressed for several decades (Swearer, Espelage, and Napolitano, 2009). Despite the large body of work on the description and analysis of bullying issues in many different social contexts, the United States has only recently accumulated enough empirical research to effectively evaluate these US based programs. These evaluations have a potential impact on public policy making and educational programming decisions. However, sound social structures for bullying prevention/intervention are scarce. Even though various state laws have provided some structure to prevent bullying and protect children, each state addresses bullying differently, so uniform policies have not been adopted throughout the education system. This lack of uniform policy leaves huge gaps in services provided for many children involved in bullying across the United States. As a result, many individual schools have been left to create programs without clear guidelines of what to do. Moreover, there are some specific factors that may actually increase bullying in the school environment (Clarke and Kiselica, 1997).

For example, inadequate staffing promotes less than optimal supervision during recreational and instructional periods and prevents adequate monitoring of student behaviors across the school campus. Many schools are very large and the physical structure of the school can contribute to poor monitoring of student behaviors. This is not to suggest that bullying is exclusively a product of large schools and classes, as this hypothesis is not supported by empirical data (e.g., Olweus, 2003). Some schools may actually encourage bullying and violence when they fail to acknowledge that bullying, victimization, and aggression are potential problems. The attitudes and behaviors of principals and teachers are crucial in determining the bullying behaviors that manifest within the school environment (Olweus, 2003). One of the best predictors of implementing school based anti-bullying programs has

been the active involvement of teachers as the key agents of change within the school setting (Kallestad and Olweus, 2003). The following section explores a range of evaluated programs and research that provides a glimpse of potential interventions for different social situations. The programs discussed here focus on children in school, because schools act as a microcosm of the larger social framework and are training grounds of social norm development and future behaviors.

Background of Intervention Programs

In the 1970's as a response to increasing societal concerns over bullying problems among school children, Norway introduced the first large scale anti-bullying program. This program was followed by a nation-wide intensive program known as the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP) which was implemented and evaluated in the early 1990's (Olweus, 1991). The OBPP is a long term, system-wide program that focuses on change in four key areas of children's lives: the individual level, the classroom level, the school level, and the community level. It builds on principles derived from research on development and identification of problem behaviors, especially aggressive behaviors. The objective of the OBPP program is to substantially reduce, if not eliminate, existing bully/victim issues in and outside the school setting, prevent the development of new bully/victim problems, and improve peer relations among bullies and victims. Rather than concentrating on changing behavior at any one specific level to accomplish these objectives, the criteria focuses on restructuring the social environment. In other words, focusing on protecting the victim only and/or punishing the bully only is not seen as an efficient or effective approach to dealing with bullying issues. The OBPP philosophy includes creating a school (and ideally, a home) environment characterized by warmth, positive interest, and involvement with adults; firm limits on unacceptable behavior; consistent application of non-punitive, non-physical sanctions for unacceptable behavior or violations of rules; and adults who act as authorities and positive role models (Olweus, 1993; 1999; 2004; Olweus and Limber, 2010). By creating specific measures for classroom use and beyond, these concepts have been assessed in multiple ways at the school, classroom, and individual level. The core components of the OBPP include: a) school-level components (e.g., establishing an bullying prevention committee, introduce clear anti-bullying rules, and train committee and staff members), b) individual-level components (e.g., hold meetings with parents of involved children, supervise students' activities, intervene on the spot when bullying occurs, c) classroom-level components (e.g., post and enforce school-wide rules against bullying, hold regular class meetings, and d) community-level components (e.g., help to spread anti-bullying messages and principles of best practice in the community) (Olweus Bullying Prevention Program violencepreventionworks.org, 2014).

The success of these types of programs hinges on restructuring social environments so that opportunity and reward structures for bullying are disrupted (e.g., less prestige or peer support for maintaining negative social behaviors; Olweus, 1992). The OBPP program initially evaluated 2,500 boys and girls in multiple schools and found dramatic reductions in bully/victims problem behaviors by over 50%, (at 20 months after interventions) along with reductions in several anti-social behaviors. School life satisfaction among students increased and overall classroom social climate improved. The OBPP has been tested and refined for over 35 years and has provided a blueprint for anti-bullying programs in other countries, including

the United States and has been adapted and implemented in schools, the workplace, and senior living institutions (Olweus, 1993, 1999).

The Sheffield Study

Based on the OBPP philosophy of creating a whole-school policy approach on bullying, the Sheffield Study conducted in the United Kingdom in 1994 found some success in reducing reports of both bullying and being bullied (Smith, 1997). The program was tailored to individual school needs but laid out clear directions from the top level supervision all the way through to individual student and staff levels. Additional measures included reconfiguring playgrounds to facilitate improved staff supervision where required; using videos, stories and drama to instill an anti-bullying ethos across the school; and providing assertiveness training for victims and tolerance training for bullies. Smith and colleagues (1997) assessed 27 different schools (23 intervention groups, 4 control groups, approximately 8,380 students) and after two years found a 12% decrease in bullying behaviors both at elementary and secondary school levels and a 14% increase in the control schools.

KiVa Program

The KiVa program was designed and developed in Finland in the 1990's to combat growing concerns for the ramifications of bullying even for those who are not directly involved in bullying scenarios (e.g., bystanders or victims' friends) (Salmivalli, Kärnä, and Poskiparta, 2011). As the researchers behind this program development considered bullying a group phenomenon, the program employed a multi-faceted approach to reduce bullying behaviors (Salmivalli et al., 2011). The KiVa anti-bullying program became nationalized in Finland in 2009 and currently about 2700 schools implement it. They utilize student lessons such as discussion, video films, and exercises in dyads. For secondary school children they also include visual learning tools such as video games involving bullying and an Internet forum (KiVa Street) aimed at changing students' attitudes and ultimately preventing bullying. Program evaluation involved studies of different grades and different types of bullying/ victimization behaviors. Researchers found significant reduction in bullying and adjustment problems among perpetrators and targets and reduced negative behaviors in bystanders (Salmivalli, et al., 2011; Williford, Boulton, Noland, Kärnä, Little, and Salmivalli, 2012). As this program took a whole-school approach the researchers concluded that those teachers and schools who were more involved in the program gained more in terms of reducing victimization overall. Due to the program's ongoing success, it has been translated into several different languages, and evaluation and studies of KiVa based programs are ongoing in the United States.

Safety Training

In the United States one particular study found that providing *safety skill training* to third grade students elevated their knowledge of recognizing and increasing their awareness of bullying behaviors and how to prevent being a target and a potential perpetrator of bullying

later on (Kid Power Safety Report, 2011). In programs targeting safety skill training, the main themes focus on building self-confidence and self-esteem among children. Children participate in multiple activities to teach positive, practical, and effective ways to deal with personal safety situations including abuse, abduction, and bullying. Some of the core concepts of the programs include how to set clear and appropriate boundaries; how to advocate for oneself and others; how to act aware, remain calm and confident to help prevent being chosen as a victim; how to take charge of a situation if it becomes threatening or dangerous; how to effectively get help and persist in getting help when needed; how to stop unwanted teasing and touching; and how to create effective safety plans anywhere one goes (Kid Power Safety Report, 2011).

The initial study was conducted with 238 third graders from 14 different elementary schools throughout Santa Cruz, California in 2010. From initial pretest to a 3 month follow up, the study demonstrated that over 31% of students who received safety training had improved safety knowledge versus a control group who did not receive training. These training programs have gained popularity as the core concepts included can be applied in many different social settings.

Kid Power Personal Safety Skills Project of Colorado Springs (2010), an affiliate of Kid Power International, conducted a similar study to evaluate whether a safety training program would be effective in reducing and/or preventing bullying and abuse of developmentally disabled children from K-12 grades over a 3 year period. They concluded that in general, students, parents, and teachers demonstrated greater knowledge of skills relating to personal safety that could be used in multiple settings. By empowering children with revised schemas and scripts of how to behave appropriately, the Kid Power studies have provided evidence that practical school-based safety training programs can enhance resiliency in individuals and groups when dealing with aversive situations.

Steps to Respect Bullying Prevention Program (STR)

Steps to Respect (STR: Committee for Children, 2005) is a school wide bullying prevention program in the United States. First the school administration assesses the bullying/victimization policies and procedures of the school, then *all* adults within the school workforce (including staff from outside the classroom e.g., bus drivers and cafeteria workers) are trained to recognize and deal with bullying when it arises (Committee for Children, 2005).

Classroom instruction includes multiple tools for identifying, coping with, and doing something about bullying when/if it occurs. An initial review of the STR program reported a 25% reduction in bullying behaviors and a 31% reduction over a two year period (Frey et al., 2005, 2009). Recently Brown et al. (2011) evaluated the Steps To Respect bullying prevention program and corroborated this program's positive effects on reducing bullying behaviors and improving school social climate within one year of implementation, and teachers reported students were 33% less likely to engage in bullying behaviors than those who did not receive the training.

Multimodal Training

In addition to school and general safety training programs it may also be important to recognize when children are involved in family disruptions. For example, adolescents with

divorced parents exhibit higher levels of risky and aggressive behaviors including, but not limited to, bullying (World Health Organization: WHO, 2010). Also, internalizing behaviors such as depression can be a risk factor for becoming a victim of aggression and bullying (Williams, Chambers, Logan, and Robinson, 1996; Williford et al., 2011, 2012). The WHO has emphasized interventions for both parents and children in divorce settings to teach cognitive coping skills, anger control, problem solving, communication skills, and identification and expression of emotions, which in turn fosters social support, and reduces feelings of isolation and loneliness. These factors can often influence positive mental health and reduce risk factors of emotional and behavioral problems. Research has found that these programs assist with reduced depression and behavioral problems one year later (Wolchik et al., 2002). The Good Behavior Game that promotes positive behavior and rule compliance in the classroom showed significant reductions in aggressive behaviors up to five years after the intervention (Kellam, Rebok, Ialongo, and Mayer, 1994). Other programs such as I Can Problem Solve (Shure, 1997) include measures to provide children with cognitive skills such as listening, empathy, interpersonal problem solving, and anger management. These types of programs have improved behaviors for up to one year post intervention. The Child Development Project (Battistich, Schaps, Watson, and Solomon, 1996) provides both children and caregivers with improved behavioral skills to effectively develop prosocial behaviors and has been shown to reduce aggressive behaviors, including bullying, in the school setting.

Youth Matters Prevention Program (YM)

There is substantial evidence that bullying behaviors continue from elementary school to middle school, with some researchers finding stable patterns across the transition (Scholte, Engels, Overbeck, de Kemp, and Haselager, 2007). Conversely, other researchers have found a decrease during the latter two years of elementary school and then a fluctuation throughout the middle school years (Nylund, Bellmore, Nishina and Graham, 2007; Schäfer, Korn, Brodbeck, Wolke and Schulz, 2005; Williford, Brisson, Bender, Jenson, and Forrest-Bank, 2011). Youth Matters is a school-based bullying prevention program that builds training modules into the curriculum with interactive instruction to teach upper elementary school students skills for dealing with bullying in and out of school.

By developing important social competency skills and resistance to bullying techniques, YM emphasizes the negative impact of bullying behaviors while attempting to strengthen peer and social norms against them (Jenson and Dieterich, 2007). One evaluation of the program assessed the transitional bullying effects on students in grades 4-6 and found children involved in bullying did indeed show positive effects of the YM program especially in the first year of intervention (grade 4) and during the first year of middle school (grade 6) (Jensen, Brisson, Bender, and Williford, 2013). Anti-bullying programs may be particularly effective during the latter years of elementary school by providing children with more information and tools to reduce aggression and bullying as they transition into very diverse and often overwhelming school and peer environments.

What the Evidence Suggests

In 2008, Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, and Isava conducted an exploratory meta-analysis of a variety of intervention programs from Europe and the United States spanning a 25 year period. Overall, they found very weak effect sizes for successful bullying interventions suggesting that these programs are more likely to influence knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions rather than specific bullying behaviors. Recently, Ttofi and Farrington (2011) conducted a meta-analysis on the effectiveness of 53 different international school based programs aimed at reducing bullying among children from kindergarten to high school. Again, the results provide a mixed picture on the success of many anti-bullying programs. Overall, Ttofi and Farrington concluded that on average bullying decreased by 20 - 23% with successful programs. The effects were highest in age cohort designs and lowest in randomized experiments (potentially due to validity problems).

A continued dilemma exists over what works and why. Since this research is difficult to conduct and compare due to the vast differences among education systems, there will be a continued challenge to find, evaluate, and implement solid programs that make a difference in the bullying phenomenon. However, the overarching message suggested is that school based anti-bullying programs can be effective depending on the intensity, duration, and types of elements they engage. Ttofi and Farrington concluded that programs influenced by Dan Olweus were the most successful. Those that were more intensive programs that included different social groups such as meetings with parents, improved playground supervision, and firm, consistent disciplinary methods were associated with decreased bullying. Conversely, work with peers (such as peer mentoring, peer mediation and encouraging bystander intervention) was associated with an increase in bullying behaviors.

Bullying is increasingly being considered as a group process that is enabled by many individuals in addition to the specific victims and perpetrators (e.g., Craig, Pepler, and Blais, 2007) and highlights the need for adults to support students in dealing with ongoing bullying issues. As a response, more holistic intervention programs are being considered and implemented. The whole-school approach seems to be drawing more attention, but in the United States one still has to consider the vast cultural, socioeconomic, and ideological differences that exist across the nation – a one size fits all approach will not likely be successful if planners, policymakers, and education decision makers do not recognize these individual differences and tailor programs accordingly (Smith, Schneider, Smith, and Ananiado, 2004).

However, a consistent factor across successful programs is effective and sufficient training of adults who are responsible for initiating and carrying out bullying prevention programs. Any substantial success with anti-bullying programs requires strong consistency and conviction of implementation from the administration all the way through the school environment to bus drivers and caretakers (Durlak and DuPre, 2008; Low, Van Ryzin, Brown, Smith, and Haggerty, 2013). In sum, programs that approach bullying prevention comprehensively while still acknowledging the unique needs of individuals in differing environments are the most effective (Clark and Kiselica, 1997; Espelage and Swearer, 2003; Olweus, 1991). Without full understanding, cooperation, and oversight from all involved, these programs will reap only moderate - if any - results at reducing or eliminating the bullying behaviors that exist in the school and beyond.

CONCLUSION

As we have documented, there are multiple psychological and cognitive factors affecting children's and adults' socialization when exposed to peer victimization. Those individuals who are left to manage such aversive situations on their own may be prone to mental health issues later in life including anxiety, depression, and suicide ideation. It is not only important to recognize these potential issues but also to determine best practices for reducing or eliminating the effects. Comprehensive and consistent interference in environments that support bullying is required, and strong support of those individuals who are both recipients and perpetrators are key factors in reducing or eliminating bullying behaviors.

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Chapter 53

BULLYING AMONG MALE ATHLETES: A CONTEXTUAL EXAMINATION

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ABSTRACT

As witnessed in popular media, reports of violence and aggression-both on and off the field-is often associated with athletes such as football players. The emphasis on these reports creates a skewed perception of male athletes, and subsequently the non-violent behavior of countless other male athletes is often discounted and ignored. Nonetheless, there is evidence to suggest that male athletes may be more likely to engage in violence than their non-athlete male peers (Kreager, 2007; Messner, and Sabo, 1994; Mutz, 2012). Research aimed at studying this phenomenon has suggested that there is, “a continuum of physical contact and masculinity whereby highly masculinized contact sports increase the risks of violence” (Kraeger, 2007, p. 717). This raises the question: Are boys who participate in certain sports being taught to be violent (e.g., Kotler, 2008)? After critically examining the theories and research addressing this question, in this chapter we will look at the societal stereotype of the “jock bully” as it appears in both popular culture and academic writings. We will then use this psychologically-oriented lens to examine the 2013 Miami Dolphins controversy involving Jonathan Martin and Richie Incognito, where we will apply relevant literature on bullying and masculinity. Lastly, we will discuss future implications for research and clinical work. Prevention is the most desirable form of intervention and future research should therefore assess the effectiveness of violence and abuse prevention initiatives (Stirling, 2008). Professionals working in school, athletic, and occupational settings can use the information in this chapter to inform their efforts to create an environment that can address bullying dynamics.

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INTRODUCTION

The dynamic of violence and bullying among male athletes is not only a relevant topic of interest in the psychological study of masculinity and sport, but this topic is also omnipresent in contemporary society. Media reports of male athletes engaging in violence often capture the attention of the viewing audience (Associated Press, 2007; Associated Press, 2012; Smith, 2014). However, these reports represent the minority experience of most athletes—the stories about the myriad of male athletes who do not engage in violent acts do not readily make the front pages. Subsequently, society is left with a skewed perspective, but the question remains: are male athletes more violent than non-athletes?

While there are more non-violent male athletes than violent male athletes, there is some evidence to suggest that male athletes might be more likely to engage in violent acts in relation to men who don't play organized sports (Kreager, 2007; Messner, and Sabo, 1994; Mutz, 2012). Mutz (2012) found that, when compared to their non-athlete male peers, male adolescents in certain sports (i.e., combat sports, bodybuilding activities) engaged in more physically violent acts and more readily endorsed violence beliefs. Specifically, Kreager (2007) reported that male athletes who participate in contact sports (e.g., football, wrestling) were more likely to engage in violent acts, with high school football players being 40% more likely to get in a serious fight when compared to their non-athlete peers. In sum, Kreager purported that there exists, “a continuum of physical contact and masculinity whereby highly masculinized contact sports increase the risks of violence” (2007, p. 717).

While these studies do not present a definitive answer to the original question (are male athletes more violent than non-athletes?), they do raise a related sub-question: Are boys who participate in certain sports being taught to be violent (e.g., Kotler, 2008)? However, this is a nuanced and complicated issue that requires critical thought and examination. Rather than arrive at the oversimplified (and potentially inaccurate) explanation that sports like football make boys more violent, a critical analysis of this issue should be guided by multiple perspectives, most notably the notion of a) instrumental aggression and b) self-selection.

In and of itself, football is a place where young boys are socialized to learn values and behaviors (e.g., competition, toughness, winning-at-all costs) that are considered to be socially desirable aspects of masculinity (Messner, 1996; Steinfeldt and Steinfeldt, 2012). Specifically, contact sports like football encourage and teach instrumental aggression, which allows for a functional need for aggression and even violence to facilitate success on the football field (Messner, 1990, 2002). A football player must hit, dominate, and overpower his opponent in order to be successful. If he does not, that player will be overpowered, hit, and dominated.

As a result, violence can be conceptualized as something that exists within the rules and nature of a sport like football, and boys and young men are rewarded for their successful engagement with functional aggression and violence on the field of play. However, “Reinforcement of masculine gender norms through strict football rituals in team practice creates a behavioral repertoire that may extend to other contexts, with gender norms also informing the interpersonal relationships that athletes form off the field” (Gage, 2008, p. 1016). Thus, it is imperative to teach football players to compartmentalize their aggression and keep it on the field and “between the lines” (e.g., Steinfeldt, Foltz, et al., 2011).

Additionally, the dynamics of self-selection need to be examined in order to shed additional light on this issue, particularly in terms of directionality of influence. Instead of a simplified

explanation of “football teaches boys to be violent” there is value in exploring the types of boys that are attracted to play football. In an early examination of “non conforming males” (e.g., juvenile offenders), Donnelly (1981) identified this self-selection dynamic by concluding that certain types of boys might be drawn to contact sports. For boys who might desire activities that involve risk or other forms of physical aggression, football could provide them with the outlet to physically aggress against other boys, but in a regulated and socially desirable environment. So in sum, through a more contextual examination involving instrumental aggression and self-selection, we can arrive at a more nuanced conclusion than the thought-provoking yet misleading question, “Are sports making our children more violent?” (e.g., Kotler, 2008).

Bullying among Male Athletes

While this nuanced examination provides some contextual understanding of the issue, it doesn’t fully address the reality that some male athletes do engage in violent behaviors off the field (or what we should do about this). While getting into fights off the field is an area of concern, another subset of violence that garners considerable attention in society is bullying. And related to the perception of violent male athletes is the existence of a familiar archetype in American movies and television: the “jock bully” (e.g., Steinfeldt, LaFollette, Vaughan, and Steinfeldt, 2012). This stereotypic representation of a character is often a member of the football team who uses his social and physical influence to harass and bully other students, often peers who are not part of the popular crowd. Movies such as *Revenge of the Nerds* and *The Karate Kid* gave children of the 80s the everlasting “jock bully” images of Ogre and Stan Gable from the Adams College Atoms football team and Johnny Lawrence from the Cobra Kai. Younger folks may resonate more with the image of slushings at the hands of Azimio and Dave Karofsky from the football team in *Glee*. Regardless of preferred genre, these references all conjure up images of characters that are stereotypically represented in popular culture—the stereotype of the jock bully has become firmly entrenched in our minds.

This stereotypic image of the jock has recently emerged in academic writings. Miller (2009) attempted to distinguish the “jock” identity from “athlete” identity, two concepts which have traditionally been interpreted as interchangeable in popular culture. Miller suggested that for athletes who self-identify with this “jock” identity, the link between masculinity and sport-related identity is stronger than for those who self-identify with the “athlete” role. Furthermore, Miller hypothesized that negative behavior associated with athletic status is more commonly attributed to the “jock” identity. This behavior includes problem drinking (Miller et al., 2003), academic misconduct (Miller, Melnick et al., 2005), unsafe sex (Miller, Farrell, Barnes, Melnick, and Sabo, 2005), delinquency (Miller et al., 2007), and interpersonal violence (Miller, Melnick, Farrell, Sabo, and Barnes, 2006). Miller and Hoffman (2009) also found “jock” identity to be related to attempted suicide. Based on these findings, Miller (2009) coined the term “toxic jock” in an attempt to suggest that the strength of identification with this role impacts the athlete’s likelihood of an athlete engaging in negative health-risk behaviors.

Miller, Sabo, et al. (2006) suggested that the “jock” identity is more prominent in high-profile sports which contain some degree of structured physical violence. In such sports, masculinity is emphasized, with football being the epitomic environment for typical “jock” behavior.

Additionally, the “jock” identity was positively associated with status, perceived popularity, institutional support, and overall sport rating (Miller, 2009). Conventional masculine norms such as propensity toward violence, emphasis on risk-taking and winning, a “playboy” attitude toward sexual relationships, and interpersonal dominance were positively predicted by the strength of the “jock” identity. Finally, “jock” identity was significantly related to an ego-focused goal orientation which values the outperformance of competitors by any means possible (Miller, 2009).

Consistent with Miller’s (2009) findings linking social status with this “jock” identity, certain activities (e.g., playing high profile sports) in school settings are linked to high levels of social status (Peguro, 2008). Furthermore, most research on bullying has found that those with high status within peer groups are generally perceived to be the aggressors and bullies (Cillessen and Mayeux, 2007; Pokhrel, Sussman, Black, and Sun, 2010; Prinstein and Cillessen, 2003). Bullying is often used by individuals to either gain status and/or to intimidate others in order to maintain high status, which would explain why bullying is so easily associated with high status groups such as football players (Dijkstra, Cillessen, Lindenberg, and Veenstra, 2010; Caravita Di Blasio and Salmivalli, 2009). These associations occur even before the high school years, when sports begin to take on a greater role for their participants. In a study of adult (i.e., teachers, administrators, counselors) and student perceptions of bullying victimization in a middle school, it was found that adults and students most often identified popular students and athletes as the school bullies (Dranoff, 2008).

Although research has examined the relationship between social status in schools, athletic involvement, and bullying, there has been a dearth of research that has directly investigated specific bullying behaviors and attitudes of athletes. Steinfeldt et al. (2012) conducted a study that directly examined bullying beliefs of high school football players. The authors investigated the role of moral atmosphere (i.e., influence of teammates and their most influential male figure) and the role of adherence to male norms (e.g., *Meanings of Adolescent Masculinity*; Oransky and Fisher, 2009) in the development and potential activation of these bullying beliefs. Results indicated that an adherence to male norms and teammate influence were significantly related to bullying beliefs. The perception of the views of the players’ most influential male (e.g., father, coach, brother) was the strongest predictor of bullying among those boys who reported having engaged in bullying behaviors (after controlling for social desirability).

Beyond these findings, the results also indicated that these high school football players did not report a high degree of involvement with any of the four specific bullying behaviors (i.e., physical; verbal threat; homophobic; relational cyberbullying). In fact, the majority (85%) of high school football players in this study reported that *they have never* (69%) or that *they have rarely* (16%) engaged in any of the bullying behaviors (Steinfeldt et al., 2012). Thus, in spite of prevalent social stereotypes (i.e., “jock bully”), these results indicate that these high school football players do not engage in bullying behaviors at a rate consistent with these societal stereotypes.

Application of Bullying Dynamics to a Case Study

The previous pages of this chapter have been devoted to providing context and perspective on perceptions—both societal and empirical, albeit limitedly so—on the dynamic of bullying among male athletes, particularly those who play the contact sport of football. At this point, we

will provide an example that highlights some of the dynamics of bullying, while also illustrating aspects of bullying that do not fully conform with our emerging understanding of bullying among male athletes.

In 2013 the male “jock bully” stereotype was simultaneously reinforced and challenged. The events surrounding the Miami Dolphins of the NFL provided interesting perspectives on bullying, particularly from the victim’s perspective. Jonathan Martin, an offensive lineman, accused his teammate, Richie Incognito, of bullying. These two men both weigh over 300 pounds and play a physically demanding position (i.e., offensive line) in the “masculinized” (e.g., Richman and Shaffer, 2000) and often violent sport of professional football. While Incognito readily fit the social stereotype of the jock bully, Martin clearly did not fit the profile of a bullying victim: how could a 300-pound professional football player possibly be bullied? The media coverage was intense, and subsequently the incident generated an interesting public dialogue about bullying, power, masculinity, and other related issues, including conversations about “what it means to be a real man” (e.g., Fagan, 2013).

The circumstances surrounding the Martin and Incognito controversy are interesting for a number of reasons, primarily because these events occurred within a culture that exists in a football locker room that is foreign-and even antithetical-to most, if not all, other workplaces. However, a full investigation was ordered and carried out by an impartial investigator, who released the facts in a 144-page report that was filed with the NFL (Wells, Karp, Birenboim, and Brown, 2014), so we can sort through the report and attempt to interpret the situation through a psychologically-oriented lens.

As we present this case study, there are three important factors in this story that relate to relevant literature on bullying and masculinity that contributed to Martin’s withdrawal from professional football. Those factors – which will be the focus of this section – are: a) the victim (i.e., Martin); b) the bully (i.e., Incognito); and c) the social climate within the Dolphins football team and locker room.

THE VICTIM

The victim, Jonathan Martin, was a second year NFL player who was a starting offensive lineman for Miami, but after approximately a year and a half of being bullied and harassed by teammates, decided to leave the Dolphins organization and check himself into a hospital for psychological treatment in the middle of the 2013 NFL season.

Despite being a large, athletic man who successfully played the popular sport of football, Martin reported that he was bullied all through middle school and most of high school (Wells et al., 2014). Evidence has shown that even though bullying victimization decreases as children get older, being a victim of bullying can still be stable across ages for some children (Arseneault, Bowes, and Shakoor, 2009). This was true for Martin as well.

Despite always being large for his age and athletically gifted, Martin was described as being reserved, having low self-esteem, and having low levels of self-confidence, which are often characteristics of children who are bullied (Egan and Perry, 1998). Martin claims that the bullying he experienced in middle school and high school gave him trouble with social adjustment and caused self-diagnosed bouts of depression throughout his teenage and college years (Wells et al., 2014).

While playing professional football for the Dolphins, Martin was harassed primarily by three teammates: Incognito, John Jerry, and Mike Pouncey, with Incognito being the ringleader of the trio. The harassment Martin endured from his teammates came in the form of cyber bullying, verbal bullying, and even physical bullying. The content of what his teammates said and did to verbally harass him included racial slurs, derogatory language, suggestive sexual advances toward members of his family (i.e., sister, mother), homophobic remarks, and slights at Martin's masculinity (Wells et al., 2014).

A graduate of the academically prestigious Stanford University, Martin believes he was bullied because he was different from a lot of other players due to his intellectual interests (i.e., reading books) and quiet nature. This is a valid assumption given that bullying is usually more acceptable when it is directed at someone not a member of the in-group or individuals who are shy or reserved (Duffy and Nesdale, 2009; Ojala and Nesdale, 2004). Martin reported that the bullying by his teammates and his inability to make them stop eventually drove him to depression, resulting in his contemplating suicide on at least two occasions (Wells et al., 2014). Therefore, while Martin may not fit into society's perception of the typical victim of bullying, the effect bullying has had on his mental health is common for victims of bullying. All of the mental health issues Martin says he has faced due to being bullied (i.e., social anxiety, lower self-esteem, depression, hopelessness, suicidal ideation) are consistent with the psychological literature on victims of bullying (Coggan, Bennett, Hooper, and Dickinson, 2003; Dukes, Stein, and Zane, 2009; Espelage and Holt, 2001; Jankauskiene, Kardelis, Sukys, and Kardeliene, 2008; Kim and Leventhal, 2008; Storch, Bagner, Geffken, and Baumeister, 2004).

THE BULLY

We have examined the victim of this situation and now we will turn our attention to the perpetrator: Richie Incognito. According to news reports, Incognito had "run-ins with bullies as a boy" (Wells et al., 2014, p. 59). If that is accurate, Incognito could be grouped into part of a small percentage of victims of bullying who externalize problems, going on to bully others and exhibit violent behaviors later in life (Scholte, Engels, Overbeek, de Kemp, and Haselager, 2007; Arseneault et al., 2009). Previous research on adolescents has shown that those who have been both bullies and victims (a.k.a., bully-victims) exhibit much more conduct problems than either bullies or victims (Juvonen, Graham, and Schuster, 2006). This research fits the profile of Incognito who, as mentioned earlier, fits the stereotypical depiction of the "jock bully."

Before playing for the Dolphins, Incognito was a college football standout at the University of Nebraska, where he would start to develop his "bad boy" reputation. Incognito's college career was filled with behavioral problems on and off the field. Incognito fought on the field, leading to suspensions and even an ejection from a game, was charged with three accounts of assault off the field, and struggled with drug and alcohol issues (i.e., failed drug tests), which he would later admit he abused for a decade (Wells et al., 2014). After a positive drug test for marijuana use and a shoving match with a teammate in the locker room, Incognito was suspended indefinitely from Nebraska's football team. He then transferred to the University of Oregon, but was kicked off their football team after one week for violating team policies. Incognito's alcohol and drug use, conduct problems, and violence off the field were all

problems associated with being a bully, as well as pressure to conform to masculine norms (Curry, 2000; Kreager, 2007; Juvonen et al., 2006; Storch et al., 2004).

Even though Incognito may fit society's idea of what a prototypical bully is, to those in the world of professional football, his behavior can sometimes be perceived as only mildly appropriate, if at all. While football teaches instrumental aggression to succeed, Incognito has often been excessive with his aggression and unable to keep it "between the lines." Before the Dolphins, Incognito played for the St. Louis Rams for five seasons from 2005-2009. In those five seasons, he played 44 regular season games in which he committed 38 penalties, 7 of which were for unnecessary roughness. In 2009, he was deemed the "Dirtiest Player in the NFL," by *The Sporting News* (Wells et al., 2014). Incognito's anti-social behavior extended beyond the football field as well. When interacting with Martin, Incognito reported that he intentionally tried to "break" Martin through verbal harassment (i.e., racial slurs, sexual comments about his mother and sister) on a regular basis, although he claimed this was never meant to cause lasting emotional harm to Martin (Wells et al., 2014). Additionally, Martin claimed that at a Christmas party in 2012, he and Incognito were inoffensively pushing and shoving one another but it escalated quickly when Incognito took off his shirt, tackled Martin onto the sofa, and began punching him in the body and face. This incident humiliated Martin and contributed to the pattern of treatment that led to his departure (Wells et al., 2014).

In addition to being overly aggressive both on and off the field, Incognito has been described by his teammates as "inappropriate," "vulgar," "crazy," "someone who has no filter," and, "the kind of guy who has to be the alpha male" (Wells et al., 2014, p. 65). When considering self-selection dynamics in football, it seems plausible that someone like Incognito would be drawn to the sport because it provides a space where his physically aggressive behavior would be productive, his incessant taunting would be acceptable (i.e., "trash talking"), and his desire to be the alpha male would serve him well in trying to both dominate his opponents and motivate his teammates toward instrumentally aggressive behaviors that can help the team win.

So far we have focused on the characteristics of a stereotypic "jock bully" that aptly describe and fit Richie Incognito, but the flip side of that stereotype provides a question that still remains: How could another physically imposing, 300 pound man---who had also been socialized in the same context of football his whole life--also be the victim of bullying? Part of this answer resides in an analysis of relational power. When Incognito harassed Martin, he was using his relational power to his advantage, which is common in cases of bullying in any workplace (Hodson, Roscigno, and Lopez, 2006). Incognito and Mike Pouncey were regarded as the leaders of the offensive line, if not the entire offense, and even served on the Dolphins' *Leadership Council*, a group of players who serve as representatives to the head coach, Joe Philbin, despite their anti-social behaviors (Wells et al., 2014). Martin was a young player and Incognito was considered to be a superior member of the team to him due to his appointed leadership status. Additionally, there was an incident in which Martin got in a fight with a Dolphins defensive lineman and Incognito came to his defense (Wells et al., 2014). These circumstances placed Incognito in a more powerful position than Martin, leaving Martin to be more vulnerable to bullying. Furthermore, there was a lack of visibility of Incognito's bullying behavior to many of the staff members in the Dolphins organization, and this lack of visibility helps allow bullying behaviors to occur relatively unfettered in the workplace (Hodson et al., 2006).

SOCIAL CLIMATE

An NFL locker room is a workplace, albeit a workplace unlike any other professional venue. Like many other football teams, the Dolphins have a unique locker room culture that is insulated from certain social controls and pressures, which allows for antisocial behavior to occur that would not be allowed elsewhere (Messner, 2002; Wells et al., 2014). While Incognito and other linemen on the Dolphins have acknowledged that their behavior towards Martin and others was harsh (and unacceptable in other places in society), they considered it to be a part of joking and bonding that comes with being on a football team. This aligns with previous research that bullying behavior increases when it is endorsed by group norms and is more acceptable in places where there exists a climate of low level of moral functioning (Duffy and Nesdale, 2009; Gini, 2008; Ojala and Nesdale, 2004; Steinfeldt et al., 2012).

In regard to this climate of low moral functioning, one of the coaches of the Dolphins was reported to have joined players in making homophobic jokes toward another teammate ("Player A" as he is listed in the report; Wells et al., 2014). As mentioned earlier, research has shown that the strongest predictor for bullying behaviors among football players is their perception of whether the most influential male figure in their life (e.g., father, coach) would approve of this bullying behavior (Steinfeldt et al., 2012). These men have been socialized in the culture of football where players respect coaches and even revere them in their position of authority. Therefore, it is likely that the coach's participation in this bullying facilitated and enabled the maintenance of an environment that endorsed norms that allowed bullying behaviors.

Additionally, there existed an accepted cultural norm amongst the Dolphins players for "no snitching." This rule was especially important to the offensive linemen who had a "Judas" code, introduced by the coach who also joined in on the homophobic bullying behaviors. The "Judas" code was created for film sessions to prevent linemen from "snitching" on other linemen. If a lineman missed an assignment and was criticized during a film session by this coach, but then pointed out that the botched play or missed assignment was another lineman's fault, then he would be labeled a "Judas" and have a fine imposed on him by another teammate. With this in mind, Martin refused to seek help out of fear for being labeled a "Judas," (Wells et al., 2014).

The reaction by players to the Martin case was interesting--in fact, many players defended Incognito and chided Martin for not having thick enough skin. Martin violated a code of the locker room by snitching and "not taking care of his business." However, after Martin left the team midseason, several players have since admitted that Incognito's behavior toward Martin and even other players was inappropriate.

One player confided that most players did not intervene when Incognito bullied and harassed Martin or others because they did not want to become the target of harassment themselves. Even Martin participated in making homophobic jokes about another player ("Player A") with Incognito (Wells et al., 2014), likely in an attempt to align with the bully and deflect the harassment that was usually directed his way. This lack of intervention by the other players is consistent with findings in the psychological literature that suggests boys will tease and even bully other boys in order to avoid being victimized themselves (Steinfeldt et al., 2012). Although the verbal abuse that Martin endured was considered to be normal by many Dolphins players, these behaviors were in direct violation of the team's formal anti-harassment policies. In 2013, prior to Martin's departure, the Dolphins players were given a workplace conduct policy that strictly prohibits the type of behavior that occurred.

Additionally, Coach Philbin publicly strived to promote integrity within the Dolphins organization and was found to be completely unaware of either Incognito's behavior or Martin's mental health ailments (Wells et al., 2014). However, consistent with culture of football locker rooms and traditional norms of hegemonic masculinity (e.g., Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005), this bullying behavior (e.g., homophobic slurs, insinuation of having sex with one's mother or sister, chiding one's manhood) can be inappropriately dismissed as "boys just being boys," particularly within the context of a football locker room, a dismissal that can allow bullying behaviors to flourish.

CONCLUSION

In spite of societal misperceptions that a 300-pound male professional football player should be immune to bullying, research has shown that there is almost no demographic which can completely shield someone from becoming a victim of bullying (Dane-Staples, Lieberman, Ratcliff, and Rounds, 2013). Although Martin would have been justified in seeking help, the culture of the Dolphins football team led him to believe that he would be wrong in doing so. Players should not be discouraged to seek professional help when it is needed because, "even the largest, strongest and fleetest person may be driven to despair by bullying, taunting and constant insults," (Wells et al., 2014, p. 140). This incident shows the importance of regulating what is acceptable behavior in a school, locker room, or workplace. Many teams purport to promote a healthy locker room culture, but the regulation of a football locker room is often considered to be the responsibility of the players, which can present a conflict of interest when the bully is in charge.

In sum, if bullying is considered to be, "behavior that is intended to inflict harm or stress, occurs repeatedly over a period time, and involves an inequity of strength or power," (Steinfeldt, LaFollette et al., 2012, p. 341) then it becomes clear that this situation represents an interesting example of bullying. Incognito claims he never intended to cause Martin harm, yet intent does not always equal outcome. Given the unique nature of the football locker room, was this simply a part of football culture that Martin was unable to cope with? Wells et al. (2014) ultimately decided that Incognito's friendship with Martin and the culture of the Dolphins football team did not excuse the harassment directed at Martin. This was a case of bullying, even if the victim is as atypical as the perpetrator is typical, and all of this occurred in an environment (i.e., football locker room) that can be conceptualized as a breeding ground for potential bullying behaviors.

Future Research Implications

One of the conclusions of the Wells Report (Wells et al., 2014) was that bullying is an omnipresent problem that transcends athletic environments across the high school, college, and professional domains. Researchers and clinicians need to recognize that even NFL-caliber 300-pound seemingly superhuman athletes are still people who can be deeply affected by bullying, taunting, and insults. For this and many other reasons, a culture of respect must be promoted and enforced within the professional sport workplace. This includes establishing guidelines,

rules, and consequences for bullying behaviors, just as it is expected in non-sport workplace and personal contexts. The culture of the player-regulated locker room needs to be addressed and incorporated into this process.

Furthermore, a holistic perspective of the athlete as a human being who also happens to be a contact sport participant (e.g., football player) may help to dispel the notion that bullying or violence is more acceptable or even condonable in sport. Beyond this perspective, there are a number of research questions that need to be addressed concerning bullying and violence among male athletes, particularly those who play contact sports.

Mutz (2012) found that different types of sports have differing impacts on pro-social or antisocial outcomes in youth sport participants, in relation to sport involvement and the approval and use of violence. More research regarding this relationship is needed, as the literature in this area is sparse. Although research has found that boys do not have a tendency to act aggressively prior to practicing combat sports (Endresen and Olweus, 2005; Reynes and Lorant, 2001), more research should be conducted to examine whether a predisposition to violence prompts engagement in combat sports, or whether combat sports initiate and foster aggression, leading to violent behavior. Mutz (2012) also suggests that future studies in violence in combat sports should examine the subtle differences among sports disciplines (e.g., karate vs. boxing). Moral climate and moral expectations of coaches are also worth examining in relation to aggressive and violent behaviors and attitudes (e.g., Steinfeldt et al., 2012).

As we have discussed, violence and bullying is commonly associated with contact sports such as football. When the aggressive behavior that is often praised in sport performance transcends the boundaries of the playing field (Gage, 2008), measures must be taken to prevent and address this transfer when it occurs. While Steinfeldt, Foltz, et al. (2011) highlight the importance of teaching football players to compartmentalize their aggression, Stirling (2008) suggests that future research focus on the implementation of violence and abuse prevention initiatives in order to assess their effectiveness. This includes identifying the nature of the problem, clarifying risk and protective factors, designing and testing interventions, conducting clinical trials to evaluate the interventions, and facilitation of implementation on the grand scale (Stirling, 2008). Stirling also calls for the examination of how maltreatments occur, as well as the short-term and long-term effects on the athlete's personal and professional well-being. Specifically, the varying types of maltreatment (e.g., hazing, verbal abuse, physical abuse) should be explored comparatively and longitudinally, and in relation to prevention and intervention initiatives. The maltreatment experiences of athletes should be examined within a broader research perspective (Shannon, 2013; Stirling, 2008). Identifying risk and resiliency factors would also be valuable to the literature in this area, as specifically related to age, race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, disability, sport type, career stage, period of competitive season, and level of competition (Messner, 1990). Additionally, Stirling (2008) asks that relationships among coaches, parents, and teammates be examined in relation to the athlete's vulnerability to maltreatment. Such relationships have been found to be influential in the endorsement of group norms and the level of moral atmosphere, i.e., whether or not bullying behavior is acceptable on and off the field (Duffy and Nesdale, 2009; Gini, 2008; Ojala and Nesdale, 2004; Steinfeldt et al., 2012).

In the broader context of bullying in schools, Shannon (2013) suggested that the knowledge on bullying behavior in respective social worlds (e.g., extracurricular activities such as sport) would be benefited by interviewing youths regarding their perceptions and experiences of bullying behavior. This could also lead to the development of structural preventative bullying

measures in youth sport, depending on the wealth of support. Concurrently, the perceived systemic and organizational barriers to addressing bullying would add to the literature and clinical implications for prevention. Steinfeldt et al. (2012) suggest that future research is needed to explore bullying dynamics specifically in the sport environment, in order to connect their findings with previous bullying literature. The relationship between bullying and social teasing is also worth investigating. As seen in the Martin case, many players accused him of not having “thick enough skin.” Other players confessed that they didn’t want to defend Martin when he was being bullied because they didn’t want to become the target of the teasing (Wells et al., 2014).

More research is needed to determine what drives bullying behavior and social compliance. Findings have linked having a high status within peer groups to aggression and bullying (Cillessen and Mayeux, 2007; Pokhrel, Sussman, Black and Sun, 2010; Prinstein and Cillessen, 2003). Furthermore, bullying may be a means to maintain this status, which may be why it shows up traditionally high status groups such as football players (Dijkstra, Cillessen, Lindenberg, and Veenstra, 2010; Caravita Di Blasio, and Salmivalli, 2009). This may be one area of exploration for future research. Aligning with this “jock” identity, Miller (2007) suggests that future longitudinal research is needed to examine the relationships between sport-related identity and variables such as masculine norms and goal orientation.

While Miller and Hoffman (2009) reported a correlation between athletic involvement and risk for suicidality, future research should seek to further tease out this relationship, as more empirical support is needed to make such conclusions. In line with the findings of Miller and Hoffman (2009), future research should combine both quantitative and qualitative analyses of sport-related identities, so as to harness their complexities and variation. Overall, there are substantial areas for growth in bullying research, especially as it relates to athletics and specifically to combat sports such as football. Focusing efforts on testing the effectiveness of prevention and intervention strategies, while further clarifying the factors that contribute to bullying, would be valuable in increasing the literature base in this area.

Future Clinical Implications

In addition to the recommendations for future research, it is also important to consider the clinical implications pertaining to the current literature in bullying in sport. Stirling (2008) proposes a model for the implementation of prevention and intervention initiatives aimed at advocacy, policy, education and research. The importance of empirical support for these types of initiatives is stressed throughout the literature. This includes pilot testing of established interventions as well as evaluation of their effectiveness over time.

Mutz (2012) also stresses the importance of concept education and evaluation of implementation programs for bullying prevention within sports contexts. He purports that identification of the specific factors that make these types of programs successful is essential to the development of effective clinical implementation. Particularly, Mutz mentions that coaches should not promote a “win at all costs” mentality, but rather emphasize respect, fairness, discipline, and team spirit both on and off the playing field, as to counter a possible ego-focused goal orientation. Team morals and values are often influential in sport-related identification, behavior, and attitude. Mutz suggests that the education, implementation, and practice of these values are even more important within combat sport contexts, which contain

an emphasis on physical supremacy and should be accompanied by a high level of self-control (Mutz, 2012).

In further reference to the implementation of anti-bullying programs, Shannon (2013) suggests that the development of a clear statement of an organization's commitment to a safe and positive sport environment is the first step to bullying prevention. Furthermore, policies for both prevention and response to bullying incidents should be established from the get-go. Situational factors in which the likelihood for bullying may be increased must be identified within the respected organizational context. Shannon also states that staff should be educated on the topic of bullying, including prevention methods and how to recognize its occurrence. Closing the gap between bullying prevention and intervention in schools vs. sport environments would also be helpful in reducing the occurrence of incidents in either context. This requires communication, organization, and implementation of appropriate procedures in both systems, as well as consistency in terms of expectations, response, and consequences for bullying behavior. Climates that support and encourage positive peer relationships are most beneficial for bullying prevention (Shannon, 2013).

In addition to the organizational aspects of bullying prevention, it is also important to consider the factors at play for the victims themselves. Stafford, Alexander, and Fry (2013) reported that children were unlikely to speak up to adults regarding issues affecting their physical safety and well-being in the sport context. This stresses the need for athletes' input when planning and implementing bullying education, prevention, and intervention programs. Stafford et al. also place responsibility with the coaches for creating and modeling an atmosphere of positive behavior. We currently live in a society which commonly practices and condones aggressive verbal and/or physical coaching methods; this plays a role in the prevalence and permission of violence and aggression among players. It is worth examining the coaches' attitudes and behaviors toward these types of behaviors in depth, in order to determine how much their influence contributes to bullying incidents. It is likely that a coach may be the most influential male in a young [male] athlete's life, a role which has been shown to be the strongest predictor of immoral attitude and behavior (Steinfeldt et al., 2012).

The environmental, social, and cultural factors surrounding bullying behavior should also be taken into consideration for clinical application. Messner (1990) suggested that poor, ethnic minority males are most likely to be disproportionately directed into sports careers due to poverty, institutionalized racism, and scarcity of other career options. Messner stated that due to these issues, athletes with these types of demographic characteristics are more likely to place a higher value on their athletic identity, whereas privileged white males participate in sport primarily for status and are less likely to persist to high-level competition. While this relationship may have shifted in the past two and a half decades, the role of socio, cultural, and economic factors in sport transcends various issues and should be examined in relation to bullying as well. A multicultural approach should be considered for future clinical prevention and intervention of bullying in sport.

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Chapter 54

CYBERBULLYING: BULLYING GONE DIGITAL

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ABSTRACT

Youths in the 21st century are raised in a digital world where blogs, social networking sites, and instant messaging are part of their everyday life. These youths have been immersed in a digital world for as long as they can remember. As a result of this immersion, youths are at risk for cyberbullying, which has increased in intensity over the years.

Cyberbullying has become a major focus of not only youths, educators, and researchers, but also among the general population, due to high profile cases of cyberbullying victimization involving suicide. This chapter drew on literature utilizing cross-sectional, longitudinal, qualitative, and quantitative research methodologies to describe cyberbullying.

The chapter provided an overview of cyberbullying, including the tools, technologies, and forms, along with the prevalence rates, correlates, and the emotional and behavioral consequences. *Also discussed are the cultural differences in these behaviors, and theoretical underpinnings.* The chapter concluded with recommendations for future research and public policy.

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CYBERBULLYING: BULLYING GONE DIGITAL

Millions of children and adolescents utilize electronic technologies (e.g., cell phones, the Internet) everyday, engaging in many different behaviors (Madden, Lenhart, Duggan, Cortesi, and Gasser, 2013). Although their usage of such technologies has many benefits (e.g., fast communication with friends and family, access to an array of rich information), there is also a darker side to youths' electronic interactions: Cyberbullying. An extension of traditional bullying, cyberbullying is a form of bullying which takes place by means of electronic technologies, such as email, instant messaging, Facebook, and text messaging through mobile devices (Cost, 2012; Olweus, 1999). Due to the ability to remain anonymous, the cyber context offers flexibility to cyberbullies, allowing them to harm their potential victims without the constraints and many of the repercussions associated with traditional face-to-face bullying. Cyberbullies can also target the victim or victims quicker, more often, and involve multiple bystanders in the bullying situation. For example, an embarrassing video of a victim or victims can be shared quickly by sending it to multiple recipients, who can also share the video as well.

Drawing on research from a variety of disciplines, such as psychology, education, social work, sociology, and computer science, this chapter is organized into nine sections. These sections include:

- A review of case studies involving cyberbullying victimization is given in the first section.
- Definitions, technologies used, the role of anonymity, and prevalence rates of cyberbullying are described in the second section.
- In the third section, the characteristics and risk factors associated with cyberbullying involvement are discussed.
- The fourth section detailed the relationship between parents and cyberbullying involvement.
- In this section, the roles of peers and school in youths' cyberbullying involvement are explained.
- The sixth section reviews research findings on the psychological and behavioral consequences resulting from cyberbullying involvement.
- Cross-cultural differences in cyberbullying are discussed in the seventh section.
- In the eighth section, two theories, social cognitive theory and online disinhibition effect, are applied to cyberbullying.
- Concluding the chapter is a discussion of future research and public policy recommendations.

CASE STUDIES OF CYBERBULLYING VICTIMIZATION

At 6 p.m., October 10, 2012, fifteen-year-old Amanda Todd hung herself in her Port Coquitlam, British Columbia, Canada home only five weeks after she posted a gripping video on YouTube which detailed how she was harassed and bullied online for years. The video she posted was entitled, "My Story: Struggling, bullying, suicide and self harm." The video described Amanda's story on a series of flash cards. While she was in 7th Grade, Amanda had

an online video conversation with an unknown person. In the course of their conversation, Amanda was asked to flash her naked breasts, which she did. A year later, she was contacted by the person who threatened to post her pictures on the Internet if she didn't provide more naked content. She refused and subsequently had her pictures posted to family and friends alike. She became depressed and anxious, turning to alcohol and drugs in order to cope with this situation. Despite switching schools, the cyberbullying followed her. A Facebook page of her with the picture of her breasts as the profile picture was created. Her schoolmates began to make fun of her, calling her names. She started cutting herself. She moved to yet another school. She made friends but unknowingly began dating a boy who already had a girlfriend. The girlfriend attacked her; the incident was filmed and posted online. Despondent, Amanda tried to kill herself by drinking bleach. She was rushed to the hospital and survived but in the end, the abuse was too much, so she hung herself (Pendergrass and Wright, in press).

On December 9, 2012, sixteen year old Fivay High School student from Hudson, Florida, Jessica Laney, hung herself. Her friends told the authorities that she became suicidal after being cyberbullied and abused through the anonymous Latvian question and answer website "Ask.fm." While Laney's Ask.fm account page, Jessicamarieeee1, had its fair share of innocent and friendly comments, there were also a number of posts telling her how fat she was and what a loser she was.

Classmates of 16-year-old Jessica Laney say she was pretty and bubbly. Still, cruel comments could be found on her Ask.fm webpage. "Nobody even cares about you," reads one anonymous post. "Can you just kill yourself," says another. Close friends Cheyenne Ellsmore and Lisa Arthur say people would post the mean messages anonymously. "You get compliments sometimes but it's those negative comments that bring you down," Ellsmore said. "There's just things you should say and things you shouldn't," said Arthur. "And on Ask.fm, none of that should be said." The girls believe the comments got to be too much for Laney, who took her own life Sunday night. (McVey, 2012)

Rehtaeh Parsons, a seventeen-year-old Cole Harbour District High School student, attempted suicide by hanging on April 4, 2013, in her home in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, Canada. She did not succeed which led to a coma and brain death. Three days later her family made the decision to take her off life support; she died that day. Back in November of 2011, Rehtaeh was at a small gathering of friends when she was unbeknownst photographed while having sex with (her mother called it rape) one of the boys. After that, the bullying and harassment began unabated. Her mother, Leah Parsons said, "She was never left alone. She had to leave the community. Her friends turned against her. People harassed her. Boys she didn't know started texting her and Facebooking her asking her to have sex with them. It just never stopped" (The Huffington Post, 2013). The family moved to nearby Halifax but the cyberbullying did not stop. Rehtaeh began to suffer from depression and anger, and at one time had to be admitted to a hospital on fears that she would harm herself. After her death, a year-long investigation by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police concluded that there was not enough evidence to charge and convict any of the boys with rape (Pendergrass and Wright, in press).

On September 9, 2013, Rebecca Ann Sedwick, a twelve year old Crystal Lake Middle School student, leaped to her death at a cement factory less than a mile from her home in Lakeland, Florida. She had been the victim of cyberbullying for months. Rebecca had been reported missing about 7 p.m. Monday by her mother after she failed to return home from school that day. After an investigation, two girls were arrested, part of a group of 15 girls who

were accused of tormenting Rebecca until she took her own life. The arrests came after one of the two girls tweeted “Yes IK [I know] I bullied REBECCA nd [sic] she killed her self [sic] but IDGAF [I don't give a fuck]” (Quigley and Gorman, 2013). The torment began after one of the girls began dating a boy whom Rebecca had dated earlier. She eventually turned the other girl, formerly a good friend of Rebecca’s, against Rebecca.

Witnesses told investigators she sent messages to Rebecca, calling her ugly, telling her to “drink bleach and die,” and encouraging her to kill herself. Rebecca's computer searches revealed she had searched for ways to commit suicide and asked questions like, “What is overweight for a 13-year-old girl?” One of the Florida girl's screensavers also showed Rebecca with her head resting on a railroad track. Rebecca changed one of her online screen names to “That Dead Girl.” Later, she messaged a boy: “I'm jumping.” Polk County Sheriff Judd said Rebecca had been “absolutely terrorized” by the other girls. “We can see from what we've been investigating so far that Rebecca wasn't attacking back,” Judd said. “She appeared to be beat down. She appeared to have a defeatist attitude. And quite frankly, the entire investigation is exceptionally disturbing”. (Quigley et al., 2013)

Even when Rebecca’s mother transferred her to another school, the bullying continued online. In December of 2012, Rebecca was hospitalized for three days after cutting her wrists, noting that it was because of bullying.

“She put on a perfect, happy face. She never told me,” said her mother, Tricia Norman. “I never had a clue. I mean, she told me last year when she was being bullied, but not this year, and I have no idea why.” Once police checked [Rebecca’s] cell phone they discovered that the bullying had not stopped, especially on Kik Messenger, Instagram and Ask.fm. “They would tell her she's ugly, stupid, nobody liked her, go kill herself,” Ms. Norman said. (Quigley et al., 2013)

All these recent cases of cyberbullying which led to suicide raise the questions: what actually is cyberbullying, how do we define it, how do we recognize it, how do we protect against it and how do we educate those who we count on to protect youths? With the exponential prevalence of personal contact and communication devices in society nowadays, we cannot afford to ignore the danger of an increasingly interconnected and interdependent societal shift from the days of the schoolyard bully to the now ever-prevalent and unshakable cyberbully. Youth deserve to be protected, parents and teachers deserve to understand the threat, and our society needs to embrace the fact that electronic communication has become important to youths’ lives, if not more important, than personal interactions.

WHAT IS CYBERBULLYING?

Defined as youths’ usage of modern technologies to deliberately embarrass or intimate others in a repetitive and hostile manner, cyberbullying, like traditional face-to-face bullying, is also characterized by an imbalance of power between the bully and the victim (Ferdon and Hertz, 2007; Kowalski and Limber, 2007; Topcu, Erdur-Backer, and Aydin, 2008; Wolak, Mitchell, and Finkelhor, 2007; Ybarra, West, and Leaf, 2007). As deliberate behaviors, cyberbullying behaviors are intentionally carried out by perpetrators with malicious intent (Grigg, 2010). When cyberbullying involves repetition, it can mean that the perpetrator targets

the victim multiple times and that the humiliating video or nasty text message can be viewed and shared by various bystanders (Vandebosch and Van Cleemput, 2008). As an extension of the traditional face-to-face bullying definition (Olweus, 1999), the definition of cyberbullying adds a technological component. In traditional face-to-face bullying, a bully might punch, kick, or spread a rumor about the victim. Separate from this type of bullying, cyberbullying involves a bully sending unkind text messages and emails, sharing secrets about the victim by posting or sending the secret to someone else, or uploading an embarrassing picture or video of the victim with malicious intent.

There are various examples of cyberbullying behaviors. Some behaviors include making anonymous phone calls, sending abusive emails, theft of identity information or pretending to be someone else, and harassment via instant messenger, social networking sites, and text messages (Wolak et al., 2007; Wright and Li, 2012; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004). Other cyberbullying behaviors are similar to face-to-face bullying behaviors but they are carried out in the cyber context, including harassment, insults, physical threats, social exclusion, and humiliation (Chisholm, 2006). Extending these behaviors, Rideout and colleagues (2005) also described cyberbullying as encompassing the distribution of explicit videos via various websites, such as social networking sites and online gaming sites. Other forms of cyberbullying behaviors include happy slapping and flaming (Gillepsi, 2006; Smith et al., 2008). In recent research, Arslan et al. (2012) found that the most frequently used technologies to harm others were instant messaging tools and social networking sites (e.g., Facebook, Twitter), which were reported by over half of their sample.

To understand why youths might engage in cyberbullying, some researchers have explained that new technologies allow bullies to hide their identities, which could exacerbate the power differential between the bully and the victim (Wright, 2013; Ybarra et al., 2007). Furthermore, these new technologies allow the bully to engage in repeated and prolonged harassment, while remaining anonymous (Maher, 2004; Wolak et al., 2007; Wright, 2014a; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004). Therefore, it is not surprising that many youths who engage in cyberbullying choose to remain anonymous while executing their attack (Dehue, Bolman, and Vollink, 2008; Kowalski and Limber, 2007; Wright, 2014a; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004). The proposal that anonymity is a motivator for cyberbullying is corroborated by research indicating that many cyberbullying victims are often unsure of the identity of the cyberbully (Kowalski and Limber, 2007; Ybarra et al., 2007). The majority of victims, around 80%, in one study were unaware of the identity of the cyberbully (Arslan et al., 2012). The ability to remain anonymous in the cyber context represents an imbalance of power between the victim and the anonymous perpetrator (Vandebosch and Van Cleemput, 2008; Grigg, 2012). Research (e.g., Moore, Nakano, Enomoto, and Suda, 2012) demonstrates that the ability to post anonymously in forums triggers more cyberbullying attacks than less anonymous forums. In recent research, Wright (2013; 2014a) found that feeling more confident with one's ability to remain anonymous in the cyber context was related positively to cyberbullying, especially cyberbullying perpetrated anonymously. Not only is anonymity an issue because it might drive youths toward cyberbullying, but it also intensifies victims' negative feelings, leading to powerlessness (Dooley, Pyzalski, and Cross, 2009; Nocentini, Galmaestra, and Schultze-Krumbholz, 2010; Slonje and Smith, 2008; Vandebosch and Cleemput, 2008; Smith et al., 2008).

Despite the differences in the prevalence rates of cyberbullying, generally due to variations in samples and measurement techniques, understanding how frequently youths are involved in

these behaviors is helpful for prevention efforts. One of the earliest studies of cyberbullying in the United States reported that 50% of youths in their sample experienced these behaviors as victims (Wolak et al., 2007). Other studies have found lower rates of cyberbullying involvement in the United States. For example, using a sample of 3,767 middle school students (aged 11-14), Kowalski and Limber (2007) found that 11% had been cyberbullied, 4% had bullied other youths, and 7% were cyberbullies and cyber-victims. Similar estimates concerning the perpetration of cyberbullying were found by Patchin and Hinduja (2006). They found that 29% of their sample reported cyber victimization and that 47% had witnessed cyberbullying. Among youths in Hawaii (N = 677, grades 9-12th), 56.1% reported that they were the victims of cyberbullying (Goebert, Else, Matsu, Chung-Do, and Chang, 2011). In more recent research in the United States, Hinduja and Patchin (2013) found that 4.9% of youths in their sample (N = 4,441, 6-12th grade) had cyberbullied someone in the past 30 days. Utilizing a sample of 1,972 Canadian youths (10th graders), Cappadocia et al. (2013) reported that 2.1% of youths were cyberbullying perpetrators, 1.9% were cyber-victims, and 0.6% were both cyberbullies and cyber-victims. Rates of cyberbullying perpetration and victimization were slightly higher among 399 Canadian youths (grades 8-10th), with 6% reporting that they were perpetrators, 5.8% as victims only, and 5% as cyberbullies and cyber-victims (Bonanno and Hymel, 2013).

Cyberbullying is not a phenomenon linked to only one country, but instead a global concern. Therefore, researchers have directed their attention to cyberbullying involvement in countries, other than the United States and Canada. Drawing on a large Swedish sample (N = 22,544, ages 15-18), Laftman, Modin, and Ostberg, (2013) reported that 5% of their sample were victims of cyberbullying, 4% were perpetrators, and 2% were both cyberbullies and cyber-victims. In a younger sample of 7th through 9th grade Swedish youths, 1.9% were cyber-victims, 2.9% were cyberbullies, and 0.6% were cyberbullies and cyber-victims (Beckman, Hagquist, and Hellstrom, 2012). Similar rates of cyber victimization (6% for Ireland, 6.3% for Belgian, and 4.5% for Australia) were found among Irish (N = 876, ages 12-17; Corcoran, Connolly, and O'Moore, 2012), Belgian (N = 1,042, M age = 15.47; Heirman and Walrave, 2012), and Australian (N = 3,112, grades 6-12th; Campbell, Spears, Slee, Butler, and Kift, 2012) youths. However, rates of cyber victimization were higher (12.5%) among Italian youths (N = 2,326, M age = 13.9 years; Brighi, Guarini, Melotti, Galli, and Genta, 2012). Among German youths (N = 276, ages 13-19 years), 13% were classified as cyberbullies and 11% as cyber-victims (Festl, Scharkow, and Quandt, 2013). In Turkey, estimates of cyberbullying victimization vary from 18% (N= 756, 7th graders; Yilmaz, 2011) to 32% (N= 276, ages 14-18; Erdur-Baker 2010). The rates of being a perpetrator of cyberbullying are 6% (Yilmaz, 2011) to 19% (ages 12-14 year olds; Ayas and Horzum, 2012) among youths in Turkey. In another study, Aricak and colleagues (2008) found that 36% of their sample (N = 269, Turkish secondary school students) were cyberbullies. Although higher than cyber victimization rates from some European countries, but not as high as those in Turkey, Olenik-Shemesh and colleagues (2012) found that 16.5% of their Israeli participants (N = 242, 13-16 years old) were victims of cyberbullying. Lazuras et al. (2013) investigated rates of cyberbullying involvement as witnesses or victims of cyberbullying. Their findings revealed that 32.4% of the sample (N = 355, 13-17 years old) were involved in cyberbullying as victims or bystanders. Cyber victimization (24.9%) rates were comparable among Spanish youths (N = 845, M age = 15.2 years; Gamez-Guadiz, Orue, Smith, and Calvete, 2013).

Research on cyberbullying perpetration and victimization has been slower to develop in Asia. Among Taiwanese (N = 545) youths, 63.4% witnessed cyberbullying, 34.9% were cyberbullied, and 20.4% had cyberbullied others (Huang and Chou, 2010). In Korea, 43% of youths in one sample (N = 3,238, 8th graders) reported that they were involved in cyberbullying either as victims or perpetrators (Jang, Song, and Kim, 2014). Rates of cyberbullying perpetration and victimization were similar in China, with 34.8% of youths admitting that they had cyberbullied someone and 56.9% indicating that they were cyberbullied (N = 1,438 high school students; Zhou, Tang, Tian, Wei, Zhang, and Morrison, 2013). Another study focused on cyberbullying through Facebook among 1,676 13-17 year olds in Singapore (Kwan and Skoric, 2013). Of these youths, 59.4% reported that they experienced victimization through Facebook and 56.9% perpetrated Facebook cyberbullying. In a recent study, Wong and colleagues (2014) found that 13.1% of youths in their sample (N = 1,912, 12-15 year olds) reported cyberbullying perpetration and 12.2% indicated cyber victimization. Considering rates of cyberbullying around the world, there is further need to continue investigating cyberbullying among youths, and understanding risk factors associated with the involvement in these behaviors.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CYBERBULLIES AND CYBER-VICTIMS

Researchers have focused their attention on the risk factors associated with youths' involvement in cyberbullying as perpetrators, victims, and bully-victims. Demographic variables represent the first cluster of risk factors examined in this research. One highly researched risk factor is age. In this research, younger youths were at a greater risk of being cyberbullied, whereas older youths were most frequently the perpetrators of cyberbullying (Ayas and Horzum, 2012). In addition, Williams and Guerra (2007) found that physical forms of bullying and cyberbullying peaked in middle school, but declined in high school. However, age is not a consistent predictor of cyberbullying involvement as Wade and Beran (2011) found that being in the 9th grade increased the risk of cyber victimization and cyberbullying perpetration in comparison to when the youths were in middle school. Like age, gender is also an inconsistent predictor of cyberbullying involvement. Some researchers (Li, 2007; Ybarra et al., 2007) have found that boys were more often the perpetrators of cyberbullying in comparison to girls and that girls experienced cyber victimization more frequently than boys (Hinduja and Patchin, 2007; Kowalski and Limber, 2007). On the other hand, other research has indicated that girls engaged in more cyberbullying perpetration when compared to boys (e.g., Dehue et al., 2008; Pornari and Wood, 2010) and that boys reported higher rates of cyber victimization than girls (e.g., Akbulut, Sahih, and Eristi, 2010; Erdur-Baker, 2010; Huang and Chou, 2010). Yet, other researchers have found no gender differences in cyberbullying involvement (Beran and Li, 2005; Wright and Li, 2013b).

Other frequently researched risk factors include both traditional face-to-face bullying and victimization. Various research studies find significant positive relationships between cyberbullying and traditional face-to-face bullying as well as associations between cyber victimization and victimization by face-to-face bullying (Cappadocia et al., 2013; Mitchell et al., 2007; Steffgen, Kong, Pfetsch, and Melzer, 2011; Fanti, Demetriou, and Hawa, 2012). Face-to-face bullying victimization is also a risk factor for victims and perpetrators of cyberbullying

(Wright and Li, 2012). Another risk factor associated with cyberbullying includes frequent Internet use. In particular, higher rates of Internet usage are associated positively with both cyberbullying perpetration and victimization (Arıcak et al., 2008; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004). Cyber-victims report higher rates of chatting, emailing, blogging, gaming, and sending instant messages when compared to non-victims (Smith et al., 2008; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004). A potential explanation for the relationship between Internet usage and cyberbullying involvement is that the disclosure of personal information worsens online risks, like cyberbullying (Ybarra et al., 2007). Therefore, frequent Internet usage might increase youths' willingness to disclosure personal information online, marking them more vulnerable to victimization. There is research evidence that psychosocial adjustment difficulties are also cyberbullying risk factors. Internalizing problems, such as depressive symptoms, place youths at risk for cyber victimization as such problems might make victims more vulnerable to attacks (Cappadocia et al., 2013; Mitchell et al., 2007; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004). Externalizing problems, like alcohol use, are related positively to cyberbullying perpetration (Cappadocia et al., 2013). In addition, higher normative beliefs about face-to-face bullying and cyberbullying are linked to cyberbullying perpetration (Ang, Tan, and Mansor, 2010; Burton, Florell, and Wygant, 2013; Wright and Li, 2013a), indicating that cyberbullies view bullying behaviors as normative. Also, lower levels of provictim attitudes (i.e., children's beliefs that bullying is unacceptable, and defending victims is valued) were related to greater cyberbullying (Elledge, Williford, Boulton, DePaolis, Little, and Salmivalli, 2013). Research also indicates that low self-control (Jang et al., 2014), less empathy (Steffgen et al., 2011), and moral disengagement (Lazuras et al., 2013; Robson and Witenberg, 2013) were associated with cyberbullying perpetration. In one study aimed at understanding the longitudinal risk factors associated with cyberbullying involvement, Fanti et al. (2012) found that media violence exposure, and callous and unemotional traits assessed predicted cyberbullying perpetration one year later. However, media violence exposure was the only risk factor associated with cyber victimization. Recent research has also indicated that perceived stress from parents, peers, and academics increases cyberbullying perpetration one year later (Wright, in press). Thus, there are a variety of individual characteristics that make youths vulnerable to cyberbullying involvement. Similarly, youths' relationships with their parents have also been found to be risk factors as well.

PARENTS' ROLES IN THEIR CHILDREN'S CYBERBULLYING INVOLVEMENT

Ample research literature links traditional face-to-face bullying with parental monitoring. In this literature, parents with permissive parenting styles are less likely to acknowledge their children's activities (Marini, Dane, Bosacki, and Ylc-Cura, 2006). Parents of bully-victims frequently utilize an indifferent-uninvolved parenting style, and inconsistently monitor their children's activities (Duncan, 2004). Such findings are important as high levels of parental monitoring are correlated negatively with bullying behaviors (Totura et al., 2009). On the other hand, enmeshed and overprotective family backgrounds are typically associated with victims of bullying (Smith, Madsen, and Moody, 1999). It is hypothesized that such families do not allow their children to develop assertiveness and practice necessary skills for social interactions. The cyber context presents another environment in which parents might decide to

monitor their children's activities. In one study, Mason (2008) found that 30% of youths used the Internet for three hours or more daily and that, during the time that they were online, less than 50% reported parental monitoring. In other research, Aoyama and colleagues (2011) revealed that parental mediation and monitoring of their children's online activities were not effective because some parents lack technological skills and many fail to follow-up on the strategies they implemented. Furthermore, many parents report that they are unsure of what their children are up to online and that they are uncertain of how to even discuss the topic of online activities with their children (Rosen, 2007). Rosen also found that many parents set limits on their children's Internet consumption, but many do not actually monitor these limits. Although 93% of parents in one study reported that they set limits on their children's online activities, only 37% of their children reported being given rules from their parents about such activities (McQuade et al., 2009).

Other research has focused on the relationship between family characteristics (e.g., household factors, parenting styles, parental monitoring) and cyberbullying involvement. Findings indicated that poor caregiver monitoring and poor emotional bonds with caregivers were related positively to cyberbullying (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004). There is no evidence that family income, parental education, and caregiver status (single or married) were associated with cyberbullying perpetration or cyber victimization. However, research does indicate that parental unemployment increases the risk of youths' involvement in cyberbullying as perpetrators and victims (Arslan et al., 2012). Youths with neglectful parents are at greater risk for engaging in and experiencing cyberbullying when compared to non-involved youths (Dehue, Bolman, Vollink, and Pouwelse, 2012). In addition, authoritarian parenting styles were related positively to cyber victimization. The risk of cyber victimization is also increased when parents do not monitor or set rules pertaining to the types of websites their children are allowed to visit (Mesch, 2009; Navarro, Serna, Martinez, and Ruiz-Oliva, 2013). Other research (i.e., Hinduja and Patchin, 2013) suggests that youths who believed that their parents or other adults would punish them for participating in cyberbullying were less likely to engage in such behaviors. These findings indicate the importance of parents' involvement in their youths' online activities.

PEERS AND SCHOOLS CONTRIBUTIONS TO CYBERBULLYING

Youths spend most of their time in school until they graduate from high school or college (Parker, Rubin, Erath, Wojslawowicz, and Buskirk, 2005). Therefore, it is not surprising that many studies have revealed that youths' involvement in bullying behaviors is connected to their peers and school environment. In this literature, teachers' perceptions and awareness of cyberbullying vary greatly (Kochenderfer-Ladd and Pelletier, 2008). Cyberbullying presents a complicated consideration for teachers as many educators perceive overt forms of bullying more harshly than they do covert forms, like relational aggression and some forms of cyberbullying (Sahin, 2010). The relationship between cyberbullying and the school is further complicated because many cyberbullying incidences occur off school grounds through electronic technologies, making it difficult for teachers to even be aware of such incidences (Mason, 2008). In addition, many teachers are not trained to properly deal with and recognize such behaviors. Corroborating this proposal, Cassidy and colleagues (2012a) found that some Canadian teachers were unfamiliar with newer technologies, making it difficult for them to deal

effectively with cyberbullying. Other research also indicates that Australian teachers were more likely to focus on face-to-face bullying prevention than cyberbullying prevention (Tangen and Campbell, 2010). When teachers were concerned about cyberbullying, this concern rarely translated into policy or programs (Cassidy, Brown, and Jackson, 2012b). Educators must recognize the importance of addressing cyberbullying as the consequences of cyberbullying are felt at school as it impacts the learning process (Shariff and Hoff, 2007). In particular, youths involved in cyberbullying as victims or perpetrators perceived school and teachers less positively than non-involved youths (Bayar and Ucanok, 2012). The fearfulness of classmates who might be perpetrators of cyberbullying can divert youths' attention from academic tasks, reducing learning opportunities (Eden, Heiman, and Olenik-Shemesh, 2013). Furthermore, lower school commitment (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004) and a negative school climate (Williams and Guerra, 2007) increase cyberbullying perpetration. The literature does indicate the importance of educators for addressing cyberbullying through awareness and prevention. Teachers with confidence in their abilities and a strong commitment to their school are more likely to learn about cyberbullying, boosting their awareness and abilities to effectively manage these behaviors (Eden et al., 2013). However, teachers' motivations for learning about cyberbullying and believing that they can manage cyberbullying decreases from elementary school to middle school. Such results represent a substantial problem as cyberbullying usually increases in the middle school years (Ybarra et al., 2007) and that teachers' ability to intervene at the classroom level is a protective factor associated with cyberbullying (Elledge et al., 2013).

Peers exert a strong influence on youths' behaviors and social norms concerning acceptable and unacceptable behaviors (Miller and Prentice, 1996). Support for such influences was found by Festl and colleagues (2013). In particular, their results revealed that the best predictor of cyberbullying perpetration and victimization were classes with higher rates of cyberbullying incidences. Similarly, youths who believed that their friends engaged in cyberbullying were more likely to perpetrate cyberbullying themselves (Hinduja and Patchin, 2013). Rather than focusing on how peers influence youths' cyberbullying perpetration, other research aims to understand the nature of youths' relationships with their peers. In this research, peer attachment was associated negatively with cyberbullying perpetration and cyber victimization (Burton et al., 2013). Like victimization by face-to-face bullying, cyber victimization is associated with peer rejection after controlling for face-to-face victimization (Wright and Li, 2013b). There is also research evidence which indicates that cyberbullying might be utilized to boost youths' status among their peers. In this research, Wright (2014b) found that higher levels of perceived popularity, a reputational type of popularity in the peer group, increased youths' cyberbullying perpetration six months later.

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES

Various research studies have been conducted on the psychological and behavioral consequences associated with cyberbullying involvement. In this research, cyber-victims reported lower global happiness (i.e., how generally happy they were), school happiness, school satisfaction, family satisfaction, and self-satisfaction (Navarro et al., 2013). In addition, cyber-victims generally felt more anger (Dehue et al., 2008), fear (Beran and Li, 2005), and sadness (Patchin and Hinduja, 2006) when compared to non-involved youths. Cyber-victims also report more emotional and peer problems when compared to cyberbullies. Cyberbullying involvement

is also linked to academic difficulties. Results from this research indicated that cyberbullies and cyber-victims both experience problems in school, such as decreased motivation for school, lower academic attainment, and increased school absences (Beale and Hall, 2007; Beran and Li, 2007). Cyberbullies and cyber-victims also report internalizing (e.g., depression, anxiety) and externalizing problems, such as the engagement in aggressive behaviors and the usage of drugs, and alcohol (Arslan et al., 2012; Li, 2007; Patchin and Hinduja, 2012; Wright, in press; Ybarra et al., 2007). Hinduja and Patchin (2010) proposed that victims of cyberbullying might be at an increased risk of suicide when compared to cyberbullying perpetrators and victims of traditional bullying. Finding partial support for this proposal, Bauman and colleagues (2013) found that perpetrating and experiencing cyberbullying were both related to suicide attempts. However, traditional face-to-face bullying and victimization were stronger predictors of suicidal thoughts, plans, and attempts than cyber victimization, but not cyberbullying perpetration. Although Bauman et al. explain that their results concerning cyberbullies might be a joke perpetrated by their participants, their findings are consistent with Beckman and colleagues (2012) who found that cyberbullies were just as likely as cyber-victims to be at risk for mental health problems. Further supporting the association between cyberbullying perpetration and mental health issues, research (Sourander et al., 2010) results indicated that psychiatric and psychosomatic problems were also associated with cyberbullying involvement.

Other research has focused on the joint effects of traditional bullying and cyberbullying on youths' psychological and behavioral outcomes. In this research, victims of both traditional face-to-face bullying and cyberbullying reported more internalizing problems when compared to youths who experienced only one type of victimization (Gradinger, Strohmeier, and Spiel, 2009; Perren, Dooley, Shaw, and Cross, 2010). Much of the research focused on the psychological and behavioral consequences associated with cyberbullying involvement do not account for traditional face-to-face bullying and victimization. Such considerations are important as there are considerable associations among cyberbullying and face-to-face bullying involvement (Williams and Guerra, 2007; Wright and Li, 2013b). Research indicates that cyberbullying perpetration and cyber victimization are both related to depressive symptoms and suicidal ideation after including face-to-face bullying and victimization in the same model (Bonanno et al., 2013). Utilizing a similar design, Brighi and colleagues (2012) found no support for an association between cyber victimization and loneliness or self-esteem.

CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH ON CYBERBULLYING

Considering that there is increasing evidence that cyberbullying is a global phenomenon, more attention has been given to cross-cultural investigations of youths' involvement in these behaviors. Much of the research focused on cross-cultural differences in cyberbullying perpetration and victimization classify countries according to an independent self-construal (i.e., viewing the self as separate from the social context and emphasizing autonomy) or an interdependent self-construal (i.e., viewing themselves within the broader social context; Singelis, 1994). Generally, people from Western countries, like the United States, Canada, and England, are primed and reinforced for behaving according to an independent self-construal, whereas people from Eastern countries, such as China, Korea, and Japan, are primed and reinforced for behaving consistently with an interdependent self-construal. The available research indicates that such differences in self-construal affect a variety of social behaviors,

including bullying. Independent and interdependent self-construals have been applied to explain cyberbullying behaviors. In one study, Barlett and colleagues (2014) found that participants from the United States self-reported greater levels of cyberbullying than Japanese participants, and that these relationships were moderated by positive attitudes toward cyberbullying. In particular, such associations were stronger among U.S. participants when compared to Japanese participants. Aoyama and colleagues (2011) also found that Japanese high school students reported less cyberbullying than U.S. high school students. Japanese youths also engaged in less cyberbullying behaviors in comparison to Austrian youths (Strohmeier, Aoyama, Gradinger, and Toda, 2013). Similar patterns were found among Chinese and Canadian youths (Li, 2008). Canadian youths self-reported more cyberbullying and knew someone who had been cyberbullied more often than Chinese youths. There were no cultural differences found concerning cyber victimization. However, in another sample, Li (2006) found that Chinese youths were more likely to be cyber-victims when compared to Canadian youths. Further delineating cyberbullying according to the proactive (to obtain a goal) and reactive (response to provocation) classifications, Shapka and Law (2013) found that East Asian youths from Canada engaged in cyberbullying for proactive reasons, whereas Canadian youths did so for reactive reasons. Cross-cultural gender differences in cyberbullying have also been found. In particular, Italian males engaged in more cyberbullying when compared to Spanish and English males (Genta et al., 2012). Additional research is still needed to understand differences in cyberbullying involvement across the world, especially in South America, Africa, and India.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

In this section, two theories, the social cognitive theory and the online disinhibition effect, will be discussed, along with their applications to cyberbullying. Within the social cognitive theory framework, researchers propose that adolescents model the behaviors of their parents and/or friends (Duncan, 2004; Hinduja and Patchin, 2008; Mouttapa, Valente, Gallaher, Rohrbach, and Unger, 2004). Olweus (1993) applied the social cognitive theory to explain youths' aggressive behaviors. In his explanation, Olweus proposed that the effects of the model are stronger when the observer has a positive evaluation of the model, such as perceiving the model as tough or fearless. Perceiving the model's aggressive behaviors as positive makes these acts less inhibited for the observer, especially if the model is rewarded for the aggressive actions. Usually the reward involves the bullies' victory over the victim. Barlett and Gentile (2012) elaborated on the social cognitive theory by applying this theory to youths' involvement in cyberbullying. Through observations of successful cyberbullying incidences, many youths learn that cyberbullying is an appropriate aggressive action. The unique features of the cyber context also aid in the social learning behind cyberbullying. That is, cyberbullies learn that they might experience little or no immediate consequences for their behaviors and that they can further increase their ability to not get caught engaging in cyberbullying if they remain anonymous, which they are better able to do in the cyber context (Vandebosch and Van Cleemput, 2008). There is research evidence that being positively reinforced for cyberbullying contributes to youths' positive attitudes toward these behaviors (Barlett and Gentile, 2012). Such positive attitudes relate to later engagement in cyberbullying (Wright and Li, 2013a).

Distinct from the social cognitive theory, which focuses on successful cyberbullying shaping positive attitudes toward these behaviors, the online disinhibition effect proposes that people in cyberspace might not behave in similar ways as they would in real life (Suler, 2004). A core tenant to this theory is that the online environment allows people to loosen or abandon their typical social restrictions and inhibitions that are present in normal face-to-face interactions (Mason, 2008). There is a variety of research demonstrating that people do behave more bluntly when communicating via various electronic technologies. In this early research, McKenna and Bargh (2000) found that there were more misunderstandings, greater hostility, and aggressive behaviors in computer-mediated communication when compared to face-to-face communication. The online environment also removes the ability to see emotional reactions, which might prevent people from modulating their own behavior as they are not able to witness the consequences of their actions (Kowalski et al., 2008). When it comes to cyberbullying, the cyberbully may not witness cyber-victims' reactions, or experience social disapproval and punishment (Willard, 2007). Over time, cyberbullies' behaviors might become more disinhibited, especially when they receive positive reinforcement, fail to recognize the consequences of their behaviors, and lose control of the typical inhibitions present in face-to-face interactions (Hinduja and Patchin, 2009; Wright, 2014a). Another core component of the online disinhibition effect is deindividuation (Joinson, 1998). Deindividuation occurs when people are not accountable for their actions, and anonymity might further reduce accountability. Anonymity in the cyber context, along with the online disinhibition effect, allows youths to distinguish their actions from the real world and their identity, making it easier for them to harm others electronically (Wright, 2014a).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the extensive research reviewed in this chapter, there are a few noticeable gaps in the literature which should be addressed by future research. One recommendation is for research to follow-up investigating the concept of anonymity as applied to cyberbullying. Youths can also engage in anonymous traditional face-to-face bullying, such as anonymously slipping a nasty note in a peer's locker. Therefore, future research should aim to understand more about the differences in youths' conceptualizations of anonymous acts both online and offline, and which factors might contribute to their decision to choose anonymous cyberbullying versus anonymous traditional face-to-face bullying. Similarly, this research should also examine the differences in non-anonymous cyberbullying versus anonymous cyberbullying through social applications, like Ask.fm, or Yik Yak. There is also a need to conduct more longitudinal designs which assess both traditional face-to-face bullying and cyberbullying from early childhood into late adolescents. Such investigations are important as many studies conducted on cyberbullying do not account for previous levels of traditional face-to-face bullying, despite the perpetration and victimization of these behaviors being highly correlated (Wright and Li, 2013a; Ybarra et al., 2007). It is also important for this research to assess children in early elementary school since children are beginning to utilize electronic technologies at a younger age (Madden et al., 2013), which places them at risk for cyberbullying, given the positive correlation between these behaviors and Internet usage (Ybarra et al., 2007).

Cyberbullying is not a concern only for researchers, educators, and youths themselves, but also for our communities. Educational curriculum should include information about cyberbullying, digital literacy, and citizenship as well as positive uses of electronic technologies (Cassidy et al., 2012b). Curriculum should also focus on empathy, self-esteem, and social skills. Schools should also aim to improve school climate through learning students' names, recognizing and rewarding good behavior, and staying technologically savvy (Hinduja and Patchin, 2012). The code of conduct at the school should also address appropriate technology usage and all adults in the school should advocate and enforce these policies.

Parents serve an important role in addressing cyberbullying. Although parents should "join forces with educators," they also need to gain an awareness of the technological environment, and an understanding of the behaviors their children might engage in through that environment (Cassidy et al., 2012a). Parents are also important models for appropriate online behavior. As indicated in the first section of this chapter, many cases of cyberbullying suicide took parents completely by surprise. Therefore, parents should engage in open communication about appropriate technology usage, including discussing with their children the amount of time that they should spend online and the ways they should act in this environment.

It might be difficult to understand how cyberbullying is also a community-problem; in our communities, many of us are bystanders. If we notice someone who needs help, we should help them, instead of expecting others to do it. Helping others models appropriate behaviors for the whole community. Cyberbullying legislation has also been slower to develop in some areas of the world. Such legislation has been helpful for addressing cyberbullying outside of the school (Cassidy et al., 2012b). Cassidy and colleagues note that cyberbullying laws should be part of the solution, but that it is not the whole solution. They advocate for the reformulation of cyberbullying laws which further core social values. Electronic communication has become the standard means of communication for youths as well as adults. As such, many forms of social interactions and social communications have transferred to this medium, including cyberbullying. Attacks in cyberspace are just as powerful as face-to-face attacks, sometimes even more so, because of the persistence of the attack. Society needs to recognize this threat and deal with it as a powerful menace, which can affect everyone. Cyberbullying is not going away. It will remain with us for as long as we interact through this interconnected electronic society.

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Chapter 55

SCHOOL AND PEER CONTEXTS OF BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

This chapter synthesized recent research on bullying and victimization in educational settings. The chapter drew on literature related to the impact of the school context, particularly school climate and school characteristics, on youths' involvement in bullying, as victims and perpetrators. This section of the chapter discussed studies on the effect of school size, class size, racial and ethnic minority composition, and school location on school bullying. School climate was also examined, specifically teachers' attitudes and students' perceptions of teachers' attitudes, and how such climates relate to school bullying. At the end of this section, school-based preventive intervention programs are described, highlighting the effective components of these programs. The second part of this chapter focused on peers' roles in school bullying. It also covered bystanders, peer clustering, peer ecology, and peer status, and how these impact school bullying involvement. This section concludes with the effectiveness of peer-based preventive intervention programs. The final section of the chapter provided recommendations for schools, parents, and youths. The research shared in this chapter utilized cross-sectional, longitudinal, qualitative, and quantitative research methodologies. It also incorporated research across multiple disciplines, including psychology, sociology, education, social work, and anthropology. The research featured is also international to provide a broad overview of school bullying across the world.

Bullying is a global problem, reported in multiple countries throughout the world. The literature on this topic has been evolving over the last 25 years. This research has provided an important framework for understanding the nature, extent, causes, and consequences of bullying. Usually perpetrated in group settings, bullying is likely to occur in schools. Much of the attention given to school bullying by the public has been the result of school shootings. Although school shootings are rare, a hypothesis to explain these shootings is that such events

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are perpetrated by youths in retaliation for experiencing school bullying. The April 20th, 1999 Columbine High School shooting perpetrated by Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold brought greater awareness of school bullying. To understand their motivations for the shooting, interviews were conducted among their group of friends, and findings revealed that this group was frequently bullied, though other schoolmates indicated that Eric and Dylan were also bullies. Research partially supports the victimization and retaliation hypothesis. For instance, Nansel and colleagues (2003) utilized a nationally representative sample of 6th through 10th graders in the United States to understand the relationship between bullying and more serious violence. Their results indicated that more serious behaviors, like fighting or carrying a weapon to school, were strongly related to both bullying perpetration and victimization. Since 1999 other school shootings have occurred, along with many high profile cases of school bullying victims committing suicide, bringing additional awareness to this topic. Some of this awareness has resulted in bullying programs on school campuses and television commercials dedicated to how youths can prevent school bullying.

Although the 1999 Columbine school shooting has brought more awareness to the problem of school bullying, the systematic study of school bullying began in the 1970s. Olweus's 1973 book, *Aggression in the Schools: Bullies and Whipping Boys*, triggered research on school bullying in Scandinavian countries. When the book was translated into English in 1978, research on school bullying in other countries began to burgeon. No more than 10 years after the English-language translation was available, a European conference was held on school bullying and Olweus launched a preventive intervention campaign aimed at preventing bullying in Norway among primary and secondary school youths. Shortly after this time, in the early 1990s, northwestern European countries, like England, Wales, and Scotland, launched preventive intervention programs, modeled after Olweus's program in Norway. Research and awareness at this time was also sparked outside of Europe in Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Despite being a bit slower to develop, there is also a focus on school bullying in Asia, and work is currently underway in Africa and South America. Taken together, it appears that global efforts are being undertaken to eliminate school bullying.

Ample research attention has been given to the relationship between school bullying and the individual-level correlates of bullies and victims. However, it is important to also understand the effect of schools and peers on youths' involvement in school bullying. This chapter draws on interdisciplinary research from psychology, social work, education, sociology, and anthropology to describe the role of schools and peers in school bullying. There are two parts of this chapter:

- (1) One part focuses on the role of schools. This part begins with an overview of the literature revealing the relationship of school characteristics and school climate to youths' involvement in school bullying. In the next section, school-based preventive intervention programs are described.
- (2) The second part of the chapter focuses on peers. The next two sections of the chapter describe how peers' characteristics influence school bullying and the role of the bystander. The next section describes preventive intervention programs. The chapter concludes with recommendations for schools, parents, and youths.

THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

School Characteristics

Although more research attention has been given to individual-level characteristics associated with school bullying, some studies have highlighted the importance of investigating school-level predictors (Gottfredson, 2001). Schools possess various characteristics that might be protective factors or risk factors that are related to youths' bullying involvement as perpetrators and victims. Some characteristics investigated in the literature include grade level differences, size of student enrollment, class size, teacher-student ratio, racial and ethnic composition, and school location. In this literature, researchers are concerned with whether the location and timing of school bullying can predict when youths will be involved in these behaviors.

Grade level and age are influential predictors of school bullying. Hanish and Guerra (2004) found that school bullying increased with age in primary school, but these behaviors declined as youths got older and reached the later years of secondary school (Rigby, 1996). However, when youths continue to be bullies and victims in secondary school, their rates of bullying and victimization are more stable and permanent over time (Hanish & Guerra, 2000; 2004). Therefore, it has been suggested that older bullies target victims more discerningly and repetitively than younger bullies. In addition, the transition from primary school to secondary school might account for such findings as youths begin attending a new school, which is usually larger. While school bullying decreases with age, it is also at its peak at the beginning of the high school years (Parada, 2000; Pellegrini, 2004). Many of these studies do not distinguish between the different types of school bullying, including physical forms, verbal forms, and social forms. Delineating bullying behaviors according to these forms, Griezel and colleagues (2012) found that younger youths were likely to perpetrate physical bullying when compared to older youths. Other research suggests that relational forms of bullying increase with age as physical forms of bullying are replaced by these more subtle and complex forms of school bullying (Losel & Bliesner, 1999). Similarly, using a Turkish sample of 12-17 year olds, Sirvanli-Orzen (2006) found that relational victimization decreased by age in girls and that experiencing teasing decreased by age for boys. Marees and Petermann (2010) also found negative correlations between age and victimization.

Research findings on the association of school size and class size on school bullying are inconsistent. Some studies have not found any relationship between the involvement in bullying as victims or bullies and school size or class size (Khoury-Kassabri, Benbenishty, & Astor, 2005; Mellor, 1999; Olweus, 1991; Wei, Williams, Chen, & Chang, 2010; Whitney & Smith, 1993). On the other hand, other studies have found that school bullying problems were greater at larger schools and in larger classes (Leung & Ferris, 2008; Stephenson & Smith, 1989). In contrast, O'Moore's and colleagues' (1997), Ma's (2002), and Klein's and Cornell's (2010) findings revealed that, although larger schools had more disciplinary problems, rates of school bullying were lower at these schools. Somewhat supporting these results, Wolke and colleagues (2001) found that smaller schools and classes increased school bullying in English schools but not German classes. Blatchford's and colleagues' (2003) results also revealed that smaller classes had higher incidences of school bullying. There have been some explanations (e.g., larger schools have more and better resources) proposed for why school size and class size

might contribute to school bullying, although a detailed description of such theories and research is outside the scope of this chapter (see Klein & Cornell, 2010 for review).

Racial and ethnic composition of schools has little effect on school bullying frequencies. In this literature, most studies have found that racial and ethnic make-up of schools has no effect on school bullying (Boulton, 1995; Junger, 1990; Lumeng, Forrest, Appugliese, Kaciroti, Corwyn, & Bradley, 2010; Moran, Smith, Thompson, & Whitney, 1993; Nguy & Hunt, 2004; Siann, Gallagher, Glissow, & Rawson, 1994; Whitney & Smith, 1993). However, some researchers (Vervoort, Scholte, & Overbeek, 2010; Wolke et al., 2001) have found relationships between these variables, but the associations were weak.

Like research on the effects of racial and ethnic minority composition, class size, and school size on school bullying, conclusions regarding the association between school location and these behaviors are also mixed. In some of these studies, researchers (e.g., Mellor, 1999; Olweus, 1991) have found no relationship between urban location or socioeconomic status and bullying, whereas others (e.g., Stephenson & Smith, 1989; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Wolke et al., 2001) have found greater amounts of bullying in inner-city, and low socioeconomic areas. Researchers have also investigated the location within schools and its effect on school bullying. School bullying occurs more frequently in areas with fewer rules, larger areas, minimal adult supervision, where the ratio of students to teachers is high, and on the playground (Collins, McAleavy, & Adamson, 2004; Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000; Frost, 1991; Mellor, 1990; Smith & Shu, 2000; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Wolke et al., 2001). Youths are also likely to be bullied in the hallway, the bathroom, and the classroom (Bradshaw, Sawyer, & O'Brennan, 2007; Collins et al., 2004; Espelage & Asidao, 2001; Fite, Williford, Cooley, DePaolis, Rubens, S. L., & Vernberg, 2013; Vaillancourt et al., 2010). The school bus is also another location in which youths report being bullied (Allen, Young, Ashbaker, Heaton, & Parkinson, 2003; deLara, 2008; Raskauskas, 2005).

School Climate

Defined as the quality of schools' social environment, school climate, "the inner workings of the school," includes the social organization of the school, the social relationships between teachers and students, and the cultural system or norms and values in the school (Cohen, McCabe, Michell, & Pickeral, 2009; Ma, Stewin, & Mah, 2001). School climate is an important school-related variable to investigate because it relates to general school disorder (Gottfredson, Gottfredson, Payne, & Gottfredson, 2005). Positive school climate includes schools that are considered safe, consistent with rules and policies, have high parental involvement, supportive student-teacher interactions, are engaging, collaborative, and respectful (Kasen, Berenson, Cohen, & Johnson, 2004; Ma, 2002; National School Climate Council, 2007; Reis, Trockel, & Mulhall, 2007). Such a climate boosts positive peer interactions, reduces peer rejection, and improves psychosocial development (Loukas & Murphy, 2007). When school climate is positive, the school environment also includes less school bullying and victimization (Nansel et al., 2001; Gottfredson et al., 2005; Welsh, 2000). Therefore, positive school climate has a major role in decreasing the likelihood of perpetrating school bullying (Bandyopadhyay, Cornell, & Konold, 2009; Klein, Cornell, & Konold, 2012).

Poor school climate relates to less concern regarding bullying-related attitudes among teachers and students (Whitney & Smith, 1993). When teachers are less tolerant of school

bullying, they are more likely to discuss these behaviors with students, easily recognize bullying behaviors, and more often intervene, with each of these relating to less school bullying. Furthermore, teachers, who are better able to label bullying behaviors and articulate problems with bullying found in their school, show greater concern for controlling and preventing school bullying (Stephenson & Smith, 1991). School climate might also affect youths' perceptions of their schools' ability to handle bullying. Such a proposal is corroborated by research evidence indicating that youths who reported lower school climate felt that teachers were uninterested in stopping school bullying (Rigby, 1996; Harris, Petrie, & Willoughby, 2002). Measuring different types of multiple school climate variables, Harel-Fisch and colleagues (2011) found that the student-teacher relationship was one of the strongest predictors of school bullying perpetration. Taken together, the research on school characteristics and school climates has led researchers to develop a number of preventive intervention programs, which have been implemented within the school environment and tested for effectiveness.

School-Based Preventive Intervention Programs

Many school-based preventive intervention programs focus on the entire school. These "whole-school approaches" are designed to reduce or eliminate school bullying (Farrington, 1993). The primary objectives of these programs are to increase the awareness of school bullying from the perspectives of educators, parents, and students by improving school climate. Another aim of these programs is to establish and implement clear anti-bullying policies about the norms and acceptability of school bullying. Ultimately, the whole school is involved in these types of prevention programs. After the program is in place, the whole school aspires to reduce school bullying, improve participation and involvement in the school environment, focus on creating greater collaboration and support, and increase the school communities' bond. Overall, the school becomes more communal, resulting in decreases of all problem behaviors at the school, especially bullying. Research attention has been given to the association between the whole school approach and school bullying, with results indicating that there are reductions in bullying over the years (Arora, 1994; Clarke & Kiselica, 1997; Olweus, 1994). There are many examples of whole-school approaches to preventing bullying, including Bully Proofing Your School and the Bullying Prevention Program, which are described next.

Bully Proofing Your School is a comprehensive program implemented in an effort to improve the school climate of elementary schools through the creation of norms that any type of school bullying is not acceptable (Garrity, Jens, Porter, Sager, & Short-Camilli, 1994; Garrity & Jens, 1997). This program was modeled after Olweus's core intervention program from 1978, and one of its major goals is to create safe and secure school environments. In this program, facilitators provide training and support to school personnel and parents in an effort to ensure that the program is maintained overtime. The whole school works together to develop disciplinary policies concerning school bullying, which emphasize caring and the consequences of bullying behaviors. The nature of bullying and ways to avoid victimization are implemented into classroom curriculum through discussion, role-playing, books, videos, and skits. Once the program is implemented, school personnel, students, and parents develop not only an awareness of bullying but also accountability for creating solutions and confidence in using preventive strategies for reducing school bullying. Garrity and Jens (1997) found that the Bully Proofing Your School program was effective for producing communal school environments that are

more caring, and that experience decreases in school bullying and the fear that these behaviors might occur. Working together, these improvements create a more positive school climate. Similarly, Beran and colleagues (2004) found that schools with longer durations of the Bully Proofing Your School program had more positive attitudes toward victims when compared to schools with shorter program durations.

Olweus's (1991; 1994; 1997) Bullying Prevention Program is one of the most researched antibullying programs. This program also aims to improve school climate by emphasizing and creating warm interactions, positive interest, and high levels of involvement from all adults inside and outside of the school. In addition, the Bullying Prevention Program clearly describes unacceptable behaviors, sets firm rules for negative behaviors, and increases monitoring of students in the cafeteria and on the playground. This program aims to increase awareness of school bullying, to provide education about the types of these behaviors, increase adult involvement in the school and outside of the school, develop clear guidelines for rules and consequences for negative behaviors, and to support and protect victims. To implement these objectives, the program includes all adults in order to bring awareness of school bullying and to highlight the importance of their involvement in prevention efforts. Next, school personnel are administered a survey to understand the nature and extent of the problem at a particular school. The whole school is then recruited to oversee the implementation of the program. Classrooms develop antibullying classroom rules and hold frequent meetings on school bullying. The Bullying Prevention Program reduced bullying incidences in 42 Norwegian schools over two years (Olweus, 1994). The program was also effective for reducing vandalism, fighting, stealing, drinking, and truancy. School climate was also improved as well as classroom order, social relationships, and students' attitudes toward school and schoolwork. Recent research (e.g., Jenson, Brisson, Bender, & Williford, 2013; Low, Brown, Smith, & Haggerty, 2014) suggests that the Bullying Prevention Program is still effective for improving school climate and reducing school bullying.

THE EFFECTS OF PEERS

Peers' Characteristics

As an integral part of school climate, youths' attitudes toward school bullying predict the levels of bullying within the school (Boulton, Bucci, & Hawker, 1999). Generally, youths have neutral attitudes toward school bullying or antibullying attitudes, and many have a hard time understanding why children bully others (Boulton & Underwood, 1993; Stevens, Van Oost, & Bourdeaudhuij, 2000). Most youths find school bullying unpleasant, with a smaller percent of students being indifferent to these behaviors (Charach, Pepler, & Ziegler, 1995). Boulton and Flemington (2002) found that more negative attitudes toward school bullying were related to less bullying among English secondary school students. Such relationships were also found among Greek (Boulton, Lanitis, Manoussou, & Lemoni, 1997) and Swedish (Boulton et al., 1999) students. Although many youths hold negative attitudes toward school bullying, their support for the victim decreases with age (Rigby & Slee, 1992). Therefore, it is not surprising that youths rarely intervene when they witness school bullying (Boulton & Underwood, 1993; Charach et al., 1995; Smith & Shu, 2000; Stevens et al., 2000; Whitney & Smith, 1993). Observational studies also support youths' self-reports that they do not intervene in school

bullying (Pepler, Craig, & Roberts, 1989). Craig and Pepler (1995) suggest that this lack of intervention might reinforce bullies. Utilizing another observation methodology, Craig and Pepler found support for this hypothesis. Youths reinforced the bullies' behaviors in 81% of bullying episodes. In addition, peers were more respectful and friendly to bullies than to victims, providing support for the peers' alignment with and reinforcement of bullies. Such behaviors might potentially prolong bullying episodes. O'Connell and colleagues (1997) also found that 31% of youths in their sample admitted that if someone they disliked was being bullied they would join in as well. Other characteristics of the peer group affect school bullying and victimization. When peers were isolated and disliked by their peers, they were more likely to perpetrate bullying or be victimized (Fitzpatrick, Dulin, & Piko, 2007; Newman, Holden, & Delville, 2005; Schafer, Korn, Brodbeck, Wolke, & Schultz, 2005; Veenstra, Lindenberg, Oldehinkel, De Winter, Verhulst, & Ormel, 2005; Williams & Guerra, 2007). Affiliation with delinquent peers is also a consistent risk factor associated with bullying behavior (Mouttappa, Valente, Gallaher, Rohrbach, & Unger, 2004; Ybarra, Espelage, & Mitchell, 2007).

The function and importance of the peer group changes dramatically in early adolescence (Crockett, Losoff, & Petersen, 1984; Dornbusch, 1989). Therefore, belonging to the peer group becomes a stronger goal for many youths. During this time, peer dominance hierarchies also increase, and many youths become concerned with social status as peer groups become divided and issues of acceptance and popularity become increasingly important (Corsaro & Eder, 1990; Eder, 1985). Eder (1995) found that toughness and aggressiveness were important determinants of status for boys, whereas appearance was central to girls' social status. Therefore, because many adolescents desire to "fit in" with their peers, some researchers (e.g., Pellegrini, Bartini, & Brooks, 1999; Rodkin, Farmer, Pearl, & Van Acker, 2000) have proposed that the pressure to gain peer acceptance and status might increase bullying in order to demonstrate superiority over other students. Support for this proposal was found by Espelage and colleagues (2001). Their findings revealed that adolescents who wanted to "fit in" adopted bullying behaviors, like teasing, in order to gain more power and a higher social standing. Researchers have conceptualized of two related forms of high peer status, perceived popularity (i.e., high peer status characterized by social prestige, social power, and social visibility) and social preference (i.e., peer acceptance or peer liking), which are differentially linked to school bullying (Bukowski, 2011; LaFontana & Cillessen, 2002; Parkhurst & Hopmeyer, 1998). Social preference is related to prosocial behaviors, whereas perceived popularity is associated with physical forms of bullying in childhood and relational forms of bullying in adolescence (Cillessen & Marks, 2011; Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004). There is also research evidence that youths, particularly adolescents, form goals concerning their desired peer statuses (Covington, 2000; Dweck & Leggett, 1988). Due to their desire to be more popular, adolescents develop goal-directed attitudes and behaviors in order to achieve this higher status. Research evidence demonstrates that adolescents with perceived popularity goals were also more likely to perpetrate school bullying, whereas adolescents with social preference goals did not (Li & Wright, 2013; Wright, Li, & Shi, 2014).

Bystanders

Many youths are uninvolved in school bullying, and around 85% witness these behaviors without directly being involved (Charach et al., 1995; Craig & Pepler, 1997; Hawkins, Pepler,

& Craig, 2001; O'Connell et al., 1999). Someone who witnesses one child bully another is referred to as a bystander. Like the consequences associated with bullying and victimization, bystanders can also experience anxiety, depression, guilt, and helplessness (Rivers, Poteat, Noret, & Ashurst, 2009). Bystanders serve three different roles during a bullying incident. In the first role, bystanders do not get involved, only watching the bullying incident occur. Although the bystander isn't instigating the situation, the bystander is giving the bully the attention he or she craves. Not intervening, and remaining silent, might give the impression that it is okay for the bully to continue his or her behavior. In addition, bystanders might not intervene because they fear becoming the new target of the bully's attacks. The second role involves the bystander instigating the bully by laughing, cheering, and making comments throughout the bullying situation (Nickerson, Mele, & Princiotta, 2008). They might even join in on the bullying. The last role is when bystanders directly intervene by discouraging the bully, defending the target, or redirecting the situation. Many bystanders get help from their peers by rallying support to stand up against the bully or to tell an adult about the bullying incident. They will also reach out to the victim to let him or her know everything is okay. Between 10% and 20% of youth intervene when they witness school bullying (Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkquist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996). Research evidence also reveals that the presence of bystanders can influence rates of bullying. Felson (1982) found that verbal disputes escalated quicker when bystanders were present, especially bystanders of the same gender. Utilizing an experimental design, Howard, Landau, & Pryor (2014) found that moral disengagement and positive attitudes concerning bullying were greater when youths were exposed to a passive bystander. In the Cyberball task, these youths were also less willing to include the victim in the game. Due to the strong impact of peer support and contributions to school bullying, many peer-based preventive intervention programs have been developed.

Peer-Based Prevention Programs

Lots of attention has been given to the development of peer support interventions which harness youths' potential to tackle school bullying. These programs, like the Students' Welcomers Program and Students' Antibullying Committee, also utilize the whole-school approach to bullying prevention, but focus more attention on the student component. Peer support programs are structured systems used to foster youths' abilities to help reduce school bullying. In primary schools, students who appear lonely are befriended or become buddies with a trained student (Smith & Samarra, 2003). Secondary schools utilize similar schemes but activities typically focus on trained students doing some type of activity with their peers, such as running a lunchtime club, offering support, listening to students' problems, doing group work with a tutor group, or working as mediators to resolve conflicts (Cowie & Wallace, 2000; Fernandez, Villaoslada, & Funes, 2002; Smith & Watson, 2004). Training of the students usually involves learning how to actively listen and respond genuinely and authentically to the needs and feelings of those seeking help. Programs which focus more attention on the peer support system are effective for creating more communal school environments. Findings from one peer support program revealed that school bullying was significantly reduced among 9th graders who had a greater likelihood of being victims (Peterson & Rigby, 1999). Naylor and Cowie (1999) also found that implementing a peer support system had positive impacts on improving the social organization of a school and for reducing school bullying incidences.

Follow-up research by Cowie and colleagues (2002) demonstrated that these effects were still observed two years later. Testing the effectiveness of the ChildLine Peer Mentoring System, Smith and Watson (2004) found that youths in this program generally found it helpful in both primary and secondary schools. Other research by Cowie et al. (2008) found that peer support schools helped students feel that their schools were safer, friendlier, and more engaging. These students also worried less about school bullying.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

School bullying should not only be a concern for schools, but students, parents, and communities. Research (e.g., Bandyopadhyay et al., 2009; Cohen et al., 2009; Gottfredson et al., 2005; Kasen et al., 2004; Klein et al., 2012; Ma et al., 2001; Reis et al., 2007) demonstrates the effects these individuals have on school climate, which is important for reducing school bullying. Many schools are embracing and implementing the characteristics necessary for positive school climate by increasing their participation and involvement with reducing school bullying as well as establishing supportive and collaborative relationships with students and parents. More research is needed to understand and clarify the relationships of school characteristics and school climate on school bullying. Parents and adults from schools should not only talk about bullying with youths, they should also help youths recognize when situations are actually school bullying versus playful teasing and everyday conflicts (Arora, 1994; Clarke & Kiseica, 1997; Garrity et al., 1994; Olweus, 1997). Each of these considerations is important as they help to empower youths to intervene when they witness school bullying. Such empowerment is helpful for reducing school bullying as peer support systems are accepted as valuable systems for reducing school bullying. Bystanders should be able to recognize when they need to help and how they can help, empathize with the victim, and accept responsibility for intervening (Nickerson et al., 2008; Salmivalli et al., 1996). To support bystanders' abilities to intervene, adults should role-play different bullying situations and provide information about how to help and act. In conclusion, as a community, we must take school bullying seriously and consider it as harmful and unwanted behaviors. Together we must convey that school bullying is wrong and never justified. Everyone should feel safe and never be abused by anyone. Ultimately, "it takes a whole village to raise a child," and such a phrase has application to school bullying as these behaviors are a global concern, warranting everyone to do their part to end them.

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Chapter 56

CYBERBULLYING AND STUDENTS' ENGAGEMENT IN SCHOOL: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

Background: Cyberbullying refers to an indirect and covert form of aggression, carried out through the use of new technologies, and exhibiting distinct features from those found present in traditional bullying, and has been acquiring its own space of analyses and research; still, it maintains an inevitable proximity with the second, namely, the negative impact on the victim, both the person and the student, with consequences on academic performance, among other aspects.

Purpose: This piece reviews some of the most relevant studies on cyberbullying, its assessment and relation with personal (self-esteem, age, sex, ethnicity and type of aggression) and contextual (family, school context and peer group) variables, as well as with several aspect related to academic context, particularly, students' engagement in school and academic success. Considering the expected link between bullying and cyberbullying, some studies on the first form of aggression were included in this review, as they may be considered a theoretical referential in this subject.

Conclusions: Cyberbullying is a recent and important phenomenon, linked to the inclusion of new technologies in daily life. There are, however, some gaps in research carried out on this issue, which presents different features from those that characterize traditional bullying. Similarly to bullying, studies suggest that cyberbullying presents negative impact both on students and academic success. Students' engagement in school plays an import role in the occurrence of aggression-victimization behaviors and appears to be a valorous strategy in cyberbullying prevention.

Keywords: cyberbullying, students' engagement in school, personal variables, contextual variables, academic performance.

INTRODUCTION

Cyberbullying appeared in the literature to identify an indirect form of aggression, which occurs through the use of new technologies (Ortega-Ruiz & Núñez, 2012), and currently occupies its own ground of analyses and investigation. Research has been establishing a link between the determinants and effects of in person bullying and cyberbullying (Almeida, Caurcel, & Machado, 2006; MacGriemel, Finger, Bodkin-Andrews, Craven, & Yeung, 2012; Jose, Kljakovic, Scheib, & Notter, 2011; Low & Espelage, 2012); cyberbullying exhibits particular features, when compared to traditional bullying behaviors, still, it is likewise a disturbing element with impact on academic success.

Data on wellbeing during childhood, published in the *Innocenti Report Cards* (as cited in Quental & Veiga, 2010) indicated that 40% of the children surveyed in Switzerland, Austria and Portugal, were victims of bullying, stressing Pereira's findings (2008): a considerable increase in situations of aggression and victimization in Portuguese schools, where one in each five children indicated being continuously victimized by their peers.

This article reviews the most relevant studies on cyberbullying and its relation with several aspects associated with academic context, focusing, particularly, the relationship between cyberbullying and students' engagement in school, a construct which has been in the center of discussions about school institutions and their students. Specific studies about bullying, that may contribute to the understanding of cyberbullying, are also presented, and may work as theoretical referential or add suggestions for empirical research.

CYBERBULLYING: CONCEPTUALIZATION AND ASSESSMENT

Cyberbullying and, more traditionally, bullying in school context, constitute occurrences that have called the attention of the educational community, due to their adverse effects on the participants, either individual (self-esteem, self-concept) or scholar – achievement and behavior (Caldeira & Veiga, 2011). The adoption of the expression *bullying* to refer the perpetration, by a *bully*, of hostile behaviors toward a *victim*, intentionally and continuously throughout time, and, often, witnessed by active or passive bystanders, is due to Olweus (1994).

Peer aggression may take several forms, direct — physical, including kicking and beating, and verbal, like calling offensive names —, indirect such as exclusion from groups or, more recently, virtual, through the internet (blogs, emails, websites) or other means of communication like the telephone. The virtual mean stands out not only by how it occurs, requiring the use of new technologies, but also because of the change in the witnesses' role.

Both cyberbullying and bullying encompass a series of behaviors likely to negatively affect the student exposed to those types of aggression (Caldeira & Veiga, 2011; Veiga, 2007, 2012), as well as the other participants. Vanderbilt and Augustyn (2010) suggest that bullies and witnesses are marked by the effects of the aggression, nevertheless, must be considered as participants in the occurrence.

Santos and Veiga (2012) observed a superiority of verbal aggressions, compared with the other forms. Holfeld and Grabe (2012) found that only 64% of the victims report the incidents (primarily to their parents and peers), being the percentage lower, 60%, in the case of witnesses.

The assessment of this type of aggression relies on some instruments that have been developed for specific studies, although literature suggests that the need to study the relation between bullying and cyberbullying validates the use of instruments allied to the first type of aggression.

There may be found some studies where specific instruments, directed toward cyberbullying, were created for that purpose (Griezel, Craven, Yeung, & Finger, 2008; Heirman & Walrave, 2012; Stewart, Drescher, Maack, Ebesutani, & Young, 2014), being that, many of them were adapted from pre-existent instruments, applied in bullying assessment. Most of the instruments are self-report questionnaires, answered by the students, using Likert-type scales; the items focus is, frequently, students' perception about cyberbullying (*Cyberbullying Scale* - Stewart, Drescher, Maack, Ebesutani, & Young, 2014), and their own experiences (*Cyberbullying Student Survey* - Li, 2010). Some questionnaires present specific forms, for the cyber-victims and the cyber-bullies (*Cyberbullying Scale - CBS*, Topçu, 2008). Projective methods are also found, like in the study carried out by Gomez-Garibello, Shariff, McConnell and Talwar (2012). Other studies attend to the teachers' perceptions, for example, the one by Li (2008), using the *Teachers' Perceptions about Cyberbullying Questionnaire*.

Given their relevance and psychometric qualities, validity and reliability, some assessment instruments are presented:

Safe Schools Survey (Ontario Ministry of Education). Included cyberbullying in its 2nd edition (2004), being composed by 11 items, distributed by eight sections: students' perceptions, inclusion, incidents relating to victimization, incidents relating to perpetration, responses to bullying, reporting bullying, use of technology, and general comments.

Cyberbullying Student Survey (Li, 2010). Consists of four parts: demographic data, students' behaviors and beliefs related to cyberbullying, and students' opinions about online behaviors in general.

Revised Adolescent Peer Relations Instrument – Bully and Target (Griezel, Craven, Yeung, & Finger, 2008). Composed by 61 items, responses in a 6-point likert-type scale (from 1, never, to 6, everyday).

Teachers' Perceptions about Cyberbullying Questionnaire (Li, 2008). Questionnaire based on the work of Siu (2004) — *Teachers' Attitude about Bullying Questionnaire* — composed by 26 items, focusing on teachers' perceptions about cyberbullying (from 1, totally disagree, to 5, totally agree).

Griezel et al. (2008) point out some limitations in cyberbullying assessment: little is known about the structure of the cyberbullying construct implying that the instruments applied are not specifically designed for it; using one or two items for the assessment of multidimensional constructs; weaknesses in the research carried out include the sample size, the psychometric fragility of the instruments and even the theoretical approaches.

Violence in school context — and particularly *bullying*, in both its traditional and the most recent cyberbullying form — has been investigated in relation to a number of factors, intrinsic to the student and contextual. Some studies on the relation between individual and contextual variables and the occurrence of cyberbullying are introduced.

CYBERBULLYING AND PERSONAL VARIABLES

Studies on the relation between cyberbullying and personal variables, such as self-esteem, sex, ethnicity and type of aggression are presented.

The relationship between cyberbullying experiences and *self-esteem* was studied by Patchin and Hinduja (2010), with 1963 middle school students, and a moderately significant relation was found between bullying experiences and self-esteem. Those students with cyberbullying experiences (both as a victim and as a bully), showed lower self-esteem, when compared with their peers with little or none experience with that type of aggression.

Several studies found that aggressive behaviors tend to decrease with *age* and as students' progress in schooling, indicating a greater fragility of younger students (Olweus, 1994; Santos & Veiga, 2012). The prevalence of aggressions in school context justifies serious reflection and investing in intervention procedures. Jose et al. (2011) studied adolescents aged between 11 and 16 years, in the context of the *Youth Connectedness Project* (YCP), carried out in New Zealand, and found that the occurrence of aggressions (either in person or virtual) remains stable during two years. Holfeld and Grabe (2012) studied middle school students' cyberbullying experiences, and concluded that one in each five students had been bullied in the last year. These authors express the variability found in the literature on the prevalence of cyberbullying, what seems due to methodological and sampling differences: a review by Patchin and Hinduja (2010) found a variation between 5,5% and 72% (mean of 24,4%) in the prevalence of cyberbullying. Still, according to these authors, this type of occurrence is significant and tends to increase all over the world. Research also indicates that bullies tend to preserve such attitudes as adults, and their children, frequently, also become bullies. This seems also true concerning to victims (O'Connel, Peppler, & Craig, 1999).

Differences according to *sex* appear contradictory, in research; some authors found differences in cyberbullying in favor of boys, either bullies or victims (Wang, Iannotti, & Nasel, 2009); other found a superiority in favor of girls (Holfeld & Grabe, 2012 – as victims, bullies or witnesses); further others, found no differences between sexes (Williams & Guerra, 2007). Boys showed a higher probability to act as bullies, while girls to be victims, concerning to cyberbullying (Wang, Iannotti, & Nasel, 2009). Differences according to sex were also found by Arslan, Sevim, Hallett and Balci (2012), with a higher prevalence of boys acting as bullies. In the sample, 27% of respondents indicated having been bullied; 16% appeared as bullies; and 15% were both victim and bully. Zhou, Tang, Wei, Zhang and Morrison (2013) also found a higher probability of boys to be involved in cyberbullying occurrences, either as bullies or victims.

Considering *ethnicity*, a study by Wang, Iannotti and Nasel (2009) found a higher association of Afro-American adolescents to bullying behaviors (physical, verbal and virtual), and a smaller association with victimization. Low and Espelage (2012) investigated the differences between non-physical bullying and cyberbullying, according to ethnicity (and considering individual and family predictors), in adolescents from 5th to 7th grade, considering three different moments separated from each other by six months. In general, data suggests a higher prevalence of cyberbullying among Afro-American adolescents, in comparison with white students. In a study with 518 Canadian adolescents of either East Asian or European descent, of both sexes, aged between 12 and 18 years (7th-12th grades). Shapka and Law (2013) analyzed the differences in cyberbullying using a self-report questionnaire. Data was subjected

to regression analyses and suggested that East Asian adolescents were less likely to be involved in cyberbullying; East Asian adolescents were more likely to participate in cyber-aggressions for proactive (instrumental) than reactive (as a response to provocation) reasons, and the opposite was true for European descent adolescents. The superiority of proactive reasons, in East Asian adolescents, was significantly higher in males, compared to females. The authors confirm the correspondence of such results with the ones found in literature, and highlight the cultural impact on the drives underlying cyberbullying behaviors.

Attending to the *types of aggression*, in a study carried out by Santos and Veiga (2012), boys presented higher values in physical and verbal victimization, while girls showed higher scores in the social dimension of victimization, similarly to what was found by Olweus (1994), Craig (1998), Beane (2006), or Wang, Iannotti and Nasel (2009). In a study on cyberbullying behaviors, Feldman (2012) found that in adolescents who were simultaneously victims and bullies, the involvement in these type of behaviors was related to poorer psychosocial functioning and relations, compared to students who were solely victims or bullies, or were not involved in these type of behaviors.

CYBERBULLYING AND CONTEXTUAL VARIABLES

Some studies on the relation between cyberbullying and environmental variables are introduced, such as family, school context and peer group.

Family has arisen as a study context, in seeking for predictors for the occurrence of aggression behaviors. Studies on direct bullying suggest a relation between these type of behavior and conflicting or severe parental styles (Baldry & Farrington, 2000; Bowes et al., 2009; Olweus, 1994), as well as low parental monitoring (Vanderbilt & Augustyn, 2010; Veiga, 2007, 2012a). Family rules (too rigid or absent) appear associated with aggressive behaviors (Caldeira & Veiga, 2011; Smith & Sharp, 1998; Vanderbilt & Augustyn, 2010; Veiga, 2012a). In a study carried out by Low and Espelage (2012), family monitoring appeared related to high levels of cyberbullying at wave 3, though the use of substances, in white females. Non-physical bullying was related to high family violence and low parental monitoring, explained by hostility (in boys and white race subjects) and depressive symptoms (Afro-American boys). Wang, Iannotti and Nasel (2009) found that cyberbullying (similarly to bullying, physical, verbal, and relational), was also related to low parental support. Shapka and Law (2013) also attended to the relation between cyberbullying and parental behaviors (parental control, behavioral boundaries definition; parental solicitation, knowledge obtained from the children; children's disclosure, knowledge obtained from the children's spontaneous sharing) in East Asian and European descents youth. They found that high levels of parental control and low levels of parental solicitation were associated with low involvement in cyberbullying behaviors in East Asian participants, when compared to their European peers.

The belief that bullying behaviors could be punished by significant adults appeared related to non-participation in this type of actions, in a study by Hinduja and Patchin, (2013) with adolescents from 6th to 12th grades

Considering the variable *school context*, Stauffer, Heath, Coyes and Ferrin (2012) studied teachers' perception about the effects of cyberbullying on students, as well as the most effective strategies to address this type of aggression. Approximately ¼ of the teacher indicated

cyberbullying would have a small long-lasting negative impact on students, and less than half were in favor of formal prevention programs development. Teachers pointed out a few strategies for being more effective in responding to cyberbullying: increasing parental involvement, alerting students about the consequences for cyberbullying, and increasing effective consequences for cyberbullying occurrences.

Peer group assumes particular importance during adolescence. Some authors have confirmed the link between the adolescent's behavior and the one exhibited by his peers (Bray, Adams, Getz, & McQueen, 2003), which turned out present concerning cyberbullying behaviors, in a study carried out by Shapka and Law (2013). The amount of friends was associated with more bullying behaviors and lower victimization (verbal, relational, physical), result not found in cyberbullying, in a study developed by Wang, Iannotti and Nasel (2009).

ENGAGEMENT IN SCHOOL AND CYBERBULLYING

Students' engagement in school - SES is a concept that, in the context of intervention in cyberbullying, has been presenting a protective role (Low & Espelage, 2012; Mehta, Cornell, Fan, & Gregory, 2013; Shapka & Law, 2013; Veiga, 2012a; Zhou et al., 2013). SES may be characterized as a multidimensional construct, which encompasses students' thoughts, feelings and behaviours (Fredericks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004; Furlong et al., 2003), or as the experience of centripetal connection of the student to the school (Veiga, 2012, 2013), including four components – cognitive, behavioural, emotional and agentic.

Researches discussed in the literature have found a relation between this concept and peer victimization (Seeley, Tombari, Bennet, & Dunkle, 2009; Wilson, 2004). Engagement has been addressed as a predictor of several behaviors (better grades, less behavior problems) and is likely to be influenced by numerous variables, both personal and contextual. These types of relations are presented.

Wang, Nansel and Iannotti (2011) emphasize that — if bullying carries a body of *personal* (for example anxiety, aggression, hyperactivity and behavior problems) and *schoolar effects* – some effects may be superior in the case of cyberbullying, such as depression and task disengagement. A study carried out by Arslan et al. (2012) found an association between exposure to cyberbullying (either as victim or bully) and low levels of *school satisfaction* and *academic achievement*, in 372 students from 2nd to 4th grades.

Studies on bullying, as the following, may lead to posing hypothesis about what may occur in cyberbullying situations (Low & Espelage, 2012; Shapka & Law, 2013; Veiga, 2012; Zhou et al., 2013). A study conducted by Bayar and Uçanok (2012), with 1263 high school students (mean age: 14,9), concluded that those students who were not implied in aggression situations showed more positive perceptions of their school and teachers, when compared with aggressive peers.

Mehta et al. (2013) analyzed students' engagement in terms of commitment to school (affective and cognitive dimensions) and participation (behavioral dimension), in order to investigate whether students' perceptions about bullying climate in school were associated with low levels of engagement. The author used a sample of 7058 9th grade students, from Virginia schools, 50% male. The results indicated that those students who perceive school as a place where bullying often occurs, are less engaged, affectively and cognitively, compared to those

who perceive less bullying situations. As for the relation between bullying perception and participation, there were no statistically significant results; however, the authors indicate that students who perceive a bullying climate show less participation in extracurricular activities. With regard to contextual variables, the authors noted that school size stands as a predictor of students' cognitive and affective engagement, result not found regarding behavioral engagement. This study concludes that those schools with more bullying situations reflect lower levels of students' engagement.

Various studies highlight that negative experiences related to peers — such as bullying (Battin-Pearson, Newcomb, Abbott, Hill, Catalano, & Hawkins, 2000; Ma, Phelps, Lerner, & Lerner, 2009), rejection (Buhs, 2005), or the lack of friends (Wentzel, Barry, & Caldwell, 2004) — increase the probability of school disengagement, conducting to school dropout and to the connection with disruptive peers (Battin-Pearson et al., 2000).

Other studies (Low & Espelage, 2012; Shapka & Law, 2013; Veiga, 2012; Zhou et al., 2013) have analyzed, more particularly, the relations between engagement in school variables and bullying. Hirschfield and Gasper (2011) found that affective and behavioral engagement predicts a decrease in *delinquency*, both in school context and overall. Wilson (2004), using a sample of 2,327 middle school students, found that sense of belonging is inversely related to *victimization*. Li and Lerner (2011) analyzed the effects of school engagement (behavioral and emotional) on school grades and *risk behaviors* (delinquency and substance use), and found that high levels of emotional and behavioral engagement were predictors of a minor risk of delinquent behaviors and substance use, being positively associated with better performances and less symptoms of depression.

Seeley et al. (2009), with a sample of 860 6th grade students, found a significant negative association between *victimization* and affective and cognitive engagement, contrary to cognitive engagement; the authors suggest that aggression victims are behaviorally and emotionally affected. Results also showed that engagement is a moderator variable of the impact of victimization on school attendance. Intervention Programs addressing victimization are suggested, and should include the promotion of students' engagement which, in turn, will support the increase in school attendance and academic success.

CONCLUSION

Cyberbullying, a type of covert aggression consumed through the use of new technologies, presents particular features and consequences (Low & Espelage, 2012; Shapka & Law, 2013; Veiga, 2012; Zhou et al., 2013). Cyberbullying appears related to low engagement in school and negative academic performance, besides its psychological impact, relating to low self-esteem. Hinduja and Patchin (2013) suggest the influence of social factors, such as family, school and peer group, on bullying behaviors, and propose intervention measures like implementing peer mentoring programs, at school, and parental monitoring, at home.

Although a negative *school climate* does not mean an increase in aggression situations, between students, Wilson (2004) highlights that the links experienced by the student, at school, may be among the aspects which better contribute to predict aggression and victimization, either in its direct or indirect form, through new technologies. Even though individual and family factors may be in the basis of cyberbullying, its continuity seems related to school

context (Santos & Veiga, 2012). Teacher-student relationship, school organization, and the forms how aggression situations are managed, stand out as factors affecting the students' behavior (Caldeira & Veiga, 2011), suggesting the need to structure a school environment oriented toward prevention and intervention in this type of situations. Literature (Shapka & Law, 2013; Veiga, 2012; Zhou et al., 2013) suggests several lines of action, such as the promotion of a safe environment, involving parents and teacher, and clarifying with the students' their conduct regarding cyberbullying behaviors.

Positive relations with *peers*, during adolescence, appear in the literature as relating to an increase in academic motivation (Furrer & Skinner, 2003), self-esteem (Furrer & Skinner, 2003; Keefe & Berndt, 1996), and academic performance (Veiga, 2012), aspects likely to be affected by the occurrence of direct (bullying) and indirect (cyberbullying) aggression experiences. Disengagement from school may act as a response to negative behaviors from peers, such as victimization and exclusion (Almeida, Lisboa, & Caurcel, 2007; Buhs, 2005; Veiga, 2012), with impact on engagement through time (Li et al., 2011; Simmons-Morton & Chen, 2009).

When considering the *prevention* of cyberbullying, family involvement appears emphasized (Shapka & Law, 2013; Veiga, 2012; Zhou et al., 2013), since aggressions occur by means of internet or mobile phones use, and parental supervision may be crucial. Students' disengagement assumes a relevant role in aggression-victimization behaviors and, therefore, the triggering of strategies pointing students' engagement in school is an important contribution to cyberbullying prevention.

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Chapter 57

BULLYING AND MORAL REASONING. THE INFLUENCE OF LIFE VALUES AND CULTURE ON ITALIAN TEENAGERS' SELF-ASSERTION

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ABSTRACT

In the last 15 years literature on bullying has emphasized the role of systemic processes in aggressive interactions, as well as the interplay of cognitive and emotional mechanisms leading to antisocial behaviors. Indeed, as adolescents interact with a varied social world, their development entails the formation of different but systematic types or domains of social reasoning. Social situations require a balancing and coordination of different social, individual and moral considerations related to features of the context. In this chapter, we suggest a broader view of moral reasoning through the investigation of individual, culturally influenced, *life values*. In our non-representative sample of 801 Italian students the prevalence students who witnessed episodes of school bullying was around 75% and the most common type was direct, either verbal (offending, teasing, threatening) or physical aggression. Participating roles in bullying were coded into uninvolved (neutral) bystanders (56.8%), victims (37.1%) and bully/bully-victims (6.1%). Moreover, when we examined the relation between aggression and life values, our results evidenced, in addition to a general individualistic tendency for personal success, richness, and ambition; some values specifically pertained to adolescent bullies, as evidenced by little consideration for others' needs and desires, low respect of societal norms and little importance attributed to honesty. Bullies' self-assertion tendencies appeared even stronger in female than in males. These values may be supported by expectations of positive outcomes from the bullying behavior openly expressed by the peers' group (Brighi & Genta, 2010, Brighi et al., 2007) or perceived by the bullies. Only by taking into consideration the interplay between personal goals, life and cultural values a fuller theoretical understanding of peer aggression can be reached. Integrative models are thus needed to investigate both *moral cognition* and *moral affect* in children in relation to their participant roles in different forms of bullying (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004; Malti & Latzko, 2010).

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INTRODUCTION

Bullying has been originally defined as an aggressive behavior characterized by repetitiveness and imbalance of power between the perpetrator and the victim. It may take different forms, be either direct (physical or verbal) or indirect (isolation, rumors, humiliation etc) and take place in a physical social context (traditional bullying) and/or virtual (cyberbullying) environment. Although cyberbullying may sometimes be an extension of traditional bullying, some of its peculiar features suggest that it may have a very distinct causal pathway (Brighi et al., 2012). Bullying is indeed a social and relational process, involving children as bullies, victims, and bystanders, who can act as assistant or reinforcer of the bully as well as outsider or defender of the victim (Salmivalli, 1999). Indirect bullying is exquisitely relational and refers to harm within relationships caused by covert or subtle manipulative behavior, including isolation and social exclusion, threatening to stop talking (the “silent treatment”), or spreading gossip and rumors (Perren et al., 2012). Evidences show that it may create just as much or more damage than physical aggression among youth. As bullying is directed toward a specific victim, the roles of both targeted individuals and perpetrators are important in fully understand the phenomenon (Thornberg & Jundert, 2013). Gini (2005) found that while victims showed difficulties in social cognition tasks, bullies showed moral disengagement mechanisms, whereas defenders showed higher levels of moral sensitivity. His study especially evidenced the importance of social cognitive competencies in “*the complex circle of behaviors, attitudes and expectations* (p. 26) upon which bullying is based and the relevance of fine-grained classifications of bullying roles. A more recent study by Pornari and Wood (2010) showed that moral disengagement in both traditional peer aggression and cyber bullying is consistently associated with lower levels of moral emotions like guilt and shame and higher levels of emotions like pride or indifference respectively. While the concept of moral disengagement seems to account for the behavior of bullies and their lack of sense of guilt toward victims, it does not seem to explain differences among victims and control children. Finally, Perren & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger (2012) have hypothesized cyberbullies to have stronger deficits in morality than traditional bullies only. Despite the evidence of the existence of mediating processes between the moral and the social domains in adolescence, a great deal of research has mainly focused on teens’ goal preference rather than on the more complex and general understanding of how moral values shared in the social context influence social goals and aggressive/antisocial behavioral choices. Bullying cannot be understood without considering the cognitive mediators (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004; Guerra, Nucci & Huesmann, 1994) and moral issues involved in fairness, others’ welfare, and refraining from harming others for personal gain (Turiel, 1998, Arsenio & Lemerise, 2001; 2004). Proactive bullying, in particular, could be associated with individualistic and instrumental moral orientation (Bergeron & Schneider, 2005), as suggested also by Menesini, Nocentini & Camodeca (2013). Their study investigated the mediating role of personal values and moral disengagement (bully, victim, and bystander) in traditional and cyberbullying. Traditional bullying was assessed by means of a self-report measures, while a Portrait Values Questionnaire was used to assess 10 values in four dimensions according to the value system model by Schwartz (1992). Results showed that self-enhancement and self-transcendence moderately predicted cyber and traditional bullying respectively, while immoral and disengaged behaviors predicted both. Indirect effect

showed that self-enhancement and openness to change predicted both form of bullying through immoral behavior.

Moral Reasoning

Morality (including avoidance of victimization and aggression) and *autonomy* (involving individual goals) are often viewed as being in contrast, which is not necessarily true in social conflicts where a legitimate concern for the self is weighted with moral considerations, personal goals, projects and hobbies (Killen & Nucci, 1995). The pursuit of instrumental goals, per se, is not necessarily conducive of proactive aggression. To investigate how behavioral choices are associated to personal and social goals can have many important implications in addressing in which way proactive aggressive and non-aggressive teens differ on relational dimensions and moral development. Crick & Dodge (1996) found, in fact, that proactive aggression is associated more with instrumental ("I want this") than relational ("I want to be his friend") goals, although such a sharp contrast between the two seem too simplistic (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2001). According to Bandura's theory, internal mechanisms of self-regulation act as mediators between behavior and internal moral norms and moral emotions such as shame, feeling of guilt, self-blaming, keep the balance between our behaviors and our internalized moral norms and values. Gibbs' (2003) theory of "social-moral" reasoning accepts Kolberg's (1984) idea of individuals progressing from more egocentric attributions to forms of reasoning becoming more complex and abstract over time, but places a greater emphasis on the role of social perspective-taking and empathy. What seems particularly fruitful to our goal, is Gibbs's (1993, 1995, 2003) examination of the association between the process of moral reasoning, the content of social cognition, and general cognitive development, specifically those types of cognitive distortions that may contribute to the persistence of immature moral reasoning beyond childhood.

The first and primary cognitive distortion, typical of young children, is the egocentric bias, whereby attitudes and values place the individuals' own concerns as central. Moral reasoning at the lower stages (i.e., immature reasoning) is underpinned by an egocentric bias, with limited social perspective taking and an emphasis on one's own needs and desires ahead of those of other people. A range of secondary distortions supports the egocentric bias (Gibbs, 1993, 2003) and weakens inhibitions to participate in bullying. Among them are relevant *assuming the worst*, or holding a hostile attributional bias (i.e., the tendency to interpret ambiguous events as being hostile), *blaming others* for their own actions, *mislabeling of one's behavior* and *minimization of consequences* to minimize feelings of guilt and regret.

The persistence of a pronounced egocentric bias and the inability to take other people's perspective beyond childhood, along with the accompanying moral developmental delay, can lead to a greater likelihood of aggressive and harmful behavior toward others (Gibbs, 1993). Different studies have confirmed among antisocial and aggressive youths the presence of serving cognitive distortions (e.g., Barriga & Gibbs, 1996; Liao, Barriga, & Gibbs, 1998; Palmer & Hollin, 2000; Slaby & Guerra, 1988) and of a complex belief systems that enable justification of aggression (Vorrath & Brendtro). As such, aggression can be seen to result from a delay in moral development, hypothesized as a mechanism of "disengagement of moral control" (Palmer, 2003a).

Moral Disengagement

The relationship between moral disengagement and aggressive behavior, which is mediated by a reduction of feelings of guilty, pro-social behavior and cognitive evaluations has already been investigated by some researchers (Bandura, et al., 1996) especially among adolescents. Specifically, Menesini, Fonzi and Vannucci (1999) examined the disengagement of moral control in association with different participating roles in bullying (bully, victims and control) and found that bullying boys (age 6 to 14) were more prone to use dehumanization toward victims, compared to control and victim groups. An interesting study by Menesini et al. (2003) analyzed the role of moral emotions and reasoning in groups of children belonging to different participant roles in bullying (bullies, victims and outsiders) and to different cultural contexts. Children, faced with an imaginary bullying scenario, were asked to take on the bully role and were interviewed about their feelings. Moral emotions such as *guilt* and *shame*, (considered as indexes of moral responsibility), and those such as *indifference* and *pride*, (considered as attitude of moral disengagement), were investigated across the three participant roles. Bullies, compared to victims and outsiders, showed significant higher level of disengagement emotions, and showed egocentric reasoning. The study also reported cross-cultural differences attributable to a widespread culture where organized crime is almost accepted as a normal event and can easily support mechanisms of moral disengagement in young children (Menesini et al. 2003). Their results highlighted the link between socio-cultural context and individual moral reasoning and values; moreover, they evidenced how individual moral reasoning and moral emotions may be flexible and may account for different and varied aspect of the social world in which individuals are embedded. Heterogeneity and variability in social judgments and behaviors pertain to given cultures and to different individual members of that culture.

Cultural Values

Values are generally defined as principles, critical and important normative assumptions that underlie morality for individuals in relationships with others (Kurtines & Gewirtz, 1995). They are the affective component of morality and represent the implicitly or explicitly shared abstract ideas about what is good, right, and desirable in a society (Williams, 1970). Individual values and priorities are a product both of shared culture and of a unique personal experience and personality differences (Schwartz, 1999); they represent the guiding principles in life, which stir our emotions and allow us to create internal meaning. Shared cultural values, on the other hand, represent the way in which societal institutions (e.g., family, education, political and religious system) express their priorities, goals and their mode of operation. In other words, personal values (e.g., success, freedom, social order, and tradition) are the vocabulary of socially approved goals used to motivate action and to express and justify the chosen solution.

From the perspective of cross-cultural psychology, the social and cultural context is the key factor affecting the moral development of individuals and the kind of reasoning that individuals from different cultures bring to the moral discourse. The individual moral development refers to how one develops skills in understanding, managing and adhering to the moral expectations of his/her culture (Shweder, 1990; Stigler, Shweder & Herdt, 1990). Cross-cultural studies have indicated the importance of culture in determining moral reasoning

(Mizuno, 1999; Iwasa, 1992; Miller, 1988) and showed the existence of cultural variability in justice morality (Keller, et al., 1998; Edwards, 1994; Harkness, Edwards & Super, 1981; Miller et al. 1990). In the attempt to set the ground for a socio-cultural theory of altruism and aggression, Staub (1994) argued that: "In order to understand how altruism or aggression comes about, we must consider both how people select the aims of their behavior from a multiplicity of aims, and what determines whether they actually pursue the aims they selected... (p. 139)". Some researchers (Robarchek & Robarchek, 1998; Fry, 1998, Howell & Willis, 1989) have speculated that observed differences in aggression may be attributable to disparities in world views, values and belief systems. Both violent and peaceful social interactions could be understood through the sensitive and detailed explication of the values and meanings that embody and shape the behavior in different social settings (Howell & Willis, 1989). Altruistic and aggressive behaviors are multi-determined by individual characteristics, different influences and circumstances which usually join in (Staub, 1994). In studying aggression, researchers have often neglected to acknowledge the crucial relation between culture and moral reasoning. Consequently, the scientific literature on the extent to which the relationship between personal characteristic such as value orientations influences either pro-social or aggressive behavior is limited. Cross-national variability in social behaviors, including aggression and bullying, has often been attributed *post hoc* to "culture", without a clear theoretical framework and operationalization. Many authors have tried to replace "culture" with more specific, explanatory, variables (Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 1990). Hofstede (1980) classified culture along four dimensions: 1) Individualism vs Collectivism, which describes the emphasis placed on individual needs, ambition and success versus the well-being of the group, 2) Power Distance, which refers to the degree of difformity according to which societies accept the unequal distribution of power in institutions and organizations, 3) Uncertainty Avoidance, which refers to the extent to which rules, norms and rituals that provide stability and predictability are valued, and 4) Masculinity vs Femininity, which identifies the set of "masculine" goals, such as success, assertiveness, heroism and advancement, *versus* the "feminine" ones, focused on interpersonal relationships, modesty, nurturance and interpersonal harmony (Hofstede, 1980). Building on Hofstede's work (1980), Schwartz (1994) has proposed the dimensions of *Conservatism* (family security, social order, obedience, respect for tradition) *versus Intellectual and Affective Autonomy* (creativity, broad-mindedness, varied life, pleasure) and *Hierarchy and Mastery* (social power, ambition, wealth) *versus Egalitarian commitment and Harmony* (social justice, equality, unity with nature). Bond (1991) introduced an additional set of values derived from Chinese culture (*Integration, Human-Heartedness, Moral Discipline and Confucian Work dynamism*) in order to avoid the Western culture bias, which further confirmed the robustness of the dimensions cross-culturally.

Recent research has started using the cultural values (e.g., individualism and collectivism) at the national level to explain differences in peer aggression (Bergeron and Schneider, 2005; Forbes et al., 2009). According to Bergeron and Schneider (2005) cross-national differences in aggression could be predicted from values differences at the national cultural-level. Cultures wherein a high value is placed on individual needs and desires, getting ahead and promoting one's own interest regardless of those of others, would be more accepting of aggressive behavior than cultures in which an emphasis is placed on group goals, taking care of the collectivity, and fitting in harmoniously with the environment. Bergeron and Schneider (ibid.) reported that each of the three national values classification systems proposed by Hofstede (1980, 1983), Bond (1991) and Schwartz (1994) was found to predict differences in aggression.

Aggression scores were positively related to *Individualistic* values and negatively to *Collectivistic* values. Contrary to the expectations, Schwartz's dimension of *Affective-Autonomy* was not associated to aggression, and *Intellectual-Autonomy* was negatively related to level of aggression. Aggression scores were higher, on the contrary, in cultures where *Mastery* was a high value priority. These results taken together suggest that a generic orientation for individualism, as valued in some societies, may be not directly associated with higher level of aggression, "but rather the need to master and control the environment and the importance of getting ahead through self-assertion are linked to aggression" (ibid, p. 131). The research on cultural value orientation may explain how culture may influence the general attitude toward aggression, but a further level of analysis calls for the investigation of intracultural variations of cultural values, which may contribute to our understanding of explaining factors for individual differences in aggression within a particular culture. Multiple cultural values (e.g., individualism and collectivism) in fact, may coexist within societies and can be simultaneously endorsed by individuals as well as different culturally heterogeneous groups may be present in the same nation (Li et al., 2010).

Aims

In this study we aimed at investigating how individual life values varies in subgroup of students who are differently involved into covert and over bullying.

Based on the forgoing review of the literature and key concepts, we hypothesized that adolescents' endorsement of egalitarian orientation would be negatively related to their overt and relational aggression; conversely, adolescents' endorsement of individualism would be positively related to these aggression outcomes.

Methodology

Sample

Our sample of 801 middle school students (43.8% males, $n = 351$ and 54.3% females, $n = 435$, 15 missing; age range 10-15, $M = 12$, $SD = 1.54$) was recruited at two different schools with no specific bullying prevention program nor clear anti/bullying policies. The participating schools were selected from residential neighborhoods with a low rate of immigration and were located in the Italian region of Tuscany and Emilia Romagna. Students belonged to intact middle socio-economic families where the majority of fathers held a high school degree (22.3%) or a college degree (18.4%) with significant gender differences (for mothers 24.7%, 19.9% respectively).

Instruments

An anonymous self-report bullying questionnaire (Darbo, Buccoliero & Costantini, 2003) was administered to students by trained researchers during regular school hours, after parents' consent. Participation was voluntary, after parental written consent, with no reward nor incentive. Questions intended to assess the incidence of bullying in middle school, its type, students participating roles, where it occurs, adults' response and students' attitudes toward it. Below we give a more detailed description of the sections that will be considered in this study.

Peer Relationships at School And Perceived Attitude Toward Bullying

A questionnaire's section investigated the quality of peer relationship at school, wherein students were asked to evaluate the quality of their relationships with classmates and schoolmates on a 5 point Likert scale (from "very bad" to "good"), to report which moment of the school day they preferred to share with them (5 mutually exclusive items) and whether they were ever left alone by them (5 mutually exclusive items). In order to assess the presence of a peer attitude toward bullying in the school we also asked students to report their perception of their schoolmates' general reactions to bullying episodes, choosing two possible answers among 6 items devised to evidence a pro-bully perceived attitude or a pro-victim perceived attitude. Moreover, they were asked about their willingness to disclose what generally happens in school to classmates or friends outside.

Relationship with Adults in and Outside School

In order to evaluate students' relationship with adults we asked students to report the quality of their relationships with teachers in school (on a four point Likert scale from "very bad" to "good") and to report adults' general reaction to bullying in school, choosing only one answer among 5 possible items (yes or no response) (*"Adults in my school are not aware of what happens"; "they pretend nothing is happening"; "they're not present when it happens"; "they intervene to help who is victimized"; "they laugh and they have fun of us"*).

Moreover students were asked how much they were satisfied about their parents involvements in the school life, choosing their responses on a four-point Likert scale (from "not at all satisfied" to "very satisfied").

Life Values

The Life Values Questionnaire was composed of 12 items pertaining to life values, placed on a three point Likert scale (from "not important/very little important" to "very important"), in order to explore at the intra-individual level the three main culturally based value classification systems suggested by the work of Hofstede, Schwartz and Bond (see previous section).

The Life Values Questionnaire asked students to evaluate how important were for their life values such as Honesty, Order and respect of rules, Respect of others, Equity of possibilities for everybody, Freedom of thought, Solidarity, Justice, Tolerance for opinions and behaviors different from their own, Success, Wealth (Richness), Freedom to do what one wants, Self-realization.

Life Values Questionnaire yielded a good reliability of .86 Alpha, and the 12 items were further classified into three factors by a Confirmative Factor Analysis (see below), in order to obtain individual measures of life values orientation.

Analysis

First, we present descriptive results for all variables of interest, grouped in relationship with peers at school, relationship with adults in and out school, bullying, participating roles (bystanders, bullies and victims) and life values. Second, we describe our value classification

system obtained by factor analysis on the 12 life values. Finally, we discuss the results of multivariate analysis examining gender differences and the relationship between bullying participating roles, life values and culturally based value classification systems.

Relationship with Peers at School

Descriptive analysis showed a positive relationship with classmates, ($M=4.39$, $SD=.82$, range 1-5) and schoolmates ($M=3.94$, $SD=.89$, range 1-5). No significant differences were reported by gender.

However, more than half of our sample (51.9%, $n=416$) spent no time with class peers if not during *Class time* (28.8%, $n=226$), confirmed by only a small percentage sharing their *free time* (10.6%, $n=85$) with classmates outside school walls. Similarly, few students reported (18.8%, $n=88$) being left alone during school time by schoolmates either at recess (10.6%), during class time (3.7%), on the way to and from school (3.2%), or always (1.7%), while the majority was spending time together with classmates (79.2%, $n=634$).

Concerning the perceived attitude of their schoolmates toward bullying, a multiple response set was created including the six dichotomous items; the percentages among the total number of responses were analyzed. Students responses showed a tendency to do nothing when seeing bullying episodes (28%), or showing pro-bullies attitudes (25.9%, isolating the victim from the group and supporting actively the bully), while 33.6% of the responses reported answers which were pro-victim oriented (i.e isolating the bully from the group and giving help to the victim); a 13.1% reported to be scared from seeing the bullying episodes.

Results also showed that students felt comfortable in disclosing and discussing school matters within the school (84%, $n=673$), mostly with a trusted friend at school (59.4%, $n=476$) or with their classmates (38.8%, $n=311$).

Relationship with Adults in and Outside School

To evaluate students' perception of the quality of relationship with significant adults (teachers and parents) an Anova was run (satisfaction by Gender) among the responses to the four point Likert scale pertaining students' relationship with teachers. Results showed quite a positive relationship with teachers at school ($M=3.07$, $SD=.77$, range 1-4) with higher values for females than for males (Males $M=2.99$; Females $M=3.13$, $F=6.36$, 1 df; $p<.01$).

To assess the presence of supporting adults at school, we asked students to report adults' general reaction to bullying in school. Students reported that 47.3% ($n=379$) of adults involved in a bullying episode did actively intervene in defense of the victim while 30.3% ($n=243$) stated that adults were not present at the time of the incident and 10.7% reported adults to be either inattentive ($n=87$) or pretending nothing was happening (8%, $n=64$). A small percentage (1.2%) reported that adults in school were laughing when they witnessed Students in our sample seemed open to disclose within school walls (YES responses 84%, $n=673$); a multiple response analysis on the 5 items concerning whom they were talking to about school issues showed that students relied, as expected for adolescents, on the peer support system (50.3 % relied on a trusted peer, a 33% on classmates), but they were very reluctant in disclosing and discussing school matters with a trusted teacher (8.6%), teachers in general (5.6%) or school personnel (2.2%). Similarly, outside the school, students were less likely to disclose school matters with adults, neither their parents (32.6%) nor any other relative (12.5%) or adult figure in their lives (3.2%), while trusted friends were the reference persons (51.8%).

For what concerns parents' involvements in the school life, an Anova analysis was run by Gender on the scores of the 4-point Likert scale (from "1=not at all satisfied" to 4="very satisfied"), measuring the students' satisfaction of parental involvement. Beside a quite positive evaluation (, $M=3.41$, $SD=1.32$, range 1-4), no significant differences between genders emerged. Moreover, we asked students to what extent their parents were able to understand their feelings on a 4-point Likert scale (from "not at all" to "very much"). The majority of them reported having a quite emphatic and emotional connected relationship with their parents ($M=3.02$, $SD=1.70$), with no significant differences between genders.

Bullying at School

To assess the prevalence of the bullying phenomenon we asked students to report the presence of bullies in their school, their type (group or individual) and gender. Moreover, we asked what type of aggression they were actually perpetrating, where it was usually taking place and if they were somehow personally involved (as bystander, bully or victim). Results evidences a pervasiveness of school bullying ("*According to you, does someone in your school behaves as a bully?*": YES 75.9%, $n=608$). A multiple response tabulation on the total of responses to the categories of bullying (more than one choice on a 10 items scale) shows that bullying is characterized by teasing (23.1%), offensive language (20%), malicious jokes (12.9%), physical aggression (11.8%), threats (10.5%), group exclusion (7.8% $n=206$), stealing (minor 7.6% and major 4.5%) and extortion (1.4%).

A Chi Square analysis was performed on bullying type by Gender, showing females to report more indirect and relational bullying (*teasing*: Pearson Chi Sq. 4.02, 1 df., $p<.04$; *group exclusion*: Pearson Chi Sq. 8.77, 1 df., $p<.003$) while males were more sensitive to physical and verbal aggression (*Physical aggression*: Pearson Chi Sq. 3.75, 1 df., $p<.05$; *stealing*: Pearson Chi Sq. 4.82, 1 df., $p<.02$; *threats*: Pearson Chi Sq. 31.33, 1 df., $p<.000$).

Bullying was reported to be perpetrated more often by a group (60%, $n=481$) of males (75.3%, $n=603$) or mixed (19.6%, $n=157$), and much less frequently by one individual alone (22.2%, $n=178$) or two (14.4%, $n=115$) or by females (1.3%, $n=12$). Predominantly bullying took place on school premises, like the corridor (38%, $n=304$) and the classroom (37.1%, $n=297$). More rarely, bullying was reported to occur in *bathrooms* (14.7%, $n=118$), *on the way from and to school* (14.4%, $n=114$), or *courtyard* (9.1%, $n=73$).

In terms of direct and personal involvements, in a multiple choice question, students identified themselves as Bystander (84.5%, $n=671$), Victim (40.8%, $n=327$) and Bully (6.3%, $n=50$). Data clearly evidenced an overlap between roles indicating the majority of students as witnesses or victims. Recoding bullying participating roles into three mutually exclusive variables we obtained a very high percentage of uninvolved (neutral) bystanders (56.8% $n=455$), followed by victims (37.1% $n=297$) and bully | bully-victims (6.1% $n=49$). A Chi Square analysis showed that males are more represented in the bully/bully-victims group (4.1% of males vs 1.9% of females) and in the victim group (19% vs 18.3%), compared to females who are mostly neutral bystanders (females 35.1% vs 21.6% males) (Pearson Chi Square 22.70, $p<.000$).

Life Values

All 12 life values items proposed were evaluated by participants on a 3-point Likert scale ("not important", "important" and "very important"). Results indicated that in the whole sample, for all variables but *success* ($M=1.76$, $SD=.83$) and *wealth* ($M=1.59$, $SD=.79$), the

mean values were above 2.5, indicating they were considered quite important with *respect* ranking as the most important ($M=2.62$, $SD=.78$) followed by *freedom* ($M=2.60$, $SD=.77$) and *honesty* ($M=2.56$, $SD=.78$). A one way ANOVA within subjects was run to compare males and female life values responses. Gender difference were significant for 7 over 12 values.

Table 1. Life Values Items by Gender, Anova

	Sex	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	D.f	F	Sig.
Success	Males	351	1,91	,868	1	19,843	,000
	Females	434	1,65	,743			
Freedom of doing what one wants	Males	351	2,16	,892	1	2,642	,104
	Females	435	2,26	,804			
Justice	Males	351	2,46	,867	1	,292	,589
	Females	435	2,49	,824			
Solidarity	Males	351	2,18	,896	1	3,155	,076
	Females	435	2,29	,879			
Order and respect of rules	Males	351	2,23	,878	1	5,782	,016
	Females	435	2,37	,726			
Equality	Males	351	2,32	,927	1	13,534	,000
	Females	435	2,54	,750			
Tolerance	Males	351	1,97	,886	1	12,251	,000
	Females	435	2,18	,833			
Self-realization	Males	351	2,25	,860	1	3,451	,064
	Females	435	2,35	,782			
Freedom of thought	Males	351	2,55	,830	1	3,435	,064
	Females	435	2,65	,694			
Honesty	Males	351	2,46	,860	1	11,554	,001
	Females	435	2,65	,708			
Wealth	Males	351	1,69	,858	1	8,913	,003
	Females	435	1,52	,732			
Respect of others	Males	351	2,55	,843	1	5,939	,015
	Females	435	2,69	,712			

Females scored higher on values as *Order and Respect of Rules*, (Female $M=2.37$; Males $M=2.23$, 1 df, $F=5.78$, $p<.01$), *Equality* (Female $M=2.54$; Males $M=2.32$, 1 df, $F=13.53$, $p<.000$), *Tolerance* (Female $M=2.18$; Male $M=1.97$; 1 df, $F=12.25$, $p<.000$), *Honesty* (Female $M=2.65$; Male $M=2.46$; 1 df, $F=11.55$, $p<.001$) and *Respect of others* (Female $M=2.69$; Male $M=2.55$; 1 df, $F=5.93$, $p<.015$). Males score significantly higher than females on values such as *Wealth* (Male $M=1.69$, Female $M=1.52$, 1 df, $F=8.91$, $p<.003$) and *Success* (Male $M=1.91$, Female $M=1.65$, 1 df, $F=19.84$, $p<.000$) (see tab. 1).

Factor Analysis for Value Classification Systems

Moreover, a Principal Component Analysis was run, entering as variables the 12 value items: *Success*, *Honesty*, *Order and Respect of Rules*, *Respect of Others*, *Equity*, *Freedom of Thought*, *Solidarity*, *Justice*, *Tolerance*, *Freedom to do what one wants*, *Wealth*, *Self-*

realization. Three components were extracted with Varimax Rotation, which explained 63% of the variance. The first component was named “*Conservativism Orientation*”, as it was saturated by the values: Honesty, Order and respect of Rules, Respect of Others, Equality, Freedom of Thought; this component explained the 43% of variance (EigenValue 5.06); the second component was called “*Egalitarian Orientation*” and included the values of Solidarity, Justice and Tolerance; this second component explained the 13.11% of variance (Eigen Value 1.57). The third component was named “*Individualistic orientation*”, and was composed by values as Success, Wealth, Freedom to do what one’s want, Self-realization (see tab. 2). It explained the 6.8% of variance (Eigen Value .82). The standardized factor scores for each component were used for further analysis.

Table 2. Principal Component Analysis on Life Values

	Life Values Orientations Components		
	Conservativism	Egalitarian	Individualistic
	Eigen Value 5.06 (42.21%)	Eigen Value 1.57 (13.11%)	Eigen Value 0.82 (6.8%)
Success	,054	,049	,780
Freedom of doing what one wants	-,025	,538	,549
Justice	,351	,701	,196
Solidarity	,264	,714	-,001
Order and Respect of Rules	,791	,166	,037
Equality	,625	,453	,011
Tolerance	,373	,650	,056
Self-realization	,321	,401	,511
Freedom of thought	,600	,432	,338
Honesty	,823	,184	,130
Wealth	,087	-,014	,779
Respect of others	,763	,297	,090

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.; Varimax Rotation with Kaiser Normalization.

T-Test for Gender Differences

An independent T-test Gender by standardized Factor scores on the three Value Orientations (*Conservativism*, *Egalitarian*, *Individualistic*) evidenced significant gender differences: boys scored significantly lower on *Conservativism* and *Egalitarian* orientation, but significantly higher than girls on *Individualistic* orientation (*Conservativism*: Males $M = -.11$; $F = .09$; Student $t = -2.94$, $p < .003$; *Egalitarian*: Males $M = -.11$, $F = .11$; Student $t = -3.16$, $p < .002$; *Individualistic*: Males $M = .15$, $F = -.11$; Student $t = -2.94$, $p < .000$). Italian adolescent girls seem to rely more on the “feminine” extreme of this dimension, giving more importance to interpersonal relationship, harmony and nurturance (see tab. 3) than boys do.

Table 3. Value orientations by gender

	<i>Gender</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>df</i>	Sig. (2-tailed)
Conservatism Orientation	M	351	-.11	1.08	-2.94	783	.003
	F	434	.09	.90			
Egalitarian Orientation	M	351	-.11	.95	-3.16	783	.002
	F	434	.11	1.01			
Individualistic Orientation	M	351	.15	1.10	-3.71	783	.000
	F	434	-.11	.88			

ANOVA for bullying roles x Value Orientation

We further explored how value orientation and aggression could be linked by running Anova analysis for each component by the three participant roles, recoded as “neutral and bystanders”(NE); “bullies and bully-victims” (BBV) and “victims” (V). We found significant differences among the role-groups across all the three components (Conservatism $F_{12.99}$, $p=.00$; Egalitarian $F_{3.08}$, $p=.046$; Individualistic $F_{6.54}$, $p=.001$, $d.f.=2$). (see tab.4)

Table 4. Value orientations by Bullying participant roles Anova.

Value orientation	Roles	n	M	SD	Min	Max.	F	Sig.
Conservatism Orientation	Bystander	454	.085	.89	-3.03	1.61	12.99 (2 df)	.000
	Bully or Bully-Victim	49	-.66	1.21	-3.03	1.48		
	Victims	297	-.02	1.07	-3.99	1.76		
	Total	800	.00	1.00	-3.99	1.76		
Egalitarian Orientation	Bystander	454	.06	.95	-2.76	2.15	3.08 (2 df)	.046
	Bully or Bully-Victim	49	-.23	1.13	-2.25	1.98		
	Victims	297	-.06	1.04	-3.01	2.00		
	Total	800	.00	1.00	-3.01	2.15		
Individualistic Orientation	Bystander	454	.00	.93	-2.89	2.45	6.63 (2 df)	.001
	Bully or Bully-Victim	49	.46	1.23	-2.32	2.66		
	Victims	297	-.08	1.03	-2.86	2.33		
	Total	800	.00	1.00	-2.89	2.66		

The post-hoc analysis (LSD) revealed the Bully and Bully-Victim profile (BBV) to be significantly different from other roles on all the values components: Bullies and Bully-Victims scored lower than Bystanders and Victims on *Conservatism* and lower for *Egalitarian* orientation compared to bystander subjects only; on the contrary, Bullies and Bully-Victims scored higher on *Individualistic* orientation compared to bystanders and to Victims; (see Table 3).

ANOVA for Gender x Value Orientation X Bullying Roles

Finally, running an ANOVA on *Conservativism* by Sex and by Roles we tested whether the reported differences among values orientations were due to gender distribution in the bullies-and bully-victims group (BBV). No gender effect was found while the interaction Role by Sex was significant. The difference was due to BBV females that scored lower than BBV males on *Conservativism* (BBV Females $M = -.91$; BBV Males $M = -.43$). The *Egalitarian orientation*, when entered into the Anova analysis with Roles and Sex, was significant only for the general effect, but not for the separate variables nor their interaction (Egalitarian Orientation by Sex By Roles, 5 d.f., $F 3.56$, $p = .003$; Sex (1 d.f.) $F 1.53$, n.s.; Role (2 d.f.) 1.78 , n.s.; Sex by Role (2 d.f.) $F 1.89$, n.s.). The comparison among means showed that males NE (Bystanders) scored lower than females NE, but no differences due to gender were found for bully-victims group (BBV) and Victims (V). The *Individualistic* orientation confirmed what we examined above (Individualistic by Sex by Role, (5 d.f.), $F 6.78$, $p = .000$; Sex (1 d.f.) $F .063$, p.n.s.; Role (2 d.f.) $F 8.69$, $p = .000$; Sex by Role $F 3.53$, $p = .030$) with males scoring higher than females, and significant differences for Gender, Role and their interaction (Gender by Role). BBV were significantly higher than NE and V, but surprisingly BBV females reported higher means than BBV males. This seems to suggest that girls who are involved in active bullying have an individualistic orientation which encompasses the cultural "milieu".

CONCLUSION

Bullying is a social interaction that requires complex relationship solutions at the peer and adult level. Classmate friends and peers who do intervene in bullying make a real difference (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009) as peer relationships are crucial both for the bully who looks to maintain or acquire social status and for the child who looks to cope with and end victimization. Classroom and school climate, school organizational environments and social infrastructure can send a message to all students that bullying conflicts with the basic values of respect and tolerance. Adults are also responsible for ensuring that disclosing bullying, inside and outside school, will lead to a positive outcome and for providing extensive, dynamic, and ongoing support to youth. They can redirect bullies' leadership potential from the negative strategies of peer aggression to positive leadership skills and opportunities by teaching them how to relate to others positively, be effective in achieving social goals, and use power in a positive manner. Social skills clearly play an important role in bullying. In our study, bullies belong to two coexisting social worlds: *marginalization* and *connection* (Farmer et al., 2010). Socially marginalized, unpopular bullies fight against a social system that keeps them on the periphery and lack peer social support, whereas socially connected bullies are socially skilled and competent, peer networked and integrated. Socially connected bullies tend to be proactive and goal-directed in their aggression (Card & Hodges, 2008) and they target children who are likely not be defended (Veenstra et al., 2010). Socially marginalized, rejected-aggressive bullies who often are also victims, predominantly act aggressively, impulsively, in reaction to provocation, or in the attempt to gain status that generally eludes them (Pellegrini et al., 2010). In our study, proactive bullies were mostly represented.

They seem to belong to that group of socially competent subjects, using their skills to their advantage, but seem to lack the empathy to integrate such information into their interactions.

This manipulation of social relationships requires verbal, cognitive and social skills (Crick & Dodge, 1999) and the ability to identify successfully the social and emotional weaknesses of the targeted victims (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2001). This form of social aggression “may lie in the values of the bully rather than in the accuracy of the cognition (Sutton, Smith, P. K., & Swettenham, 1999, p. 122). The empathic styles, moral and cultural values and emotions of bullies and victims may substantially differ. We have explored in our study the normative area (i.e., moral values, norms, standards, and beliefs) as we consider it also important to in attempts to explain the moral side of bullying. Shared cultural values, in fact, are the basis for specific norms that tell people what is appropriate in various situations within a society and help shaping the contingencies to which people must adapt in the institutions in which they spend their time. They represent the way in which societal institutions (e.g., family, education, political and religious system function) express their priorities, goals and their mode of operation. Our study primary supports the claim that proactive bullying is associated with an individualistic and instrumental orientation: personal success and richness drive bullies, while more social and altruistic values characterizes victims and neutral bystanders. This pattern remains stable, despite the gender influence: female bullies, in fact, report having higher scores on Individualistic orientation, contrary to the cultural expectations, which sees females as more prone to socially oriented values. These results highlight the importance of considering the dimensions of moral orientation and life values in the bullying process.

Our results also confirmed gender differences in moral values, which could as well be attributed to specific cultural orientations and norms. Gender differences were significant, with females indicating more social and altruistic values than males, preferring success and personal achievement. Italy, according to Hofstede (1980), ranked among the countries with the highest scores in the dimension of “Masculinity”, corresponding to the value placed on material success, assertiveness, heroism and advancement. This probably could be attributed to a widespread *familialism* (the male breadwinner being the primarily responsible for the wellbeing of all family members) of Italian national culture (Giancesini, 2013). Especially in Italy, where the subsidiary principle and its familistic policies are central, conservative gender-specific division of labor within the family exists and female employment depend on care responsibilities rather than job opportunities and individual qualifications.

Our research, questionnaire-based, differs from other studies on moral reasoning where the primary emphasis was on response evaluation as we broadened the view of moral orientation by including “life values”, which are culturally influenced. Some issues need to be addressed here.

The ideological orientations of societies shape the form of moral justifications, sanction detrimental practices and greatly influence who is casted into devalued groups. Cultural and social-structural practices create conditions, which could be conducive to moral disengagement and favor its disinhibitory power. Some of the moral disengagement practices, such as diffusion and displacement of responsibility, are built into the organizational and authority structures of societal systems, and this is especially true for Italy (Giancesini, 2013). A pyramidal hierarchy and an impersonal bureaucracy but with great individualism characterize Italian society (Hofstede, 1980) where the displacement of responsibility derives from very early stage of socialization, which establishes the diffusion of the everybody’s and nobody’s responsibility notion. It is also true, however, that people are both producers as well as products of social systems. Within a society, individuals may have somewhat a different set of subjective values and, more or less, adapt to the prevailing cultural ideology or have a different subjective

interpretation of it. In order to explain the link between cultural values and aggression, is therefore particularly relevant to account for subjective culture and individual measures of cultural variability. Further analyses is needed to improve the measures for individual life values and to explore more in detail the link between moral, social and cultural domains. Different levels of analyses and multiple longitudinal data are necessary to fully understand the interaction of these variables and address bullying in a “comprehensive treatment package”. To prevent or contrast the bullying phenomenon, issues related to families and parenting style, social information processing, cognitive distortions, emotion regulation and moral reasoning altogether must be properly addressed, including the affective and motivational side of aggression, to help individuals develop more socially appropriate and competent ways of pursuing their goals in the social context.

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Chapter 58

BULLYING AS AN ORGANIZATIONAL SAFETY ISSUE: DO DIFFERENT TYPES OF BULLYING LEAD TO DIFFERENT LITIGATED OUTCOMES?

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ABSTRACT

Workplace bullying is widespread. A recent meta-analysis found that the prevalence rate across 86 independent samples was 14.6% (Nielsen et al., 2010). Bullying occurs often enough for the International Labor Organization (ILO) to emphasize physical and emotional violence as being one of the most serious problems facing the workplace in the new millennium (Canadian Safety Council, 2004). Congress enacted OSHA in 1970 with the stated purpose “to assure safe and healthful working conditions for working men and women.” It is argued in this chapter that workplace bullying poses a threat to safe and healthful working conditions. This workplace safety and health threat is associated with different legal outcomes depending upon whether the victim of bullying files a cause of action based on formal or informal bullying behaviors in the court system in the United States.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Bullying in the workplace has been investigated from a variety of perspectives ranging from the legality of workplace bullying (Yamada, 2005) to the ethics of workplace bullying (LaVan and Martin, 2008). This chapter will examine workplace bullying as an issue of organizational safety. Other researchers have viewed workplace bullying as an organizational safety and health issue (Jenkins et al., 2011) and a public health issue (Lovell and Lee, 2011). Furthermore, Lovell and Lee (2011) regard workplace bullying as an occupational safety hazard. To take an organizational safety perspective of workplace bullying requires that the legal context of bullying be discussed as well as the formal and informal behaviors that constitute workplace bullying. Furthermore, given the legal context of viewing workplace

bullying as an organizational safety issue, the outcomes for victims of workplace bullying will also be focused upon in this chapter with particular attention to the litigated outcomes.

Workplace Bullying: A Definition

There are numerous definitions of workplace bullying. In this chapter, workplace bullying is defined as consisting of three qualities: (1) the regularity of bullying over a six-month period; (2) the victim experiences challenges defending himself or herself; and (3) a difference in power between the victim and the bully. This definition is based upon the work of previous researchers (Lindstrom et al., 2000; Law et al., 2011).

Prevalence of Workplace Bullying

The prevalence of workplace bullying is in part related to the definition of workplace bullying. In one of the more rigorous prevalence studies of workplace bullying, it was estimated that 47 million U.S. workers are victims of workplace bullying in any given year, which is equivalent to 41% of the working population in the United States (Schat et al., 2006). In a polling study conducted by The Workplace Bullying Institute (2007), the lifetime prevalence was estimated to be 37% of the working population or 54 million Americans. The precise number and prevalence whether point prevalence, annual prevalence or lifetime prevalence is debatable but the number of workers exposed to workplace bullying and the number of witnesses exposed to workplace bullying as well as the number of individuals accused of workplace bullying add up to millions in any given year. This is why workplace bullying is considered not only an occupational safety and health issue but also a public health and social issue.

Workplace Bullying as an Ethical Issue

Although beyond the scope of this chapter, some have asserted that there is a strong relationship between local ethical climates and workplace safety (Parboteeah and Kapp, 2007). According to Schneider (1990), an ethical climate is the “incumbents’ perceptions of the events, practices and procedures and the kinds of behaviors that get rewarded, supported and expected in a setting (page 384).” Hence, the manifestation of workplace bullying behaviors occurs within the context of the ethical climate of a particular organization. Law et al. (2011) refer to such an ethical climate as a psychosocial safety climate and discuss this climate from the point of view of both bullying and harassment.

It has further been argued that ethical climates “serve as a modifier of motive and opportunity, either prompting or discouraging organizations from engaging in illegal behavior (McKendall et al., 2002, page 367).” The apropos law regarding workplace bullying is the Occupational Safety and Health Act (29 U.S.C. § 651 et seq.).

Legal Context

Even though workplace bullying is not illegal in the United States, victims of workplace bullying have prevailed in the court system by using other laws and legal theories to restore justice (Martin and LaVan, 2009; Martin, Lopez, and LaVan, 2010). Harthill (2009) references other laws that can be used by victims of workplace bullying ranging from Title VII hostile work environment protection to intentional infliction of emotional distress.

Beyond using other laws and legal theories, commentators have concluded that OHSA could "... be utilized and/or strengthened to incorporate coverage of bullying as a recognized workplace safety and health hazard... (Harthill, 2009)." The OHSA general duty clause is broad enough to cover acts of workplace bullying because it requires employers to maintain safe working conditions. Section 5 of the OSH Act sets forth a covered employer's duties. The first clause, section 5(a)(1) is called OSHA's "general duty clause" and provides that each employer must furnish its employees with a workplace "free from recognized hazards that are causing or are likely to cause death or serious physical harm." According to Namie and Namie (2004), workplace bullying falls more so under the category of psychological violence but violence nevertheless. As such, any violence occurring at work falls under the purview of OHSA.

The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) regards workplace bullying as a subset of workplace violence (2004). Moreover, NIOSH categorizes workplace bullying as a subset of workplace violence. Balducci et al. (2011) define workplace bullying as "...a prolonged exposure to frequent hostile behaviors at work, which can lead to severe stress reactions (page 499)." Balducci et al. (2011) in a study of workplace bullying assert that workplace bullying arises from both individual factors, specifically personality, and environmental factors, specifically work environment. Hence, there is an interaction between the individual and the work environment.

Outcomes for Victims of Workplace Bullying

There is a host of outcomes for victims of workplace bullying. The two primary outcomes considered in this chapter are the health and safety effects of bullying as well as the litigated outcomes of those victims who file a cause of action in a court. First, the health effects are numerous and deleterious (Namie and Namie, 2009). Specifically, workplace bullying has been associated with psychosomatic stress symptoms, muscular-skeletal symptoms, anxiety, and depression (Hoel, Rayner, and Cooper, 1999; Kivimaki et al., 2003). Other researchers have found that perceptions of workplace injustice are linked with chronic stress, high blood pressure, and increased risk of coronary heart disease (De Vogli et al., 2007). Second, Namie and Namie (2009) argue that workplace bullying "...can be a lethal form of workplace violence (page 203)."

Although victims suffer the greatest degree of harm, witnesses coworkers are also effected (LutgenSandvik et al., 2007). Not only are victims and those who vicariously experience workplace bullying impacted but so too are those accused of workplace bullying. Specifically, it was found that those accused of workplace bullying also experience negative health consequences particularly anxiety, depression, and stress (Jenkins et al., 2011). Accordingly, a focus on workplace bullying from a point of view, which embraces occupational safety and health, must be broader than the victim.

Types of Workplace Bullying

Workplace bullying occurs at both an individual (Olweus, 1991) and group level (Einarsen et al., 2003). In addition, workplace bullying has been shown to increase after organizational changes (Skogstad et al., 2007). Ramsay et al. (2011) comment, "Workplace bullying has serious negative implications for individuals, groups, and organizations (page 802)." Bullying is not limited to a single perpetrator and single victim as demonstrated by Leymann (1996) who discovered that "...slightly more than 40% of victims subjected to attacks by two to four persons (page 175)."

In this chapter, we distinguish between formal and informal workplace bullying behaviors. Formal workplace bullying behaviors are those behaviors that occur because of managerial and organizational decisions and actions such as discrimination and unfair pay. Salin (2003) found that workplace bullies are often rewarded for bullying such as in those instances where a promotion results from the productivity effects of bullying. In contrast, informal workplace bullying behaviors are those behaviors that take place because of unsanctioned actions of employees or customers such as harassment or intimidation. With regard to harassment and intimidation, these two types of informal bullying behavior have been categorized as workplace violence (Serantes and Suarez, 2006). According to Serantes and Suarez (2006), following this line of reasoning, "workplace violence can cause health risks for the victims...page 235)."

Informal workplace bullying behavior has also been found to exist when employees are ill-treated and subject to hostile behavior (Einarsen et al., 2003; Keashly, 1998; Pearson et al., 2001). Researchers have characterized perpetrators of workplace bullying as "...domineering, vindictive, cold, socially avoidant, and distrustful (Glaso et al., 2009, page 1327)." This description fits with existing research by others (Keashly and Jagatic, 2003). Even if informal workplace bullying behaviors are not part and parcel of the formal organization, organizations and managers have a responsibility to prevent and address workplace bullying formally (Glaso et al., 2009).

Organizational Context

The way in which an employer addresses complaints of workplace bullying will result in perceptions of justice and fairness on the part of both the victim and the alleged bully. Fox and Stallworth (2005) discuss the linkage between workplace bullying and organizational justice particularly in those situations in which the supervisor is the workplace bully. The filing of workers' compensation claims has been found to be associated with perceptions of workplace injustice (Winefield et al., 2010; Roberts and Markel, 2001) and even wrongful termination suits (Lind et al., 2000).

From an organizational perspective, Lovell and Lee (2011) recommend that worksite wellness programs specifically address workplace bullying as part of mental health promotion. Liefoghe and Davey (2001) assert that top management by focusing upon the culture of the organization can both prevent and remedy workplace bullying. One of the dilemmas of addressing workplace bullying from the perspective of employers is that only 1.6% of U.S. employers believed that workplace bullying occurs frequently in their organizations (Grubb et al., 2004) according to a NIOSH-NORC survey. In short, there is a discrepancy between the perceptions of prevalence among employers and employees. This poses problems because if

organizations do not regard workplace bullying as prevalent, then the rational response, especially during times of austerity, is to fail to invest in prevention and remediation programs. Left with no organizational recourse, the rational response for some victims is to seek legal action.

METHODOLOGY

The data for this research was acquired by using BNA database of litigated cases. All usable cases for the years 2006 to 2008 were retrieved using the search strategy (bully OR bullying AND employee)¹. The timeframe of three years was selected in order to discern a relatively recent perspective on litigation relating to bullying, i.e., what is going on currently in the legal arena? This search resulted in 522 usable cases, which comprise the data.

Content analysis was done on the cases and if a particular characteristic was present, it was coded as 1 and if absent it was coded as 0.

RESULTS

Types of characteristics, as suggested by the literature, include legal context, type of bullying behavior, and case outcomes. Legal context included both legislation and possible tort actions. Legislation included constitutional amendments, federal EEO laws, federal laws-other than EEO and state laws. Important frequencies for the cases are as follows: discrimination including Title VII, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and hostile work environment were the bases of 272 of the 522 cases. This accounts for 52% of the cases. Constitutional amendments were the basis for 114 or 22% of the cases. State laws were involved in 72 or 14% of the cases. Retaliation was formally involved in 343 or 67% of the cases. Possible tort action included intentional infliction of emotional distress, defamation, privacy, and breach of contract. Thirteen of the cases involve intentional infliction of emotional distress, eight involved intimidation and 11 involved tort action in general. There were breach of contract issues in eight cases, defamation in seven cases and privacy in an additional eight cases. With respect to case outcomes, the individual prevailed in 15.9% of the cases, the case outcome was split in 22.8% of the cases and in 56.5% of the cases, the employer prevailed. Note that these percentages do not total 100% due to some missing data.

Bullying behavior was classified as formal or informal. Formal bullying types are ones that the organization can control through managerial actions, at least to some extent. Informal types, not as easy to manage, are more the result of interpersonal dynamics. Table 1 summarizes the formal and informal bullying behaviors that existed in the litigated cases that were analyzed. The most prevalent forms of bullying behavior are discrimination and retaliation, which occurred in 52% and 65.8% respectively. The next most prevalent form was unlawful termination, which occurred in 11.8% of the cases. With respect to informal behaviors,

¹ Publications based on this dataset appear in Martin, M., Lopez, Y. & LaVan, H. (2009). What legal protections do victims of bullies in the workplace have? *Journal of Workplace Rights*, 14 (2), 143-156 and Lopez, Y., LaVan, H., & Martin, W. (2010), Specific characteristics distinguishing winning from losing: Litigated workplace bullying cases. *Journal of Workplace Rights*, 15(2), 135-149.

harassment occurred in 16.8% of the cases. Table 1 categorizes the types of formal and informal behaviors involved in bullying.

Table 1. Formal and Informal Bullying Behaviors

Formal Behaviors	Frequency of occurrence
Discrimination	52.0
Retaliation	65.8
Discipline/suspension	5.7
Unfair pay	1.7
Failure to reinstate	0.2
Breach of contract	1.5
Unlawful termination	11.8
Benefits and compensation	6.5
Informal Behaviors	
Harassment	16.8
Intimidation	1.5
Interference	2.1
Defamation	1.3
Intentional infliction of emotional distress	2.5
Invasion of privacy	1.5

Table 2. Multivariate Analysis: Logistic Regression

	Formal methods	Informal methods
Overall classification – percent correctly identified	60.0 percent	61.8 percent
Accurate predictions for individual split Block 1	6.0 percent	8.5 percent
Omnibus test	Chi-square 9.594, df=5, p=.295	Chi-square 13.486, df=6, p <.05
Hosmer and Lemeshow	Chi-square 3.736, df=5, p=.588	Chi-square .732, df=2, p=.694

One research question was whether the outcome of formal or informal types of bullying behaviors could be predicted by the use of logistic regression modeling. A logistic regression analysis was performed with individual and split outcomes in one category of the dependent variable and organizational outcomes in the other category. A total of 522 cases were analyzed. See Table 2. The formal types of workplace bullying behaviors, which were entered into the first model were discrimination, retaliation, discipline/suspension, unfair pay, failure to reinstate, breach of contract, unlawful termination and benefits and compensation. The full model does not significantly predict outcomes for the individual/split (omnibus chi-square = 9.594, df = 8, p=.295). It classifies 60% of the cases. The Hosmer and Lemeshow statistic is a test of the null hypothesis. Results indicate that the model is a good model as indicated by a

high p value. This model has a p value of .588, showing that the model is a good, but not ideal, fit. The informal types of workplace bullying behaviors were entered into the second model and were harassment, intimidation, interference, defamation, intentional infliction of emotional distress and invasion of privacy. The full model significantly predicted outcomes for the individual/split (omnibus chi-square = 13.486, df = 6, $p < .05$). It accurately classifies 62% of the cases. The Hosmer and Lemeshow statistic is a test of the null hypothesis. Results indicate that the model is a good model with a high p value of .694.

This model is a better fit than the modeling of the formal types of workplace bullying behaviors. Hence, while there is only a small difference in the percentage of cases classified correctly by the formal and informal types of workplace bullying behavior, the informal types are more parsimonious.

CONCLUSION

A key finding in this chapter was that informal types of workplace bully behaviors are a more statistically significant predictor of court decisions involving workplace bullying than the formal types of workplace bullying. This fits with existing evidence regarding the interpersonal aspects of workplace bullying (Einarsen et al., 2003; Keashly, 1998; Pearson et al., 2001).

About one-half of our cases involved discrimination based upon Title VII, ADA, and other civil rights legislation. This fits with existing findings from other studies (Harthill, 2009). On the other hand, our findings are not consistent with previous research with regard to managerial responses to bullying in the form of retaliation, which is higher in our study than other studies. Moreover, harassment was not as high in our study as previous studies (Serantes and Suarez, 2006). The implications of our findings for human resources professionals, managers, and attorneys will be discussed below.

It is important for management to understand the legal consequences of bullying in the workplace. The current findings suggest that when there are more informal types for bullying, it can be predicted that the individual will prevail in litigation or at least prevail in part of his or her lawsuit. These informal types are more likely to occur in that laws prohibiting such behaviors are nonexistent.

It is precisely in these contexts of interpersonal dynamics that workers' safety becomes jeopardized. It thus becomes imperative that managers manage to control interpersonal dynamics so that individuals are not bullied. Formal methods of bullying are more explicitly prohibited by a variety of laws including EEO laws, equal pay laws, and the expectation of procedural justice.

HUMAN RESOURCES PROFESSIONALS

Given the empirical finding that informal types of workplace bullying behavior were statistically associated with litigated case outcomes, it is essential that human resources professionals enlist the knowledge and skills of not only legal and employee relations but also training, organization development and even coaches. It is within the expertise of training and development professionals that these informal workplace bullying behaviors can be prevented

and addressed. In addition, for those involving harassment and intimidation with a gender, racial, religious or other dimension of diversity, then it is critical that appropriately trained and credentialed diversity practitioners be sought for their expertise.

MANAGERS

Managers should balance their attention to the legal/regulator environment with the climate and culture of their respective departments. In fact, managers should be very sensitive to group dynamics, team dynamics, and how individual employees are treated not only by management but by other members of the team, co-workers in other functions and departments as well as treated by customers.

ATTORNEYS

Attorneys representing the plaintiff or defendant can use the findings from this investigation to best represent their client. As an attorney for the plaintiff, evidence should be collected regarding the safety climate and culture of the organization with a particular focus on harassing and intimidating behaviors, which rise to meet the standard of workplace violence. If the evidence is present, then the plaintiff's attorney may be able to use the OSHA General Duty Clause as a cornerstone to the case against the defendant, the employer and the alleged workplace bullying perpetrator. On the other hand, as an attorney for the defense, evidence should be gathered regarding how the manager and the employer offered workplace violence, bullying and anti-harassment training and education for all employees, including management, and how the employer has a policy, procedure and practice to report such instances and investigate such instances as well as appropriate language in all pertinent policies about sanctions for those who are found to have bullied others in the workplace.

In closing, workplace bullying continues to attract the attention of researchers, policy makers, and human resources professionals not to mention attorneys. Yet, the framing of workplace bullying as an legitimate occupational safety and health concern has not been fully embraced in the United States but there is mounting evidence, including this investigation, that workplace bullying should be viewed as an occupational safety and health hazard that needs to be eliminated from the workplace. Future research should continue to investigate workplace bullying using theories and constructs from then occupational safety and health literature and conduct investigations employing qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods research designs to understand fully the nature of workplace bullying with the ultimate aim to reduce or eliminate the prevalence and associated harms of workplace bullying.

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Chapter 59

**BYSTANDER POSITION-TAKING IN
SCHOOL BULLYING: THE ROLE OF POSITIVE
IDENTITY, SELF-EFFICACY
AND SELF-DETERMINATION**

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ABSTRACT

School bullying has become an explicit, burgeoning problem challenging the healthy development of children and adolescents in Hong Kong. Many bullying prevention and intervention programs focus on victims and bullies, with bystanders treated as either non-existent or irrelevant. This paper asserts that bystanders actually play pivotal roles in deciding whether the bullying process and dynamics are benign or adversarial. Bystanders' own abilities and characteristics often influence how they respond to victims and bullies. "P.A.T.H.S. to Adulthood: A Jockey Club Youth Enhancement Scheme" (P.A.T.H.S. = Positive Adolescent Training through Holistic Social Programmes) is an evidence-based positive youth development program which shows that primary intervention programs have constructive impacts on junior secondary school students' beliefs and behavior. This paper asserts that intra-psychic qualities, namely identity, self-efficacy and self-determination, greatly influence how bystanders react in school bullying situations. The paper also explains how classroom-based educational programs based on the P.A.T.H.S. model have been designed to help junior secondary school students strengthen these characteristics, so that they can be constructive bystanders when they encounter school bullying.

Keywords: Bullying, bystander, positive youth development, positive identity, self-efficacy, self-determination

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INTRODUCTION

School bullying is a form of aggressive behavior, characterized by deliberate, repeated, and harmful abuse of power against victims who cannot easily defend themselves [1,2]. School bullying takes different forms and is often categorized into four types: physical bullying, verbal bullying, social exclusion, and extortion [3,4]. Physical bullying refers to overt physical aggression such as slapping, pushing, kicking, and spitting. Verbal bullying, which refers to overt verbal aggression, includes name-calling, teasing, insulting and threatening speech. Social exclusion refers to damaging a target's peer relationships or social standing; and tactics can include spreading rumors, ignoring the victim's presence, threatening others not to play with the victim, or directing threatening or intimidating stares towards the victim. Extortion is asking for money or property. In recent years, advancements in information technology have made cyber bullying a new challenge because it is easy to commit but difficult to prosecute.

School bullying has detrimental effects on bullies and victims, as well as on bystanders. Such harm can range from physical, psychological to mental; from intrapersonal to interpersonal; and from short to long term [2,5,6]. Bullies are at risk of becoming increasingly short of compassion and concern for others. They eventually are desensitized to bullying, which then becomes part of their normal life [7]. They may indulge in the satisfaction of aggressive behavior instead of academic pursuits, and thus are more likely to drop out of school and be involved in gangs, delinquent activities and antisocial behaviors [2,5]. They might have increased difficulty in maintaining healthy intimate interpersonal relationships and become abusive spouses and parents [4,8]. Over the long term, they are at increased risk of depression and suicide [9].

For victims, extensive effects – persisting to adulthood – are seen on emotional, mental, psychological, physical, social and academic functioning [1,6,10,11]. Those who are bullied during childhood are more likely than non-victims to report depression, trait anxiety, and social anxiety [12], social anxiety and social phobia [13], as well as low self-esteem, loneliness and relationship dysfunction [14].

Bystanders, too, are impacted. Students who observe bullying report feeling helpless, uneasy and distressed. They often harbor guilt for not having helped the victim, anger towards themselves and the bully, and fear of becoming targets themselves [10,15]. They may also feel insecure at school and become inattentive in class as their attention is directed toward avoidance of bullying [10]. These effects can also carry over into adulthood – inability to solve problems assertively, distorted views of personal responsibility, desensitization toward anti-social acts, and diffusion of boundaries on acceptable behavior [10].

School bullying is one of the top three misbehaviors in students, with frequency and severity increasing [6,16,17]. In Hong Kong, a 2004 study on secondary-school teachers' and students' perceptions of bullying found that more than 50% of the respondents had been involved in bullying, as bullies, victims, or bystanders [17]. In a 2008 study by the same group of researchers, 87% of respondents reported witnessing verbal bullying in the past 6 months, with 30% of them having seen it more than 10 times. Also, 68% of the respondents had experienced physical bullying in the past half year, with 14% experiencing it more than 10 times [4]. This worrying trend demands immediate work on effective strategies for the amelioration and prevention of school bullying.

School bullying has attracted massive research, and there are plenty of programs for bullies and victims [18-22]. Unfortunately, even though it is obvious that school bullying typically occurs in social contexts, existing studies often assume a bully-victim (dyadic) rather than a bully-victim-bystander (triadic) perspective. Bystanders are often taken as mere “passers-by”, “observers” or “onlookers,” as if they are transparent and immobile. In fact, bystanders warrant research attention because, in the social contexts of school bullying [23,24], all people present are inevitably engaged in interactions, be they explicit or implicit. Bystanders, who witness the bullying as it develops, occurs and ends, cannot possibly be inactive in the process – whether they act or refrain, they have already added energy to either the bully or the victim. Understanding bystanders is also important because a) they typically outnumber the bullies and victims and b) they experience intra-psychic struggles, which are amenable to adjustment through psychoeducation.

In view of these traits, and of the pressing need to combat school bullying, this paper will advocate for giving due attention to the important role of bystanders in the understanding and management of school bullying. While teachers, school staff, and parent/non-parent volunteers in schools can be influential bystanders in the school bullying process, this paper confines its discussion to peer bystanders.

BYSTANDERS’ POSITION-TAKING AS STRATEGIC INTERVENTION

Peer bystanders, who are the biggest group in school bullying and who may choose to adopt a variety of roles in school bullying, can decisively influence the intensity and outcome of bullying by assuming different roles or positions in the bullying process [5,25,26]. Twemlow, Fonagy and Sacco [26] have identified several different bystander roles. *Bully* (aggressive) bystanders may sustain bullying by offering positive feedback, such as joining in or actively reinforcing through laughs or encouraging gestures. *Victim* (passive) bystanders might simply stand aside and keep silent while observing, which actually renders silent consent [24,27,28] and becomes part of the victimizing process. *Avoidant* bystanders might facilitate victimizing by denying personal responsibility. *Abdicating* bystanders might use scapegoating to shed responsibility. In contrast to these first four types, *Altruistic* bystanders might mobilize personal or social resources to help reduce or even stop bullying, e.g., defending victims, taking sides with victims, informing and seeking help from adults, comforting victims, or trying to make bullies stop [24]. In many incidents, when peer bystanders intervene against bullying, it tends to stop quickly [29].

After acknowledging the pivotal function of peer bystanders in influencing the course of school bullying, and identifying the different positions of such bystanders, it is logical to ask whether bystanders can be helped to take up the altruistic position to reduce school-bullying, and how this can be achieved. According to Twemlow, Fonagy and Sacco [26], bystanders are actually uncomfortable in non-altruistic roles, or are at least caught in the dilemma of choosing among the different roles. Therefore, they are motivated to seek effective ways out. This search (i.e., a bystander taking a position) is affected by various environmental factors. *Physical* environmental factors include classroom spaciousness and even home proximity to bullies and victims. *Social* environmental factors include the availability of parents, teachers, other adults or peers for protection or role-modeling of different attitudes and skills of coping. In addition,

the bystander's physical characteristics, social and academic status [5] and even social skills [25,30] are certainly variables that influence bystanders' position-taking.

In addition to these extra-psychic factors, the intra-psychic qualities of the individual bystander (e.g., positive self-identity, self-efficacy and self-determination) are even more important, according to psychoeducational and clinical literature on bystanders [10,29,31-33]. In a bystander's spontaneous position-taking, these intra-psychic qualities are not only directly and immediately relevant; they are also the factors most amenable to the control of the bystander.

POSITIVE IDENTITY, SELF-EFFICACY AND SELF-DETERMINATION IN BYSTANDERS' POSITION-TAKING

Positive Identity

Identity is a constellation of personality characteristics and social styles through which one defines oneself and is recognized by others. The development of a clear and positive self-identity rests on building self-esteem, facilitating the exploration of and commitment to self-definition, and reducing inconsistencies in the self to enhance role formation and achievement [34]. This definition of positive identity gives three clues to how bystanders can be constructive helpers in school bullying. The first strategy is to enhance the bystander's positive self-esteem, which is highly correlated with prosocial behavior and positive well-being [32,35]. The second strategy is to engage the bystander in thinking through and working out responses to situations like bullying, and upholding such options. Finally, the bystander needs to see the gaps between their ideal, real and perceived selves, seeking to sort out such gaps in order to achieve peace of mind. To activate such strategies, it has been effective to present the potential bystander with case scenarios for guided discussion with self-reflection on choice of responses. The evaluation findings of Project P.A.T.H.S. reveal that students participating in the program performed better than their counterparts in different areas of psychosocial competencies and strengths, including positive identity, self-efficacy and self-determination [36-38]. They also have lower intention to engage in problem behavior and higher life satisfaction [37].

The social identity of peer bystanders (i.e., at school) can also explain why genuine, high self-esteem is important in encouraging students to take the positive side in bullying. Some studies suggest that students of low self-esteem may attempt to gain social status in school through bullying others [39-41]. On the other hand, Salmivalli et al. [27] found that defenders of the victim had the highest social status, suggesting that "a child's social approval (positive status) is connected with obedience to rules, with friendliness, and with prosocial interaction" (p.3). The defenders' high social status might be gained by others' appreciation of courageous, victim-defending behavior. Genuine high self-esteem, which is positively correlated with prosocial tendencies, is therefore needed for such behavior, as defending victims puts bystanders at risk of becoming victims themselves [35].

Self-efficacy

Bandura [42] defined self-efficacy as “beliefs in one’s capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments.” Self-efficacy plays a central role in “exercise of personal agency” and revolves around the idea that “unless people believe that they can produce desired effects by their actions, they have little incentive to act” [43, p.1206]. It functions as a multilevel and multifaceted set of beliefs that can include a global self-efficacy or self-efficacy regarding different domains of the self [44]. Self-efficacy has been shown in both Hong Kong [17] and overseas [31] studies to positively affect prosocial behaviors, including bullying defending behavior. Students high in social self-efficacy are likely to try to help victims in bullying situations, whereas students with low levels of self-efficacy are more reluctant to intervene and help, regardless of their level of empathic responsiveness [45]. Even if peer bystanders know how to intervene effectively, if they believe that they will be ineffective or that other bystanders are more competent, they will be less likely to take action against bullying [25].

Self-determination

Self-determination is defined by Catalano, Berglund, Tyan, Lonczak and Hawkins as “the ability to think for oneself, and to take action consistent with that thought” [46, p.19]. It refers to the competence in thinking for oneself and autonomy in choice making. People who are self-determined are able to make choices according to their own thinking and are less likely to submit to outside pressure.

Group norms and school culture often create pressure for certain behaviors. Bystanders’ position-taking in bullying is very much the result of peer pressure and the desire to be accepted by peers [33]. Students are more likely to join in bullying if their social network does the same thing. Besides group norms, school culture also contributes to the social pressure on bystanders. In environments where speaking up against injustice is clearly accepted and valued, the risk of social rejection for active bystanders is reduced, whereas in environments where bullies hold the power to determine acceptance or rejection, the risks of speaking up are greater [5]. If students are well-equipped with self-determination, they are less likely to acquiesce to negative peer pressure and school culture, and are more able to take the positive side when they witness bullying.

PROJECT P.A.T.H.S.: A POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM ENHANCING STUDENTS’ SELF-EFFICACY, POSITIVE IDENTITY AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Most school-bullying intervention programs, both in western countries and in Hong Kong [47,48], focus on providing social-skills training for bullies and victims, increasing students’ awareness of bullying, heightening their concern for victims, providing peer mediation programs to improve students’ intervention behavior, and creating an anti-bullying school ethos by restructuring the school environment. However, overseas evaluation studies show that these

programs do not clearly improve bullying or victimization in the schools, or that they are effective in one school but not in others [15,47,49]. In Hong Kong, few (if any) systematic studies on evaluating the bullying intervention programs have been done. The effectiveness of these programs is therefore unknown.

In view of the increasing seriousness of school bullying, Project P.A.T.H.S. – a positive youth development program in Hong Kong – includes bullying as a discussion topic in its Extension Phase [50]. To fill the literature gap [51], the P.A.T.H.S. curriculum (Appendix 1) focuses on facilitating students to become prosocial helpful bystanders. The curriculum references literature on psychoeducational programs to enhance positive identity, self-efficacy and self-determination, in combination with Salmivalli's recommendations [24] in the case of school bullying to offer (1) general awareness-raising, (2) chances for self-reflection, and (3) possibilities to rehearse new behavior.

In Secondary 1 of the new curriculum, students are introduced to basic knowledge on bullying, including what it is and what its effects are, as well as do's and don'ts when facing bullying. Through understanding the effects of bullying, students can understand how bullying harms themselves and others, in order to keep from joining in. Teaching students do's and don'ts may also help them protect themselves when being bullied. The focus shifts to bystanders in Secondary 2 and Secondary 3, with four goals: to understand that peer bystanders play an important role in bullying and can alter the outcome of bullying; to learn to be a wise and sensible bystander in school bullying; to be a responsible bystander in cyberbullying; and to learn to understand and accept the differences and constraints of others.

In addition to the new curriculum addressing bullying, the Project P.A.T.H.S. Tier 1 programs (original phase) – a universal positive youth development program for students in Secondary 1 to 3 – also help enhance participants' self-efficacy, positive identity and self-determination, aside from other essential competencies in social bonding, emotional competence, and moral judgments. For example, in the units on self-efficacy, students are encouraged to recognize their successful experiences; to experience self-efficacy through enactive attainment; to be connected to ownership in goal setting, self-regulation, and self-efficacy in goal attainment; and to manage their psychological selves in goal attainment. The units on positive identity help students to accept and appreciate themselves; to explore their ideal, actual and ought selves; and to enhance their feelings of mission. The units on self-determination focus on enhancing students' understanding of autonomy and their involvement/competence in goal setting and action planning, and on promoting students' problem-solving and decision-making skills in confronting risk-taking behaviors and undesirable peer influences.

The curricula in the original phase and in the extension phase work in a spiral manner that enhances students' self-efficacy, positive identity and self-determination and repeatedly consolidates what they have learnt year by year. The cultivation of self-efficacy and positive identity, together with the knowledge of effective intervention skills, enables students to exercise their self-determination skills in making sensible decisions and taking prosocial stands against school bullying. One caveat is that the curriculum should be applied with a gender-sensitive perspective. Some studies [52] have found that boys may have higher drop-out rates from programs that try to develop them into helpful bystanders, especially when conventional masculine role models and macho values (like those in Chinese families) prevail in society.

CONCLUSIONS

School bullying is a triadic social process, in which bystanders assume roles equal to, if not more important than, those of bullies and victims in steering the course and outcome of bullying. Fellow students, teachers and staff at school, as well as parents who interact with their children's lives at school, are all bystanders, but this paper has focused on peer bystanders. Peer bystanders' position-taking is influenced by many different physical, psychosocial and intra-psycho factors. Of these, three intra-psycho attributes – positive identity, self-efficacy and self-determination – are particularly important direct and immediate variables under the direct control of the bystander. Based on psychoeducational principles with demonstrated effectiveness in Project P.A.T.H.S., a positive youth development program assisting students in their growth to adulthood, this paper is a useful addition to the field to fill the literature gap on how peer bystanders can play a key role in ameliorating school bullying.

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APPENDIX 1. BULLYING UNITS – OVERVIEW

	Unit Code/Unit Name	Construct	Unit Aim	Learning Targets
Secondary 1	AB1.1 Incidents of Bullying	Behavioral Competence, Emotional Competence, Resilience	To understand what is meant by bullying and its consequences, to avoid being a bully or a victim	1. To understand the definition of bullying 2. To investigate the behavioral and emotional reactions of the bully, the victim and bystanders in bullying incidents, and the consequences of bullying
	AB1.2 Behind the Mask of Bullying	Emotional Competence, Behavioral Competence	To understand the true needs of the bullies, and identify proper approaches to minimize bullying	1. To understand the reasons of bullying and the mentality of the bullies 2. To identify suitable approaches to fulfill the underlying needs of the bullies in order to reduce bullying
	AB1.3 A Secret Book of Bullying Prevention	Social Competence, Behavioral Competence	To learn what should be done in the face of bullying	To learn do's and don'ts in the face of bullying
Secondary 2	AB2.1 I Can Make a Difference	Moral Competence, Prosocial Norm	To understand that bystanders play an important role in bullying	1. To understand that the “bystander effect” has a significant impact on a person’s decisions and behavior 2. To understand that the consequences of a bullying incident vary with the attitudes and responses of the bystanders
	AB2.2 Make a Smart Move	Moral Competence, Behavioral Competence	To learn to be a wise and responsible bystander	1. To understand the factors affecting the attitudes and responses of bystanders to bullying incidents 2. To investigate how to stop school bullying wisely
Secondary 3	AB3.1 Online Buddies	Moral Competence	To learn to be a responsible bystander in cyber-bullying	1. To know the tremendous harm that cyber-bullying can cause 2. To investigate the proper attitude for bystanders in cyber-bullying incidents
	AB3.2 Alien?	Social Competence	To learn and practice the motto “seek common ground and respect differences; seek harmony but not uniformity”	1. To understand that everyone has his/her own limitations and is different from others. 2. To learn to understand, tolerate, and accept those who are different from us

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Chapter 60

COMBATING SCHOOL BULLYING THROUGH DEVELOPMENTAL GUIDANCE FOR POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND PROMOTING HARMONIOUS SCHOOL CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

Bullying and violence, which can bring detrimental effects, are situations which young people have to face in their process of development. Though school bullying has been a spreading and explicit problem in Hong Kong schools, most of the programs or guidelines dealing with the problem lack citywide, recognized initiatives and the effectiveness of these programs is unknown due to the lack of evaluation. The present paper discusses preventing school bullying from a developmental guidance perspective, using the positive youth development paradigm, and promoting the values of harmony and forgiveness at the whole-school level to cultivate a harmonious school culture as a way of combating school bullying.

Keywords: Bullying, forgiveness, harmonious school culture, developmental guidance, positive youth development, whole-school approach

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INTRODUCTION

School bullying has become a spreading and explicit problem in Hong Kong schools and is an issue of growing concern for parents, teachers and educators [1,2]. Following the definition of Olweus [3], bullying refers to intentional, oppressive behavior against another person that causes physical and/or psychological harm. It is an abusive behavior which is typically repeated over time, that is, such behavior is not a one-time occurrence. Bullying behaviors are usually classified into one of these four categories: 1) Physical bullying refers to overt physical aggression such as hitting, pushing, kicking, spitting and punching; 2) Verbal bullying refers to overt verbal aggression such as name-calling, teasing, insulting and threatening speech; 3) Social exclusion behaviors aim to hurt the victims by damaging their peer relationships or social standing. Such behaviors include ignoring the presence of the victims, spreading hurtful rumors, excluding the victims from a friendship group, or threatening others not to play with the victims; and 4) Extortion such as asking for money or others' property [4,5]. Often, a real or perceived imbalance of power persists between the bullies and the victims [3,6]. For example, the child bullies who are older have greater physical strength and are more socially or verbally adept than the victims. Also, bullies are more psychologically manipulative, or have a higher social standing than the targeted victims [5,7].

Research studies have shown that school bullying has detrimental effects on victims and the bullies themselves as well as on bystanders, which affect their academic, social, emotional, mental, psychological functioning as well as physical health. Problems arising from bullying may persist into adulthood [6,8,9]. Factors such as students' psychosocial functioning and their accessibility to violent values are found to be related to school bullying [4,6,10,11]. Students who have unstable emotions, unsatisfactory school performance, poor relationships with their family members, teachers, and peers, are more likely to be involved in peer victimization [4]. Those who are exposed to violent values, such as growing up in an aggressive background [10,12], having frequent contact with deviant peers [13], being exposed to violence messages through the media [14,15] are more likely to engage in violence, either as bullies or as victims. Further, students lack skills and strategies to deal with incidents of bullying. Victims of bullying often develop intense anger and anxiety, and suffer low self-esteem or depression [16,17]. Some may misdirect their anger and in turn become bullies [2]. Hence, the way in which schools respond to school bullying is pertinent.

In school guidance, there have been three major approaches in dealing with student problems, including school bullying, namely remedial, preventive, and developmental guidance [18]. Remedial guidance focuses on offering interventions and therapies to students experiencing emotional, psychological or behavioral difficulties. In the case of school bullying, a remedial guidance approach focuses on the individual student level, victims as well as bullies. Such an approach is a responsive and curative approach. Preventive guidance is a proactive approach, which stresses anticipation of problems like bullying, enhancing students' awareness of bullying and victimization, and skills and strategies to handle bullying. Developmental guidance approach, on the other hand, is a positive approach to facilitate students' whole person development, including their personal, social, and moral self-formation. Developmental guidance addresses issues such as self-knowledge, self-responsibility, interpersonal relationships, bonding. These are delivered through a guidance curriculum at classroom level and school-wide programs. Through education on the need for respect for self and for others,

tolerance of individual differences, self-determination and responsible decision making, students will attain positive self and inter-personal development. Among these three approaches, developmental guidance contributes the most to the holistic development of students, is considered as one of the most effective measures in promoting students' healthy development and in preventing juvenile delinquency. Developmental guidance has been the guidance approach and focus of schools in Hong Kong and elsewhere [19].

School climate is another factor related to school bullying. Students are at a greater risk of engaging in bullying acts if in their school there are often conflicts or low morale among students and teachers. On the contrary, schools with a positive climate have less bullying-related problems, and students are more likely to engage in altruistic behavior [10,20]. These research findings point to the significance of promoting a harmonious school culture as a means of preventing school bullying. The present paper discusses preventing school bullying from a developmental guidance perspective, using the positive youth development paradigm, and promoting the values of harmony and forgiveness at the whole-school level to cultivate a harmonious school culture as a way of combating school bullying.

INTERVENTIONS TO COMBAT BULLYING

School bullying is a systemic and a complex process of social interactions that involves bullies, victims, peers, adults, parents and school as well as home environments [21]. A review of bullying intervention programs suggests that intervention may target at the individual student level, for example, teaching the victims self-assertion skills, helping the victims to deal with their negative emotions arising from being bullied, helping the bullies to develop empathy for the victims, and forming a support group involving the victims and the bystanders [22]. Such an approach is a remedial guidance approach in combating school bullying. Some interventions target at the classroom level, for example, through classroom discussion to enhance students' awareness of and developing rules to deal with bullying. Other interventions target at the whole-school level, such as devising a whole-school anti-bullying policy that is communicated to the whole school community [22]. Peer-led intervention utilizes peer support such as peer counseling to improve students' communication and empathy skills, and peer mediation to resolve conflicts. Other forms of peer-led intervention involve setting up cooperative work groups, creating a circle of friends to support students at risk of victimization [23,24]. Whole-school interventions usually target at all school members including staff, pupils and parents to enhance their knowledge and responses to bullying [3]. Since bullying springs from factors external to individual child sub-systems, bullying interventions need to involve different systems within the school community in order to have a significant consistent impact. A whole-school approach to bullying that is directed at the entire school context and involves a comprehensive, multilevel strategy that targets bullies, victims, bystanders, families, and community, becomes pertinent [21,25]. Classroom intervention and whole-school anti-bullying programs illustrate the preventive guidance approach to school bullying. These programs usually target at providing training in social skills, altering group norms and increasing self-efficacy. A review of the effectiveness of anti-bullying interventions has shown that the incidence of bullying cannot be reduced by implementing the curriculum alone [21]. Implementation of intervention across schools has a higher success rate [5], and the intervention

is most effective when the anti-bullying curriculum is integrated into the regular school curriculum [23]. School climate factors, such as interpersonal relationships and quality of communication, the important ecological factors influencing bullying, however, are not usually included in the whole-school intervention program [26]. Developmental guidance precisely addresses to building a positive school climate and a guidance oriented community where each individual's rights are respected and valued.

The spreading and explicit problem of bullying in Hong Kong schools is illustrated in a study of local secondary schools, which found that over half of the respondents were involved in bullying [1]. In another study, it was found that nearly 90 per cent of the respondents witnessed verbal bullying in the past half year, and nearly 70 per cent of the respondents experienced physical bullying in the same period [4]. In another study on cyber-bullying, 22 per cent of the respondents bullied others, 30 per cent of the respondents were being bullied, and nearly 60 per cent witnessed cyber-bullying in the past one year [27]. However, it was not until recently that some programs or guidelines dealing with the problem of school bullying were developed by the governmental authorities and the local practitioners [28-32]. Nevertheless, most of the programs lack citywide, recognized initiatives [1], and the effectiveness of these programs is unknown due to a lack of evaluation. Anti-bullying intervention has focused on the individual student level, adopting a suppressive strategy. Such an approach is bully-focused and blame-driven. Measures such as withdrawal of privileges, meeting parents, school suspension and expulsion have been adopted by schools to deter students from bullying. However, this strategy is considered punitive and may worsen the bully-victim relationship or even intensify the problem [1,23]. Such an approach is also very remedial and reactive in focus, falling short of teaching bullies and victims' skills for dealing with conflicts. Another approach is a comprehensive anti-bullying strategy which aims to tackle risk factors contributing to bullying, and to involve all people in the whole school [1]. Four useful tactics underlying this strategy are: (1) Encouraging victims to tell the truth and develop a strong character; (2) Educating bullies who lack social skills; (3) Shaming bullies who intend to do harm, or who have done harm, in a re-integrative manner; and (4) promoting a peaceful environment by using restorative practices [1, p.546]. Such an approach focuses on prevention of the problem and functions more like preventive guidance in schools. There has been insufficient integration of anti-bullying initiatives into schools' policy from a developmental guidance perspective as a means of strengthening students' personal and social development. There has also been a lack of intervention at the classroom level, such as incorporating an anti-bullying curriculum into the school's regular guidance curriculum, and a similar lack of intervention at the whole-school level through promoting a harmonious school culture. A guidance curriculum which focuses on developing students' strengths and the values of harmony and forgiveness will help address the problem of bullying from a developmental guidance perspective.

TACKLING BULLYING FROM A POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

Positive youth development (PYD) focuses on developing adolescents' strengths and competencies, personal character, social connections, and the ability to care and contribute to

society through a planned curriculum and program [33]. Developing adolescents' assets and strengths is important [34]. It is asserted that the achievement of the above developmental tasks will increase adolescent psychosocial well-being and societal well-being. The goals of PYD are very similar to those of developmental guidance, for both are positive approaches to facilitate the whole-person development of young people via a systematic and planned school guidance curriculum [18]. Both PYD and developmental guidance stress the importance of focusing on strength and on developing competence. Such a positive approach, which is not 'problem driven', is particularly relevant in combating problems like bullying in schools.

Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, and Hawkins [35] identified fifteen psychological constructs or competencies as the key elements of the successful positive youth development programs. Constructs which promote inter-personal relationships, such as bonding, recognizing positive behavior, fostering pro-social involvement and pro-social norms, and those which promote emotional, moral, social and behavioral competence contribute to building strengths in adolescents which will serve to counteract bullying and other forms of school violence.

To promote the holistic development of adolescents in Hong Kong schools, the "P.A.T.H.S. to Adulthood, a Jockey Club Youth Enhancement Scheme" has adopted the positive youth development paradigm and devised a curriculum incorporating the fifteen psychological constructs. The Tier 1 program of Project P.A.T.H.S., a universal positive youth development program, functions like a developmental guidance curriculum for all students. Issues that adolescents may face, such as sexuality, concepts of money and success, bullying, internet addiction, substance and drug abuse, are incorporated as examples and illustrations in the program, with an attempt to promote students' psychosocial competencies [36]. The evaluation findings consistently show that Project P.A.T.H.S. is effective in promoting positive youth development [37-42]. Specifically, positive effects in reducing adolescent delinquent behavior among the junior secondary years have been found [48].

The newly devised P.A.T.H.S. units, which address to bullying share functions similar to a classroom-based intervention. As shown in Table 1, these units aim to enhance students' understanding and awareness of the nature of bullying and cyber-bullying, the needs of the bullies and the victims, the role of the bystanders in bullying, the moral responsibility in stopping bullying, the respect of others and cyber ethics. As a PYD program, these units foster specifically the psychological constructs of bonding, resilience, social competence, emotional competence, behavioral competence, moral competence, and pro-social norms. Since these units are taught as a classroom curriculum for all students in their respective class levels, the students will acquire competence, positive skills and strategies in facing bullying and school violence. Hence, these PYD units also tackle bullying from a developmental guidance perspective through a systematic curriculum targeting at all students.

There are several merits in adopting the positive approach in tackling bullying. First, it addresses bullying from a positive youth development paradigm, stressing the importance of competency building. Issues relating to bullying are used as a context through which students learn appropriate social skills, emotional management skills, and the ability to understand others' emotions, to appreciate and forgive others. In addition, units target at helping students to explore proper attitudes and skills when facing unjust and violent situations, to learn to see things from other people's perspectives, and consider appropriate ways of responding. Through enhancing students' moral, social and behavioral competence, the incidences of bullying can be prevented. Second, this is a deliberate attempt to incorporate anti-bullying elements in a form of classroom curriculum to be delivered in the schools' regular curriculum. Enhancing

students’ knowledge about bullying and positive ways of handling it through classroom discussion and activities is more effective as an intervention strategy [23]. Students can be equipped with knowledge and skills to foster a positive and culturally appropriate learning environment. Cooperative group work and activities which enhance students’ intrapersonal and interpersonal skills can reduce the extent of victimization of vulnerable students and promote a peaceful, loving, and respectful classroom environment [4]. Third, building students’ assets and strengths in inter-personal relationships, bonding and competence will help build a caring school ethos, leading to a more harmonious school culture.

Table 1. An overview on the foci of the P.A.T.H.S. units on bullying

Level	Goals	Constructs
Secondary 1	1. To understand what is meant by bullying and its consequences, to avoid being a bully or a victim 2. To understand the true needs of the bullies, and identify proper approaches to minimise bullying 3. To learn what should be done in the face of bullying	Emotional Competence, Behavioral Competence, Social Competence, Resilience
Secondary 2	1. To understand that bystanders play an important role in bullying 2. To learn to be a wise and responsible bystander	Moral Competence, Behavioral Competence, Prosocial Norms
Secondary 3	1. To learn to be a responsible bystander in cyber-bullying 2. To learn and practice the motto “seek common ground and respect differences; seek harmony but not uniformity”	Moral Competence Social Competence

TACKLING BULLYING THROUGH CULTIVATING A HARMONIOUS SCHOOL CULTURE

Bullying behavior is influenced by the social context [44]. A positive school climate can reduce aggression and bullying as well as promote positive youth development [22,25,45]. In addition to the integration of an anti-bullying curriculum with a positive youth development program like Project P.A.T.H.S., as mentioned above, other strategies can be adopted to complement this approach in order to cultivate a caring school climate which values harmony, with zero tolerance towards violence.

Fostering Forgiveness as a Value and Coping Strategy

Forgiveness is a moral concept and a moral response to interpersonal conflicts and injustice. Forgiveness is defined as a replacement of negative sentiments with positive affect,

thinking and behavior towards the offender [46]. In forgiving, the offended becomes less motivated to do harm and more motivated to do positive things to benefit the offender [47]. Forgiveness is not excusing, condoning or justifying the unjust offences. Rather, forgiveness is a strategy to reduce stress arising from the transgression and the unforgiving emotions. The victim may employ decisional forgiveness, that is, having the intention to give up revenge or avoidance towards the offender, and emotional forgiveness, which is replacing negative with positive emotions [48]. Forgiveness interventions have been used with adults and college students to deal with hurts and offences [see 49,50]. Recently, forgiveness interventions following Enright's process model have been used with children and adolescents [51-54]. In Hong Kong, forgiveness has been introduced as a developmental guidance curriculum for adolescents [55] and as a small group preventive guidance intervention with children who judged themselves to have been hurt and chose not to forgive the offenders [56]. Both studies adopted Enright's process model and implemented forgiveness education as school guidance programs. The results indicated that those who received the forgiveness programs outperformed their counterparts in forgiveness attitude, conceptual understanding of forgiveness and psychological well-being. Specifically, these students learnt empathy as a key strategy to forgive and indicated more readiness and confidence to apply forgiveness as a strategy in dealing with offences in future.

Ahmed and Brathwaite [57] suggest the link between forgiveness, reconciliation and reducing bullying. The absence of forgiveness and reconciliation makes no contribution to building emotional scaffolding. Egan and Todorov [5] further suggest that forgiveness can be introduced as a strategy to help students respond to being bullied. Anti-bullying intervention with individual students may incorporate forgiveness as an element to help victims to deal with stress and negative emotions. This will have the benefit of deterring victims from turning into bullies. Klatt and Enright [58] suggest that forgiveness can be conceptualized from a positive youth development perspective for education. Forgiveness is not yet included as a psychological construct within the positive youth developmental paradigm, though Project P.A.T.H.S. does include a unit on forgiveness.

Introducing forgiveness as a developmental guidance curriculum has several benefits. First, conceptualizing forgiveness from a PYD perspective will contribute to fostering forgiveness as a strength and asset, not only for victims and those at risk of school violence, but for all students. Strategies such as empathy and reframing will benefit not only victims, but also potential bullies and bystanders in their responses to offences and unjust situations. Forgiveness is a choice and a decision. Teaching young people forgiveness as a strategy in dealing with interpersonal conflict will increase their behavioral and emotional competence. Second, teaching forgiveness as a value and a coping strategy can help students to be less inclined to seek revenge and retaliation in inter-personal conflicts and to be more positive and proactive in seeking harmony. Hence, incorporating forgiveness as a guidance curriculum that targets the whole-school community will help promote a more caring, tolerant and responsive school climate.

Social Support of Teachers

Social support has been found to be an important contextual factor in countering bullying, yet there is a lack of explicit application of social support in anti-bullying programs and interventions [59]. Research studies have demonstrated that students' perceived school

satisfaction is related to supportive teacher-student relationships [60], teacher support [61], and a caring and supportive school climate [62]. Teacher support has been found to be a protective factor against students' suicidal ideation [63], has acted as a significant predictor to students' perceived school satisfaction [64], and played a mediating role in the relationship between victimization and school maladjustment [59]. However, not all teachers perceive bullying as serious, know how to intervene and prevent bullying, or have the confidence to manage disruptive behavior [65]. This points to the importance of educating teachers about bullying and strengthening teachers as support in the school setting. A whole-school intervention program by Olweus [3] incorporated teachers to provide support on the whole-school level by, for example, identifying bullying incidents, providing increased supervision in secluded areas and coordinating with parents, school staff and students. On the classroom level, teacher support includes establishing class rules against bullying, setting consequences for violating the rules. However, just setting rules or a one-off discussion in the classroom or on the whole school level is not sufficient. Involving teachers in delivering guidance programs addressing bullying has further benefits. Teachers may integrate anti-bullying themes within the school developmental guidance programs and values education programs, so that non-violence and tolerance can be presented as a consistent message to all students and highlighted as the ethos of the school. Also, teachers act as a role model for students. Supportive teacher-student relationships will encourage students, whether victims or bystanders to seek help. Teachers may foster attitudes such as acceptance, respect, tolerance and forgiveness and relate their importance to inter-personal relationships and social harmony. On the individual student level, teachers may offer support to bullies, victims, the peers of bullies and victims, in dealing with bullying and conflicts. Involving teachers systematically on all three levels is a more comprehensive strategy to prevent bullying. As peer victimization is an important determinant leading to school dissatisfaction [66] and peer conflicts lower students' liking of their schools [67], on-going efforts and social support from teachers are pertinent to building a positive and caring classroom and school climate.

Involving Peers as a Support

Students value having a peer listen to their experience of being bullied [24]. Peer-led anti-bullying interventions, such as peer counseling and peer mediation have been found to have positive outcomes, which also lead to an improvement of the school climate [23]. Students who used peer counseling for bullying service identified as pertinent such characteristics as peer counselors having good listening skills, being trustworthy, maintaining confidentiality, and providing advice on solving bullying-related problems [68]. Peer counseling has been used increasingly in schools in Hong Kong and elsewhere as a form of peer support to facilitate junior students' adjustment and learning. Such support can be extended to include antibullying. In addition to training peer counselors' skills, such as active listening, empathy, problem solving, the units which address school bullying in the Project P.A.T.H.S. can be incorporated in the training program to enhance peer counselors' knowledge and understanding of the nature of bullying, the feelings and emotions of the victims, the needs and mentalities of the bullies, and proper approaches to minimize bullying. However, the support of adults such as teachers and social workers is essential. Further, support needs to go beyond peer counselors for bullying service to other peers in the school community, for not all students use peer counseling due to

the fear of being stigmatized [68]. The Project P.A.T.H.S. includes units addressed specifically to the role of bystanders in bullying, factors affecting the attitudes and responses of bystanders to bullying incidents. All students, whether victims, bullies or bystanders will be taught explicitly in classroom guidance programs about bullying as a form of violence and its effects on the school community. Such an approach targeting all students will further enhance peers as a support system in the school community. Further, school-wide developmental guidance programs educating students about respect for individual differences and the value of harmony, justice and responsibility will help to build a more tolerant and caring school climate.

Promoting Non-violence and Harmony as a Whole-school Approach to Counter Bullying

Research and practices in school guidance and pastoral care have affirmed the importance of having a whole-school approach in facilitating students' whole-person development [18,19,69]. Under the framework of a whole-school approach, guidance and supports are provided to all students, not merely students who are at risk, and is a responsibility of all teachers, not only the guidance personnel and professionals. Guidance can be delivered at individual student level, classroom and whole-school levels. Developing a systematic and planned guidance curriculum, and integrating guidance themes into the school's formal and informal curriculum are essential elements under this framework. Such an approach also requires school to have a whole-school policy which details the goals, system of management, co-ordination and communication among teachers, parents, and professionals. Promoting a whole-school approach to guidance is a way to cultivate a positive school ethos [18]. Hence, this approach is very much in line with promoting non-violence and harmony as a positive way to combat school bullying.

Cultivating a harmonious school culture needs to be done as a whole-school approach, ranging from the individual student level, class level to the school-wide program level as discussed above. Such an endeavor needs to be further supported at the whole-school system level. First, a whole-school policy which stresses non-violence and tolerance needs to be integrated with the school's guidance policy, so that there will be consensus and consistency among all staff in their responses to the problems of bullying and peer victimization and the promotion of non-violence. Such a policy needs to be communicated to the students and parents. Second, in addition to cultivating the values of harmony and non-violence through school's values and moral education curriculum, the implementation of the PYD anti-bullying program at classroom level which fosters students' bonding, competencies and self-determination, will contribute to a more positive and caring class ethos. Further, the integration of themes such as respect, tolerance, forgiveness, justice with academic subject teaching will help enhance effectiveness, for the teaching of values must be ongoing and integrated into the school curriculum so that the values can be kept front and center [23]. Third, on the management level, another essential element that needs to be dealt with from a whole-school system perspective is collaboration with professionals such as school psychologists, school counselors and social workers in issues such as identifying students at risk of bullying and victimization and offering timely intervention. The implementation of Tier II program of Project P.A.T.H.S., for example, will require teachers and professionals to work in collaboration. Fourth, as mentioned above, teachers play a very important role in fostering

values through classroom teaching, delivering classroom guidance programs such as the PYD anti-bullying programs and forgiveness education. This will require school to plan and organize professional development programs to enhance teachers' knowledge and skills and to offer individual support. Involving peers as support and working with parents are other essential elements under the framework of a whole-school approach, which have been adopted in whole-school anti-bullying intervention. Lastly, the involvement of the entire school community, students, parents, teachers, administrators, professionals and adjunct school staff in the practice and support of such a school policy is pertinent to building a safer, more caring, responsive and harmonious school culture. [23]. Combating bullying as a whole-school approach to guidance is a matter of cultivating a guidance-oriented ethos, in which concern, love and compassion are advocated as values for students' whole-person development.

CONCLUSIONS

Bullying and violence are situations which many young people have to face in their process of development, whether as bullies or victims or bystanders. A more proactive way to prevent bullying is to adopt a developmental guidance approach to strengthen young people's skills and competencies in inter-personal relationships and bonding. Programs, which, like Project P.A.T.H.S., adopt a positive youth development paradigm and implement it as a classroom developmental guidance curriculum are a proactive approach to counter bullying. Cultivating a school environment which cherishes forgiveness and harmony, endorses respect, non-violence, tolerance and compassion is another important strategy. This will require a systematic approach to strengthen teachers and peers as social support, and will involve the entire school community on the policy, management and implementation levels to promote a caring school culture as a proactive way to tackle bullying.

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Chapter 61

DETERMINING ADOLESCENTS' RISK FOR INVOLVEMENT IN BULLYING OR CYBERBULLYING: A REVIEW OF TWO STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

As increasing attention is paid to the issue of bullying and cyberbullying in school-age populations, additional knowledge is needed regarding groups of students who are most likely to be involved in bullying. Involvement in bullying can include traditional forms of physical and verbal aggression, or can include cyberbullying. This chapter summarizes a series of studies investigating the role of gender, time spent online, time spent sending and receiving text messages ("texting"), parenting styles, and relationship dynamics within families in predicting involvement in bullying either as a bully or as a victim. Traditional bullying and cyberbullying were examined, and some important differences between bullying formats were observed regarding risk factors. Engaging in cyberbullying as a bully was more common among male, high school or college students; overall bullying (either traditional or digital) was associated with an authoritarian parenting style. Implications of these findings for practitioners include the need to attend to demographic characteristics in identifying targeted groups for prevention programs, and the potential importance of parent training as part of intervention with students who are already engaged in bullying. With regard to victimization, frequency of digital communication via instant messaging and text messaging predicted cybervictim status, with frequency of text messaging being the most significant predictor of cybervictimization. Family interaction patterns characterized by conflict within the family environment were predictive of victimization both traditionally and digitally. Finally, cohesion among family members was negatively correlated with both bullying and victimization in both formats. This finding indicates that there may be

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important skills taught in either emotional regulation or social interaction within cohesive families that serve to reduce adolescents' involvement in bullying. Implications for future research into school- and community-based interventions targeting family interaction patterns and important skills in preventing or reducing bullying are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of bullying is one of the fastest growing areas of educational policy-making and research. Due to several high profile incidences of student suicide related to bullying or cyberbullying in recent years, increasing attention has been paid to this issue at all levels including state legislation, educational and psychological research, and school-based intervention programs. Bullying is perhaps best defined as, "... aggressive behavior or "harm doing" by one person or a group, generally carried out repeatedly and over time, and which involves a power differential," (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010, p. 207). Cyberbullying expands on this definition by specifying the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic forms of communication in a similar pattern of "willful and repeated harm," (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010, p. 208). Nationally representative studies of prevalence indicate that bullying peaks in early to mid-adolescence, during the middle and high school years (McKenna, Hawk, Mullen, & Hertz, 2011; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). Thus, both bullying and cyberbullying pervade throughout adolescence and can inflict serious emotional harm upon students throughout middle and high school.

In contrast with traditional popular beliefs that bullying is a predominantly male behavior involving physical harm and aggression toward others, it is now widely accepted that bullying occurs among both male and female peer groups. Although generally females are more likely to engage in relational aggression (gossiping, spreading rumors, excluding victims from socially desirable activities or groups; Li, 2005), males may also engage in relational forms of aggression, and female adolescents can and are at times physically aggressive toward their victims. Given the indirect nature of cyberbullying, relational aggression in particular is of rising concern among both male and female adolescent groups (Li, 2005).

PREVALENCE

An expansion of research into bullying has yielded new knowledge about the frequency of both bullying and cyberbullying among adolescents in many countries throughout the world. Upon looking across the prevalence rates reported by numerous researchers investigating the prevalence of cyberbullying among U. S., Canadian, and Chinese populations, Hinduja and Patchin (2010) determined that approximately 15 - 35% of students studied report cybervictimization, while 10 - 20% report cyberbullying others. A recent investigation with Taiwanese junior high school students (7th through 9th grades) yielded similar findings: 34.9% of those studied reported ever having experienced cybervictimization (Li, 2010).

Recent investigations into the prevalence of bullying on school campuses, which is considered to primarily reflect traditional forms of bullying, reveal similar results. In 2005, Due et al. studied the prevalence of bullying among adolescents in Israel, Russia, the United States, Canada, and 24 European countries. In their study, the prevalence of bullying ranged from a

low of 6.3% of 11, 13, and 15 year old girls in Sweden to a high of 41.4% of 11, 13, and 15 year old boys in Lithuania. Dinkes, Cataldi, and Lin-Kelly (2007), reporting on multiple surveys and databases collected by public health and justice agencies in the United States, found that an average of 28% of youth ages 12 - 18 reported being bullied in 2005, approximately 8% of whom reported being bullied almost daily. All studies described above included a roughly equal number of male and female participants, and the literature remains inconclusive as to whether male or female students engage in higher rates of bullying and cyberbullying (Li, 2010).

SEQUELAE

The consequences of bullying range from more mild forms of emotional distress to severe mental health problems, including depression, suicidal ideation, and attempted and completed suicide. A considerable body of research has demonstrated that involvement in bullying is related to several psychological indicators of distress. As summarized by Hinduja and Patchin (2010, p. 207), "... experience with peer harassment (most often as a victim but also as a perpetrator) contributes to depression, decreased self-worth, hopelessness, and loneliness - all of which are precursors to suicidal thoughts and behavior." While suicide related to bullying and cyberbullying is certainly of greatest concern, its incidence among students who are involved in some form of bullying remains relatively rare. Nevertheless, international research summarized by Hinduja and Patchin (2010) indicates that students who are bullied experience rates of suicidal ideation somewhere in the ranges of 4 - 18%, and are three to four times more likely to have suicidal ideation than their non-bullied or bullying peers.

In a study conducted in the Netherlands, a slightly larger percentage of boys who were bullied indirectly reported suicidal ideation than those who were bullied directly (18% versus 13%, respectively; van der Wal, de Wit, and Hirasing, 2003). Although an early study with respect to the rise of cyberbullying, these effects may indicate that the emotional sequelae of cyberbullying can be more pervasive and devastating than those typically produced by bullying. A recent analysis of survey data collected in 2005 revealed that middle school students involved in cyberbullying, either as victims or as bully victims, reported higher levels of depression than students who only reported involvement in traditional bullying (Wang, Nansel, & Iannotti, 2010). Researchers have posited that the greater reports of emotional distress as a result of being victimized by cyberbullying may be due to the seemingly inescapable nature of the bullying (i.e., it can be experienced at home, school, or any other location) and the permanence of the bullying acts themselves, as they can be repeatedly accessed via electronic communication devices and websites. Given several high-profile incidences of suicide related to cyberbullying in recent years, or cyberbullicide, the apparently stronger link between cyberbullying victimization and more severe forms of depression merits particular attention (Hinduja and Patchin, 2010).

The act of bullying itself may also be linked to more severe forms of aggression in later adolescence or adulthood. Espelage, Basille, and Hamburger (2012) recently reported on early results in a longitudinal study examining the degree to which perpetuating bullying is linked to homophobic bullying and sexually harassing statements to peers. They posit that a link between bullying, homophobic bullying, and sexual harassment may result in a higher perpetuation of

sexual violence among students who engage in bullying when in middle school. Their results indicate strong correlations between bullying and homophobic teasing and between bullying and sexually harassing statements, providing initial support for their proposed model of developing sexual violence. As more data is gathered and reported, additional attention should be paid to the extent to which bullying may predict sexual violence later in adolescence and adulthood. The possibility of a link between the two behaviors underscores the need to more thoroughly understand bullying and cyberbullying, and to develop effective intervention protocols that strengthen alternate forms of adolescent peer interactions.

INTERVENTIONS ADDRESSING BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING

In response to the continuing need to respond to and attempt to prevent bullying within the school context, several programs have been developed at all levels of the K-12 curriculum that can be effective at preventing bullying and cyberbullying, and decreasing participation in both forms of aggression when they are already present. Programs targeting youth violence, including bullying and cyberbullying, are evaluated via a cooperative effort under the direction of the United States Department of Justice to identify those programs that demonstrate the strongest and most consistent evidence of efficacy in preventing and decreasing bullying in schools (Evidence-Based Program Directory). Prevention programs are evaluated on a scale of one to three, on which Level 1 is characterized by consistently high fidelity in implementation, robust empirical findings, and sophisticated experimental evaluation procedures. Programs classified at Level 2 feature adequate fidelity, empirical findings, and sufficiently strong experimental procedures (e.g., quasi-experimental designs). Programs placed at Level 3 have demonstrated generally positive results, but often with minimal fidelity, mixed empirical findings, and limited experimental procedures (Evidence-Based Program Directory). Of those programs evaluated for their potential to decrease school violence, three are specific to bullying and have demonstrated evidence of efficacy at a classification of Level 2. No programs specific to bullying have been classified at Level 1.

The three programs at Level 2 are Steps to Respect®: A Bullying Prevention Program, Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, and Success in Stages®. While the Olweus program was initially developed in Norway and extensively researched in Europe before being applied to the United States, both the Steps to Respect® and Success in Stages® programs were developed and researched in the United States. Details regarding each program, including the intended age range, general procedures for implementation, and evidence of efficacy, are provided below. Generally, each program emphasizes increasing adult awareness of bullying, and increasing both student and adult awareness of how bullying negatively impacts others and the school environment. The Olweus and Steps to Respect® programs emphasize increasing student skill in recognizing and responding to bullying, while the Success in Stages® programs focus greater attention on individual recognition of the need to change one's behavior (i.e., bullying) and the steps necessary to effectively navigate that change.

The Olweus program has undergone the most attempts at replication and has consistently demonstrated encouraging results. The program emphasizes intervention at the school, classroom and individual levels via increased adult awareness of bullying and engagement in changing bullying within the school environment. Intervention and prevention components are

specifically designed for students between the ages of six and 14; indicating that the program is primarily designed for elementary and middle school populations. The program begins with an assessment of the extent of bullying within a school via a questionnaire distributed to students. Program components include developing specific rules regarding bullying, classroom meetings to address bullying and other climate issues, increased monitoring of areas of the building where bullying is most likely to occur, and meetings with parents to share information across contexts. A coordinating committee is responsible for overseeing and evaluating the success of prevention efforts. Efficacy of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program has been shown to be the greatest in Norway, where the program was developed, with somewhat less success in other European countries, and the most limited impact in the United States (Suicide Prevention Resource Center, 2011). Specifically, the Olweus program appears to be most effective at increasing awareness of bullying and its consequences, and at changing attitudes regarding the acceptability of bullying. However, especially in the United States, the Olweus program has been less successful in decreasing reports of victimization and other indications of delinquent behavior, and may not produce effects that are sustained over time without ongoing consultation and support (Melton et al., 1998).

Steps to Respect® also aims to increase adult awareness of and responsiveness to bullying, and to foster beliefs among students that encourage responsibility for intervening with bullying when it occurs. The program stresses the development of social-emotional skills that assist students in handling bullying directly, including via intervening as bystanders and reporting to adults. At the outset of the program, all staff members in the school building are trained in its implementation, which is followed up on by two in-depth trainings for administrators, mental health professionals, and teachers. Teachers go on to implement 11 skill-based lessons that take 20 – 30 minutes, and two literature based units, for which the lessons last 30 – 40 minutes. Steps to Respect® is intended for use with students ages eight to 12 years old, targeting upper elementary and early middle school students. Evaluations of the outcomes of Steps to Respect® were promising when efficacy of the program was compared via randomized trial between six schools receiving the program and six wait-listed control schools. Students reported greater responsibility as bystanders, improved perceptions of adult responsiveness, and less overall acceptability of bullying. Playground observations of bullying and bystander behavior also indicated improvements. However, self-reported bullying and teacher descriptions of social interactions did not reveal any differences over the course of intervention (Evidence-Based Program Directory). Additionally, in a one-year trial, Steps to Respect® was shown to be effective at decreasing rates of malicious playground gossip (a form of relational aggression) among elementary students who participated, an effect that was not observed in randomly assigned control groups (Low, Frey, & Brockman, 2010).

Success in Stages® is a computer-based intervention program that tailors its activities to both students' grade level and their responses to survey items about their understanding of and involvement in bullying. The program has different procedures and activities that can be used with students from nine to 18 years old. Build Respect, Stop Bullying® includes two programs targeting either elementary or middle school students, while Building Respect® is specifically aimed at high school students. All the interventions involve at least three half hour computer sessions that are distributed throughout the school year. The program itself, while it asks about bullying and victimization, is based upon theories of how people proceed through change, and different stages of participation in change. Students receive feedback and additional instruction regarding their bullying behaviors based upon where their survey answers indicate that they

fall on the continuum of change. Supportive materials are also included for school personnel and others who may have direct contact with students engaged in or affected by bullying (Evers, Prochaska, Van Marter, Johnson, & Prochaska, 2007). Evaluation of the outcomes of Success in Stages[®] was done primarily on the computer-generated self-reports of middle and high school student participants, and the percentages of students who reported no longer being a bully, victim, or passive bystander were compared across intervention and control groups. The intervention group members reported significantly less bullying, victimization, and being a passive bystander from the control group once the intervention was implemented. Often, participants in the intervention groups began to report lower participation in bullying following the second lesson in the intervention series (Evers et al., 2007).

IDENTIFYING RISK FACTORS FOR INVOLVEMENT IN BULLYING

If intervention programs are to be effective at decreasing the extent to which children and adolescents are involved in bullying and cyberbullying, intervention providers must be knowledgeable of and able to recognize factors that make a student or group of students more likely to be at risk of involvement in bullying or cyberbullying. Recent research into some of the situational and historical factors that may affect adolescents' involvement in bullying and cyberbullying provides new insight into the mechanisms through which bullying occurs and might be intervened upon. Two recent studies in which such issues were examined shed light on when and how specific students may benefit from targeted interventions designed to reduce involvement in acts of bullying and vulnerability to victimization, in both traditional and electronic forms. Study 1 focuses on age and gender differences related to cyberbullying, and examines the use of pictures and videos in cyberbullying. Study 2 examined how context variables, such as family environment and parenting style, affect adolescents' participation in bullying and cyberbullying.

Study 1

Study one examined age and gender differences related to cyberbullying, as well as how access to technology, specifically frequency of technology use, impacts the likelihood of engaging in cyberbullying or cybervictimization. Additional analyses were conducted to determine how those variables may be related to image cyberbullying and cybervictimization, which is specific to posting or sending embarrassing pictures of someone, and/or video of someone being assaulted in some way (e.g., hit or beat up) in order to hurt or embarrass them. Before the onset of the study, approval was obtained through the appropriate Institutional Review Board. Participants for this study included 286 junior high and 87 high school students from three areas: schools in the northwestern suburbs of Chicago, schools in a small town in rural central Illinois, and schools in suburban southern Illinois. Also, 110 college-aged students were recruited from undergraduate psychology courses at a mid-western university. College-aged participants received class credit for participation. Overall, there were slightly more female participants than male participants. Over half (58.8%) of the participants were in junior high school. Before collecting data, informed consent forms were sent home to obtain parental

permission to participate in the study for participants under the age of 18. Those students under the age of 18 who returned the completed informed consent were allowed to participate in the study. Students 18-years-old and older were allowed to sign their own informed consent; assent was provided by participants who were under 18-years-old. The homeroom or study hall teacher passed out both the assent forms and the surveys. After obtaining informed consent and/or assent, all participants were asked to complete the *Demographic Information and Access to Technology Survey* and the *Cyberbullying Survey*. The participants took approximately 5 minutes to complete the study. For college-aged students, data were collected in the same manner except that they all were able to sign their own informed consent.

Students at the middle school, high school, and college levels were surveyed, and asked to reflect upon a variety of behaviors, including frequency of electronic communication, frequency of cyberbullying, cybervictimization, image cyberbullying, and image cybervictimization over the course of the past year, as well as demographic information including age, ethnicity, sex, and grade. Frequency of electronic communication was assessed with questions about how often students used an instant messaging program per day, the number of text messages sent per day, and the number of hours per day spent online. Cybervictimization and cyberbullying were assessed using the *Cyberbullying Survey*, which was adapted and simplified from Bilyeu's *Traditional Bully and Cyber-bully Questionnaire* (2007). The *Cyberbullying Survey* is made up of Cyberbully, Image Cyberbully, Cybervictim, and Image Cybervictim subscales. The Cyberbully and Cybervictim subscales each contain ten questions that related to cyberbullying behaviors. Questions asked about spreading gossip or rumors, threatening or insulting someone, giving out private information, using deception, and socially excluding others via electronic methods of communication. Questions regarding cyberbullying began with the phrase, "In the past year, *I have* used the internet or a cell phone to..." while questions about victimization began, "In the past year, *someone else* used the internet or a cell phone to..." Each question was answered using a 5-point Likert scale on which 0 = Never, 1 = Rarely, 2 = Once a month, 3 = Once a week, 4 = Once a day, and 5 = Several times a day. Cronbach's alphas were $\alpha = .85$ for each subscale. The Image Cyberbully and Image Cybervictim subscales each contained three questions; Cronbach's alphas for those subscales were $\alpha = .83$ and $\alpha = .72$, respectively. Responses ranged from 0 - 50 for the Cyberbully and Cybervictim Subscales; and from 0 - 15 on the Image Cyberbully and Image Cybervictim subscales.

Relatively few participants reported experience with cybervictimization and cyberbullying, and even fewer reported cybervictimization or bullying through use of an image. Means and standard deviations for each subscale are reported in Table 1.

Age, gender, frequency of using an instant messaging program, frequency of texting, and time spent online were all significantly correlated with being a cyberbully. In the case of cybervictimization, only frequency of using an instant messaging program and frequency of texting revealed significant correlations. Age, gender, and frequency of text messaging were associated with using an image to cyberbully someone; frequency of texting and time spent online were significantly correlated to being a victim of cyberbullying via an image. Frequency of text messaging was a significant correlate of overall involvement in both forms of cyberbullying and cybervictimization. Correlation coefficients are presented in Table 2.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations observed across subscales of the Cyberbullying Survey

Subscale	Mean	Standard Deviation	Potential Range
Cyberbully	2.81	4.40	0 - 50
Cybervictim	3.85	4.93	0 - 50
Image Cyberbully	.33	1.23	0 - 15
Image Cybervictim	.25	.95	0 - 15

Table 2. Correlations between demographic information, access to technology, and Cyberbully Survey subscale scores

Variable	Cyberbully	Cybervictim	Image Cyberbully	Image Cybervictim
Age	.17**	.06	.08**	.02
Gender	-.13**	-.03	-.12**	-.05
Instant Messaging	.11*	.18**	-.02	.05
Text Messaging	.26**	.30**	.14**	.08**
Time spent online	.09*	.07	.02	.11**

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$. Male = 1. Female = 2.

Four simultaneous multiple regression equations were calculated to determine the influence of gender, frequency of instant messaging, frequency of texting, and amount of time spent online on cyberbullying and cybervictimization. A simultaneous regression was chosen because no theory of which predictors have the greatest or least influence on either of the criterion variables (cyberbullying or cybervictimization) has emerged. Gender, frequency of instant messaging, frequency of texting, and time spent online were predictors. Results of regression analyses are presented in Table 3.

Gender, frequency of instant messaging, frequency of text messaging, and time spent online were entered as predictors into a simultaneous regression equation to determine their influence upon cyberbullying, cybervictimization, image cyberbullying, and image cybervictimization. Results indicated that being male, texting more frequently, and spending more time online were related to increased cyberbullying behaviors, while frequency of using an instant message program was not a significant predictor of cyberbullying. With regard to image cyberbullying, being male and texting more frequently were related to increased image cyberbullying behaviors, while frequency of using an instant message program and time spent online were not significant predictors. In the area of victimization, more frequent instant messaging and texting predicted cybervictimization; time spent online and being male were not predictors. Finally, with regard to image cybervictimization, time spent online and frequency of texting were predictors, while gender and instant messaging frequency were not.

Table 3. Simultaneous multiple regression analyses examining impact of gender and access to technology variables on cyberbullying, image cyberbullying, cybervictimization, and image cybervictimization

	<i>Cyberbully Subscale Score</i>				<i>Image Cyberbully Subscale Score</i>				<i>Cybervictim Subscale Score</i>				<i>Image Cybervictim Subscale Score</i>			
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>T</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>T</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>T</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>T</i>
Gender	-1.74	.40	-.20	-4.39**	-.41	.11	-.16	-3.59**	-.83	.45	-.08	-1.86	-.14	.09	-.07	-1.52
Frequency of instant messaging	-.01	.12	-.01	-.12	-.05	.05	-.08	-1.51	.27	.14	.10	1.99*	.01	.03	.01	.22
Frequency of texting	.75	.11	.31	6.57**	.13	.03	.19	4.02**	.79	.13	.29	6.20**	.05	.03	.09	1.88
Time spent online	.37	.18	.09	2.02**	.05	.05	.05	1.02	.15	.21	.04	.75	.09	.04	.11	2.27*
R^2	.11				.05				.11				.02			
Adjusted R^2	.11				.04				.10				.02			
<i>F</i>	15.07***				6.16***				14.13**				2.87*			

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$. Male = 1. Female = 2.

Table 4. Results of ANOVA analyses examining the effects of age on cyberbullying, image cyberbullying, cybervictimization, and image cybervictimization

	Cyberbully	Cybervictim	Image Cyberbully	Image Cybervictim
<i>F</i>	37.28	4.65	14.47	.23
<i>P</i>	<.001	<.01	<.001	=.77
η^2	.14	.02	.06	.001

Table 5. Means and standard deviations observed across subscales of the *Cyberbullying Survey* and the *Traditional Bullying and Victimization Survey*

Subscale	Mean	Standard Deviation	Potential Range	Observed Range
Cyberbully	1.22	2.47	0 - 50	0 – 14
Cybervictim	3.27	5.04	0 - 50	0 – 27
Traditional Bully	2.44	3.50	0 - 45	0 – 17
Traditional Victim	5.57	6.16	0 - 45	0 – 31

An examination of the means of the different age groups (e.g., middle school, high school, and college) revealed a curvilinear relationship between age and scores on the *Cyberbullying Survey*. Since age could not be entered into the simultaneous multiple regression, an ANOVA was also used to determine the influence of age on each dependent variable. Results of the ANOVA with respect to the effect of age are presented in Table 4.

ANOVA comparisons indicated that there is an overall effect of age on both cyberbullying and image cyberbullying. With regard to cyberbullying, posthoc t-tests showed that high school students cyberbullied significantly more than both middle school students and college-aged students, and that college-aged student cyberbullied significantly more than middle school students. Specific to image cyberbullying, posthoc t-tests revealed that high school student cyberbullied using an image significantly more than middle and college-aged students. No differences were observed between college and middle school students.

In the area of cybervictimization, a significant effect of age was observed upon overall cybervictimization, but not with regard to image cybervictimization. Posthoc t-tests indicated that high school students reported cybervictimization significantly more than middle school students and college-aged students, who did not differ from each other.

Study 2

Study two aimed to identify contextual variables that may be related to increased likelihood to perpetrate or be victimized by bullying and cyberbullying. Before the onset of the study, approval was obtained through the appropriate Institutional Review Board. Middle school students were asked to report on various family context variables, experiences with bullying, and experiences with cyberbullying. Two hundred twenty three students in the 6th, 7th, and 8th grades, ranging in ages from 11 to 14 years, participated via survey. The sample population was obtained from rural and suburban schools in the Midwest. According to self-report classifications, 52% of student respondents were Caucasian, 22% were African American, 5%

were Hispanic, 4.5% were Asian, and 12.5% reported another ethnicity. The responding population consisted of slightly more females than is typical of the population in general, 59.6% of respondents were female. Prior to the study, a consent form was completed by the participant's guardian, informing them of the purpose of this study. Additionally, participants were rewarded with Tootsie Rolls when completed consent forms were returned.

Survey packets were completed either during students' first hour class or during study hall. The first page of the survey packet was an assent form for the participants to read and sign. Directly following the assent form was the *Demographic Information and Access to Technology Survey*, then the *Cyber Bullying and Victimization Surveys*, and finally the *Family Assessment Survey*. Upon distribution of the survey packets, participants were instructed to read and follow all instructions carefully, take as much time as necessary, and complete the measures in their entirety. Participants were asked to report demographic information, which consisted of their gender, ethnicity, grade, and age. In addition, they reported on how often they used an instant messaging program, how many text messages they typically sent in a day, and how many hours they spent online. The *Cyberbullying Survey* was used to assess experiences with cyberbullying as in Study 1, with the exception that items about image cyberbullying and cybervictimization were not included. Cronbach's alpha within this study was in the good range at $\alpha=.82$ for the Cyberbullying Subscale and at $\alpha=.88$ for the Cybervictimization Subscale. A similar tool assessing traditional forms of bullying, the *Traditional Bullying and Victimization Survey*, was developed for this study. Each subscale contained nine items that were designed to assess the participants' experience with traditional bullying. The Traditional Bullying Subscale asked about participants' experience as perpetrators of bullying with the Traditional Victimization Subscale asked about experiences being victimized. For example, one item on the Victimization Subscale asked participants, "In the past year I have been beaten up (hit, kicked, and/or pushed) by someone." Each question was answered using a 5-point Likert scale on which 0 = Never, 1 = Rarely, 2 = Once a month, 3 = Once a week, 4 = Once a day, and 5 = Several times a day. Cronbach's alphas reflected internal consistency of the Bullying Subscale at $\alpha=.77$, and $\alpha=.87$ for the Victimization Subscale.

The *Family Assessment System* (Jewell & Stark, n.d.) is comprised of 60 questions designed to measure 12 areas of family life. For the purposes of this study, 30 questions were used and the following areas were examined relative to bullying: family cohesion, authoritarian parenting style, and family conflict. Participants answered each question with "Never true," "A little true," "Sometimes true," "Mostly true," and "Always true." Sample questions included "There is a feeling of togetherness in my family," "The punishment for breaking rules in my family is too strict," and "We fight in our family." The *Family Assessment System* also asks for information regarding which parental figures participants have lived with for the past five years. Eight-four percent of participants reported living with more than one parental figure, while 15% reported living with only one parental figure. According to interpretive guidelines provided by George and Mallery (2003), Cronbach's alphas for the various scales were in the good range $\alpha=.84$ for the cohesion scale, and in the questionable range for the authoritarian and conflict scales $\alpha=.62$ and $\alpha=.66$, respectively).

Few participants reported experience with cybervictimization and even fewer reported experience with cyberbullying; overall means for cyberbullying in this study appear to be lower than was observed in Study 1. Means and standard deviations for each subscale are reported in Table 5. A strong correlation was observed between cyberbullying and cybervictimization and

moderate correlations were observed between all other subscales. Intercorrelations between subscales are reported in Table 6.

Correlations between *Family Assessment System* variables (cohesion, authoritarian parenting style, and conflict) and survey responses regarding experiences with cyber and traditional bullying and victimization are presented in Table 7. Overall, family conflict had a significant positive relationship at the moderate level with both forms of bullying and both forms of victimization. Authoritarian parenting style had a significant positive relationship at the moderate level with reported levels of cyberbullying.

To understand which *Family Assessment System* variable best predicts traditional and cyberbullying and victimization, the exclusive relationships between each family variable and bullying and victimization behaviors were examined via simultaneous multiple regression. Number of family members living in the household was also entered to determine whether having one or two parents was related to bullying or victimization. Simultaneous regression was selected because there was not prior theoretical support for one predictor having more influence than another.

Table 6. Correlations observed between responses on Cyberbullying and Traditional subscales

Variable	Cyberbully	Cybervictim	Traditional Bully	Traditional Victim
Cyberbully	-	.70**	.59*	.47*
Cybervictim	-	-	.56**	.62**
Traditional Bully	-	-	-	.61**
Traditional Victim	-	-	-	-

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$.

Table 7. Correlations between Family Assessment System Subscale Total Scores and bullying and victimization subscale total scores

Variable	Cyberbully	Cybervictim	Traditional Bully	Traditional Victim
Parental Figures	-.10	-.05	-.05	.004
Cohesion	-.29**	-.27**	-.28**	-.29**
Authoritarianism	.35**	-	.29**	
Conflict	.32**	.31**	.33**	.39**

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$. Correlations with a dash were not included in the hypotheses and, therefore, were not correlated.

Table 8. Simultaneous multiple regression analyses examining impact of *Family Assessment System* variables on Cyberbullying, Cybervictimization, Traditional Bullying, and Traditional Victimization subscale total scores

	<i>Cyberbully</i> Subscale Score				<i>Cybervictim</i> Subscale Score				<i>Traditional Bully</i> Subscale Score				<i>Traditional Victim</i> Subscale Score			
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>T</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>T</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>T</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>T</i>
Parental Figures	-.42	.44	-.06	-.95	-.24	.94	-.02	-.25	.04	.67	.004	.06	1.19	1.11	.07	1.07
Cohesion	-.001	.06	-.002	-.02	-.04	.12	-.03	-.36	.004	.09	.005	.05	.01	.14	.01	.07
Authoritarianism	.16	.05	.25	3.16**	-	-	-		.17	.07	.19	2.31**	-	-	-	
Conflict	.04	.03	.11	1.11	.24	.08	.21	3.05**	.08	.05	.17	1.60	.33	.08	.39	4.33**
<i>R</i> ²	.22				.20				.18				.02			
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.20				.18				.16							
<i>F</i>	9.07***				12.45***				7.15**				2.87*			

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$. Results with a dash were not included in the hypotheses and, therefore, were not examined.

CONCLUSION

Summary

Results of Study 1 suggest that most middle, high school, and college students are communicating via electronic means on a daily basis. Instant messaging is likely less popular than it once was, but remains one method through which students interact socially. Others include other online forms of communication (e.g., social networking) and sending text messages. In this study, nearly 85% of respondents indicated sending one or more text messages per day, while over 90% of students spent some time online every day.

The majority of participants in both studies reported very low scores on the *Cyberbullying Survey* and *Traditional Bullying and Victimization Survey*. In Study 2, very few participants reported engaging in cyberbullying; similar levels of cybervictimization were observed across both studies. Results of Study 1 indicate that image cyberbullying and cybervictimization are occurring so infrequently that it is difficult to predict. However, there were several predictors of importance observed in these studies. Age, gender, frequency of text messaging, and time spent online were all predictive of cyberbullying in Study 1. Study 2 provided additional insight into the phenomenon of cyberbullying with the finding that authoritarian parenting style predicts both traditional and cyberbullying. Thus, the avenues through which cyberbullying becomes manifest may be similar to those through which students become traditional bullies. Indeed, the high intercorrelations between all forms of bullying and victimization observed in Study 2 suggest that not only are students often bully-victims, but those same students who are bullying and being victimized in the “physical” world are engaging in the same “digital behaviors.”

Additionally, Study 1 provided important insight into the age at which students are most likely to engage in cyberbullying. High school students reported the most cyberbullying, followed by college-age students, who reported cyberbullying others more than middle school students did. This finding is similar to that observed by Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, Fisher, Russell, & Tippett (2008), who looked at middle school and high school students. They found that older students reported engaging in significantly more cyberbullying. Study 1 supplemented Smith et al.'s (2008) findings by demonstrating a drop in cyberbullying behaviors after high school. Additionally, the finding that males reported cyberbullying others more than females is in agreement with the findings of Dehue, Bolman, & Vollink (2008) and Li (2007). Like general cyberbullying, high school students reported engaging in more image cyberbullying than middle school or college students, but there were no significant differences between middle school and college students' reporting. Also similar to general cyberbullying, males and those who send text messages more frequently were more likely to engage in image cyberbullying.

The family context variables that were examined in Study 2 provide important insight into the background characteristics that may incline a student to engage in bullying and/or be victimized by bullying, in both electronic and traditional formats. Overall family conflict demonstrated a significant positive correlation with both forms of bullying, while cohesion demonstrated a negative relationship with both cyber and traditional bullying. However, when analyzed via multiple regression, parenting style (authoritarian) was the most influential variable predicting bullying behavior. These findings are consistent with previous research

concluding that adolescents are more likely to engage in traditional bullying if they experience excessive punishment and/or frequent discipline (Oliver, Oaks, & Hoover, 1994; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004).

In the area of victimization, high school students were more likely to be victims of cyberbullying than middle school or college students, with no differences observed between middle school and college students. This finding seems a natural reflection of the finding that high school students are more likely to engage in cyberbullying, as bullying typically occurs between same-age/grade peers. While time spent online was not a predictor of cybervictimization in Study 1, time spent texting and instant messaging were predictors, indicating that increased use of electronic communication is associated with increased risk of victimization. Unlike previous research indicating that females are more likely to be cybervictims than males (Dehue et al., 2008; Li, 2007), Study 1 did not reveal any differences in likelihood of cybervictimization due to sex. However, Beran and Li conducted a study in 2005 that also did not reveal an effect of sex on cybervictimization. Thus, the results of research to date on gender differences with respect to cybervictimization are mixed. Further work is needed to identify other variables that may mediate the link between sex and cybervictimization.

Overall, text messaging was the strongest predictor of both cyberbullying and cybervictimization in Study 1. Study 2 revealed that the strongest predictor of bullying behavior via both cyber and traditional formats was authoritarian parenting, which was a stronger effect than conflict or the potentially ameliorating effects of family cohesion. Victimization, however, was most strongly predicted by family conflict in Study 2.

Implications and Future Directions

The findings of both studies provide important implications for practitioners looking to appropriately target bullying and cyberbullying intervention and prevention programs. Specifically, despite the emergence of bullying behavior in early adolescence, cyberbullying in particular is most likely to occur during the high school years. Given the preponderance of bullying prevention programs targeting late elementary and middle school students in recent years, it is likely that at least some of the participants in this study had previously been exposed to instruction in bullying and how to respond to it. However, since more high school age students than any other age group report engaging in and being victims of bullying, intervention programs should continue to focus on preventing and intervening with bullying at the high school level. Among the evidence-based programs reviewed earlier in the chapter, only the Success in Stages® program includes materials targeting bullying behavior at the high school level. Given the rate of maturation and change during the adolescent years, it is perhaps unsurprising that high school students may easily forget or stop using the strategies they may have learned earlier on in adolescence to prevent or stop bullying and cyberbullying. Furthermore, if the majority of interventions themselves only teach strategies that are appropriate for older children and early adolescents, then high school students may find themselves ill-equipped to handle increasingly complex and sometimes confusing social relationships that involve bullying. Addressing this need will require intervention procedures that are adept at helping high school students to recognize bullying when it is occurring,

proactively attempt to stop it, and resolve resulting conflicts or disruptions in social relationships that may follow instances of bullying.

Evidence regarding the predictors of bullying and cyberbullying should be used to identify and target students who are at the greatest risk of engaging in bullying or being victimized by bullying. While it appears that more high school students may benefit from bullying intervention efforts than may be currently receiving those programs, students who are male, engage in frequent electronic communication, and come from family backgrounds characterized by authoritarian parenting are even more likely to be perpetrators of bullying. Schools that administer questionnaires to ask about bullying could use this information to survey these factors as well. Given the variability in frequencies with which students sometimes report engaging in bullying, information regarding other risk factors may help school personnel to identify students who are in need of the most help. For example, a male student who reports engaging in cyberbullying, describes his parents as authoritarian, and who sends several dozen text messages a day may engage in more severe or chronic forms of cyberbullying than a male student who reports engaging in cyberbullying, but also describes his family as cohesive and sends text messages less than 20 times a day. Small group interventions may be more salient for the former student than the latter, and when resources are limited, focusing intervention efforts on the most severe offenders may result in the greatest impact for overall school climate. Conversely, knowledge of behaviors that predispose students for bullying and/or victimization, such as texting often or spending a lot of time online, may help service providers to target prevention efforts at younger students or those who do not yet report high levels of bullying or victimization.

The implications of these findings for work with family members are also important. While authoritarian parenting has been linked to many negative outcomes for youth for quite some time (e.g., Jewell, Krohn, Scott, Carlton, & Meinz, 2008), its link to bullying behavior is relatively new (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). Practitioners inside and outside of schools should attend to the impact of family environment on adolescents' behavior – this finding is probably particularly salient for community-based practitioners who have the opportunity to assess and target familial interactions. It may be that parents who are able to set firm limits but also to compromise when their child's well-being demands it are teaching and modeling important skills in self-regulation, seeking out social support, and maintaining positivity. Future avenues of research should examine whether learning those skills provides additional benefit in reducing bullying behaviors, which would further strengthen the link between skills gained via appropriate parenting and engagement in bullying. Meanwhile, practitioners who have the opportunity to directly address parenting style may wish to examine whether adolescents with authoritarian parents are engaging in bullying and, if so, provide additional skill instruction to both adolescents and their parents in the areas of effective communication and compromise in interpersonal relationships.

Family context also has important implications for victimization, especially in the area of conflict. Family conflict predicted victimization via both traditional and cyber routes in Study 2, suggesting that the experience of frequently witnessing conflict in the home environment may result in adolescents who are either more tolerant of receiving aggression from others and/or less skillful in effectively refuting and discouraging aggression from peers. Clearly, more research is needed to specify the exact pathways through which family conflict makes adolescents more vulnerable to bullying and cyberbullying. In light of other findings regarding age group and the protective effects of cohesion, high school students from homes with high

conflict are particularly likely to be bullied traditionally and via cyber mechanisms. Additionally, practitioners should attend to the amount of conflict present in a student's family when considering whether to involve a student in a targeted intervention group or when working individually with such an adolescent. Such youth may require additional skill instruction and opportunities to rehearse proactively responding to conflict and/or aggression in a way that de-escalates the aggressor and communicates a lack of tolerance for aggressive and/or disparaging comments and actions.

In addition to the directions mentioned above, future researchers should re-examine the findings of this study to determine that the links observed between sex, age, access to technology, and family context variables are meaningfully linked to traditional, cyber, and image-based cyber bullying and victimization with a variety of adolescent populations. Of particular interest in bullying research is the extent to which self-report measures of bullying and victimization accurately reflect adolescents' actual experiences at school and in digital communication. While research examining the efficacy of bullying prevention measures has attempted in vivo observations of actual school-based behavior (e.g., Low et al., 2010), research into prevalence and factors related to bullying typically relies on self-report questionnaires to measure the extent of bullying and/or cyberbullying within a population. Expanding upon the research base by conducting observations of adolescent behavior, in particular, is likely to provide researchers and practitioners with more meaningful methods of identifying and evaluating bullying within a particular context, such as a school. Additionally, with the appropriate consent, qualitative examination of the content of adolescents' messages to and from each other in digital realms could provide meaningful insight into the types of messages and forms of bullying that are most damaging to adolescents, and could be examined in terms of the factors described above.

Just as aggression and concerns about aggression dominate discussions of human behavior from preschool through adulthood, bullying and its related forms will likely continue to be an issue requiring attention and resources for years to come. However, the extent to which social aggression is normative should always be considered in light of the potentially devastating effects that bullying can have on adolescents' lives. Understanding the conditions through which bullying is more likely to occur and the variables that may predispose an adolescent to be victimized will help practitioners and researchers alike to identify, target, and implement effective interventions to ameliorate and minimize the extent to which bullying negative impacts students of all ages.

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Chapter 62

**SCHOOL BASED BULLYING IN IRELAND –
A CAUSE FOR CONCERN?
A REVIEW OF RESEARCH FROM NORTHERN
IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND**

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ABSTRACT

Both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland have, over the last 20 years, changed dramatically in response to a range of economic, political and social factors. One area of continuing social concern within both countries is that of bully/victim problems among school pupils. The present aim was to provide a review of research on the prevalence and social-psychological correlates of bully/victim problems among school children within both countries. Data are presented from a total of 15 studies located in Northern Ireland and 13 studies located in the Republic of Ireland. The findings suggest that, across a range of samples, measures, and sub-types of bullying behaviours, bully/victim problems among school children continues to remain a problem in schools across Ireland. The social-psychological consequences are considerable.

Keywords: Anti-Bullying, Bully, Bullying, Cyberbullying, Disablist, Disability, Health, Ireland, Post-Primary School, Primary School, Secondary School, Well-being, Victim, Victimization.

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INTRODUCTION

Bullying in schools is an international problem (see Smith & Morita, 1999). Smith et al., (1999) present a cross-national perspective on the nature, prevalence and correlation of school bullying that encompasses specific reviews from each of the Scandinavian countries (Finland: Björkqvist & Österman, 1999; Denmark: Dueholm, 1999; Norway: Olweus, 1999a; Sweden: Olweus, 1999b); the U.K. and Republic of Ireland (Ireland: Byrne, 1999; Scotland: Mellor, 1999; England & Wales: Smith, 1999), Latin countries (France: Fabre-Cornali, Emin, & Pain, 1999; Italy: Fonzi et al., 1999; Spain: Ortega & Mora-Merchan, 1999; Portugal: Tomás de Almeida, 1999), central Europe (Switzerland: Alsaker & Brunner, 1999; Poland: Janowski, 1999; The Netherlands: Junger-Tas, 1999; Germany: Lösel & Bliesener, 1999; Belgium: Vettenburg, 1999), North America (Canada: Harachi, Catalano, & Hawkins, 1999a; USA: Harachi, Catalano & Hawkins, 1999b), the Pacific Rim (Japan: Morita, Soeda, Soeda, & Taki, 1999; Australia: Rigby & Slee, 1999; Aotearoa/New Zealand: Sullivan, 1999), and the developing world (e.g., Palestine, South Africa: Ohsako, 1999). Subsequently, comparable reviews have been provided on Northern Ireland (Mc Guckin, in press; Mc Guckin & Lewis, 2003).

The aim of the present chapter is to build on the foundational work of Mc Guckin (in press) and Mc Guckin and Lewis (2003) on Northern Ireland and Byrne (1999) on Ireland, by providing a contemporary review of school bullying in both the Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. No attempt was made to revisit the “contextual” description of these countries provided by Byrne (1999) and Mc Guckin and Lewis (2003), as it is argued that these original descriptions are still relevant. Instead, the chapter provides an exhaustive review of the nature, incidence, and correlates of bully/victim problems among school children in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

BULLY/VICTIM PROBLEMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

At present there have been 15 studies undertaken on school based bullying in Northern Ireland.

Large Scale Studies

To date, there have been three large-scale research studies funded by the Department of Education for Northern Ireland (DENI): (i) Collins, Mc Aleavy, and Adamson (2002, 2004), (ii) Livesey et al. (2007), and (iii) RSM McClure Watters (2011). The strength of these studies rests in their sampling methodology (representative samples of school children from 120 schools: 60 primary; 60 post-primary) and use of the “gold-standard” Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (Olweus, 1989, 1996), thus allowing for cross-national comparisons. Two central questions from Olweus’ questionnaire are of interest for comparison to previous research: “How often have you been bullied at school in the past couple of months?” and “How often have you taken part in bullying others at school in the past couple of months?”

Study 1. Bullying in Schools: A Northern Ireland Study (Collins et al., 2002, 2004)

The first of these studies (*Bullying in Schools: A Northern Ireland Study*: Collins et al., 2002, 2004) employed the Revised Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (1996), and found, among a sample of 1,079 primary school pupils, that 40.1% reported being bullied in the past couple of months. In relation to being a victim of bullying, 26% claimed that it happened “once or twice in the last couple of months”, 6% stated it happened “two or three times a month”, 5% reported that it was “about once a week”, and 4% experienced it “several times a week”. Among the post-primary school sample of 1,353, a lower rate of victimisation (30.2%) was reported by the pupils (20.3%: “once or twice”; 3.4%: “two or three times a month”; 3%: “about once a week”; and 3.5%: “several times a week”). Furthermore, in relation to experiencing bullying for several years, 5% of primary school pupils and 2% of post-primary school pupils reported that this was the case. With regard to bullying other pupils at school, whilst 24.9% of primary school pupils reported that they had participated in this behaviour (22%: “occasional”; 3%: “frequent”), a higher rate (29%) was reported by post-primary school pupils (26%: “occasional”; 3%: “frequent”). A further group of bully-victims were identified: 15% among the primary school pupils and 12% among the post-primary school pupils. Questionnaires were also completed by staff within the participating schools, in relation to attitudes to and awareness of bullying, school anti-bullying policies, and procedures and their training needs. From their analysis of both pupil and staff questionnaires, Collins et al. (2002, 2004) concluded that bullying was occurring in all schools, even in the best regulated ones, was not specific to age or gender, and at times it was underplayed by the schools and teachers.

Study 2. The Nature and Extent of Bullying in Schools in the North of Ireland (Livesey et al., 2007)

The second of these studies (*The Nature and Extent of Bullying in Schools in the North of Ireland*: Livesey et al., 2007) employed the Revised Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (Olweus, 1996), but with the addition of questions in relation to Section 75 of the *Northern Ireland Act 1998* (The Stationery Office, 2003) which related to opinions on equality in relation to ethnicity, religion, and disability. Among the primary school sample of 993 pupils, 43.3% reported that they were a victim of bullying in the past couple of months (26.2%: “once or twice”; 7.9%: “two or three times a month”; 4.3%: “about once a week”; 4.9%: “several times a week”). A lower rate of victimisation (28.8%) was reported among the 1,319 post-primary school pupils (21.1%: “once or twice”; 2.6%: “two or three times a month”; 2.3%: “about once a week”; 2.7%: “several times a week”). With regard to bullying other pupils, 22.1% of primary school pupils indicated they had done this (17.1%: “once or twice”; 2.7%: “two or three times a month”; 1.4%: “about once a month”; 0.9%: “several times a month”). One fifth (21.9%) of post-primary school pupils stated that they had participated in bullying other pupils over the past couple of months (19.1%: “once or twice”; 1.1%: “two or three times a month”; 0.9%: “about once a week”; 0.8%: “several times a month”). Pupils were also categorised to one of four categories: (i) not bully or victim, (ii) victim, (iii) bully, or (iv) bully-victim, based on their answers to the two key questions, as per Solberg and Olweus (2003) and Ahmed and

Braithwaite (2004). Among the primary school pupils, 80.4% were not involved in bullying and were classified as “not bully or victim”, 14.6% were categorised as a “victim”, 2.5% as a “bully” and 2.5% were considered “bully-victims”. In the post-primary sample, 90.3% were assigned as “not a bully or victim”, 6.9% were a “victim”, 2.1% were classified as a “bully” and 0.7% were categorised as a “bully-victim”.

Furthermore, in relation to cyberbullying, 12.9% of primary school pupils and 7% of post-primary school pupils reported being “bullied with the use of mobile phones”. In relation to being “bullied with the use of computers”, 7.4% of primary school pupils and 4.4% of post-primary school pupils stated that it had happened to them. In relation to bullying others, 3.4% of primary school pupils and 6.9% of post-primary school pupils admitted that they had done this using a mobile phone, and 2.1% of primary school pupils, and 4.6% post-primary school pupils stated that they used a computer to bully others.

Questions were also asked in relation to having a disability and being involved in bully/victim problems. In relation to having a disability, 16.3% of primary school pupils reported that they did have a disability. Livesey et al. (2007) reported that there was a significant association between whether a pupil had a disability and frequency of victimisation. When compared to their non-disabled peers (40.4%), a larger percentage (58.5%) of those with a disability reported that they were a victim of bullying behaviour. A significant association was also found in relation to bullying other pupils, with a greater percentage of pupils with a disability (37.7%) reporting that they had bullied other pupils in comparison to those without a disability (19.1%). Amongst the post-primary sample, 5.9% reported having a disability, with similar significant associations being found in relation to reporting of having a disability and being a victim of bullying behaviour: 29.7% of those with a disability reported being a victim in comparison to 27.7% for those with no disability. Similarly, significant associations were also reported for reporting of a disability and involvement in bullying others, with a greater percentage (35.4%) of pupils with a disability admitting bullying other pupils in comparison to those pupils (21.2%) with no disability.

In comparison to the findings of Collins et al. (2002, 2004) from 5 years previous, the rates of reported bullying behaviour by victims, bullies, and bully/victim were similar in nature. Livesey et al. (2007) concluded that schools still faced challenges in terms of creating an anti-bullying culture and preventing bully/victim problems among school pupils and protecting children who had experienced this problem.

Study 3. The Nature and Extent of Pupil Bullying in Schools in the North of Ireland (RSM McClure Watters, 2011)

The third funded project (*The Nature and Extent of Pupil Bullying in Schools in the North of Ireland*: RSM McClure Watters, 2011), built upon the strong methodological and empirical base set by the previous two projects. Similarly, it examined the nature and incidence of school bullying, but it also included questions relation to cyberbullying (like Livesey et al., 2007) and a survey of staff (like Collins et al., 2002, 2004). Questionnaires were completed by a representative sample of 904 primary pupils and 1,297 post-primary pupils, along with 58 primary teaching staff, 57 primary non-teaching staff, 56 post-primary teaching staff, and 58 post-primary non-teaching staff.

For consistency with the previous research, the Revised Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (1996) was utilised, with further questions asked in relation to cyberbullying, pupils' awareness of, and use of, available resources to help with dealing with incidents of bullying. As before, questions relating to Section 75 of the *Northern Ireland Act 1998* (The Stationary Office, 2003) on equal opportunity and good relations were also included (e.g., race or skin colour, disability, religion). Furthermore, in an extension to the previous research, one senior teaching member of staff who had specific responsibility for "pastoral care" and one non-teaching member of staff were interviewed in each school sampled.

Within the primary school sample, 39.3% (n = 352) of pupils had been victimised in the previous two months (22.1%, n = 198: "it has only happened once or twice"; 7.7%, n = 69: "2 or 3 times a month"; 4.6%, n = 41: "about once a week"; 4.9%, n = 44: "several times a week"), with 9.5% (n = 85) of these pupils experiencing bullying once a week or more often. Amongst post-primary school pupils, the rate of victimisation was 29.5% (n = 380: 18.4%, n = 238: "it has only happened once or twice"; 4.3%, n = 55: "2 or 3 times a month"; 3.3%, n = 42: "about once a week"; 3.5%, n = 45: "several times a week").

In response to the question about bullying others, 21.5% (n = 193) of primary school pupils admitted being involved in this behaviour (17.6%, n = 158: "it has happened only once or twice"; 2.2%, n = 20: "2 or 3 times a month"; 1.1%, n = 10: "about once a week"; 0.6%, n = 5: "several times a week"), and 1.7% (n = 15) of these pupils engaged in this behaviour once a week or more often. Among the post-primary school pupils, 17.8% (n = 230) reported that they did this "once or twice", and 3.4% (n = 44) reported that they bullied others on a more frequent basis (1.6%, n = 21: "2 or 3 times a month"; 1.1%, n = 14: "about once a week"; 0.7%, n = 9: "several times a week").

Similar to the previous iteration of the study (Livesey et al., 2007), pupils were categorised as "not a bully or victim", "victim", "bully", or "bully-victim" based on their answers to the two key questions. In relation to primary school pupils, 80.2% were classified as being "not a bully or victim", 15.8% as a "victim", 2.6% as a "bully", and 1.3% as a "bully-victim". Among the post-primary school pupils, 86.6% were categorised as being "not a bully or victim", 9.9% as a "victim", 2.3% as a "bully", and 1% as a "bully-victim" (Note: whilst percentage values were reported for these groups, the numbers of pupils in each category was not reported).

In relation to being a victim of cyberbullying, 15.5% (n = 140) of primary school pupils reported that they had experienced this in the past couple of months, with "I received a threatening message via IM, text, email" (6%, n = 54) and "I received a message that showed people were talking about me nastily online" (6.1%, n = 55) being most commonly reported. Similar trends were reported amongst the post-primary sample, with 17% (n = 221) reporting cyberbullying and "I received a threatening message via IM, text, email" (5.3%, n = 69) and "I received a message that showed people were talking about me nastily online" (5.5%, n = 71) being the most reported options. Text message (primary: 8.1%, n = 73; post-primary: 9.6%, n = 124) and social networking (primary: 5.9%, n = 53; post-primary: 10.6%, n = 138) were two methods of bullying most commonly reported by a victim, to bully them using a mobile phone or computer.

When answering the question about involvement in cyberbullying other pupils in the past couple of months, 5.2% (n = 47) reported that they had engaged in this behaviour. Similar to the victim focused question, the most frequent reported responses were: "I sent him or her a threatening message via IM, text, email" (1.7%, n = 15) and "I sent him or her a message that showed people were talking about him or her nastily online" (1.8%, n = 16). Similarly, 6.6%

(n = 85) of post-primary school pupils reported being a cyberbully, with “I sent him or her a message with insults calling him or her gay (whether true or not)” (2.1%, n = 27) and “I sent him or her a threatening message via IM, text, email” (1.9%, n = 25) the most common responses. Similarly, text message (primary: 3.4%, n = 31; post-primary: 2.7%, n = 35) and social networking (primary: 2.1%, n = 19; post-primary: 3.2%, n = 42) were the two methods most commonly reported by a bully.

Similar to Livesey et al. (2007), analysis was also conducted regarding the relationship between involvement in bully/victim problems and disability. Overall, 12.1% of primary school pupils and 6.2% of post-primary school pupils reported having a disability (Note: whilst percentage values were reported for these groups, the numbers of pupils in each category was not reported). Among the primary school pupils, a large percentage of those that reported having a disability also reported that they had been victimized (44.3%, n = 47) compared to their non-disabled peers (38.6%, n = 300). A similar trend was evident among the post-primary school pupils, with 44.9% (n = 35) of those with a disability reporting being bullied compared to 28.2% (n = 337) for those without a disability. Furthermore, a greater percentage of those primary school pupils who had a disability reported being involved in bullying other students (27.8%, n = 30) than those without a disability (20.8%, n = 162). Similarly, 29.1% (n = 23) of those in post-primary school with a disability reported that they had bullied other pupils compared with 20.5% (n = 245) for those without a disability.

As mentioned previously, staff surveys were also conducted. In relation to the incidence of bullying over the past “two or three years”, the majority of primary school teaching (60%, n = 35) and non-teaching staff (65%, n = 37) considered it to be “about the same”. Within the post-primary sample, the incidence was also considered to be “about the same” by teaching (54%, n = 30) and non-teaching staff (52%, n = 29). In relation to cyberbullying, 17 primary school teaching staff and 18 non-teaching staff stated that cyberbullying and problems with *Facebook* and phones were becoming more common. In the post-primary school setting, almost three quarters of teaching staff and one-third of non-teaching staff noted that cyberbullying was increasing.

In comparison to the two previous studies, the incidence rate in relation to victimisation and involvement in bullying others for primary school pupils and post-primary school pupils remained consistent, with only slight changes occurring. All three studies reported victimisation rates of approximately 40% among primary school pupils and 30% among post-primary school pupils, and participation in bullying others for both school groups of approximately 20%. Based on their research findings, RSM McClure Watters (2011) made some key recommendations, such as reminding schools to update their policies and involve parents and pupils, that DENI should provide guidance on the roles of staff in dealing with school bullying, and provide guidelines on addressing cyberbullying for schools.

Smaller Scale Studies

In addition to the three large-scale and methodologically robust studies (Collins et al., 2002, 2004; Livesey et al., 2007; RSM McClure Watters, 2011), there has been a number of smaller scale studies that have explored the nature, incidence, and correlates of involvement in bully/victim problems amongst school pupils in Northern Ireland (Callaghan & Joseph, 1995; Collins & Bell, 1996; Espey, Duffy, & Mc Guckin, under review; Mc Guckin & Crowley, in

press; Mc Guckin, Cummins, & Lewis, 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b; Mc Guckin & Lewis, 2006; Mc Guckin, Lewis, & Cummins, 2010; Purdy & Mc Guckin, 2011; Schubotz, 2010). However, unlike the DENI supported large scale studies reported above, there was no consensus among the authors of these smaller studies regarding methodological issues.

Study 4. Callaghan and Joseph (1995)

Callaghan and Joseph (1995) examined the relationship between victimization and mental health among a sample of 120 10-12 year old pupils at two post-primary schools in Northern Ireland. The 18-item Birlson Depression Questionnaire (BDQ: Birlson, 1981), the Self-Perception Profile for Children (SPPC: Harter, 1985), and the Peer Victimization Scale (PVS: Neary & Joseph, 1994), and one standalone question ("Are there any children who are bullied in the classroom?") were completed by the pupils. In response to the standalone question, pupils were also asked to list the names of those children who they thought were being bullied and to include their own name if it was appropriate. Seventy pupils (58.33%) including 13 (10.83%) self-reported victims were identified by at least one of the pupils as being a victim. In relation to scores on the PVS (Neary & Joseph, 1994) and the BDQ (Birlson, 1981), the 70 peer-nominated victims had significantly higher scores than those that were not identified as victims by their peers. In relation to the SPPC (Harter, 1985), this group also had significantly lower scores than non-victims on the Social Acceptance sub-scale, the Behavioural Conduct sub-scale and the Global Self-worth sub-scale. This trend was similar for the self-reported victims, with this group having significantly higher scores on the PVS (Neary & Joseph, 1994) and the BDQ (Birlson, 1981), and significantly lower scores on the Social Acceptance and the Global Self-worth sub-scales of the SPPC (Harter, 1985) than those not identified as victims.

Study 5. Collins and Bell (1996)

Collins and Bell (1996) also utilised the SPPC (Harter, 1985) but assessed bully/victim problems by employing the Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (BVQ: Olweus, 1989) among a sample of 118 8-10 year old pupils from three Belfast primary schools. They also assessed aggressive-disruptive behaviour using the Revised Class Play Method (Masten, Morison, & Pellegrini, 1985). Nearly one-quarter (24%) were reported as bullies. However, similar data were not reported for victims, bully/victims, or bystanders. Significant positive associations were found between self-reports of bullying and peer-nominations of these bullies on the Revised Class Play Method (Masten et al., 1985). In relation to the SPPC (Harter, 1985), bullies scored significantly higher on all sub-scales, except for the Behavioural Conduct and Self-competence sub-scales than everyone else. It was also reported that bullies' scores were lower on the Behavioural Conduct sub-scale than victims and bystanders. Also, victims had lower levels of self-esteem on all sub-scales of the SPPC (Harter, 1985).

An Agenda for Change (Mc Guckin & Lewis, 2003)

These previous two studies (Callaghan & Joseph, 1995; Collins & Bell, 1996) were relatively small in nature and employed different means to assess bully/victim problems among

school pupils. In attempts to overcome the sporadic nature of research exploring such issues among school pupils in Northern Ireland, Mc Guckin, Lewis, and colleagues have been working in earnest to bring theoretical and methodological consensus to the area (Mc Guckin & Lewis, 2003). For example, the review of the following studies demonstrates how the team have been working with other researchers and agencies to improve the quality and consistency of the questions posed in large-scale studies among the Northern Irish school pupils. The outcome of this work has been that a consensus has now been reached whereby all future research exploring bully/victim problems should be comparable, not only with the DENI supported research, but also (and importantly), be comparable with the international literature on the issue.

Study 6. Mc Guckin and Lewis (2006)

The first of these (Mc Guckin & Lewis, 2006) reported upon a sample of 397 12- 17 year olds across Northern Ireland who were involved in the 1998 iteration of the Young Life and Times Survey (YLTS). The YLTS is administered by ARK, the Northern Ireland Social and Political Archive - managed jointly by the University of Ulster and Queen's University Belfast (www.ark.ac.uk/ylt). A victimisation rate of 76.8% was recorded from responses to the question 'Would you say that students at your school get bullied by other students?' A further five questions were posed to the pupils with regard to young people's experiences of bullying behaviour and being a victim of bullying, school policies on bullying, and the staff helpfulness in relation to bully/victim problems. Mc Guckin and Lewis (2006) concluded from the responses to these questions, that although schools were mainly proactive in the management of bully/victim problems, the rate of help-seeking behaviour amongst students was low.

Study 7. Mc Guckin, Cummins, and Lewis (2008)

Similar analyses of a different Province-wide survey were reported by Mc Guckin, Cummins, and Lewis (2008): the Young People's Behaviour and Attitudes Survey (YPBAS: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2000). Among a representative sample of 6,297 11 to 16 year olds in Northern Ireland, a victimisation rate of 43.3% ($n = 2,470$) was reported from answers to the question "Have you ever been a victim of the following – Being bullied?" Responses linked to bully/victim problems emerged in other areas of the survey, such as personal experiences of school meal-times, sporting activities and perceptions of personal safety. As previously, whilst the sampling procedures employed were robust, little was gained in terms of comparable knowledge about the nature, incidence, or correlates of involvement in bully/victim problems.

Study 8. Mc Guckin, Cummins, and Lewis (2009)

Mc Guckin, Cummins, and Lewis (2009) reported findings from the 2003 version of the YPBAS (NISRA, 2003), on three key questions relating to bully/victim problems ($N = 7,223$ 11 to 16 year olds). Self-reports of being a victim of bullying was admitted by almost one-fifth (17.2%, $n = 1,026$) of the sample, and 8.1% ($n = 492$) admitted that they had "picked on" or

bullied another pupil. The victimisation rate recorded was lower than that of the previous iteration (i.e., in 2000). Similar to the 2000 version of the survey, bully/victim problems emerged as a factor in personal experiences of school meal-times, sporting activities, and perceptions of personal safety.

Study 9. Mc Guckin, Lewis, and Cummins (2010)

Mc Guckin, Lewis, and Cummins (2010) analysed data from the 2004 iteration of the YLTS. Among a sample of 824 16 year olds a rate of victimisation of 13% (n = 107) was recorded from responses (frequency = “sometimes or more often”) to the statement “I was bullied at school”. This victimisation rate was lower than that reported by Mc Guckin and Lewis (2006). This version of the survey also included questions in relation to stress and the 12-item General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12: Goldberg & Williams, 1988) was included to assess psychological health and general well-being. In relation to answers relating to stress and scores on the GHQ-12, 65.7% (n = 541) reported being stressed, and 23.8% (n = 189) had scores that were considered high enough on the GHQ-12 to be a “case” (utilising a cut-off score of 4: Mc Whirter, 2004). Furthermore, involvement in bullying behaviour was significantly related to increased stress and impairment in psychological well-being.

Study 10. Mc Guckin, Cummins, and Lewis (2010a)

Mc Guckin, Cummins, and Lewis (2010a) analysed the 2005 YLTS (N = 819 16 years old pupils). A victimisation rate of 30.5% (n = 244) was reported - higher than the previous version of the survey. Similar to the previous version of the YLTS, 64.7% (n = 522) reported being stressed and 21.4% (n = 172) had scores on the GHQ-12 (Goldberg & Williams, 1988) that were high enough to require psychiatric referral (utilising a cut-off of 4: Mc Whirter, 2004). Again involvement in bullying behaviour was significantly related to stress and impaired mental health.

Study 11. Schubotz (2010)

Schubotz (2010), in the analysis of the 2008 YLTS reported a victimisation rate of 37% from a sample of 941 16 year old pupils. From the GHQ-12 (Goldberg & Williams, 1998), 29% were within the “at-risk” group of a psychiatric disorder and answered questions relating to stress, where 39% reported that they were stressed often or very often. This version of the survey was expanded with the inclusion of questions on mental health and self-harm. Fifteen percent of pupils reported that they had thought seriously about self-harm and 10% had self-harmed (5%: once; 5%: more than once). Those pupils who had experienced bully/victim problems reported higher levels of stress than those that had not been involved in such problems. Furthermore, involvement in bully/victim problems was also related to mental and emotional health problems and self-harm, with 65% of those who had self-harmed reporting that they had been bullied at school. This was the first year of the presentation of questions

relating to self-harm, and the rate of bullying and self-harm are a cause for concern. Furthermore, as the YLTS has progressed through the years, the questions being asked are becoming more streamlined in line with international and national research, allowing for cross-national comparison.

Study 12. Mc Guckin, Cummins, and Lewis (2010b)

Mc Guckin, Cummins, and Lewis (2010b) examined the experiences of 11 year olds in Northern Ireland as recorded by the first two administrations of the annual Kids Life and Times Survey - the children's version of the YLTS (KLTS: 2008 [N = 3,440], 2009 [N= 3,699]). The surveys explored both traditional / face-to-face (f2f) and cyberbullying, along with the KIDSCREEN (Ravens-Sieberer et al., 2005; The KIDSCREEN Group Europe, 2006) to assess psychological well-being, and a World Health Organisation measure of family financial circumstances. The 2009 version also included further questions relating to Internet usage, Internet access, and appearance. In 2008, 22% (n = 750) of children reported being *physically* bullied at school either "a little" or "a lot", 38.8% (n = 1,328) reported they had been bullied *in other ways*, either "a little" or "a lot", and 10.3% (n = 353) reported that "yes" they had "been bullied by someone sending nasty texts or putting up bad things about you on the Internet". In relation to bullying others in a physical manner, 7.8% (n = 265) reported they had done this "a little" or "a lot", 12.8% (n = 437) admitted to "bullying children in other ways at school" either "a little" or "a lot", and 3.4% (n = 115) admitted that they had "taken part in bullying someone by sending nasty texts or putting up bad things about them on the Internet". A similar set of results were found in the 2009 survey, with 21.8% (n = 793) of children reporting being physically bullied at school either "a little" or "a lot", 36.2% (n = 1,311) being bullied in other ways either "a little" or "a lot", and 12.9% (n = 470) "been bullied by someone sending nasty texts or putting up bad things about you on the Internet". In relation to bullying others in a physical manner, 8.5% (n = 307) reported they had done this "a little" or "a lot", 13.1% (n = 476) admitted to "bullying children in other ways at school" either "a little" or "a lot". The question relating to cyberbullying other children was not, unfortunately, asked in the 2009 survey. Furthermore, across both years of the survey, involvement in bully/victim problems were associated with impaired psychological well-being.

As becomes evident through each iteration of these large and representative surveys, the key questions relating to experience of involvement in bully/victim problems, including cyberbullying and disablist bullying, reflect the influence and intervention of the present authors. Through their analyses and discussion of the datasets and methodologies employed, basic – but important – methodological issues have been addressed in subsequent surveys, leading to the collection and possible analysis and interpretation of new data to previous work in Northern Ireland and beyond. Thus, survey content regarding personal involvement (or not), and associated issues (e.g., health and well-being, help seeking) is now theoretically and methodologically much more robust.

Study 13. The Northern Ireland Anti-Bullying Forum (2007)

The Northern Ireland Anti-Bullying Forum (2007) explored cyberbullying in Northern Ireland using the Olweus derived questionnaire developed by Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, and Tippett (2006) among a sample 163 11-18 year old pupils in one post-primary school. The traditional / f2f victimisation rate was 14% (n = 22; 10%, n = 16: “once or twice”; 2%, n = 3: “2 or 3 times a month”; 2%, n = 3: “several times a week”) and the rate of experiencing cyberbullying was 8% (n = 13; 7%, n = 11: “once or twice”; 1%, n = 2: “about once a week”). These rates of victimisation are similar to the previous studies mentioned.

Study 14. Espey, Duffy, and Mc Guckin (Under Review)

Espey, Duffy, and Mc Guckin (under review) also assessed involvement in cyberbullying by utilising Smith et al.’s (2006) questionnaire among 757 Year 8 and Year 11 pupils in Northern Ireland. In relation to cyberbullying, a rate of involvement of 19.3% was reported, with 11.9% categorised as victims, 3.1% as bullies, and 4.3% as bully-victims. Traditional / f2f had a rate of involvement of 52.1%, with 31.6% of the sample classified as victims, 6.8% as bullies, and 13.7% as bully-victims. In terms of cyberbullying, the most common form was via text message, with videos via mobile phones being perceived as the form with most amount of harm associated with it. Also, over one-quarter of cyber victims reported that they did not know their cyberbully(ies). In terms of the best coping strategy, blocking the messages or telephone numbers was recommended by the pupils. In comparison to previous research, these rates of victimisation are a cause for concern.

Study 15. Purdy and Mc Guckin (2011)

Previously, it was highlighted within the DENI supported research of Livesey et al. (2007) and RSM McClure Watters (2011) that bullying in relation to a disability (i.e., disablist bullying) is becoming more prevalent – perhaps due to a more inclusive society and school system, with disabled and non-disabled pupils studying side-by-side. In a rare study encompassing samples from both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland (supported by the Standing Conference on Teacher Education North and South: SCoTENS), Purdy and Mc Guckin (2011) examined trainee teachers’ knowledge of, and confidence with, dealing with (i) traditional / f2f bullying, (ii) Special Education Needs (SEN), and (iii) the nexus of these two areas - disablist bullying. The results of their study highlighted that although trainee teachers placed high importance on the need to understand and respond proactively to issues relating to bullying and SEN, their confidence in relation to both was low and they had not received any training in relation to disablist bullying. Furthermore, 35.3% of the sample reported that they would revert to “natural instinct” if they had to deal with an incident of disablist bullying.

Utilising a similar methodological approach, and supported by SCoTENS, Purdy and Mc Guckin (in press) have explored teachers’ (Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland) knowledge of the legal issues regarding cyberbullying. The research was designed to produce clear guidance to schools on their legal responsibilities regarding cyberbullying through the

publication and dissemination of a teacher-friendly pamphlet and increased knowledge and confidence regarding cyberbullying and legal remedies for the phenomenon.

Conclusion

Until recently, much of the research in Northern Ireland that has explored school bullying has been sporadic in nature, focusing on the incidence, nature, and correlates of bully/victim problems. Evident among these studies was a lack of methodological agreement in terms of definition, the time-reference period for the bullying to have occurred (e.g., previous week, previous two months, previous year) and whether the methodologies utilised (e.g., interview, questionnaire) allowed for comparison to the international literature. In addition, there is inconsistency in the reporting of findings, with some researchers reporting in percentages, some in numbers, and others choosing to categorise the respondents.

BULLY/VICTIM PROBLEMS IN REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

Research efforts regarding bully/victim problems in the Republic of Ireland have been influenced by the internationally recognised work of O'Moore and colleagues at the Anti-Bullying Centre in Trinity College Dublin. Indeed, O'Moore's Anti-Bullying Centre has been at the centre of much of the applied research regarding bully/victim problems across the lifespan and in schools, the workplace, and community settings in the Republic of Ireland and internationally.

At present there have been 13 studies undertaken on school based bullying in the Republic of Ireland.

Study 1. Byrne (1987)

The first key study on the nature of bully/victim problems in Ireland was conducted by Byrne (1987). Among a sample of 323 12-16 year old post-primary school boys, 5.2% were identified as victims and 4.9% were involved as bullies. Furthermore, among pupils in remedial classes, 13.7% were categorised as a victim and 9.1% as a bully. These rates were based on teacher ratings, so it is a possibility that the incidence rates may be underestimated. This was highlighted by O'Moore and Hillery (1991) where teachers nominated those that were involved in bullying behaviour. They identified 22% pure bullies (never been bullied) and 25% bully-victims. They reported that teachers did not identify a quarter of the total number of bullies present in the sample. They also reported that bullies and victims experienced lower levels of self-esteem (as measured by the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale: Piers, 1984) in comparison to those not involved in bully/victim problems.

Study 2. O'Moore and Hillery (1989)

O'Moore and Hillery (1989), among a representative sample of 783 seven to thirteen year old primary school pupils in Dublin, utilised Roland and Munthe's (1989) 14-item self-report questionnaire. A victimisation rate of 63% (n = 493) was reported with 54.9% (n = 430) reporting that it happened occasionally and 8% (n = 63) of these reporting that they had been bullied on a frequent level ("once a week" or "more often"). In relation to the current school term, 34.4% were bullied occasionally during that term and 7.7% were bullied frequently. In relation to bullying others, 56% (n = 359) admitted to doing this, 43.3% of these did so occasionally ("once or twice" or "sometimes") and 2.5% bullied "seriously" ("once a week" or "more often"). In relation to bullying in the current school term, 27.4% reported bullying others occasionally and 1.8% (n = 14) did so to a serious level. Of those respondents that were bullied occasionally during the term (55%: "once or twice" or "sometimes"), 42.8% (n = 115) reported that they had also bullied others occasionally, and 3.3% (n = 9) had bullied others frequently. Of those that had been bullied frequently during the term, 40% (n = 24) had bullied others occasionally and 5% (n = 3) had bullied others on a frequent level. Furthermore, 109 of the sample attended remedial classes and 67.9% of these reported being a victim of bullying and 54.3% reported participated in bullying others.

Study 3. Byrne (1994)

Byrne (1994), among a sample of 1,302 primary and post-primary school pupils and 44 teachers (primary and post-primary) explored the incidence of bully/victim problems through teacher- and peer-ratings, class questionnaires, and interviews. Ten per-cent (10.4%) of the total sample reported being involved in bully/victim problems as either a bully (5.3%) or as a victim (5.1%). Furthermore, similar to O'Moore and Hillery (1991), when compared to those not involved in bully/victim problems, bullies and victims reported lower levels of self-worth. Bullies also reported higher levels of aggression, hostility, and a domineering nature towards their peers along with low levels of anxiety and insecurity. Conversely, victims reported higher levels of depression, worry, fear of new situations, and a withdrawn nature. In relation to early school completion, bullies showed the highest rate of 36.6% in comparison to 13.8% for victims. In addition, whilst 80.5% of teachers rated bullying as a major problem in schools, only 39% reported it as a large problem in their school. Moreover, just 5% of teachers felt that their teacher training prepared them to deal with bullying in schools.

Study 4. O'Moore, Kirkham, and Smith (1997)

A nationwide study of bully/victim problems in primary and post-primary schools in Ireland was conducted in 1993 by O'Moore, Kirkham, and Smith (1997), utilising a modified version of the Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (Olweus, 1989; Whitney & Smith, 1993) among a sample of 20,442 pupils. In relation to being a victim of bullying, 31.3% (n = 3,064) of primary school pupils (18.6%, n = 1,777: "once or twice"; 8.4%, n = 807: "sometimes"; 1.9%: "once a week"; 2.4%: "several times a week" [n = 480 for these last two combined]) and 15.6% of post-primary pupils, reported that they had been a victim of bully/victim problems

within the last term (10.8%, $n = 1,172$: “once or twice”; 2.9%, $n = 316$: “sometimes”; 0.7%: “once a week”; 1.2%: “several times a week” [$n = 207$ for these last two combined]). In relation to bullying others, 26.4% ($n = 2,524$) of primary school pupils (20%, $n = 1,904$: “once or twice”; 5.1%, $n = 482$: “sometimes”; 0.7%: “once a week”; 0.7%: “several times a week” [$n = 138$ for these last two combined]) and 14.9% ($n = 1,606$) of post-primary school pupils reported that they had been involved with bullying others in school within the last term (11.5%, $n = 1,239$: “once or twice”; 2.4%, $n = 264$: “sometimes”; 0.3%: “once a week”; 0.7%: “several times a week” [$n = 103$ for these last two combined]). Pupils were further categorised as pure bullies, pure victims, and bully-victims. Among the primary school sample, 12.3% were categorised as pure bullies, 17.1% as pure victims, and 14.1% as bully-victims. In the post-primary sample, the percentages for each of the categories were lower, with 10.8% classified as pure bullies, 11.5% as pure victims and 4.1% as bully-victims. (Note: whilst percentage values were reported for these groups, the numbers of pupils in each category was not reported).

Study 5. O’Moore and Kirkham (2001)

In a follow up study in 1994, O’Moore and Kirkham (2001) examined the relationship between self-esteem and bullying behaviour among a sample of 8,429 eight to eighteen year old pupils (primary and post-primary) who completed a modified version of the Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (Olweus, 1989; Whitney & Smith, 1993) and the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale (Piers, 1984). Those pupils that were involved as a bully, as a victim, or both had lower levels of Global Self-worth than those not involved in bullying behaviour. For victims, as the frequency of victimisation increased, levels of self-esteem decreased. Also, on the different dimensions of the Piers Harris Self-Concept Scale (Piers, 1984), they rated themselves with significantly higher scores on Behaviour and Anxiety, and significantly lower scores on Popularity, Physical Appearance, and Intellectual and School Status in comparison to those that had not been bullied. However, they had significantly higher levels of Global Self-worth than bully-victims. Among those primary school pupils that were categorised as pure bullies and bullied on the most frequent level, they reported significantly lower scores on the dimensions of Behaviour, Intellectual and School Status, Physical Appearance, Anxiety, Popularity, and Happiness and Satisfaction than those that did not bully. Furthermore, post-primary school bullies rated themselves with significantly lower scores on Behaviour, Intellectual and School Status, Popularity, and Happiness and Satisfaction. O’Moore and Kirkham (2001) found, across both primary and post-primary pupils that compared with pure bullies, bully-victims that bullied moderately and frequently and were bullied moderately and frequently, reported significantly lower levels of Global Self-worth, with lower scores of Behaviour, Intellectual and School Status, Physical Appearance, Popularity, and Happiness and Satisfaction, but higher scores of Anxiety.

Study 6. Guerin and Hennessy (2001)

Guerin and Hennessy (2001), among a sample of 940 primary school pupils in fifth and sixth class, utilised a questionnaire designed by the researchers to measure the nature and incidence of bully/victim problems in schools. The questionnaire posed questions related to

pupil's experiences of school, their involvement in bullying, and their attitudes to, and definitions of, bullying. The focus of the research was on the involvement in bully/victim problems. Involvement in bully/victim problems was reported by 31.2% ($n = 293$) of the sample, with 15.6% ($n = 147$) being classified as a victim, 6.1% ($n = 57$) as a bully, and 9.5% ($n = 89$) as a bully-victim.

Study 7. Connolly and O'Moore (2003)

Connolly and O'Moore (2003) examined the role of personality and family relations in bullies, utilising The Eysenck Personality Questionnaire Junior (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1975) and the Family Relations Test (Bene & Anthony, 1957) to assess the direction and intensity of the young person's feelings towards each of their family members and their estimation of the reciprocal feelings towards them. The sample consisted of 228 six to sixteen year olds, with 115 categorised as bullies and 113 as "controls". Categorisation as a bully or a control was based on a modified version of the Bankside Boys' School and Lamont Girls' Schools Questionnaire (Keise, 1992). In relation to personality, bullies scored higher in terms of Extraversion, Psychoticism, and Neuroticism in comparison to the controls. In relation to family relations, bullies reported higher scores in terms of emotional inhibition and had assigned significantly more negative statements to themselves compared to the controls. They also reported ambivalent relationships with their siblings and both parents whereas the controls portrayed positive relationships with their family members. Based on these findings Connolly and O'Moore (2003) recommend early identification of bullies and the involvement of their family in the intervention.

Study 8. James, Sofroniou, and Lawlor (2003)

James, Sofroniou, and Lawlor (2003), among a sample of 1,068 post-primary school second year pupils utilised a modified version of the Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (Olweus, 1993). Pupils were selected from participating schools in the "Cool School Programme" (an anti-bullying programme). Data were also collected in relation to the emotional reaction to being bullied (e.g., feeling sad, angry, isolated, afraid, fed up, depressed, suicidal, humiliated, hopeless, insecure, unsure of themselves, and afraid of school). These items represented experienced emotions of young people that attended a Child Psychiatry Clinic. In relation to being a victim, 15% ($n = 169$) of pupils reported that they were a victim. Some cases of these were excluded from analysis due to missing data (gender, type of bullying, emotions response) which lowered the percentage of victims with full data to 11% ($n = 120$; 5.6%: "once or twice"; 2.4%: "once a week or more"; 3.1%: "several times"). In relation to the type of bullying reported, name-calling was more frequently reported followed by having rumours spread about them, being threatened, and then being physically hurt. Following factor analysis on the various items relating to emotional response, two key factors emerged: Sadness-Anxiety and Anger-Frustration. In relation to these two factors, as the frequency of bullying increased, so did the victim's feelings on the sadness and anxiety factor, and victims reported feelings of anger/frustration irrespective of the frequency of the bullying behaviour. Those victims who reported that rumours were spread about them reported significantly higher scores

on both factors of emotional response. Those victims who reported that no one talked to them (exclusion) reported significantly higher scores on the sadness-anxiety factor. Suicidal feelings due to bullying were reported by 21% of victims.

Study 9. Mills, Guerin, Lynch, Daly, and Fitzpatrick (2004)

Mills, Guerin, Lynch, Daly, and Fitzpatrick (2004) report on data collected as part of a larger piece of research (Lynch, Mills, Daly, & Fitzpatrick, 2004) that investigated the prevalence of psychiatric disorders in a community setting sample of young people, aged between 12-15 years, and located in eight secondary schools in North Dublin. After a screening process involving the use of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, 1997) and the Children's Depression Inventory (Kovacs, 1985, 1992), the final sample for analysis were the 209 (97 male, 112 female) students who presented for interview post-screening. The post-screening interview involved the use of the Schedule for Affective Disorders and Schizophrenia for School Aged Children Present and Life Time Version (KSADS-PL: Kaufman, Birmaher, Brent, Rao, & Ryan, 1996, 1997), the Scale for Suicide Ideation (SSI: Beck, Kovacs, & Weissmann, 1979), and the Suicide Intent Scale (SIS: Beck, Schuyler, & Herman, 1974) where required. Within the KSADS-PL, respondents were asked if they had ever experienced being bullied by their peers. The researchers had no predetermined criteria for what constituted an episode of bullying, instead relying on the respondent's own descriptions of experiences that they considered to be bullying. The victimisation rate was 34.5% ($n = 72$), with three quarters of these ($n = 54$) reported previous victimisation, and the remainder ($n = 18$) reporting that they were currently being bullied. Being a victim was associated with depression (past episodes and not current depressive episodes), suicide ideation, and more likely to have attempted suicide, and more likely to be referred to psychiatric services. Against expectations, victimization was not associated with anxiety or previous behaviour problems.

Study 10. O'Moore and Minton (2005)

O'Moore and Minton's (2005) work related to the effectiveness of an anti-bullying programme across 22 primary schools, using a modified version of the Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (Olweus, 1989; Whitney & Smith, 1993), before and after the programme. Questionnaires were completed by 525 third and fourth class pupils in 1998-1999 prior to the implementation of the anti-bullying programme to establish the rate of bullying behaviour in the schools. One year after the programme had been implemented, questionnaires were distributed again to the same students who were then in fourth and fifth class, yielding a sample of 520. Teachers also completed questionnaires (Rigby, 1997) at the two time points regarding their knowledge and feelings regarding bullying. Results highlighted that prior to the implementation of the anti-bullying programme, 36.7% of respondents were categorised as victims and 27.1% of pupils were classified as bullies. Following the implementation of the anti-bullying programme, the percentage of victims fell to 29.5% and the percentage of bullies dropped to 22.4%. This reduction in the percentage of victims and bullies was significant in nature, thus highlighting the effectiveness of the anti-bullying programme. (See Farrington &

Ttofi, 2009 for a scholarly review of the efficacy of this and noteworthy intervention / prevention programmes from across the world.)

Study 11. James et al. (2006)

Similarly, James et al. (2006) examined the experiences of staff and students of one school's participation in an anti-bullying programme (the "Cool School Programme": CSP) and impact of the programme. The sample consisted of 174, 13-17 year old pupils and 32 teachers. Students were administered a non-standardized questionnaire devised by the CSP team. The questionnaire focused on: (i) teacher ability to manage bullying, (ii) telling a teacher if you experience bullying, (iii) safety in school, (iv) has the CSP made a difference?, and (v) were there any changes since CSP started? Answers were collapsed, where possible, into themes. The findings were that 91% (n = 159) of the students felt that teachers took bully/victim problems seriously, 89% (n = 155) reported that they thought that the teachers knew how to deal with bullying, and 75% (n = 131) thought that they would be able to tell a teacher if they were bullied. Furthermore, 87% (n = 151) reported that their class had a better atmosphere and 93% (n = 162) felt safe at school. In relation to teachers, 72% (n = 23) felt a greater confidence in their abilities to deal with bullying, 84% (n = 27) reported that they were more vigilant, 94% (n = 30) thought students felt safer at school, and 69% (n = 22) thought it the atmosphere was better in the school. The majority (94%, n = 30) reported that they felt the programme had become part of the schools culture and that it would continue (97%, n = 31). James et al. (2006) highlight the need for anti-bullying programmes to focus on helping and supporting victims of bullying, to empower bystanders to intervene and work with those involved, along with reporting of bullying. They also advocate that staff, students and parents should work together to manage this on-going problem in schools.

Study 12. Minton and O'Moore (2008)

Minton and O'Moore (2008), in their 2004-2005 "ABC" study, utilised a modified version of the Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (Olweus, 1989) among a sample of 2,312 8 to 12 year old primary school pupils across 33 primary schools and 3,257 12 to 16 year old pupils across 12 post-primary schools. Almost one-third (29.2%) of primary school pupils reported that they had been bullied (22.7%: "once or twice" or "sometimes"; 3.4%: "once a week"; 3.1%: "several times a week") and 22.9% of post-primary students reported that they were a victim of bullying (18%: "once or twice" or "sometimes"; 2.8%: "once a week"; 2.1%: "several times a week"). Pupils were also "categorized" based on their answers. Amongst the primary school pupils, 21.2% were involved as a victim only, 6.8% were involved as a bully only, and 7.3% were involved as a bully-victim. With regard to post-primary school pupils, 15.2% were involved as a victim only, 13.5% were involved as a bully only, and 7.7% were involved as a bully-victim. This was a rate of involvement of 35.3% for the primary school sample and 36.4% for the post-primary school sample. Whilst the rates reflected a decrease in the primary school sample when compared to the 1993 nationwide survey (O'Moore et al., 1997), there was an increase for the primary school sample. Minton and O'Moore (2008) reported that the primary school pupils were overall significantly less likely to report that they were involved in

bully/victim problems and that they had bullied others, but they were significantly more likely to be a “pure victim”. Furthermore, pupils from post-primary schools were overall significantly more likely to be involved in bully/victim problems, and to be classified as a “pure bully”, “pure victim”, and “bully-victim” than their counterparts in the 1993 nationwide study (O’Moore et al., 1997).

Study 13. Sentenac et al. (2011)

Sentenac et al. (2011) explored bullying behaviour among 12,048 students aged 11, 13, and 15 years, who had a disability or chronic illness (D/CI) in Ireland and France, as part of a cross-national study: 2006 Health Behaviour in School-aged Children. Within the survey, bullying was assessed through questions from the Olweus Bully/victim Questionnaire (1993). Other questions were also asked in relation to family affluence (the Family Affluence Scale: Currie et al., 2008), quality of social network on the communication with same-gender friends and social support from classmates, and family factors through family structure and communication with parents. Questions were also asked to identify if the student had a disability. Respondents were categorised as non D/CI children, D/CI without restriction in participation, and D/CI with restriction in participation. Restriction referred to where children had a D/CI that restricted their participation or attendance at school. In relation to having a D/CI, Ireland had a significantly higher rate of 20.6%, than that of France (16.6%), whereas France reported a higher incidence of bullying (34.2%) than Ireland (25.9%). Furthermore, in both countries, irrespective of D/CI status, younger students were significantly more likely to be victimised and there were no significant gender differences. Moreover, children with D/CI were significantly more likely to be victimised in both Ireland and France. Irrespective of country and D/CI status, being a victim of bullying was related to low levels of classmate support and difficulty with communicating with fathers, and this was stronger for children that reported D/CI.

Conclusion

Like research undertaken in Northern Ireland on school bullying, much of the research carried out in the Republic of Ireland has been sporadic in nature, focusing on the incidence, nature, and correlates of bully/victim problems. Similar methodological shortcomings were also apparent (i.e., definitions, measures employed, time-reference period and reporting of findings).

CONCLUSION

The aim of the present chapter was to build on the foundational work of Mc Guckin and Lewis (2003) on Northern Ireland and Byrne (1999) on the Republic of Ireland by providing a contemporary review of school based bully/victim problems in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Data were presented from a total of 15 studies located in Northern Ireland

and 13 studies located in the Republic of Ireland. The findings suggest that, across a range of samples and measures, traditional bully/victim problems among school children continues to remain a problem in schools across both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The findings also suggest that cyberbullying is an emerging and important area of further attention (see Mc Guckin, in press; Mc Guckin, O'Moore, & Crowley, 2011), as is research on disablist bullying (see Northern Ireland Anti-Bullying Forum, 2010; Purdy, & Mc Guckin, 2011; Sentenac et al., 2011).

The value of the present review is that it brings together data reported on school bullying in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland from a variety of different sources, including reports, as well as peer reviewed articles, therefore making the work more accessible to future researchers. As evidenced in this review, research since the pioneering studies of Callaghan and Joseph's (1995) work in Northern Ireland and Byrne's (1987) work in the Republic of Ireland research has continued to grow in terms of theoretical and methodological sophistication. Future work is now required to build on this growing body of research, with specific focus on the employment and evaluation of validated interventions (e.g., Jimerson, Swearer, & Espelage, 2010).

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Chapter 63

YOUTH CYBER-BULLYING: RISKS, INTERVENTION AND PREVENTION

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ABSTRACT

Now days, there is no doubt that among adolescents and youth, the Internet communication is the most important use and the most popular for conversations, entrainment, personal refection, etc. The paper will examine the cyber-bullying (CB) phenomenon and its various effects in adolescent populations. It will illustrate the unique characteristics of CB in comparison with face-to-face (f-2-f) bullying, as well as describe the different roles in CB: victims, perpetrators, and witnesses (bystanders). We shall focused on revealing the risk factors associated with CB among adolescents and youth, point on the main intervention and prevention plans aimed at effectively coping with this phenomenon, mainly among adolescents, and future examination regarding college students technological misbehavior.

Keywords: Cyber-bullying; Risks, Intervention, Youth

INTRODUCTION

The use of social networks has expanded and become a prevalent phenomenon. Today, cyber-reality and social networks provide an opportunity for young people to familiarize themselves with new worlds, to learn and acquire knowledge and friends. Findings of a research study (O'Keeffe, and Clarke-Pearson, 2011), on youngsters' usage patterns of social networks and their consequences for children and adolescents, indicate that the use of social media is the

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most common activity among children and adolescents, while the internet is becoming a daily tool for teenagers, cyber-bullying (CB) and cyber-insults are also becoming a frequent phenomenon among those youngsters. There is no doubt that adolescents' increasing use of computerized media has numerous advantages, such as speed and ease of information search and location, as well as exposure to a wide variety of content. The uncontrolled exposure to various types of content may constitute a risk factor for violence and a new type of aggression – cyberbullying. Thus the extensive use of the digital technology might pose risks of emotional and social harm and this new form of adolescents' violence and victimization may be related to negative psychosocial outcomes. For example, Beran and Li (2005) found a correlation between the incidence of different emotions and the behavior of the victims in connection with cyber aggression, as anger, sadness, anxiety, embarrassments, crying, fear, and self-blame; other studies (Dodden et al., 2009; Patchin and Hinjuda, 2006) pointed on feelings of sadness, depression and loneliness effects.

DEFINITIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF CYBER-BULLYING

Cyberbullying refers to a negative activity aimed at deliberate and repeated harm, while using a variety of electronic media, through which threatening and offensive messages are sent and received. This aggression use of the internet by a person or a group of people is mostly done anonymously in order to harm another person who cannot defend himself (Kowalski, Limber and Agatston, 2009; Smith et al. 2008). Cyberbullying can be viewed as a new form of school bullying that involves the use of electronic devices and/or other forms of information technology. In contrast to other forms of bullying, it reaches a far wider audience at rapid speed, transcending boundaries of time, and physical and personal space (CyberTraining, 2008).

It appears that CB has similar characteristics to face-to-face (f-2-f) bullying; in both phenomena, aggression is deliberate and it usually occurs more than once. Nevertheless, CB has a number of unique characteristics distinguishing it from f-2-f bullying:

A. *Anonymity* – While in f-2-f bullying the bully and the victim see and identify each other, in most CB cases, the participants on the net remain anonymous; they can share with others or reveal personal details of another person without exposing themselves (Heirman and Walrave, 2008). Moreover, cyberbullies do not personally confront their victims or acknowledge the consequences of their actions (Dehue, Blman, and Vollink, 2008).

B. *A wide audience* – While f-2-f bullying is limited to the number of people who can be harmed directly, the internet enables a large number of people to be reached faster, thus increasing the risk of CB (Heirman and Walrave, 2008).

C. *High accessibility* – the internet is accessible everywhere and anytime, therefore users can conduct aggressive behavior any time (Shariff and Hoff, 2007), unlike in f-2-f bullying where physical contact is required between the perpetrator and the victim.

D. *Difficulty in detecting and reporting* – In many cases of f-2-f bullying, signs of violence can be seen on the victim, whereas detection of CB victims is more complicated. Cyber-victims are less likely to report bullying than victims of f-2-f bullying, and since the harm is emotional rather than physical, it is harder to detect and treat (Heirman and Walrave, 2008).

E. *The means of aggression* – The means used by cyber-bullies are computers and/or cellular phones, using diverse technological methods, as sending harassing and humiliating text

messages, video clips and photos. Cyber-bullies may transfer personal details of a person to others, impersonate someone else, impose bans, blackmail, make inappropriate use of the virtual space, post denigrating contents, etc (Barak, 2006; Mason, 2008).

Willard (2005) addresses seven forms of CB: 1) Flaming: Online messages accompanied by angry and vulgar language; 2) Harassment: Repeatedly sending offensive, rude, and insulting messages; 3) Stalking: Repeated threatening and humiliating messages, inciting fear and insecurity; 4) Denigration: denigrating, sending or posting cruel gossip or rumors about a person to cause damage or embarrassment to a certain person; 5) Impersonation: Pretending to be someone else and sending or posting material online that gets that person in trouble, or damages that person's reputation or friendships; 6) Trickery: Sharing someone's personal details and secrets online; tricking someone into revealing secrets or embarrassing information which is then shared online; 7) Exclusion: Intentionally excluding someone from an on-line group, preventing a group of friends from contacting a person, or "blacklisting" a person.

PREVALENCE OF CB

Studies conducted regarding CB indicate that this phenomenon has constantly been on the rise in the last decade especially in Europe, the US and Australia, mainly among children and adolescents. For example, findings of EU KidsOnline projects which examined the CB (<http://www2.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/EUKidsOnline/ParticipatingCountries/Home.asp>) in 23 European countries indicated that around 25% of school pupils are directly involved in cyberbullying. A study conducted in the southern United States indicated that among a random sample of 4,441 youth (aged between 10 and 18) from 37 different schools during 2010, approximately 20% of the students report experiencing cyber-bullying in their lifetimes (Cyberbullying Research Center, 2010). An Australian survey, examining cyberbullying experiences among adolescents and young people (aged from 13 - 25) revealed that around half (49-52%) of the sample experienced cyberbullying between the ages of 10 and 14. It appears that in most cases, participants experience CB by emails, online chatrooms, social networking sites and mobile phones (Price and Dalgleish, 2010). The differences in prevalence reports can be caused by a wide range of definitions and the researchers' practical interpretation of the term 'harassment' or 'CB' compared to the adolescents' interpretation of this phenomenon.

A comprehensive study conducted in the US. found that one in five young online users was involved in CB in some way (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004), and over 53% reported they knew someone who had been victimized on the internet (Li, 2006), while most of the children who fell victim to CB were also victims of f-2-f bullying (Shariff and Hoff, 2007). Other studies revealed 20-35% prevalence among school-age children (Hinduja and Patchin, 2008). Findings of other studies in Europe indicated that about 20% of teenagers aged 7 -20 who used the internet reported repeated experiences of CB during the year (Vandebosch and Van Cleemput, 2008). Findings in studies conducted in Israel, indicating that 13% of adolescents reported that they had sent a hurtful message, 45% had received hurtful messages on IM, 16% in chat rooms, and 6% via emails (Lamish and Ribak, 2006; Weisblay, 2010). In an additional study of CB involvement, conducted among 558 Israeli adolescents (54% boys, 46% girls) aged 13-16, the finding revealed that 15.8% of the participants were victims of CB (Heiman and Olenik-Shemesh, 2011).

TYPES OF CB: PERPETRATORS, VICTIMS AND WITNESSES

The population actively or passively involved in CB includes three types of ‘participants’: the perpetrators or the bullies, the victims and the witnesses.

The Perpetrators

The perpetrator or cyber-bully is a person who deliberately sends verbal or visual messages (photos, video clips) in order to threaten, intimidate, hurt or humiliate another person. Several studies pointed to the characteristics of cyber-bullies, such as a low level of peer social support, their sense of detachment from school, and/or lower school achievements (Calvete, Orue, and Li, 2007; Villardo'n and Padilla, 2010; Williams and Guerra, 2007). Furthermore, it was found that cyber-bullies are also prone to negative behavior outside the internet, including physical aggression, vandalism, theft, and cigarette and alcohol consumption (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004a).

In an attempt to explain the motives for CB perpetration, it has been suggested that the bully's actions as deriving from the wish for vengeance, a sense that ‘the victim deserves it’, to have fun (Hinduja and Patchin, 2009), or the need for instant gratification (Dooley, Pyzalski, and Cross, 2009). Most cyber-bullies claimed that there was no real harm in their actions and they did not consider their actions as a type of bullying.

The Victims

CB victims are children, adolescents or youth who receive hurtful, offensive or threatening messages via the internet. They may also receive photos or revealing video clips, have their social network account broken into, or fall victim to various activities such as impersonation, spreading of rumors about them, etc. (Druck and Kaplowitz, 2005).

Studies examining the characteristics of CB victims pointed to a number of factors that can predict who may be victimized in or outside the virtual world, such as those with a low social status within their age group, low level of social integration, low self-esteem, behavioral problems at school, and a problematic relationship with their parents (Katzner, Fetchenhauer and Belschak, 2009).

Other studies (Arseneault, Bowes, and Shakoor, 2010) have addressed both the personal traits as well as environmental factors that may affect the tendency for f-2-f bullying. The similarity between CB and f-2-f bullying victims raises the possibility that some of the personal and environmental factors that cause adolescents to become victims outside the internet may account for the tendency to fall victim to CB.

The Witnesses

The witnesses are children and youth online who can see the hurtful messages sent to others, and occasionally they take an active part in CB, such as forwarding the messages to

others, or responding ‘behind the scenes’. Usually, the witnesses are highly exposed to peer-pressure; they are considerably affected by the perpetrators, and want to be valued by them and to belong to the stronger group (Druck and Kaplowitz, 2005; Twemlow, Fonagy and Sacco, 2004).

Only few studies have examined the witness group. Coloroso (2003) describes the witnesses of CB as a supportive group that encourages and empowers CB. Their support for cyber-bullies may range from minimal support to active and intensive support. Levine and Crowther (2008) noted that when the witnesses of f-2-f bullying are perceived as strangers, the chances of getting help from them decrease as their number increases. When the witnesses are considered as friends, the bigger their group, the more they are willing to help and intervene. Upon reviewing the unique characteristics of online witnesses, Willard (2005) pointed to two main groups: 1. the active group - witnesses who try to protest or prevent CB and help the victims, and witnesses who encourage and support cyberbullies; 2. the passive group - those who don’t intervene or don’t try to help the victim. Willard emphasizes that witnesses should be empowered and encouraged to report CB, since and by so doing they can help the victims and fight against cyber-bullying.

RISK AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS FOR CYBERBULLYING

Focusing on the risk factors associated with CB among adolescents and youth, revealed that some of the online risk and protective factors were also found in studies of f-2-f bullying, however some are unique and specific only to CB.

Risk factors are characteristics of an individual or the environment that increase the likelihood that the individual will behave in a certain way (Orpinas and Horne, 2006). Orpinas and Horne (2006) suggested that the root of the bullying problem lies in understanding and revealing risk and protective factors. They noted that the risk factors themselves do not cause the individual’s behavior, but the accumulated impact of a number of risk factors is a stronger predictor than the presence of one diagnosed factor. A combination of several risk factors associated with aggression or victimization increases the likelihood that an individual will adopt aggressive behavior, or that he will be victimized. On the other hand, protective factors are characteristics of an individual or the environment that help to decrease the chances of an individual behaving harmfully, or becoming a victim (Orpinas and Horne, 2006). Risk and protective factors are frequently two sides of the same coin, or represent the ends of the same continuum. It is noteworthy that, usually, when the specific factors are at the positive end of the continuum, they are perceived as protective factors, and inversely, the presence of a certain factor may prevent the risk factor to be manifested. For example, lack of social support may constitute a risk factor for CB and cyber-victimization while a high level of social support will be used as a protective factor for CB and violence.

The risk and protective factors for CB (see Figure 1) are based on an ecological model that examines different components regarding involvement in bullying: 1. individual, 2. family, 3. peer group, 4. school and, 5. community, culture and media (Orpinas and Horne, 2006).

1. The Individual Level

The individual level is composed of various personal aspects, such as the background of the person, and to personal, social and emotional characteristics.

a) Background factors mainly referred to age and gender. *Age*: Recent studies reveal that the average age for the onset of CB and victimization is around 10-12 and the peak of this phenomenon is around ages 13-15 (Beale and Hall, 2007; Druck and Kaplowitz, 2005; Hinduja and Patchin, 2009; Smith et al. 2008). The highest prevalence was found at ages 13-14 and at 16-17, when the prevalence begins to decrease (Williams and Guerra, 2007).

It was found that at age 10-11, the prevalence was the lowest (4.5%), whereas the highest prevalence was at age 13-14 (12.9%) while among high-school students (age 16-17) the prevalence of CB declined to 9.9% (Didden et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2008; Williams and Guerra, 2007). At age 12-19, adolescents are at the highest risk of being involved in CB (Straksrud and Livingstone, 2009), and from the age of 19, there is a decline in the reports of CB (Sevcikova and Smahel, 2009). However with the enormous facilities of computerized technology, it appears that nowadays, the age of involvement in CB for all types of participants—victim, perpetrator, and witness - is decreasing.

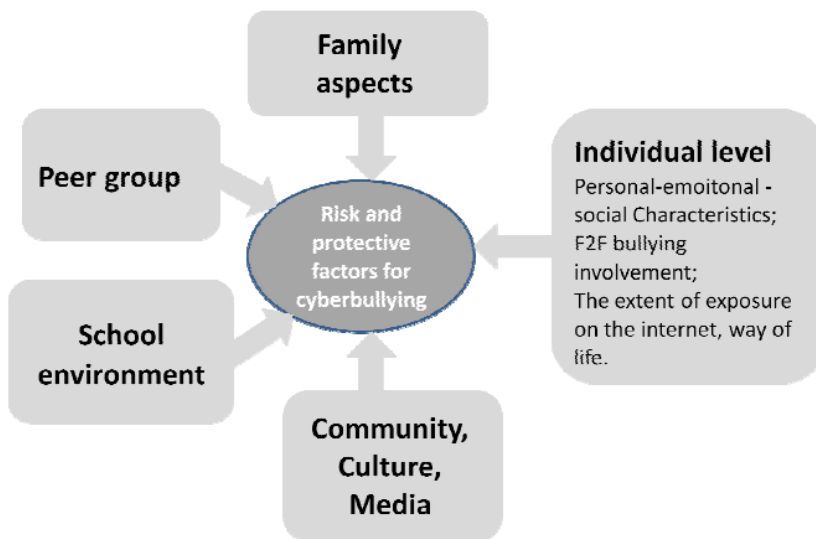


Figure 1. Risk and protective factors for cyberbullying – an ecological model.

Gender: Various studies showed that generally across cultures, boys behave more aggressively than girls; boys display more direct physical and verbal aggression, whereas girls display more indirect aggression and hurt others by damaging inter-personal relationships (spreading rumors, social ban, etc.) (Orpinas and Horne, 2006).

As to the question of whether gender is a risk factor for CB, as it is for f-2-f bullying, the answer is not unequivocal. For example, within Tokunaga (2010) review it was found that while boys are more involved in f-2-f bullying, girls are actually more involved in CB and the extent of their involvement is similar to that of boys (Hinduja and Patchin, 2008). A possible explanation is that CB (harassment, bans, psychological abuse) is a type of indirect bullying in which girls tend to be more involved. Other studies reported that girls are more likely to be CB

victims, whereas boys have an increased tendency to be cyber-bullies (Li, 2006; Smith et al. 2008), whereas other studies (Hinduja and Patchin, 2008) show no significant difference between boys and girls in the roles of victim and bully. A recent study shows a higher percentage of girls as cyber-victims, and a higher percentage of boys as cyber-bullies (Heiman, Olenik-Shemesh, and Eden, 2011). Further study is needed in order to examine whether gender is indeed a risk factor for CB.

b) Personal, social and emotional characteristics: Examining the correlations between cyber bullying and social-emotional aspects, it appears that internal personal characteristics such as anxiety, depression, solitude, psychosomatic complaints and low self-esteem (Goldbaum et al., 2000) are viewed as risk factors related to victimization, while almost similar measures, such as depression, a deep sense of solitude, social anxiety, low self-esteem, and difficulty in being assertive were found to be risk factors for CB perpetration (Didden et al. 2009; Ybarra, 2004). A positive correlation was also found between depression, suicidal thoughts and falling victim to CB by children in the same age group (Wang, Iannotti, and Nansel, 2009), particularly among boys (Ybarra, 2004). In a study conducted among more than a 1,000 adolescents, the risk of adolescents becoming cyber-victims was predicted by loneliness, lack of emotional competence and lower social support (Heiman, Olenik-Shemesh, and Eden, 2011).

In general, various types of social difficulties, depression, and a sense of loneliness constitute risk factors that may increase the chance of experiencing cyber-risks (Ybarra, Mitchell, Finkelhor, and Wolak, 2007). There are students who seek to compensate for their lack of social contacts by finding refuge on the internet, where they do manage to develop relationships even if they are of a negative character (Peter, Valkenburg, and Schouten, 2006). Adolescents with low self-esteem and a poor relationship with their parents, also encounter more cyber-risks (Livingstone and Helsper, 2007).

Although there is a positive correlation between the intensity of the sense of loneliness and depression and the extent of internet use (Mason, 2008; Patchin and Hinduja, 2006), the social isolation and sense of depression may be the reasons for increased internet use. It is possible that it is particularly the sense of depression and solitude that leads teenagers to look for anonymous relationships on the internet. On the other hand, depressed and socially isolated teenagers are more likely to be cyber-victims. Although it seems that children who suffer from CB experience increased depression and solitude and suffer from low self-esteem (Van den, Vermulst, Van Rooy, and Meerkerk, 2006).

Traits that were found to increase the risk of becoming a cyber-bully such as impulsiveness, aggression (Ybarra, Mitchell, Finkelhor, and Walak, 2007), dominance, ease of frustration, difficulty in adhering to rules, susceptibility to changing moods and manipulation (Kowalski, Limber, and Agatston, 2000). In addition, a low level of empathy is a risk factor for involvement in CB and in traditional bullies (Ang and Goh, 2010). It appears that general and social/emotional loneliness is a risk factor for victims as well as cyber-bullies. Behavioral problems outside the internet such as alcohol consumption and absence from school may also be a risk factor for involvement in CB (Hinduja and Patchin, 2007).

Furthermore, there is a group of adolescents who are victims and bullies at the same time. Thus, children who are victims for prolonged periods may adopt bullying and aggressive strategies as a defense means against those with more power, and may even become bullies themselves as way to deal with their frustrations and anger as a result of their victimization (Goldbaum, et al., 2003).

Involvement in f-2-f bullying: One of the most significant risk factors for involvement in CB is involvement in f-2-f bullying. A positive correlation was found between victimization on the internet and outside it (Li, 2007). Similar results were found in a study that examined CB among adolescents, where almost two thirds of victims who reported CB were also victims in the real world. In other words, the adolescent cyber-bullies were also involved in traditional bullying (Heiman, Olenik-Shemesh, and Eden, 2011). In a study that compared online risk factors with offline ones, it was found that students who are cyber-victims are considerably more likely to be victims of f-2-f bullying (Cross et al. 2011). Cross also found that cyber-victimization is occasionally related to school bullying, and students who are bullies online are also involved in offline bullying towards others, and they are more likely to be victims of CB.

The extent of exposure on the internet: It appears that students who tend to heavily use digital means, and have considerable experience in browsing the internet, experience a wider range of cyber-risks; the more frequent the use of the internet, chat rooms and blogs, the greater the risk of becoming a victim as well as a cyber-bully (Cross et al., 2011; Livingstone and Helsper, 2009).

Another study on this topic found that children who used the computer for less than an hour a day have a smaller chance of becoming cyber-victims than those who use the computer and internet for more than an hour a day (Didden et al. 2009).

Participation in social networks increases the risk of becoming cyber-victims, thus the mere involvement in a certain type of internet activity increases the risk of falling victim to CB (Mesch, 2009). Mesch pointed out that adolescents have confidence and trust in others, they tend to expose many of their personal details, which increases the risk of becoming a cyber-victim. Making contact with strangers online also constitutes a risk factor for becoming a victim. The fact that social networks require the creation of a personal profile and providing information to others regarding personal traits and ways to make contact exposes the adolescents to various forms of CB.

Nevertheless, some claim that sometimes children with lower online experience are at a higher risk of being hurt by people they meet on the internet whom they then meet later in reality (Staksrud and Livingstone, 2009). Therefore, access and exposure to online areas is a risk factor for cyber-victims. This exposure includes owning an active profile in a social networking site, participation in chat rooms and online games, high frequency of correspondence with network friends (such as Facebook), considerable use of IM, SMS and emails, and willingness to share personal information on the internet. Mesch believes that the risk of victimization increases when there is a combination of area, appropriate targets, motivated bullies and lack of supervision (Mesch, 2009).

2. The Family Aspect

The family is a central source of teaching and support from the child's birth, and has a strong influence on the development of risk and protective aspects of the child's behavior. During the child's development, friends and peer age groups also play that important role in the child's life. Poor communication and weak relationships between parents and their children and lack of parental supervision are risk factors for involvement in bullying (Cohen et al., 2002; Duncar et al., 1995).

Consistent findings on bullying shows that parents of bullies lack parental warmth, support and authority, supervision and clear boundaries, and sometimes the bullies suffer from parental rejection and the parents themselves may be a model for aggression (Baldry and Farrington, 1998).

For example, it was found that schoolchildren who were victims of CB noted two main reasons for the lack of parental involvement in their experiences as CB victims: 1) victims fears that if they inform their parents about CB, the parents will prohibit their use of the internet; 2) the children have the impression that adults (their parents, teachers) are not familiar with computerized technology, and are unaware of the virtual life adolescents lead via the internet (Campbell, 2007).

Family risk factors indirectly increase the likelihood of bullying, and affect the child's choice of friends, who may influence him/her to be involved in bullying. Therefore, in daily life as in cyberspace, one of the risk factors for bullying behavior is a problematic relationship and weak connections between adolescent and parents (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004).

3. Peer Group Aspects

Peer groups and close friendships are very valuable to adolescents and have frequently been studied in the context of violence. The peer group serves numerous and important functions in the lives of adolescents and in their coping with tensions, social comparison, peer pressure to undergo experiences, social status, handling power and authority (Smilansky, 1985). The importance of the peer group rises considerably, and friendships develop very intensively. The peer group at this age is a very significant reference group for adolescents (Espelage, Holt, and Henkel, 2003).

The peer group can also function as a risk as well as a protective factor for involvement in CB. Cyber-victims usually have the smallest network of friends (Salmivalli, Huttunen, and Lagerspetz, 1997).

It seems that, apart from popularity and the number of friends, which were found to be related to the status of victim, the quality of friendships also has a role in defining the victim (Hodges et al. 1997). Poor social skills and low social support were found to be risk factors for cyber-victimization. Adolescents whose quality of friendships is insufficient do not enjoy the support of their friends, and also suffer from a lack of friendship qualities, such as trust and affection, that may support them in coping with victimization.

On the other hand, as mentioned before, bullies are located at two ends of the social popularity continuum – there are bullies with high social status and popularity, and bullies with low social status and no popularity.

4. The School Level

School systems are included in the child and adolescent's close surroundings, and there are factors related to school – from academic achievements to school climate – which constitute risk factors for bullying. Repeated failures at school, low grades, lack of involvement in class, poor learning skills, low expectation of success, an ineffective disciplinary system – all those were found to be unique risk factors for bullying on the school level (Orpinas and Horne, 2006).

Pupils who drop out of school are at high risk of deteriorating into aggressive and bullying behavior, and aggressive children usually experience deterioration in their relations with their teachers and other classmates. Findings are inconsistent when examining the relationship between cyber-victimization and school grades: results shows that students with high academic achievements were usually a target for bullying and are at risk of cyber-victimization (Li, 2007; Ma, 2001).

So it is possible that particularly students with high academic achievements are targets for CB. On the other hand, it was also found that Cyber-victims have lower school grades (Cross et al. 2011).

5. Community, Culture and Media Aspects

Bandura (1986) stated that life in an unsafe and aggressive community provides opportunities for children to learn aggressive behavior. There is a significant exposure to media and to various digital means that considerably influence behavior, which increases the risk of aggressive behavior among spectators, and repeated exposure to aggressive behavior in the media, may change the individual's attitude toward violence, and teach aggressive behavior (Anderson et al. 2003).

The considerable use of the internet around the world and easy access and exposure to digital media constitute risk factors for involvement in CB in the following roles: bully, victim and witness. On the community level, public awareness of this issue, and the development and establishment of a policy with clear rules may serve as protective factors (Staksrud and Livingstone, 2009).

PROTECTIVE FACTORS

The risk factors mentioned above can also serve as protective factors. For example, close and caring relationships with parents, were found to be protective factors against CB perpetration and even victimization. Good communication with their parents' helps children feel safe enough to approach their parents and consult with them when a problem or disturbing issue arises. Studies from the past 15 years showed that parents, mainly those who maintain positive relations with their adolescent children, are still the main source of influence for adolescents (Steinberg and Moris, 2001). In addition, the peer group is perceived as a central factor in the life of the adolescent, it is particularly in adolescence that parents and family have a unique importance, and they can be a source of support and advice in the adolescents' confused world.

In summary, the online environment has created new risk factors that are not experienced in offline encounters. Risk and protective factors have a central role in establishing prevention and intervention programs. Prevention and intervention programs require risk assessment and discovery of protective factors that can be used to reduce the risk of victimization, and to promote adjustment and protection capabilities.

INTERVENTION AND PREVENTION FOR CB

In Western society there has been an increase in children's and adolescents' use of the internet and in concerns over the risks posed in their exposure to online content, and their vulnerability. The attempts to develop intervention and prevention plans against CB have created a variety of dilemmas in many countries. On the one hand, the technological, educational and social world supports internet use, and the development of curiosity and creativity, exposure to information and opportunities for personal development. On the other hand however, due to concern over risks posed on the internet and the desire to reduce them, there is an attempt to limit children's access to the internet (Staksrud and Livingstone, 2009). Solutions to this dilemma, whether by ignoring the risks or limiting internet access, have been insufficient, and it appears that more appropriate intervention and prevention solutions are required, while addressing risk management in a more efficient and calculated manner.

Examining the coping strategies of cyber-victims (Hinduja and Patchin, 2009), it seems that in the absence of adult assistance, the child /adolescent cyber-victims will try to solve the problems on their own. Among the common possibilities, it was reported that some of the victims blocked the names of the cyber-bullies or their email addresses (25% of the victims); other victims took a break from the computer or the internet as a solution (23% of the victims); some reported they changed their user names or their email account (10%), and a few victims said that they turned to the police because they felt a real threat to their lives (2.7%).

Based on the findings that two thirds of parents claimed their children know how to cope with such cases (Staksrud and Livingstone, 2009), studies in several European countries (Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Holland and Sweden), examined the correlation between the parents' perceptions of the likelihood that their children will be exposed to hurtful content on the internet, and their perceptions of their children's coping ability. Results revealed that parents who tend to attribute little importance to the risks do not express concern over the child's coping strategies with this content. On the other hand, when parents do attribute considerable importance to the risk, they express concern regarding their children's ability to cope. The results of the parents' report in Cyprus and Austria, strongly indicated that the more the children encounter online risks, the more their parents estimate that their children know how to cope, whereas children who encounter fewer online risks do not know how to cope with them effectively. The researchers estimate that the difference between the countries derives from low awareness of cyber-risks (Cyprus, Austria), compared to countries where the internet is used more (Staksrud and Livingstone, 2009).

Prevention and intervention plans as displayed in programs developed in countries such as Australia, the US., Canada and Western Europe, address various aspects of children's and adolescents' life circles. These circles refer first to social relationships at school and in the family framework. For each of these systems, several intervention plans and techniques were developed in order to reduce aggressive behavior, and offer coping strategies that can prevent victimization. Effective intervention should include components addressing the risk and protective factors, awareness development, helping the victims make contacts, how to win peer support and protection, building trust, and promoting social skills that may prevent future CB perpetration and victimization (Goldbaum, Craig, Pepler and Connolly, 2003).

Various plans aimed at preventing and coping with school bullying. The creation of a positive, caring and supportive atmosphere at school may serve as a protective factor and reduce

the extent of bullying (Orpinas and Horne, 2006). In adolescence, critical importance is attributed to the level of social status and popularity, but at the same time, adolescents' sensitivity level is particularly vulnerable and may change according to their social positioning, whether in an f-2-f or online environment; therefore, in order to be cautious and protect the children, researchers recommend placing the computer through which the internet is accessed in the most central location at home (Mesch, 2009; Orpinas and Horne, 2006), and holding conversations between parents and children/adolescents about online risks.

Willard (2005) presents a comprehensive program which includes the child's educational, psychological and social frameworks. For example, in the educational framework, activity is carried out which is designed to detect and identify CB among students, and which develops a policy towards CB, and guides and instructs teachers how to teach students about the dangers in cyberspace. This is done through guidance booklets, video films, questionnaires and class discussions. Additional activity is focused on the school's psychological staff. The staff is guided on how to assess the extent of an individual's vulnerability, what to advise to the teachers, the students and their parents, and how to implement it. In the framework of the psychological staff's assessments, they are entrusted with anger management plans, development of social skills and inter-personal communication, providing tools for the solution of social problems and assisting the parents. In the social context, the program recommends extra-curricular activity that promotes social 'codes', community programs, a unified behavioral policy, while support and assistance as well as disciplinary and punitive rules are offered. Similarly, others researchers (Staksrud and Livingstone, 2009) point to programs adjusted to various populations such as students, teachers and parents. For example, students may be recommended to undergo self-regulation training, while teachers and parents will practice raising awareness of the phenomenon, with support and guidance to cope with the children's reactions.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt about the internet's positive contribution for adolescents. It is a source of personal growth, information acquisition, an opportunity for new acquaintances, empowerment, emotional expression, boosting of self-confidence and openness, and paves the way for social dialogue and relationships outside the internet (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004b). Nevertheless, according to various studies (Mason, 2008), as internet use increases, so do the dangers of exposure to CB, and personal exposure, such as through blog writing (Huffaker, 2006).

Various studies indicate that CB is almost certain to have painful consequences' and can also affect many areas of adolescent life. Similar to f-2-f bullying, which affects the victim's capabilities and achievements, so CB can cause a decline in the ability to function at school, a decrease in the concentration level, in the motivation to study and also cause absences from school (Shariff and Hoff, 2007; Ybarra, Diener-West and Leaf, 2007). Moreover, cyberbullies may have a negative social and emotional effect (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004; Patchin and Hinduja, 2006), cyber-victims may change their behavior, and become reclusive, or react aggressively. The victim typically feels psychological distress, low self-esteem and social difficulties (Kowalski and Limber, 2007; Mason, 2008), while a sense of isolation and

depression may cause both aggressors and cyber-victims to become involved in violence and crime, and there have been extreme cases where CB has led to suicide (Patchin and Hinduja, Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004). Furthermore, researchers point to the risks of social/mental damage to adolescents who are active online due to a rise in their anxiety and depression level, a sense of distress or failure, social rejection, social bullying and exposure to sexual content (O'Keeffe, and Clarke-Pearson, 2011).

While social life in the educational framework used to take place during the day time, nowadays internet usage continues through afternoon hours into the night. The internet has become the "social reality", a kind of alternative to the playground of the 1960's and 1970's, or an alternative to the endless phone calls in the 1980's and 1990's. Therefore, since it is hard to distinguish between real and virtual life, abusive online activity may have painful consequences for the individual.

There is no doubt that intervention and prevention programs need to be developed and installed in the educational as well as family frameworks. Programs are required to be installed as part of the school curriculum, raising awareness of f-2-f bullying and CB, as well as teaching and guiding the students to acquire social skills and to cope effectively with the risks. In addition to guiding and working with the student, the educational team needs to be instructed on how to assist at-risk students, and to aim at balanced activity on the social networks. Therefore, considerable importance is attached to the development of effective strategies to deal with cyberbullying situations that will constitute protective factors against the possible frustrating circumstances.

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Chapter 64

CYBER-BULLYING: EMERGENCE, CURRENT STATUS AND FUTURE TRENDS

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ABSTRACT

Cyber bullying is a very recent phenomenon, in existence for only a decade and a half. However, since its first appearance in the late 1990's it has gone through four distinct stages, each characterised by the available technology, namely hardware and software. Parallel to these advancements in cheaper, easier and more widespread access time online increased and with it the risk of inappropriate and unsafe interactions. In an effort to combat cyber bullying, cyber suicide and more recently sexting, a plethora of intervention and prevention programs have been designed and implemented by governments, educational authorities and child protection agencies. In addition, expensive Internet software filters and blocks have been developed and implemented to shield children and young people while at school from inappropriate content and contact. Despite substantial funding and a patchwork of initiatives, cyber bullying has steadily increased. Some endeavours are emerging to evaluate and subsequently improve the effectiveness of these efforts. Alongside these educational attempts, new legislation to persecute cyber bullying has been introduced and a number of convictions have been issued.

This chapter will trace the emergence and infancy of the field of cyber bullying, identify the main issues and outline the current state of the research evidence. It is hoped that it will illuminate readers who are new to the problem of cyber bullying with solid background knowledge. For others, who are accustomed with the literature on cyber bullying, it is aimed to refresh their memories and extend as well as up-date their knowledge.

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INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of cyber bullying and its field of enquiry have existed for merely 15 years. During that time, it has gone through rapid and diverse development starting with its emergence in the late 1990's. Its first phase of empirical research in the early 2000's in predominately English speaking countries of the developed world focused on establishing the nature and extent of the behaviour. The second phase in the mid 2000's is characterised by studies on the various environments in which cyber bullying takes place, on typifying the young people that are affected and the impact it has on their health and wellbeing. It is especially pertinent with the advent of cyber suicides where children take their own lives because they have been cyber bullied. This period also sees the proliferation of a plethora of intervention and prevention programs funded by governments, educational authorities and child protected agencies to prevent cyber bullying and to educate young people on safe online behaviour. The third phase in the late 2000's sees the continued growth of cyber bullying especially in social networking sites, the emergence of empirical research from non-English speaking countries of the developed world, the first attempts to evaluate the patchwork of educational initiatives with their often contradictory messages, and the introduction of legislation to persecute cyber bullying. The beginning of the 2010's heralds the availability of cheap mobile devices (for example smart phones, tablets like the iPad or Android) and wireless access which gave rise to sexting, which is the sending or receiving of sexually explicit messages or images via handheld appliances. Sexting can be either due to cyber bullying or because of digital risk taking by a young person. Regardless of intent both behaviours can result in convictions for child pornography or exploitation depending upon the legislation in the respective country. A criminal record for those involved will have with detrimental consequences for their future education and employment prospects.

Despite the evolution of a research community and a number of notable authors publishing on cyber bullying, there is still no commonly agreed definition on cyber bullying and its characteristics. The range of varying classifications and behaviours still plagues the field, hinders cross-study comparisons, prevents the design of a universally accepted measurement tool, and thus the systematic, reliable and replicable evaluation of the cornucopia of prevention and intervention program.

It is anticipated that the increasing trend in cyber bullying, cyber suicide and sexting with permeation into virtual worlds will create greater demand for intervention and prevention programs. Currently, lacking evidence of their impact and limited funds for future initiatives will necessitate empirical research to evaluate and establish their effectiveness. The severe outcomes of cyber bullying behaviours will also see increased introduction of related legislations and legal cases in which educational institutions, teachers and parents will have to prove that they complied with their duty of care. In turn, this will trigger the implementation of additional protection strategies such as school guidelines and acceptable use policies, the installation of internet filter and blocks to school networks or computers, mandatory professional development on digital safety for educators and introduction of digital citizenship classes into the curriculum.

This chapter outlines the emergence, current status and future trends in cyber bullying to give the novice reader an introduction to the issues and provide a background context for the

following chapters in this book. It also provides a succinct overview for those readers who are familiar with the development of cyber bullying and its associated research literature.

THE EMERGENCE, CURRENT STATUS AND FUTURE TRENDS

Cyber bullying emerged about 15 years ago, has increased and changed alongside the invention of new technological devices combined with cheap and fast Internet access. It will be argued that these changes occurred in three to five yearly increments, parallel to innovations in technology. These time frames designate the stages with the field of cyber bullying, which is now moving into its fourth stage. The individual stages will be captured and explained in an attempt to provide a chronological and thus easy to understand account. It has to be acknowledged that such a report in the space of a book chapter will deal with the major issues only and is thus only summative rather than explicitly detailed in nature.

Stage 1: The Emergence of the Internet and with it Cyber Bullying (Late 1990's)

The release of the World Wide Web in 1992, Mosaic in 1993 and Netscape Navigator in 1994 caused the shift from stand-alone microcomputers to networked personal computers. This brought global connectedness to a growing number of people who used improved hardware and software to access the Internet relatively easy, cheap and fast. It allowed unlimited access to information for entertainment but also for education, offering rich learning opportunities for children. Alongside these benefits, it also brought dangers for these young people such as exposure to inappropriate content (for example sexual, racist violent) or unwanted contact with other Internet users.

One of these online risks is cyber bullying (also spelled cyber-bullying), which is now the most commonly used term by scholars (Herring, 2002; Willard, 2003; Kowalski, Limber & Agatston, 2005) in the English speaking world. European continental countries were yet to engage in the issue and later adopted the term of cyber mobbing, derived from traditional, face-to-face mobbing behaviour. Initially, a range of terms were in circulation such as online bullying, online harassment, online harm, internet bullying, electronic bullying, electronic harassment, cyber abuse, cyber misuse, cyber harassment or cyber stalking. They were used interchangeably and without clear definition or categorisation of associated behaviours, a deficiency that has persisted and hampered efforts in the field.

Bill Belsey, a Canadian Educational Advisor has been credited with coining the term of cyber bullying, which he defined as "...the use of information and communication technologies to support deliberate, repeated, and hostile behavior by an individual or group, that is intended to harm others" (Belsey, n.d.). At the core of this definition is the intent to harm and the repetition of the behaviour. These notions have since been challenged by other scholars (Shariff, in press) who argue that cyber bullying can be a one-off incident and the intention can be one of jesting, although the joke may not be perceived as such.

The first attempt to classify the range of harmful activities conducted through mobile and networked technologies was made by Susan Herring (2002) who had identified four different

forms of cyber violence, namely cyber stalking, degradation, harassment and a category entitled online contact/ off line harm. Much like stalking in the physical world, cyber stalking involves the monitoring of a person's online activities combined with unwanted contact. This invasion of privacy is intimidating and causes fear in the victim but fulfils the stalker's desire for control and power, which is accentuated when the stalking behaviour moves from the virtual world to the real life world. Online harassment includes words or actions that alarm, abuse or bother others (for example name calling, rumours, mocking) whereas degradation is used to describe sexual, racial, religious or political insults against individuals or whole groups. Criminal intent is behind online contact that leads to off line harm as the target is 'groomed' through the virtual contact in order to gain their trust. Once this has been achieved, the perpetrator arranges to meet them in real life to take advantage of them either sexually or financially.

Nancy Willard (2004) expanded these four categories to seven but also modified the initial terms and their associated behavior. Online harassment was now the repeated sending of offensive messages to a person, whereas cyber stalking was the intimidating of a person through threats and degradation became denigration, defined as circulating false or cruel information about a person. Added was exclusion (leave somebody intentionally out), flaming (sending rude or angry message about someone), masquerading (posing to be another person and posting material in their name) and outing (circulating private exchanges or images to embarrass or humiliate).

Adding to this growing range of labels and behaviors were Kowalski, Limber and Agatston (2005) who used the umbrella term of cyber bullying to group cyber harassment, cyber stalking, denigration, exclusion (or ostracism), impersonation, outing & trickery together.

Yet again, a number of different descriptors for various behaviours under the umbrella term of cyber bullying were offered by Hanewald (2010) and are displayed in tabular form below.

Table 1. Cyber bullying terminology and their definitions

Terminology	Definition
cyber abuse	defamation of character, coarse language, name calling, personal attacks
cyber harassment	offensive messages to annoy, alarm or abuse others
cyber stalking	unwanted contact to invade a person's privacy and exert control over them
denigration	spreading of false or deprecating information through text or images
degrading	sending racial, religious, sexual and political insults through text or images
exclusion	deliberate refusal to accept others, particular in social networking sites
flaming	short, heated exchange between two or more people
impersonation	posing online as another person to send malicious information in their name
trickery	betrayal through sharing of private exchanges or images to humiliate the target

As indicated, these differences in the use of terminology and definitions have endured, hampered progress in the field and highlight the need for a universal taxonomy. This lack of agreement will plague the measurement of cyber bullying prevalence, comparison of cross-study results, and the development of prevention and intervention programs and their effectiveness measures, which will be discussed later in more detail.

Cyber bullying (much like its European counterpart of cyber mobbing) seems to have won dominance as the preferred term in the literature due to its derivation from conventional bullying in the physical world.

Traditional, face-to-face bullying in real life contexts offers already existing explanations for the motivation and behaviour dynamics of the perpetrator, the victim and any potential bystander(s). The parallels between traditional and cyber bullying in terms of motivation and behavior pattern were noticed by Shariff (2004) who surmised that the impact would also be similar.

These similarities have led scholars to assume that cyber bullying is the same as traditional bullying except that it happens online (Li, 2004). This view assumes a shift from one environment into another. Following that line of argument, physical bullying would be replaced by cyber bullying. It seems at first glance a much safer alternative due to the absence of physical contact which might involve punching, kicking, hitting, pushing or spitting. Bullying in front of a computer screen is limited to psychological and emotional aspects. However, the damage caused might be more severe as the incidents of cyber suicide (discussed in stage 4) will reveal.

The view that cyber bullying is an extension of the traditional bullying occurring in schools was put forward by Shariff (2005). It implies that bullying in the school yard is continued after school as students carry it over into the virtual world and keep the inappropriate behaviour going as cyber bullying, which would make it an addition rather than a substitute. Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) also suggest a connection between face-to-face and cyber bullying but as a role reversal. They found in their research that more than half (51%) of young people who are victims in face-to-face environments are much more likely to bully online. The victim of real-life bullying turns into the online perpetrator. This flip flop of roles is motivated by revenge. Doing so while hiding behind a computer screen and being anonymous is less dangerous for the victim than openly confronting a tormentor in a face-to-face situation. While cyber bullying their face-to-face bully may protect from discovery and punishment it carries the risk that their identity is found out, which might further agitate the situation. Taking this logic a step further, for the victim of face-to-face bullying, cyber bullying a stranger is even safer as the risk of detection is much smaller but the need to feel power and vindication is still satisfied. By acting out and tormenting an innocent third party, the cruelty is perpetuated. To summarise this point, while there seems to be a link between face-to-face bullying and cyber bullying, the exact nature of it is unclear but it most likely retaliation combined with the desire for power and control.

As already indicated face-to-face bullying between peers is not new. Jenkins and boyd¹ (2006) assert that bullying, harassment and sexual teasing is epidemic amongst young people because these are the very tools that enable them to make meaning of social status, roles, cultural norms and popularity.

There is usually a verbal component such as sarcasm, ridicule, teasing, name calling or deception and a physical aspect such as hitting, kicking or biting or a combination of both in traditional bullying. There is usually a perpetrator and a victim who gets picked on because they are considered to be different and strange as well as one or my bystanders (Campbell, 2005; Limber and Small, 2003).

Traditional bullying was not seen as a serious problem but merely a phase or developmental difficulty that young people went through in puberty and eventually grew out of as they matured. This rather slack attitude changed swiftly after 49 people were killed across 24

¹ danah boyd insists on the non-capitalisation of her name for personal and political reasons (boyd, 2009).

American schools. As this wave of shooting was investigated it was found that all killers had been bullied by their peers (BBC news, 2007). During their prolonged ordeal, they received no support or intervention from their school administrators. This inaction in the face of repeated bullying and the dire consequences triggered the introduction of anti-bullying programs and zero-tolerance policies in schools (Dedman, 2000).

It might have been this complete ban of face-to-face bullying in schools that pushed bullying into cyber space, especially since it coincided with the availability of cheap, fast and easy Internet access. Or it might be that cyber bullying is merely a modern day version of face-to-face bullying that has always happened before, during and after school. In any case, it is obvious that cyber bullying is becoming increasingly prevalent as young people increase their use of technology (Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho & Tippet, 2006).

Stage 2: Investigations on the Nature and Extent of Cyber Bullying (Early 2000's)

After the emergence of the phenomenon in the late 1990's and some endeavours to identify, label and describe it in order to gain some understanding of it, the second stage in the development of the field was marked by endeavours to establish the prevalence of cyber bullying. The first empirical studies became available that were investigating the issue by identifying its nature, frequency and duration, places and the online environments in which it mostly occurred, behaviour patterns of cyber bullies, their profile, anonymity and potential identification, the level of reporting by the victims and the ensuing reaction from the authorities, all in an attempt to isolate factors that might help with the prevention of cyber bullying. Most of the surveys conducted between 2000 and 2005 investigated middle school students or adolescents as this was the established time frame for the peak of face-to-face bullying and it was assumed to be similar for cyber bullying. Generally speaking, all data indicated a rapid increase in cyber bullying.

As mentioned, the wave of shooting in the 1990's in the US and the subsequent investigation by the FBI recognized the potential risks associated with the use of the Internet for young people. The Department of Justice in Washington DC commissioned a nation-wide study on the dangers of the Internet through the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children (NCMEC). The study of 1,501 young people between the age of 10 and 17 was carried out by the research team of Finkelhor, Mitchell and Wolak during 2000. Their report titled "Online victimization: A Report on the Nations' Youth" focused on sexual material, solicitation and harassment. The insights gained from the study were used to develop education and prevention programs to reduce online risks for young people. These initiatives were possible due to substantial funding which allowed the production of a range of cyber safety materials, the development of Internet protection software and the foundation of cyber safety organisations. With these prevention and intervention programs in place, an identical second survey of again 1,501 young people aged 10 to 17 years was carried out by the same researchers five years later. Despite considerable efforts to combat cyber bullying the problem had not decreased or even stabilised as expected but instead further escalated. From the first study in 2000 to the repeat study in 2005, online harassment had risen from 6% to 9 %. The figures for cyber bullying were even more dramatic, with an increase from 28 % to 48 %, affecting nearly half of all young people between 10 and 17 years of age. The finding that online harassers were

mostly peers and abuse in cyberspace came from prior disputes at school confirmed previously held assumptions and gave a line of attack to battle cyber bullying.

It was now clear that educational institutions, school leadership and individual educators had to handle these knotty matters to work out resolutions to minimise risk. Teachers were starting to undertake professional development about appropriate online behaviour and started devising Acceptable Use Policies (AUP) for computer use and Netiquette guidelines for online activities. These became part of the school repertoire and were issued as policies to attending students and their families. It was accompanied by punishments such as detention and expulsion for inappropriate online behaviour which was an extension of the already existing physical bullying bans and zero-tolerance policies for physical bullying, which school authorities had established. However, cyber incidents were becoming contentious as students argued that online conversations such as emails, chat messages or postings – even if carried out on school computers- were a violation of privacy rights and school authorities had no right to interfere. The complexities increase if cyber bullying came out of the young person's personal bedroom or the privacy of their family lounge room or study but the results of those acts were played out in school with either physical bullying or continued online abuse. At the core of this issue was the tension between an individual's rights to freedom of speech and defamation of a person or their reputation.

Meanwhile, the first ever survey on cyber bullying was conducted in Britain by the National Children's Home (NCH) and published in 2002. The sample size was just half that of the American survey (770 in the UK compared to 1,500 in the US). The age group was also slightly different as the British participants were between 11 and 19 years old while the American participants were between 10 and 17 years old, which makes a cross-studies comparison difficult. However, new insights emerged which was of repeated rather than just one-off incidents of cyber bullying and the victim's familiarity with the bully. In almost three quarter (73 %) of the cases, the cyber bully was a classmate or 'friend', which has significant implications for the approach in tackling the behaviours. Another surprising finding was the occurrence of almost half cyber bullying (48 %) at school or college, which indicated a lack of teacher supervision and either inadequate or outdated Internet filters and blocks at school. It questions schools' ability to provide a safe learning environment and in order to fulfil that responsibility many schools reacted by banning digital devices, introducing a number of policies and setting several punishments such as suspension or expulsion. These measures created a tension between the schools' needs to set boundaries for acceptable speech (that is non-sexist, non-violent, non-racist) and the students' rights to freedom of expression. Shariff (2009) believes that such methods are not fostering positive or respectful learning environments. Instead, a prohibitive and punitive approach creates poisoned and chilled environments that perpetuate cyber-bullying.

Cross-studies comparisons with another UK based investigation were also inhibited by a small sample size (n=92) and yet another variation in the age group (11 to 16 year olds) in the research by Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho and Tippet (2006). As in the NCH (2002) study, findings indicated that cyber bullying happens both inside and outside of school hours. Findings in both studies challenged previously held assumption that cyber bullying was exclusively occurring outside school hours, although it still held true for the majority of incidents. Cyber bullying at home was explainable due to parents' insufficient technical expertise to install or upgrade protective software and their lack of time to supervise their children's online activities. Nearly

a third (29 %) of young people knew that their parents would disapprove if they knew what they were really doing online (iSafe, 2005).

An astonishing drop in cyber bullying incidents was found by the NCH (2005) for weekends (down to 17 %) and during school holidays (only 6 %). Hanewald (2008) speculated that this which might be due to limited Internet access due to outdoor activities or travel during these times.

Striking were the similarities of the British (NCH, 2002) and American (Finkelhor, Mitchell & Wolak, 2005) teenagers in regard to their silence as about a third of the victims did not tell anyone about the cyber bullying. It might be that they did not recognise the behaviour as cyber bullying, had no one to talk to, where worried that telling an adult about the problem might result in the loss of Internet privileges or that it might make the situation worse for them, especially when at school.

The situation in Canada was investigated during 2005 by two separate scholars, one being Qin Li (2005) who surveyed 177 students in Grade 7 across two schools in Calgary and the other being Robin Kowalski (2007) who investigated 3,700 students in middle school. The latter most significantly found that cyber bullying peaks around the age of 13. Li (2005) discovered that almost 25 % of students having been cyber bullied, which was consistent with the findings in the UK and USA as far as a comparison is possible given the different age and sample size of participants. One marked difference was the unprecedented high (60 %) occurrence of repeated online harassment defined in this study as one to three incidents. Again, varying criteria (two to four, more than three) and time frames (in the last week, last month, last year) make a valid cross-study comparison impossible. A perplexing point of difference was that cyber bullying in chat rooms was the most popular forum in Canada but the least common in Britain.

In terms of the digital environments and tools for cyber bullying, phone calls, text messages and emails were the usual preference. Cyber bullying in chat rooms was the least common (Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho & Tippet, 2006). In Australia, it was almost opposite with cyber bullying in chat rooms being the second favorite digital environment, second to text messaging followed by email in third place. The sample of Brisbane school children ($n=120$) was recruited in Year 8 (Campbell & Gardner, 2005). Their preference might be a result of more developed key boarding skills by that age, compared to the younger starting age of 11 years for young people in the British study. The high level of technical skills and the necessary equipment (camera to produce still and moving images) might make some forms of cyber bullying less frequent than others. For example impersonation or pretending to be somebody else by taking on their online identity, requiring a high level of technological proficiency. Another explanation might be lower phone charges in the UK compared to Australia, which might make calls and text messages more affordable and thus a more likely tool for cyber bullying.

Studies at that time also found pronounced gender differences in cyber-bullying, for example in an American national representative survey of 935 teenagers, which was conducted over the phone. Compared to only 26 % of boys, 38 % of girls had experienced cyber-bullying. The likelihood of being cyber-bullied was greater for those teenagers who used the Internet daily. Others spreading rumors about them was reported by 13 % of teenagers, especially for those young people who engaged with social networking sites. Only 22 % of young people were harassed online if they did not use social networking sites compared to 39 % of youngster who were active in these. Active users of social networking sites found embarrassing pictures

of themselves online (9%), which were posted without their consent by others (Pew Internet & American Life Project, 2007).

By the mid to late 2000's it was obvious that online environments were difficult to monitor and even more difficult to control. Young people's behavior in physical environments and virtual spaces and the interrelationship of those made the boundaries between the real and virtual worlds fluid and all pervasive. Bullying in physical or virtual spaces "...creates a hostile and negative school environment..." damages students' emotional wellbeing and disrupts learning substantially (Shariff, 2004, p 9). Hence, there was a strong sense of urgency to address these behaviors.

Stage 3: Escalation of Cyber Bullying, Cyber Suicide, Cyber Safety Initiatives and Legislation (Late 2000's)

Cyber bullying was proliferating and intensifying, effective prevention and intervention strategies were lacking and calls for robust legislation amplified by the end of that decade. To a certain extent, this was not surprising as the time spent by young people online had burgeoned.

By the late 2000's young people in Australia aged between 8 and 17 years were spending more than three quarter of an hour (49 minutes) every day on online communication. On average, 18 minutes were used for chatting and messaging which were the most popular online communication forms. An average of 15 minutes per day were used for online games, about a quarter of an hour each day were used for social networking sites (11 minutes) and emailing (5 minutes). The introduction and easy use of Web 2.0 tools meant that 7 % of young people had created their own blog and 13 % had their own website (ACMA, 2008).

In the European Community the time spend online by young people (between 9 and 16 years) is even higher, with an average of 88 minutes per day. The most popular activities were watching YouTube (86%) or communicating via email, social networking sites or Instant messenger (75%). Almost a quarter (23%) of young people blogged, shared files, visited chatrooms or virtual worlds while online (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig & Ólafsson, 2011).

Similar statistics can be found for the USA where 95 percent of young people (between 12 and 17 years) access the Internet daily (Cowie & Colliety, 2009).

Although it was recognised that many young people used digital devices and Web2.0 applications sensibly, there were some youngsters who took "... advantage of this seemingly unsupervised space as license to say and do what they want" Shariff (2009, p 10). However, these online bullies and cyber bullying had been largely perceived as 'safer' than physical bullying. It was argued that there no physical violence and hence no one got really hurt. The realisation that physical torment online can lead to major emotional and social damage and even real life suicide of young people only just dawned. For example, a survey of 548 Australian teenagers (between 10 and 16 years showed that cyber bullying had a negative effect on act as self-confidence (78%), self-esteem (70 %) and friendship (42%) with peers (Price & Dalgeish, 2010).

Canadian researchers such as Beran and Li (2007) investigated the impact of cyber bullying on 264 students in Year 7 and found that more than half (57%) were angry and 37 % were sad and hurt. "...poor academic performance, school dropout, physical violence, and suicide..." by victims of cyber bullying were identified by Mark and Radcliffe (2011) and corroborated by

Mitchell, Ybarra and Finkelhor (2007) who added alcohol consumption, smoking and depression to the list of problematic behaviours.

Suicides as a result of cyber bullying and bullying in real-life have become so prolife that the term of “bullycide” has been coined (High, n.d.)

One of the most well known cases of cyber suicide is of 13 year old Ryan Patrick Halligan from Vermont, USA who hanged himself (7 October 2003) after being insulted, taunted and threatened for several months. A girl copied and pasted their private conversation in AOL Instant Messenger for his schoolmates to humiliate and embarrass him. Ryan’s case was used by US legislators to propose laws to limit cyber bullying (Associated Press, 2007).

13 year old Megan Meier from Missouri, USA, hanged herself (16 October 2006) after being cyber bullied through the Social Networking Site (SNS) MySpace and MSN Messenger. Megan thought to be in an online relationship with a boy called “Josh Evans” who was actually a fabricated profile by Lori Drew, the mother of one of Megan’s friends. The adult send cruel messages under this disguise and was convicted but later acquitted. The case led to the introduction of the “Megan Meier Cyberbullying Prevention Act” on 22 May 2008 which prohibits harassment over the Internet (Huffstutter, 2007).

Due to those tragic deaths, providing safe online environments had become a high priority for governments, educational authorities, child protection agencies and families themselves. It was thought that filtering and blocking harmful digital materials would protect children and young people form inappropriate contacts and information online and ensure a safe and beneficial experience while engaging with new technologies. Subsequently, computer programs (e.g., Net Nanny, CYBERsitter, Cyberpatrol) to protect young people were created and marketed to parents, schools, public libraries and other relevant organisations. Their functions were varied but mostly pitched at 1.) blocking access to unapproved websites and contacts; 2.) filtering out graphic descriptions or images from approved websites; 3.) blocking personal information from being posted to a worldwide audience; 4.) monitoring the young person’s online activities and 5.) limiting the amount of time spend on the Internet. Software programs such McAfee, Norton or Cyber Sentinel were specifically targeted at parents giving them the option to block or warn of unwanted sites or capturing a screen picture or even force closing the browser. Another feature of parental control software was the detailed report of computer activities either on a daily, weekly or monthly cycle to inform parents which internet sites were visited and when by their children.

However, the futility of the expensive new Internet filter was quickly proven by Tom Wood, a 16-year-old from Melbourne who was able to break through the Australian Government’s \$84.4 million National Filter in only 30 minutes (Higginbottom & Packham, 2007). The National Filter Scheme and various educational pursuits (i.e., a phone help line, online policing, prevention programs) were part of the NetAlert initiative and funded with \$189 million AUD. Despite these efforts to prevent and reduce cyber bullying, incidents have increased, especially since 2006 as report to the NetAlert Helpline confirm (Reachout, 2011).

The worldwide explosion of cyber bullying between 2000 and 2010 is despite considerable amounts of money dedicated to develop Internet filters and blocks and a range of resources to educate on the dangers of online environments. The latter might be explained by a lack of effectiveness as the hotchpotch of – often contradictory - prevention and intervention strategies were never tested for their usefulness. For instance, the advice young people receive ranges from ignoring and deleting cyber bullying message in the hope that the bully will lose interest

to keeping and archiving them to establish a record for future investigations by the authorities to telling an adult about it although it is not clear what implications that might have.

Although governments and various organisations promote anti-bullying and cyber-safety messages and have given generously to establish initiatives such as websites, educational resource kits, online and in-school training programs for teachers, students and parents (NetAlert, 2011; Cybersmart, 2011) there had been no systematic or rigorous investigation of the effectiveness of such measures. The impact of each strategy on various forms of cyber bullying is also unknown as particular forms of abuse may necessitate a more specific response. The lack of empirical data on the value of strategies to combat cyber bullying has been a major problem in eradicating the phenomenon.

Stage 4: Mobile Devices, Wireless Access and Sexting as a New Form of Cyber Bullying (Early 2010's)

The rise of affordable yet powerful mobile devices, a plethora of interactive and user-friendly Web 2.0 applications together with wireless access to the Internet from anywhere brought new variations of cyber bullying. By sharing visuals (still and moving images) on blogs, wikis, bulletin boards, twitter, and social networking sites young people are connecting with their peers. One of these ways of establishing or reaffirming close and intimate connections is through 'sexting', which is the sending or receiving of sexually explicit images via a mobile phone. It can involve teenagers taking semi-nude or completely nude pictures of either themselves or others (such as their girlfriend or boyfriend, a classmate taking shower after physical education class, a peer sun bathing in a secluded space, etc.). The mass media have popularised this behaviour and published photos of partially clothes or unclothed members of the royal family or other celebrities in magazines and newspapers. Film and Sport stars have taken images of themselves and others while intoxicated and in compromising situations and have posted them alongside some commentary on to their twitter or facebook site. The behaviour of these celebrities and role models alongside the general exploration of sexuality and relationships with the opposite or same sex during adolescence are other contributing factors in sexting.

American Research on 10 to 18 year olds (N=4441) indicated that 15.9 % of males (compared to 9.9 % of females) received naked or semi-naked images of someone from their school via a mobile phone (statistically significant $p=.001$), whereas 8.2 % of males (compared to 7.2 % of females) sent them ($p=.021$) to others (Hinduja and Patchin, 2010).

There are currently no reliable statistics on sexting in Australia but the case of a Queensland teenager with a topless photo of a 15-year-old girl on his phone who was charged with possessing child exploitation materials points to its occurrence (Hearn, 2010). The severity of sentence, the punishment of a permanent criminal record but also the consequences such as a loss of potential careers in the law and law enforcement (police, security service), the financial sector (accountancy), education (childcare, school teaching) and so on are affecting young people for the rest of their lives.

Cyber bullying which was understood as limited to peer-to-peer electronic bullying extended now to include cyber bullying of education personnel. Shariff (2009) uses the term of antiauthority cyber expressions to describe cyber bullying of teachers, principals and other school staff. In student-to-student cyber bullying the bully's intention is usually for the victim

to know about the hurtful remarks or upsetting images either directly or through other classmates, who pass on those comments. In contrast, antiauthority cyber expressions are meant to be a private conversation between the student posting them and their classmates. By commenting on educator or educational authorities or by taking pictures or video clips which are unflattering or even modified before posting online, students intent to mock them, 'let off steam' and rebel against their position of power. However, once these messages or images are posted online, there is no control over its distribution. Once the victims are aware of these communications the chances for a productive and harmonious cooperation at school for both are minimal and the potential for legal action regarding slander is given.

Cyber bullying of teachers was investigated by the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) who gathered data from 1000 Canadian teachers and found that "...cyber-bullying is a widespread phenomenon in the school system." (OCT, 2007:16). Obscene or defamatory online statements from student about teachers were experienced by 84% of the latter. These insults took place in email (45%), chat rooms (44 %), personal websites or blogs (32%), text messaging (32 %), photographs or video clips (19%) and personal voting booth websites (15%). Teachers (8%) viewed disapproval of their appearance or mannerism and clothes as very serious, six percent thought that negative comments about their fairness in grading was very serious and a further five percent viewed malicious gossip as very serious. A fifth of the surveyed teachers (20%) were certain that being cyber bullied by their students would be a cause for either themselves or colleagues leaving the profession.

Without a doubt,

"...cyber-bullying against students, teachers or school officials has a profound impact on the learning of all students, both on and off school property" (Shariff, 2009: 118).

Stage 5: Increase of Legislation and Legal Cases, Mandatory Digital Safety Training (Mid 2010's)

The coming decade will be marked by increasing efforts of risk management that will see an increase in cyber bullying training, policies and compliance requirements. The existing plethora of professional development for teachers (i.e., training, seminars, workshops or conference attendance), resources (i.e., activities, posters, educational kits, videos, sample lessons to teach cyber safety), information (i.e., on website, through journals, newsletters, magazines, books), phone or online help lines or chat forums for affected children, teenagers, families and awareness raising campaigns such as the world-wide anti cyber bullying day will continue. Cyber coaches much like life or health coaches will emerge who advice on the construction of individuals' online activities and reputation and assist with the creation of digital presence.

Research efforts to investigate and trial effective prevention and intervention programs will continue and the gathered evidence will guide policy and practice. It seems feasible that a rating system for digital content might be introduced, similar to the classification used for movies and television programs. Internationally agreed symbols on the rankings of cyber safety might provide guidance on the safety of the online sources and the type of content (i.e., for general exhibition, for mature audience, contains violence and sexual scenes) alongside written and verbal warning to the suitability of the materials.

Mandatory reporting by teachers of students' being maltreatment or exploitation online might be added to the already existence of mandatory reporting of physical and sexual abuse of children. Compulsory training of educators or professionals dealing with young people on aspects of digital citizenships and online safety is envisaged so that they are prepared to deal with the pedagogical challenge of electronic bullying. A legal obligation for professional to report violations of cyber safety against children would send a clear message to perpetrators that their digital activities are recorded and penalized. Also, a national register for electronic perpetrators to monitor or restrict their future online activities is imaginable.

Since cyber bullying is not bound by geographical borders, a global working party or council that serves as an umbrella organization for the numerous national attempts is also conceivable.

CONCLUSION

An in-depth historical commentary would have to consider developments in each countries and the interrelations and overlaps between these occurrences, details which would fill a whole book. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this chapter provided a valuable overview for readers and equips them with sufficient background knowledge for the following chapters.

In summary, cyber bullying is a world-wide, growing problem that has devastating effects for all involved whether they are cyber bullies, victims or bystanders. Protective Internet filtering and blocking software, educational outreach initiatives (i.e., cyber bully awareness raising and behaviour changing programs, free help lines for support) and introduction of legislation to scare and punish online perpetrators are some of the strategies employed to eradicate cyber bullying. Although current initiatives are well intended and heavily funded, they have shown to have no positive impact given the rapid increase of cyber bullying. Hence, investigating effective combat strategies has become imperative in tackling the problem though technological, educational, legislative and policy means on a national as well as a global scale.

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Chapter 65

ONLINE SOCIAL NETWORKING BEHAVIOURS, CYBER-BULLYING, MENTAL HEALTH AND BEHAVIOURAL FUNCTIONING IN AUSTRALIAN STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

The present study comprised 599 West Australian students (48.4% male), aged between 12 and 16 years ($M = 13.98$ years, $SD = 0.88$) who participated in a survey relating to technology use, cyber-safety, bullying and cyber-bullying, mental health and behavioural functioning. Students' Social Networking Site (SNS) use was widespread with 61.9% of students using them 6 to 7 days a week. Most of this use occurred on the weekend with 80.2% of students using SNS for one or more hours on an average day on the weekend compared to 58.5% on an average day before or after school and 12.8% on an average day at school. A large proportion (69.8%) of students had 200 or more online friends (49.1% had 300 or more) and 92.0% reported knowing all or nearly all of them in person (35.7% knowing all).

Students who were online (specifically on their SNS) for more time (weekday and weekend) and were younger were more likely to be cyber-bullied. With regard to mental health and behavioural functioning, female students experienced higher levels of depression and anxiety, and more behavioural problems than male students. Students who reported using more SNS and being online for longer over the weekend also experienced higher levels of depression and anxiety, and more behavioural problems. Finally, students who reported being online for longer at school and knowing fewer of their SNS friends in person experienced more behavioural problems.

The results of this study offer important insights into SNS use and behaviours, as well as their impact on cyber-victimisation. They also have significant implications for the way in which young people interact with peers via SNS, for the cyber-bullying behaviours

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students might be exposed to, and for the provision of appropriate support and intervention strategies necessary to minimise mental health and behavioural problems.

INTRODUCTION

Communication with others is one of the primary reasons why people use the Internet (Pollet, Roberts and Dunbar, 2011). After all, the Internet is essentially a communication tool – designed to share information with a global audience – that continues to develop and change with the introduction of new technologies (e.g., smartphones). The most notable development in relation to Internet usage over the past decade has been the proliferation of Social Networking Sites (SNS). These sites are built around social connection and are consistently among the most commonly visited sites online (see www.alexacom for latest information on global and national website usage). SNS provide an easy opportunity to communicate with others, connect with groups, organise activities and, ultimately, have some (positive or negative) impact on society (Rainie, Purcell and Smith, 2011).

In the past five years, much has been written describing the demographics of SNS users. Recently, Hampton and colleagues (Hampton, Goulet, Rainie and Purcell, 2011) reported that SNS users in the USA are typically under 35 years of age (although this over-representation of younger users is changing as SNS sites become more widely popular), female, have multiple SNS accounts, have been using the sites for at least a year and use their site several times a day. Similarly, as many as 95% of Australian students in Years 7 to 10 have a SNS profile (de Zwart, Lindsay, Henderson and Phillips, 2011). Currently, the most popular site is Facebook (with nearly one billion active users worldwide) with MySpace, Twitter and LinkedIn also being widely used. These sites may have the largest number of users but they represent a small percentage of the total number of SNS online. There are, for example, SNS aimed at young children, academics, avid travellers, social activists, people with disabilities, artists and musicians to name just a few.

Given the range of SNS available, there are many benefits and opportunities associated with these sites. For example, frequenting these sites can reduce social isolation and increase social support, can promote self-expression and identity development, can promote social engagement and activism, can revive dormant or old relationships and can promote education and knowledge sharing (Hampton et al., 2011; Livingstone and Brake, 2010). Thus, SNS provide opportunities to develop and enhance social relationships as well as build new ones (Lenhart, Madden, Smith, Purcell, Zickuhr and Rainie, 2011).

Although there are numerous benefits to SNS use, there are clearly risks associated with being active on these sites. For example, sharing information on SNS has been associated with an increased risk of online victimisation (e.g., Walrave and Heirman, 2009). This online victimisation is often referred to as cyber-bullying which typically encompasses a complex set of repeated aggressive behaviours intentionally designed to inflict harm on another person through the use of technology (Dooley, Pyzalski and Cross, 2009; Hanewald, 2009). Cyber-bullying is often seen as an extension of offline (or traditional) bullying which has some empirical support (e.g., Gradinger, Strohmeier and Spiel, 2009). However, this approach overlooks important conceptual and functional differences between cyber- and traditional bullying.

For example, while traditional bullying is built on the premise that the behaviour must be repeated (otherwise it is considered aggression, not bullying; see Olweus, 1993), cyber-bullying can easily result from a single action (e.g., posting an embarrassing video online) which can be repeatedly experienced by the person victimised. Furthermore, recent evidence has raised some doubts about the intentionality of cyber-bullying behaviours. For example, Law and colleagues (Law, Shapka, Domene and Gagné, 2012a) reported that the majority of aggressive online messaging by adolescents was 'just kidding around or having fun with friends', with only a small minority perceived as truly intending to 'hurt or embarrass another person'. Additionally, the nature of online exchange can impact on both the delivery and experience of cyber-bullying behaviours. Law and colleagues (Law, Shapka, Hymel, Olson and Waterhouse, 2012b) highlighted important differences between immediate and delayed reinforcement where the awareness of some behaviours (e.g., sending a mean message) may be proximal to the perpetration while others (e.g., building a website) may be more distal. Interestingly, Law and colleagues (Law et al., 2012a) described a similar phenomenon in relation to the perpetration of cyber-bullying whereby adolescents identified themselves with the method of aggression they used (e.g., sending mean messages or creating hostile websites) rather than the role they played (i.e., bully, victim or witness).

These conceptual differences and theoretical challenges have likely contributed to the notable issues related to the measurement of cyber-bullying behaviours. For example, reported prevalence estimates have ranged from 9% to 40% (David-Ferdon and Hertz, 2009; Tokunaga, 2010; Ybarra, Mitchell, Wolak and Finkelhor, 2006). Nevertheless, it is important to note that cyber-bullying rates are almost always lower than traditional bullying rates, with recent USA estimates placing the prevalence of cyber-bullying at 16% compared to 26% for traditional bullying (Kessel Schneider, O'Donnell, Stueve and Coulter, 2012).

Regardless of academic discussions about the conceptual nature of cyber-bullying, there is strong evidence that these experiences can result in significant mental health problems. For example, numerous cross-sectional studies have demonstrated that cyber-bullying is associated with depression (Perren, Dooley, Shaw and Cross, 2010), conduct and emotional problems (Dooley, Gradinger, Strohmeier, Cross and Spiel, 2010; Gradinger, Strohmeier and Spiel, 2009), not feeling safe at school, physical pain, substance misuse, and abuse (Sourander et al., 2010).

Important correlates of the mental health outcomes after cyber-bullying relate to the coping strategies and support networks of the person victimised. Consistently, young people who are victimised are more likely to exhibit psychological ill health if they have ineffective coping strategies or feel unsupported during the experience (Cassidy and Taylor, 2005). An important element of coping is problem-solving style, a pattern of cognitive functioning, which has a significant influence on how people respond to social problems and deal with life stress. For example, ineffective problem-solving styles have been linked with aggressive (e.g., Crick and Dodge, 1999) and bullying behaviours (e.g., Warden and MacKinnon, 2003). Crick and Dodge (1994) also highlighted the importance of peer evaluation and feedback in response to social behaviours and suggested that the more peers support a behaviour, the more likely it is to occur in the future.

In the same vein, the more support provided to victims of bullying, the more positive the mental health outcome. Thus, SNS can offer a potential benefit given the nature and extent of social connection, and result in an immediate source of support if cyber-bullying occurs openly (as is sometimes the case). For example, Dooley and Scott (under review) demonstrated that

mental health problems were more likely to be experienced by young people who were privately victimised (e.g., through text messages or emails) compared to those who were publicly victimised (e.g., through nasty messages or pictures posted on SNS). Although speculative, the authors suggested that the openness of the victimisation might prompt other users to provide support, thus ameliorating mental health problems. Importantly, it is unlikely that support is merely a numbers game where more online friends equals more support. It is more likely that the number of close friends (i.e., those known offline) results in a greater level of support and, as a result, reduced mental health problems.

Ultimately, this issue highlights the complexities associated with SNS use, and the many potential benefits and risks associated with their use. In this chapter, we examine the SNS use of Australian students to determine if there are patterns that predict cyber-victimisation, mental health and behavioural functioning.

METHOD

Participants

A total of 827 students participated in a survey concerning Internet and mobile phone use. All data were collected between November 2011 and March 2012. Students from seven government high schools (out of 11 that were originally contacted) in the metropolitan area of Perth, Western Australia, were recruited to participate in the study. Of the 827 students, 162 (19.6%) were excluded from the current study because they were not active users of SNS, and a further 66 (8.0%) were excluded because they had not completed all relevant sections of the survey. The final sample comprised 599 students, 290 (48.4%) males, aged between 12 and 16 years ($M = 13.98$, $SD = 0.88$).

Students were from Years 8 to 10; with 285 (47.6%) from Year 8, 114 (19.0%) from Year 9, and 198 (33.1%) from Year 10. Two students (0.3%) did not provide their school year. There was little difference in the number of SNS used by students across the three year groups with averages of 2.41 ($SD = 1.04$) for Year 8, 2.65 ($SD = 1.34$) for Year 9 and 2.43 ($SD = 1.11$) for Year 10.

Materials: The survey contained items relating to technology use, cyber-safety practices/strategies, bullying and cyber-bullying, mental health, behavioural functioning, as well as demographic information.

Cyber-bullying. The 11-item Cyber-Victimisation Scale measured students' self-reported experiences of being cyber-bullied. Students indicated on a 5-point Likert scale how often they experienced each of 11 behaviours, which included being sent nasty e-mails or nasty messages on the Internet, having mean or nasty comments posted on websites (e.g., MySpace or Facebook), or being left out or ignored over the Internet. Their responses ranged from 0 'Never' to 4 'Most days this term'.

Mental health. Mental health was assessed using a modified version of the Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scales (DASS; Lovibond and Lovibond, 1995) where only the depression and anxiety scales were used. Responses range from 0 'Does not apply to me' to 3 'Most of the time' and each scale consisted of seven items. Depression (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$) and anxiety

items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .0.82$) were totalled to produce separate depression and anxiety scores ranging from 0 to 21.

Behavioural functioning. Behaviour problems were assessed using the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Goodman, 2001). The SDQ provides a total difficulties score on the basis of four subscale scores – emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity and peer problems – with responses ranging from 0 'Not true' to 2 'Certainly true'. The scores of the 20 items (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.75$) were totalled to produce a total difficulties score ranging from 0 to 40.

Procedure

The Human Research Ethics Committee of Edith Cowan University and the West Australian Department of Education approved this study. Once schools agreed to participate, information statements and consent forms were delivered two weeks prior to data collection. On the days of data collection, researchers visited the school and, through collaboration with teachers, only students who had agreed to participate in the survey and had signed parental consent forms were provided with the web link for the survey. In almost all cases (96.0%), surveys were completed online. However, paper-and-pencil versions were used in a small number of classes where students either did not have their own laptop or it was not possible to book the school computer laboratory. All students were debriefed about the aims of the study upon completion of the survey.

RESULTS

Regression analyses were performed to assess the impact of nine independent variables (age; number of SNS used; sex; number of days used SNS a week; average number of hours used SNS at school, before and after school and on the weekend; number of SNS friends/contacts; and proportion of SNS friends/contacts known in person) on four dependent variables (exposure to cyber-victimisation; depression and anxiety; and total difficulties). Descriptive statistics for the independent and dependent variables are provided in Tables I and II.

Table I shows that 61.9% of students used SNS 6 to 7 days a week and that most of this use occurred on the weekend: 80.2% of students used SNS for one or more hours on an average day on the weekend compared to 58.5% on an average day before or after school and only 12.8% on an average day at school.

It is also apparent that 69.8% of students had 200 or more SNS friends/contacts, and that 92.0% knew all or nearly all of them in person. With regard to the mental health and behavioural functioning of students, Table II shows that student depression, anxiety and total difficulties scores were low, with average scores of 3.50, 2.72 and 11.28 falling well below the maximum possible scores of 21, 21 and 40 respectively. Finally, just over a quarter (28.9%) of students had been exposed to cyber-victimisation.

Table I. Descriptive Statistics for Social Networking Site users

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Age	13.98	0.88
Number of SNS used	2.46	1.23
Variable	<i>n</i>	%
Sex		
Male	290	48.4
Female	309	51.6
Number of days used SNS a week		
1 day a week	28	4.7
2 to 3 days a week	80	13.4
4 to 5 days a week	120	20.0
6 to 7 days a week	371	61.9
Number of hours used SNS at school		
I did not use SNS at school	259	43.2
Less than half an hour	221	36.9
About half an hour	42	7.0
About 1 hour	39	6.5
About 2 hours	14	2.3
About 3 hours	9	1.5
About 4 hours	15	2.5
Number of hours used SNS before and after school		
I did not use SNS before or after school	16	2.7
Less than half an hour	138	23.0
About half an hour	95	15.9
About 1 hour	129	21.5
About 2 hours	101	16.9
About 3 hours	52	8.7
About 4 hours	68	11.4
Number of hours used SNS on the weekend		
I did not use SNS on the weekend	1	0.2
Less than half an hour	61	10.2
About half an hour	53	8.8
About 1 hour	119	19.9
About 2 hours	126	21.0
About 3 hours	94	15.7
About 4 hours	145	24.2
Number of SNS friends/contacts		
0 to 19	8	1.3
20 to 49	18	3.0
50 to 99	35	5.8
100 to 149	59	9.8
150 to 199	61	10.2
200 to 299	124	20.7
300 or more	294	49.1
Proportion of SNS friends/contacts known in person		
None	2	0.3
About half	46	7.7
Nearly all	337	56.3
All	214	35.7

Note. The Depression and Anxiety scores can range from 0 to 21, and the Total difficulties score can range from 0 to 40.

Cyber-bullying: Exposure to cyber-victimisation. Logistic regression (backward method) analysis was performed to assess the impact of the nine independent variables on exposure to cyber-victimisation.

The final model contained four independent variables: average number of hours used SNS on the weekend, age, average number of hours used SNS at school and average number of SNS used. The model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(4, 599) = 49.14, p < .001$, indicating that it was able to distinguish between students who had been exposed to cyber-victimisation and those who had not. The model explained between 7.9% (Cox and Snell R square) and 11.3% (Nagelkerke R square) of the variance in exposure to cyber-victimisation, and correctly classified 71.6% of cases. The B coefficients, standard errors, odds ratios and Wald statistics for the final model of the logistic regression analysis are provided in Table III.

Table II. Descriptive Statistics for Mental health and Behavioural Functioning

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Depression score	3.50	4.57
Anxiety score	2.72	3.31
Total difficulties score	11.28	5.91
Variable	<i>n</i>	%
Exposure to cyber-victimisation		
Not exposed	426	71.1
Exposed	173	28.9

Table III. Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Exposure to Cyber-Victimisation

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	Odds ratio	Wald statistic
Number of hours used SNS on the weekend	0.27	0.07	1.32	16.71***
Age	-0.31	0.11	0.74	7.91**
Number of hours used SNS at school	0.15	0.07	1.16	4.49*
Number of SNS used	0.17	0.09	1.18	3.89*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The analysis revealed that students who were exposed to cyber-victimisation used SNS for a greater number of hours on an average day on the weekend and on an average day at school, than students who were not exposed to cyber-victimisation ($p < .001$ and $p < .05$ respectively). Furthermore, students who were exposed to cyber-victimisation used more SNS and were younger than students who were not exposed to cyber-victimisation ($p < .05$ and $p < .01$ respectively).

Mental health: Depression and anxiety. Regression (backward method) analyses were performed to assess the relationship between the nine independent variables and the depression and anxiety scores. The final model for depression contained three independent variables: sex, average number of hours used SNS on the weekend and number of SNS used. The model was statistically significant, $F(3, 595) = 20.37, p < .001$, and explained 8.8% of variance in

depression scores. The final model for anxiety contained the same three independent variables: sex, number of SNS used and average number of hours used SNS on the weekend.

The model was also statistically significant, $F(3, 595) = 12.63, p < .001$, and explained 5.5% of variance in anxiety scores. The B values, standard errors and standardised Beta values (β) for the final models of the regression analyses are provided in Table IV.

Table IV. Regression Analysis Summary for Depression and Anxiety Scores

Variable	B	SEB	β
Depression score			
Sex	1.53	0.37	0.17***
Number of hours used SNS on the weekend	0.46	0.12	0.16***
Number of SNS used	0.47	0.17	0.12**
Anxiety score			
Sex	0.90	0.27	0.14**
Number of SNS used	0.36	0.12	0.12**
Number of hours used SNS on the weekend	0.20	0.09	0.10*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The analyses revealed that female students experienced more depression and anxiety than male students ($p < .001$ and $p < .01$ respectively). Furthermore, the more hours students used SNS on an average day on the weekend, the higher their depression and anxiety scores ($p < .001$ and $p < .05$ respectively); and the more SNS students used, the higher their depression and anxiety scores (both $p < .01$).

Behavioural functioning: Total difficulties. Finally, regression (backward method) analysis was performed to assess the relationship between the nine independent variables and the total difficulties score.

The final model contained five independent variables: number of SNS used, average number of hours used SNS on the weekend, sex, average number of hours used SNS at school and proportion of SNS friends/contacts known in person. The model was statistically significant, $F(5, 593) = 17.36, p < .001$, and explained 12.0% of variance. The B values, standard errors and standardised Beta values (β) for the final model of the regression analysis are provided in Table V.

Table V. Regression Analysis Summary for Total Difficulties Score

Variable	B	SEB	β
Number of SNS used	0.98	0.22	0.19***
Number of hours used SNS on the weekend	0.45	0.15	0.12**
Sex	1.30	0.47	0.11**
Number of hours used SNS at school	0.42	0.18	0.10*
Proportion of SNS friends/contacts known in person	-0.88	0.38	-0.9*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Similar to depression and anxiety, female students experienced more difficulties than male students ($p < .01$); the more hours students used SNS on an average day on the weekend, the

higher their total difficulties scores ($p < .01$); and the more SNS students used, the higher their total difficulties scores ($p < .001$). In addition, the more hours students used SNS on an average day at school, and the less SNS friends/contacts students knew in person, the higher their total difficulties scores (both $p < .05$).

CONCLUSION

SNS are among the most popular online activities, especially for young people. These sites offer many important benefits, such as connecting with friends, developing a social identity, becoming socially conscious and increasing social support (Hampton et al., 2011; Livingstone and Brake, 2010). Although there is tremendous potential to facilitate the provision of support through these sites, there also exists the potential to experience cyber-bullying. However, little is known about the patterns of SNS use and the associated potential for cyber-victimisation. As such, this chapter focused on the experience of cyber-victimisation, mental health and behavioural functioning in SNS users.

In relation to the experience of cyber-victimisation, students who were online (specifically on their SNS) for more time (weekday and weekend) were more likely to be cyber-bullied. In addition, younger students were more likely to be cyber-bullied than older students. These are critically important results associated with basic use factors. Importantly, even though older students had more friends than younger students, the latter were still more at risk of being cyber-bullied. Although it is not possible to know the identity of the perpetrator and their relationship to the victim, this result does raise important questions about the involvement of young people in SNS. Most of the commonly used SNS (e.g., Facebook, Twitter and MySpace) have a minimum age restriction of about 13 years of age. This designation is generally a legal one (websites that collect personal information are not permitted to do so from children under the age of 13 years) although some sites (e.g., Facebook) advocate that this minimum age restriction should be removed. In light of the results of this study, it appears that a reasonable approach to reducing cyber-victimisation would be to increase the minimum age of users. As noted, the primary SNS used by students in this study were Facebook and Twitter.

In addition to the experience of cyber-bullying, students also reported experiencing mental health symptoms and behavioural problems. Specifically, female students reported more symptoms of depression and anxiety than did male students as did students who reported being online for longer over the weekend. Furthermore, the more SNS that students reported using, the higher their self-reported depression and anxiety scores. Consistent with mental health, more behaviour problems were experienced by female students, students who used more SNS and students who used their SNS more on an average day on the weekend. Importantly, the fewer SNS friends students knew in person, the higher their total difficulties scores. Thus, independent of being cyber-bullied, specific SNS use patterns predicted mental and behavioural health problems. This is an important result as the mental health problems that are reported by those students who frequently use SNS are likely to be exacerbated in the event that they are cyber-bullied.

Perren and colleagues (Perren et al., 2010) reported that cyber-bullying resulted in an independent and additive effect on depression symptoms over and above the experience of traditional bullying. While this could be the result of being cyber-bullied, the results of this

study indicate that, at least in part, the impact of SNS use (outside of cyber-bullying) should be considered. The results of this study also provide important insights to the implications of SNS use and the potential impact of being cyber-bullied. The more involved students were in their SNS, the more likely they were to report mental and behavioural health problems.

The recent proliferation of smartphones (i.e., mobile phones that can connect to the Internet) make it easier to engage with SNS and other sites as they can be accessed at any time in any place provided there is an Internet connection available. This ease of connection makes it even more important that students are educated on ways to keep themselves safe as it is not feasible to monitor all of their activities. Thus, early education and the implementation of preventative measures become key strategies to ensure that the benefits of SNS are enhanced while the associated risks are minimised.

Several important results were found in relation to the experience of being cyber-bullied. For example, younger students who used SNS were more likely to be victimised. Dooley and colleagues have previously demonstrated that students with poor coping and social problem solving skills were more likely to avoid proactive help-seeking strategies and to respond aggressively (Dooley et al., 2011, Dooley et al., 2012). Given that social problem skills are considered to develop with age, it is not unreasonable that younger students might respond in socially inappropriate ways (e.g., through bullying or aggression). Given the potential for concurrent mental and behavioural health problems, there is a pressing need for developmentally appropriate preventative approaches to the safe use of SNS.

Furthermore, the more students reported using SNS and the more sites they used, the more likely they were to report being cyber-bullied. Although it is not possible to have a 'safe number' in relation to the number of friends or the amount of time spent online, it is clear that some level of restriction is warranted. The more time spent on a SNS on the weekend and during the week predicted the likelihood of being cyber-bullied. Thus, one protective measure is to limit the amount of time spent online. Given the relationship between extent of use, mental health and behavioural functioning (independent of cyber-bullying), restricting the amount of time spent on SNS is likely to have several benefits. Finally, the relationship between online friends and behavioural health is an important one. It was demonstrated that students who reported having less online friends that were known in person (i.e., offline), had less behaviour problems. Therefore, rather than the number of friends per se being important, it is the number of friends that are known in person that counts.

There are several strengths and limitations of this study. The cross-sectional nature of the study does not make it possible to understand the temporal sequence of SNS use and mental and behavioural health problems. It may be that young people with mental health problems are drawn to using SNS or that SNS use results in symptoms of depression and anxiety. Regardless, the relatively high prevalence and strong predictive associations between SNS use and mental health problems should serve as a strong indicator of the need for preventative mental health messages and support services.

It is not appropriate to wait until cyber-bullying is experienced, and mental health symptoms and behavioural problems occur – these support services should be provided from the outset. Furthermore, the apparent sex differences reported in this study – whereby females reported more mental and behavioural health problems than males – provide a strong argument for sex specific information and support services. However, it is important to note that this could be a legitimate sex-based result or it could be based on an increased likelihood of females to self-report.

The results of this study offer important insights into SNS use and behaviours, as well as their impact on cyber-victimisation. Furthermore, the results have significant implications for the way in which young people interact with peers via SNS, for the cyber-bullying behaviours students' experience, and for the provision of appropriate school-based support and intervention strategies necessary to minimise mental health and behaviour problems.

Of critical importance, the results of this study highlight the need for early preventative approaches to ensure that mental and behavioural health problems are minimised, restrictions are based on the amount of time and level of engagement with SNS, friends are comprised of those known offline and the number of SNS sites used is limited. These key factors represent the greatest opportunity for enhancing the likelihood of a positive experience and reducing the impact of SNS on mental health and behavioural functioning.

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Chapter 66

DOES THE CYBERBULLYING PREVENTION PROGRAM SURF-FAIR WORK? AN EVALUATION STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Recently a plethora of cyberbullying prevention and intervention programs has been proposed; however, empirical evidence for the benefits of these programs is scarce. These programs are derived from distinctly different backgrounds, most are based on conventional anti-bullying programs, target whole schools, and require several weeks of implementation. Surf-Fair (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012) on the other hand focuses exclusively on cyberbullying by capitalizing on (critical) media literacy, targets single classrooms, and can be used for short-term preventions. A corresponding evaluation study presented in this chapter shows that Surf-Fair can be effective in reducing negative cyber incidents, teaching productive coping strategies, and is evaluated positively by participating students. Against the backdrop of the German situation, this chapter further discusses recommendations for schools regarding prevention programs against cyberbullying, considering not only effectiveness, but also fit and feasibility.

INTRODUCTION

In the last couple of years, research all over the world demonstrated that cyberbullying – bullying via internet and mobile phones – is a prevalent problem with negative consequences for adolescents (Görzig, 2011; Smith et al., 2008; Tokunaga, 2010). As a result, multiple prevention and intervention measures have been developed, but empirical evidence regarding their effectiveness is scarce.

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This chapter describes the German prevention program Surf-Fair against cyberbullying (for the complete manual in German see Pieschl and Porsch, 2012) and a corresponding evaluation study (Pieschl and Urbasik, 2013).

Cyberbullying in Germany

Since 2005 cyberbullying has been an interdisciplinary research topic in Germany. The reported prevalence of cyberbullying in Germany ranges between 3-35 % for cyber-victimization and between 3-55 % for cyber-bullying (e.g., Görzig, 2011; Katzer, Fetchenhauer, and Belschak, 2009a, 2009b; Pieschl and Porsch, 2012, 2013; Riebel, Jäger, and Fischer, 2009; Schultze-Krumbholz and Scheithauer, 2009; Wachs and Wolf, 2011).

Thus, a substantial fraction of German adolescents is involved in cyberbullying. Additionally, many studies – not only in Germany – show the negative impact of cyberbullying, especially for cyber-victims. Cyber-victims often report emotional distress, sometimes psychological or psycho-somatic symptoms, sometimes changes in behavior, and sometimes they deny negative consequences (e.g., Finkelhor, Mitchell, and Wolak, 2000; Ortega, Elipe, Moran-Merchán, Calmaestra, and Vega, 2009; Patchin and Hinduja, 2006; Staude-Müller, Hansen, and Voss, 2012). To illustrate, cyber-victimization is correlated with low self-esteem, depressive symptoms, suicidal thoughts, drug abuse, and social problems with friends and families (for a summary see Tokunaga, 2010). Cyberbullying can also have far-reaching consequences for young people's future, for example the loss of employment opportunities or scholarships due to legal convictions (e.g., defamation) or participation in documented cyberbullying incidents. Consequently, there is a high demand for effective prevention and intervention.

To create an effective prevention or intervention, it is paramount to consider the relevant social and educational affordances and constraints. In Germany, the individual states are responsible for the educational system and not the federal government. So far none of the states has implemented a state-wide policy or program against cyberbullying. Headmasters or school boards can freely decide if and which programs they wish to implement. Thus, some schools have elaborate and very effective prevention programs against conventional bullying and cyberbullying. Other schools, however, do not even have an explicit policy regarding bullying, and many schools are still searching for adequate measures. Aggravating these issues, it is unclear if schools are responsible for the prevention and intervention of cyberbullying. On the one hand most cyberbullying incidents happen outside of school (Smith et al., 2008), on the other hand cyberbullying affects schools; for instance it is associated with low grades and truancy (Tokunaga, 2010). Another problem is that many teachers – like many adults – feel ill-equipped to address cyberbullying because their media use significantly differs from that of adolescent “digital natives” (Helsper and Eynon, 2010).

Cyberbullying Prevention and Intervention Programs

Currently a plethora of different ideas for the prevention and intervention of cyberbullying floods the German educational market. These can be subdivided into two broad categories (Pieschl and Porsch, 2013)¹:

The first cluster of programs against cyberbullying (Pieschl and Porsch, 2013) is based on the assumption that the effects of programs against conventional bullying should transfer to cyberbullying (Pearce, Cross, Monks, Waters, and Falconer, 2011) because there is a substantial overlap between those adolescents involved in conventional bullying and those involved in cyberbullying (e.g., Katzer, Fetchenhauer, and Belschak, 2009a, 2009b; Riebel et al., 2009; Wachs and Wolf, 2011). Internationally, such programs are often widely implemented whole-school programs spanning multiple weeks and often deal with prevention as well as intervention. Only few of them explicitly address cyberbullying and evaluate the transfer effects regarding cyberbullying, for instance the (Cyber) Friendly Schools program in Australia (Cross et al., 2011) or the Viennese Social Competence training (Spiel and Strohmeier, 2011). Up to now, the only evaluation results which have been published are those regarding the Finnish KiVa program. Through the comparison of students from both experimental and control schools it was shown that KiVa does not only significantly reduce conventional bullying but also cyberbullying (Salmivalli, Kärnä, and Poskiparta, 2011). Even though this approach seems very promising, it is unlikely that such a state-wide program will be implemented in Germany any time soon because of the complex interplay between spheres of responsibility of the federal government, the individual states, and other public bodies (Jäger, Lissmann, and Arbinger, 2010). However, smaller programs against conventional bullying are often implemented in specific schools in Germany, but their effectiveness to reduce cyberbullying has not (yet) been demonstrated.

The second cluster of programs (Pieschl and Porsch, 2013) is based on the assumption that cyberbullying has several unique characteristics in comparison to conventional bullying. These are mostly attributed to the mediated way of communication, namely the potentially public, pervasive, non-deletable, and impoverished nature of online communication (e.g., Dooley, Pyżalski, and Cross, 2009; Mason, 2008; Nocentini et al., 2010; Pieschl and Porsch, 2012, 2013; Smith et al., 2008; Tokunaga, 2010). Such programs specifically target cyberbullying and are often based on theories of media literacy and media education as well as foundations of conventional bullying. In Germany, only few of these programs provide information about their theoretical background or didactical approach and even fewer provide information about their effectiveness. To illustrate, theatre pedagogic approaches are often implemented in Germany (“r@ausgemobbt”, see www.comic-on.de, or “click it! 2”, see www.zartbitter.de) and many brochures and websites with information about media literacy, data safety, and cyberbullying are publicly available (e.g., www.klicksafe.de). Only recently, two evidence-based programs of this kind have been published: Preliminary results regarding the program “media heroes” (Schultze-Krumbholz, Zagorscak, Siebenbrock, and Scheithauer, 2012) indicate that both students and teachers evaluate it positively; results about its effectiveness have not yet been published. The second is our Surf-Fair program described in this chapter (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012).

¹ In this section we only concentrate on prevention and intervention programs against cyberbullying which directly target children and adolescents. We do not address other programs, for example targeting parents.

Evaluating Cyberbullying Prevention Programs

Evaluating cyberbullying prevention programs necessitates the selection of adequate target variables (Pieschl and Porsch, 2013). Most importantly, prevention and intervention programs should reduce cyberbullying. From meta-analyses about the effectiveness of conventional anti-bullying programs we know that effects regarding the reduction of conventional bullying, are mixed: They found partly non-significant, partly positive, and partly negative effects; partly only specific programs have notable effects (Baldry and Farrington, 2007; Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, and Isava, 2008, 2008; Rigby and Slee, 2008; Smith, Schneider, Smith, and Ananiadou, 2004; Ttofi and Farrington, 2011; Vreeman and Carroll, 2007). Transferring these findings to cyberbullying, we expect only small reductions of cyberbullying from corresponding prevention programs, even under ideal conditions. Several issues might further complicate such studies. Cyberbullying can easily happen across classes or schools. As a result, programs might not be able reach all involved adolescents. Furthermore, as cyberbullying is assumed to increase with age (Livingston, Haddon, Görzig, and Ólafsson, 2011; Tokunaga, 2010), prevention programs might only slow down this process. Additionally, it might also be beneficial to evaluate the success of cyberbullying prevention programs regarding other target variables. A meta-analysis of the effects of conventional anti-bullying programs shows more consistent and larger effects regarding knowledge, attitude or self-efficacy (Merrell et al., 2008). For cyberbullying, such variables may include subjective perception of achievement or knowledge about coping strategies.

Regarding the latter, so far no satisfying theoretical model of coping strategies regarding cyberbullying exists and we have no evidence regarding the effectiveness of particular coping strategies (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012, 2013). However, empirical results indicate the existence of different patterns of coping which have also been evaluated by both adolescents and educators. Most adolescents and educators agree that the coping strategies of seeking help and telling someone are promising (Parris, Varjas, Meyers, and Cutts, 2012; Pieschl and Porsch, 2012; Smith et al., 2008; Tokunaga, 2010). They often suggest talking to friends, adults, or the police as a possible solution (Aricak et al., 2008). However, real cyber-victims often tell nobody or only their closest friends of their problem (Dooley, Gradinger, Strohmeier, Cross, and Spiel, 2010; Patchin and Hinduja, 2006; Slonje and Smith, 2008; Wachs and Wolf, 2011). Technical strategies such as blocking within a specific internet application are also recommended by the majority of adolescents and educators (Diamanduros, Downs, and Jenkins, 2008; Pieschl and Porsch, 2012; Riebel et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2008). These strategies are often also employed by real cyber-victims (Aricak et al., 2008). On the other hand, avoidance or withdrawal strategies that ignore the problem might be recommended by and implemented by adolescents (Dehue, Bolman, and Völlink, 2008; Parris et al., 2012; Patchin and Hinduja, 2006; Smith et al., 2008), but these strategies can only be productive for infrequent incidents (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012). Even less desirable strategies of retaliation (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012; Riebel et al., 2009) are often recommended by adolescents (Dehue et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2008). Data on the strong correlation between cyber-bullying and cyber-victimization (Livingston et al., 2011; Schultze-Krumbholz and Scheithauer, 2009) indicates that this strategy might be employed frequently by real cyber-victims, but generally leads to an escalation of the situation. To conclude, the current consensus between adolescents and researchers is that no ideal coping strategy solution for cyberbullying is known (Parris et al., 2012; Pieschl and Porsch, 2012, 2013; Smith et al., 2008). However, some coping strategies seem more promising than others.

This pattern of promising coping strategies could be fostered by successful prevention programs.

SURF-FAIR

We reacted to this overall situation by developing and evaluating the relatively short cyberbullying prevention program Surf-Fair (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012). Surf-Fair can be implemented by teachers into their 5th-7th grade classrooms or it can be used in youth groups and can be adapted to other age groups. It possesses a sound theoretical and empirical foundation.

A Constructivist Didactic Approach

Surf-Fair is grounded in the constructivist didactic approach of anchored instruction (CTGV, 1992). Within this approach, an authentic and complex everyday-life problem is presented without a solution as an anchor for learning and transfer. Subsequently, learners identify and define the problems within this example and actively find useful solutions. Teachers support this process by moderating the group process. This approach has been successful in diverse contexts (e.g., Bottge, Rueda, Serlin, Hung, and Kwon, 2007; CTGV, 1992; Shyu, 1999).

We transferred the approach of anchored instruction to the prevention of cyberbullying (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012). We confronted students with a fictitious but authentic everyday example of cyberbullying via a short video (“Cyberbullying against Max”; 9 minutes). The protagonist Max experiences an escalating series of cyberbullying incidents. A false social network profile about him is created including insults, rumors, and a distorted photo. An embarrassing video of Max is uploaded on an internet video portal and mean comments are posted on this site. Max receives many anonymous insults and threats via the internet and on his mobile phone. Soon he feels desperate, helpless, and tries to avoid his computer altogether. His feelings are visualized by a thickening label on his forehead (“idiot”). The end of the video shows the whole class where most students seem unhappy. Many students have labels on their foreheads (cyber-victims) and/or dirty hands (cyber-bullies).

The subsequent Surf-Fair exercises (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012) deal with different aspects of this authentic case. All exercises have the same underlying rationale. Students are the active constructors of their own knowledge; their opinions and knowledge are the focal point in the exercises. Teachers therefore do not have to be experts regarding internet applications or cyberbullying. Their task is to encourage students to define the problem, find solutions, and critically and ethically reflect their own media use. As in reality, there is no “ideal” solution to solve the complex problem of cyberbullying. The modular Surf-Fair exercises can be specifically selected and freely combined to focus on particular aspects of cyberbullying. Some exercises focus on the social nature of cyberbullying in general and consequently show the importance of not only targeting cyber-victims and cyber-bullies but also cyber-bystanders (Salmivalli, 1999). Cyber-bystanders are the most prevalent group of adolescents involved in cyberbullying in Germany (mpfs, 2011). Depending on their behavior they can help to sustain

(assistants or reinforcers of the cyber-bully; outsiders who stay silent) or stop cyberbullying (defenders of the cyber-victim) (Salmivalli, 1999). Therefore, this group of adolescents is a very promising target for the prevention and intervention of cyberbullying. Other exercises focus on one specific perspective and stimulate critical reflection on what can be done from that perspective to prevent cyberbullying and/or to alleviate its negative consequences.

Two Examples of Surf-Fair Exercises

The exercise “diary” (module 5; Pieschl and Porsch, 2012) introduces the relevant social roles for sustaining cyberbullying. By actively taking different roles, students learn perspective taking and empathy. Consequently, they should use this knowledge to critically and ethically reflect their own media use. After watching the video “Cyberbullying against Max”, students are subdivided into three groups according to three main characters in the video: cyber-victims, cyber-bullies, and cyber-bystanders. Each student has to compose a diary entry from the assigned perspective which explicitly focuses on behavior, cognition, and emotion. The teacher collects all diary entries and randomly reads a minimum of two entries from each perspective. Here are some extracts of what real students wrote: “I did not know what to do, everyone acted anonymously on the internet. I felt very bad because it was really mean to spread these rumors about me – and everybody could read it.” (cyber-victim). “I wanted to be cool. I just bullied Max because nobody likes him, anyway. It was mean, but it was worth it!” (cyber-bully). “I would have loved to help Max, but I did not want to become the next victim.” (cyber-bystander). The most important thoughts and feelings of each character are collected on the blackboard and discussed. Several points can be made: Cyberbullying happens in cyberspace but has consequences for the real life of everybody involved, for example for their emotional wellbeing. At least at the end of the video nobody is happy with the situation, not even the cyber-bully. Cyberbullying does not only concern cyber-bullies and cyber-victims but also cyber-bystanders. This exercise does not focus on potential solutions; therefore it is necessary to follow up with additional exercises.

One exercise that focuses mostly on cyber-victims is called “ballast” (module 8; Pieschl and Porsch, 2012). Students learn about the consequences of cyberbullying from the perspective of the cyber-victim. They can explore their own idiosyncratic threshold of pain regarding cyber incidents. Something that hurts one adolescent a lot might not bother another at all. Furthermore, students discuss different coping strategies for cyberbullying, especially the strategy of help-seeking and sharing emotional distress. In the first part of the exercise, the whole class is confronted with multiple cyber incidents, some from the video, some potentially very harmful, others ambiguous or harmless. Each student got three signaling cards. The red card indicates “totally unacceptable”, the green card indicates “totally acceptable”, and the yellow card indicates “somewhat acceptable, somewhat unacceptable”. For each incident the whole class takes a vote. Then the students discuss their reasons, and the results are recorded on the blackboard. After each incident, real stones are selected, their weight corresponding to the degree that the incident would distress students. One volunteer is needed. This volunteer dresses in a large jacket with big pockets. The selected stones are placed in the volunteer’s jacket. In the second part of the exercise, the volunteer is asked how s/he feels and usually s/he says “totally depressed” (because of the stones’ weight). Students have to come up with promising coping strategies for distressing incidents (figuratively: how to get rid of the stones’

weight). Several different kinds of strategies should be discussed. If the cyber-victim tells someone about a distressing cyber incident that kind of sharing is usually relieving (figuratively: distribute the stones to everyone the volunteer tells about incidents). However, some of the cyber incidents leave cyber traces on the internet, such as ugly photos, embarrassing videos, or nasty comments. Accordingly, students also should discuss strategies to delete these traces, for example how to report someone to the internet service providers. All coping strategies that students come up with are noted on a blackboard and discussed. It is important that students do not endorse nonproductive strategies such as retaliation (potential escalation) or ignorance (potential continuation behind one's back). Therefore, students should be stimulated to critically evaluate the (long-term) consequences of each coping strategy; if students do not realize potentially negative consequences, teachers can help by leading the discussion in a productive direction.

Teaching Media Literacy

These examples demonstrate that Surf-Fair does not focus on conventional bullying. It focuses exclusively on cyberbullying and the specific characteristics of mediated communication (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012). As a theoretical framework we refer to the conceptualization of media literacy of Dieter Baacke (1996), a German educational scientist. He differentiates media critique, media knowledge, media use, and media creation as facets of media literacy. Surf-Fair most explicitly targets students' *media critique* (also see Parris et al., 2012). Students should learn that mediated communication entails real humans as communication partners even though they generally cannot see them; and that personal data once on the internet is hard to erase. Students should apply this knowledge to themselves, for example, by critically reflecting which personal information to post on the internet. Students should act socially acceptable on the internet, for instance by applying the same ethical standards to mediated communication as to face-to-face communication. Consequently, the risk of being cyber-victimized should be reduced, for example by posting less personal information on the internet, and the risk of cyber-bullying should be reduced, for example because potential perpetrators are aware of the consequences for their targets and because cyber-bystanders refuse to act as assistants or reinforcers instead defending cyber-victims.

HYPOTHESES

We conducted a quasi-experimental study (Pieschl and Urbasik, 2013) to evaluate the effectiveness of Surf-Fair and tested the following hypotheses: (1) Surf-Fair reduces the prevalence of negative cyber incidents. (2) Surf-Fair enhances the propensity of using adequate coping strategies (proactive and technical strategies) and it reduces the propensity of using inadequate coping strategies (retaliation and withdrawal) in case of cyber-victimization. (3) Students evaluate their learning gain from Surf-Fair positively. All effects are dependent on the dose of treatment; more treatment results in more pronounced effects.

METHOD

Procedure

Three 6th grade classrooms of a German grammar school participated in this study. The school decided which class was assigned to which treatment. One class received no treatment and served as the control group (CG), one class received a short one-period treatment of 90 minutes (EX90) and the third class received a long treatment of 180 minutes in two 90-minute periods in two consecutive weeks (EX180). The treatments were administered by the second author. All students filled-out three questionnaires. One was administered before the treatment (pre), one directly after the treatment (post), and the last one was completed approximately two months after the treatment (follow-up). These questionnaires contained, among others², questions about the prevalence of potentially harmful cyber incidents in the last two months (pre and follow-up), questions about the propensity to use different patterns coping strategies (pre, post, and follow-up), and self-rated achievement (post and follow-up in the experimental groups). Thus, Surf-Fair was evaluated in a pre-post-follow-up quasi-experimental design.

Sample

The three participating classes encompass $N = 97$ students. Parental consent was obtained for all students. However, due to some students' absence during parts of the study only $n = 87$ students participated in the complete prevention program and completed all three questionnaires. In the remainder of this chapter we will focus exclusively on these students. The three classes (each $n = 29$) did not differ significantly in age ($F(2, 84) = .093, p = .911$); across all classes students were $M = 11.41$ ($SD = .60$) years old. The classes also did not differ significantly in gender distribution ($\chi^2(2) = 3.346, p = .188$); across all classes 39 boys (45 %) and 48 girls (55 %) participated in this study. All of them reported having access to the internet at home (100 %) and almost all reported owning a mobile phone (91 %). They self-rated their competence (moderately) high regarding the use of the internet ($M = 4.02, SD = .90$) and the use of their mobile phones ($M = 4.16, SD = 1.23$), both on a scale from 1 = "low" to 5 = "high".

Material

Cyberbullying Prevention Program Surf-Fair

Only an essential fraction of all Surf-Fair exercises was used in this study (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012); in the EX180 class these exercises were supplemented with additional exercises not in the manual. The official Surf-Fair modules are referred to by their module numbers.

The EX90 class saw the open-ended film about a fictitious cyberbullying case and in the subsequent discussion students learned about the definition of cyberbullying (module 4: "Cyberbullying against Max"). Then, students wrote diary entries about feelings, thoughts, and

² These questionnaires contained more parts than reported in this chapter. We report only the information relevant for our stated hypotheses. The non-reported parts of the questionnaires further address students' media use, their knowledge and attitude towards cyberbullying, and their experience of negative offline incidents.

behaviors of the cyber-victim, cyber-perpetrator, and cyber-bystander in the film and discussed these (module 5: “diary”). Finally, fictitious cyberbullying situations were presented, evaluated regarding their level of distress, and various coping strategies were discussed, for example help-seeking (module 8: “ballast”). More information about these exercises can be found in the previous description of Surf-Fair.

The EX180 class’ treatment consisted of two 90-minutes sessions in two consecutive weeks. Session 1 consisted of modules 4 and 5 (see EX90 treatment). Additionally, face-to-face communication and computer-mediated communication were compared via a fictitious chat scenario and students learned about netiquette. In session 2, students filled-in personal profiles for a fictitious social networking site and learned what they revealed about themselves (module 9: “profile”). Then they completed module 8 (see EX90 treatment). Additionally, German laws relevant for cyberbullying were discussed with fictitious examples.

Demographics and Self-Rated Achievement

In the pre-questionnaire students had to report their age, gender, technical equipment (internet access and mobile phone ownership) as well as rate their competence regarding the internet and mobile phone use on a scale from 1 = “low” to 5 = “high” (see sample description). In the post- and follow-up questionnaires, students in the experimental classes had to rate their achievement regarding the cyberbullying prevention program with the item “I have learned a lot in the anti-cyberbullying program.” on a scale from 1 = “not true at all” to 5 = “definitely true”.

Cyber Incident Prevalence

We adapted the cyberbullying questionnaire of Riebel et al. (2009) to now include the following five of Willard’s (2007) categories: harassment, denigration, impersonation, outing, and exclusion³. A definition of cyberbullying was given including the criteria of repetition, power imbalance, and intent to harm (Dooley et al., 2009). Students were then asked how often these five categories of incidents happened to them in the last two months. Answers could be given on a 5-point scale with the categories “never”, “once or twice”, “several times a month”, “about once a week”, and “several times a week”. Parallel questions were asked first for cyber-victimization and subsequently for cyber-bullying. To illustrate, for cyber-victimization by harassment students answered the question “How often did someone send you a threat or insult via the internet or via mobile phone?”. If students always answered “never” they were automatically categorized as “no cyber-target” or “no cyber-perpetrator”. If they gave at least once a different answer they were automatically categorized as “cyber-target” or “cyber-perpetrator”. Please note that we do not refer to these categories as “cyberbullying”. We considered all negative cyber incidents regardless of the defining characteristics of cyberbullying. The rationale behind this is that Surf-Fair targets the reduction of all potentially harmful cyber behaviors or incidents.

³ We excluded the following of Willard’s (2007) categories on purpose: “Flaming” is defined as a “heated, short-lived argument” (p. 5) but the involved adolescents are assumed to be of similar power. Therefore this does not constitute cyberbullying. The additional categories of “cyberstalking” and “cyberthreats” were excluded because we subsumed the relevant aspects of these categories – the less severe forms – under the category of harassment. The more severe forms on the other hand would also not be labeled bullying in the face-to-face context and therefore we also did not include them in cyberspace.

Coping with Cyber-Victimization

Students were asked to imagine that they had been a victim of cyberbullying. They received a list of twelve potential coping strategies (partly adapted from Riebel et al., 2009). For each of these strategies they had to indicate the probability of using this strategy on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = “definitely not” to 5 = “definitely”. In order to find a meaningful factor solution we ran an exploratory factor analysis across all classes and across all three questionnaires. One item had to be excluded because it did not rate significantly on any dimension. The final solution has four meaningful dimensions (see Table 1).

Table 1. The results of the exploratory factor analysis regarding coping strategies

	Factor 1 withdrawal	Factor 1 technical	Factor 2 retaliation	Factor 3 proactive
I change my account.	.66			
I switch off my computer.	.63			
I try to avoid him.	.56			
I report him to the ISP.		.78		
I block him in the application.		.72		
I insult him.			.92	
I bully him.			.67	
I threaten to beat him up.			.61	
I report the incident to an adult.				.70
I go to the police.				.43
I ask him to stop.				.27
Cronbach's Alpha	.64	.72	.71	.49

Note. Exploratory factor analysis with principal axis factor extraction and oblique rotation; this solution explains 49.84 % of variance. Factor loadings < .25 are not reported in this table. ISP = Internet Service Provider.

The reliability of the factors “withdrawal”, “technical”, and “retaliation” was acceptable (Cronbach's $\alpha > .60$). The reliability of the factor “proactive” was unacceptably low, therefore the results regarding this factor have to be interpreted with due caution.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results across the Whole Sample

Across all three classes approximately 20 % of students were classified as cyber-targets and between 13-16 % as cyber-perpetrators (see Table 2). Furthermore, on average students

initially (pre) reported they would use proactive, withdrawal and technical coping, but were not likely to use retaliation coping.

Table 2. Descriptives of the dependent variables across all classes

	pre	post	follow-up
cyber-target	<i>n</i> = 17 (19.50 %)	-	<i>n</i> = 18 (20.90 %)
cyber-perpetrator	<i>n</i> = 14 (16.10 %)	-	<i>n</i> = 11 (12.60 %)
withdrawal coping*	3.31 (1.07)	3.42 (.98)	3.32 (1.08)
technical coping*	3.15 (1.13)	3.76 (1.17)	3.63 (1.25)
retaliation coping*	1.52 (.67)	1.67 (.86)	1.77 (.93)
proactive coping*	3.34 (.84)	3.47 (.84)	3.33 (.91)
self-rated achievement**	-	4.43 (.70)	4.21 (1.03)

Note. All descriptive reported in this table are computed across all experimental groups unless otherwise indicated (*n* = 87). The columns indicate different questionnaires at different times of treatment (pre, post, and follow-up). * In these rows the mean and standard deviations (in brackets) are given, all on scales from 1 = “definitely not” to 5 = “definitely”. **In this row the mean and standard deviations (in brackets) of students’ answers to the question “I have learned a lot in the anti-cyberbullying program.” with the answer options 1 = “is not true at all” to 5 = “is definitely true” are given. Only students in the two treatment groups answered this question (*n* = 58).

The general pattern did not change over time, but at the follow-up questionnaire students most strongly indicated they would use technical coping, followed by proactive and withdrawal coping (see Table 2). Furthermore, students in the treatment classes reported that they learned a lot from the prevention program Surf-Fair (see Table 2). These means were significantly higher than the neutral midpoint of the scale (= 3) at the time of post-treatment ($t(57) = 15.49$, $p < .001$) and at the time of follow-up ($t(56) = 8.87$, $p < .001$).

Effects of the Cyberbullying Prevention Program Surf-Fair

Cyber Incident Prevalence

To determine if the (different doses of the) cyberbullying prevention program Surf-Fair had effects on the prevalence of cyber incidents, we computed two binomial logistic regressions (method: enter), one for cyber-target prevalence and one for cyber-perpetrator prevalence. The respective prevalence at the follow-up-questionnaire was the criterion, the respective prevalence at the pre-questionnaire and the dummy-coded treatment groups (CG, EX90, and EX180) were the predictors.

For cyber-target prevalence, the regression model is significantly superior to the default model and it explains 35 % of variance. Both, the cyber-target prevalence indicated by the pre-questionnaire and the treatment groups were significant predictors, with the comparison between the control group (CG) and the group with the long treatment (EX180) being significant as well (see Table 3). The prevalence of cyber target incidents increased in the

control group (CG), stayed approximately the same in the short treatment group (EX90), and decreased in the long treatment group (EX180; see Figure 1).

Table 3. Logistic regression analysis regarding cyber-target prevalence (follow-up)

Predictor	β	SE β	Wald X^2	df	p	e^{β} (odds ratio)
constant	-2.461	.521	22.291	1	.000	.085
cyber-target (pre)	2.503	.800	9.796	1	.002	12.214
treatment (TR)			7.808	2	.020	
TR (1) (CG vs. EX180)	-2.122	.785	7.307	1	.007	.120
TR (2) (CG vs. EX90)	.743	.499	2.213	1	.137	2.101

Note. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .350$. Regression model: $X^2(3) = 21.881$, $p < .001$.

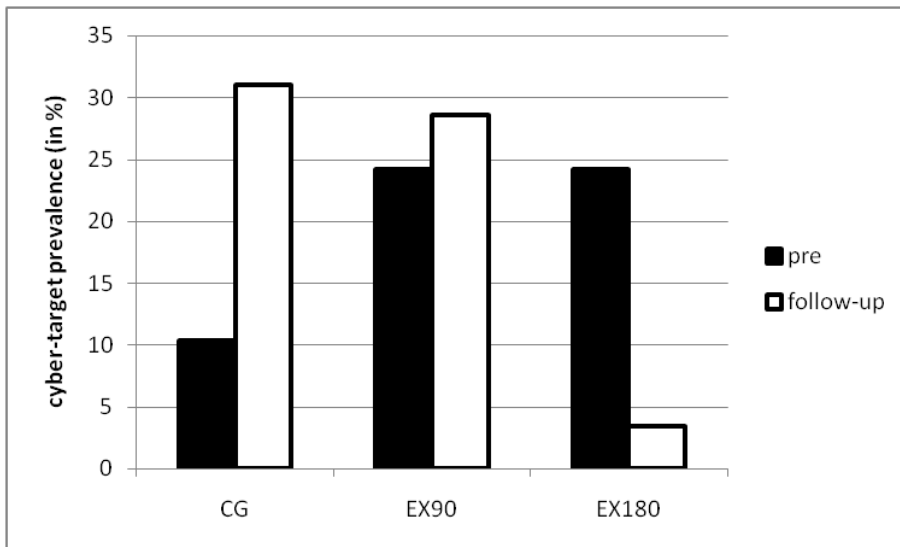


Figure 1. Cyber-target prevalence by treatment group (X-axis) and measurement time (black and white columns).

For cyber-perpetrator prevalence, the regression model is significantly superior to the default model and it explains 41 % of variance. The cyber-perpetrator prevalence indicated by the pre-questionnaire is a significant predictor; furthermore, the comparison between the control group (CG) and the group with the long treatment (EX180) is significant (see Table 4).

The prevalence of cyber perpetrator incidents increased in the control group (CG), stayed the same in the short treatment group (EX90), and decreased in the long treatment group (EX180; see Figure 2).

Table 4. Logistic regression analysis regarding cyber-perpetrator prevalence (follow-up)

Predictor	β	SE β	Wald X^2	df	p	e^{β} (odds ratio)
constant	-3.271	.626	27.326	1	.000	.038
cyber-perpetrator (pre)	3.244	.859	14.260	1	.000	25.636
treatment (TR)			3.951	2	.139	
TR (1) (CG vs. EX180)	-1.604	.813	3.893	1	.048	.201
TR (2) (CG vs. EX90)	.835	.571	2.141	1	.143	2.305

Note. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .411$. Regression model: $X^2(3) = 21.447$, $p < .001$.

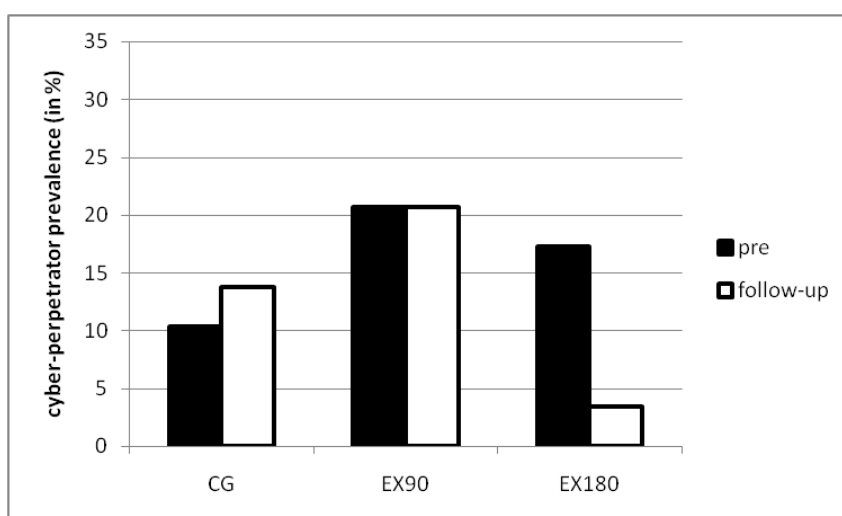


Figure 2. Cyber-perpetrator prevalence by treatment group (X-axis) and measurement time (black and white columns).

Coping with Cyber-Victimization

To determine if the (different doses of the) cyberbullying prevention program Surf-Fair had effects on the propensity to use different kinds of coping strategies in case of cyber-victimization we computed repeated-measure ANOVAs with the three questionnaires as the within-subject repeated-measure factor (pre, post, and follow-up) and the three treatment groups as between-subject factor (CG, EX90, and EX180). We computed separate ANOVAS for different dimensions of coping (withdrawal, technical, retaliation, and proactive).

We found no significant main or interaction effects for the coping strategies of withdrawal or proactive coping. The propensity to use these strategies did not change significantly over time and did not significantly differ between treatment groups.

For technical coping we found a significant main effect of the repeated-measure factor ($F(2, 80) = 12.739$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .242$) and a significant main effect of the treatment ($F(2, 81) = 4.876$, $p = .010$, $\eta_p^2 = .107$); however, we did not find a significant interaction ($F(4, 162) = 1.015$, $p = .401$). The propensity to use this strategy increased significantly from before (pre)

to after (post) the treatment and it also increased with higher doses of treatment ($CG < EX90 < EX180$; see Figure 3).

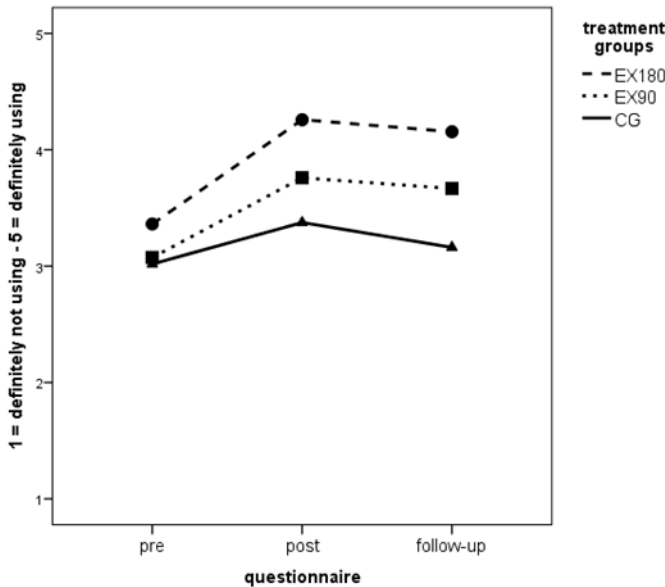


Figure 3. Propensity to use technical coping by measurement time (X-axis; main effect) and by treatment group (different lines; main effect).

For the retaliation coping strategy we found a significant main effect of the repeated-measure factor ($F(2, 80) = 6.249, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .135$), but no significant main effect of the treatment ($F(2, 81) = 2.310, p = .106$) and no significant interaction ($F(4, 162) = 1.431, p = .226$). The propensity to use this strategy increased significantly from before (pre) to after (post) the treatment. Plotting the different treatment groups (without Figure) indicates that students in the long treatment class (EX180) reported equally likely use of this strategy across time, but students in the control (CG) and short treatment (EX90) class reported more likely use of this strategy at later points of time.

Self-Rated Achievement

To determine if the (different doses of the) cyberbullying prevention program Surf-Fair had effects on students' self-rated achievement we computed a repeated-measure ANOVA with the two questionnaires after the treatment as the within-subject repeated-measure factor (post and follow-up) and the three treatment groups as between-subject factor (CG, EX90, and EX180).

We found a significant main effect of the treatment ($F(1, 55) = 4.699, p = .035, \eta_p^2 = .079$), but no significant effect of the repeated-measure factor ($F(1, 55) = 3.521, p = .066$) and no significant interaction ($F(1, 55) = .001, p = .974$). Students in the long treatment class (EX180) consistently evaluated their achievement more positively (post: $M = .64, SD = .49$; follow-up: $M = 4.43, SD = .84$) than students in the short treatment class (EX90: post: $M = 4.21, SD = .82$; follow-up: $M = 4.00, SD = 1.17$).

CONCLUSION

The Effectiveness of Surf-Fair

We confirmed our first hypothesis that (1) Surf-Fair reduces the prevalence of negative cyber incidents. The prevalence of negative cyber incidents approximately two months after the treatment was significantly predicted by the treatment groups. For cyber-target and cyber-perpetrator incidents, the contrast between the control group and the long treatment group was significant. While the prevalence of negative cyber incidents increased in the control group, it stayed approximately on the same level in the short treatment group and decreased in the long treatment group. These effects appear to be related to the dose of treatment: More treatment was associated with more pronounced effects. However, we also consider the short treatment a (partial) success because we did not observe an increase of negative cyber incidents as seen in the control group. Against the backdrop of the mixed effects regarding conventional anti-bullying programs, these results can be evaluated as excellent.

We partly confirmed and had to partly reject our second hypothesis that (2) Surf-Fair enhances the propensity of using adequate coping strategies (proactive and technical strategies) and it reduces the propensity of using inadequate coping strategies (retaliation and withdrawal) in case of cyber-victimization. We found affirmative results for technical coping, contradictory results for retaliation coping, and no significant effects regarding proactive coping or withdrawal. First, we have to consider that students do not seem to share our categorization of adequate and inadequate coping strategies. Across all classes, students report a high propensity of using proactive, technical, and withdrawal strategies and a low propensity of using retaliation strategies. Students seem to consider withdrawal a productive strategy. One potential explanation might be that students applied an inclusive definition of cyberbullying, including single negative cyber incidents. In such cases, withdrawal might be a productive strategy. We might not have found significant effects regarding withdrawal because students' opinions might not have been systematically refuted by Surf-Fair exercises. One reason for not finding any effect for proactive coping might be this factor's low reliability. The factor consists of three diverse items, namely "tell an adult", "go to the police", and "tell to stop". These facets might not have been equally addressed by Surf-Fair. For retaliation we found a significant main effect of time. Across all classes students were more likely to use retaliation after the treatment than before. Even though the treatment had no significant effect, we know that the increase of retaliation is especially due to the control class, followed by the short treatment class. One potential explanation is that it is very easy to retaliate in cyberspace. If adolescents are cyber-victimized and do not effectively regulate their emotions, revenge might seem like a productive and satisfying solution (see Polzer, Stodt, and Brand, 2011). For technical coping we found main effects of time and treatment. After the treatment students reported a higher propensity of using technical coping strategies in case of cyber-victimization. This effect was dependent on the dose of treatment; more treatment resulted in higher likelihood of using technical coping. This effect is in line with our hypothesis.

We confirmed our third hypothesis that (3) Students evaluate their learning gain from Surf-Fair positively. Furthermore, this effect was dependent on the dose of treatment; more treatment resulted in higher self-rated achievement.

To summarize (Pieschl and Urbasik, 2013), these results demonstrate that students evaluate their learning gain from Surf-Fair very positively, that students are more likely to use technical coping strategies after participating in Surf-Fair, and most importantly that students were less likely to be involved in negative cyber incidents after participating in Surf-Fair. This shows that even short programs exclusively focusing on cyberbullying can be effective.

Limitations, Theoretical and Practical Implications

The evaluation study presented in this chapter (Pieschl and Urbasik, 2013) is only an exploratory study regarding the effectiveness of Surf-Fair. There are several limitations. This study has a relatively small sample size and the sample was drawn from a German grammar school, the highest academic track in the three-tier German school system. Additionally, not all Surf-Fair exercises were implemented and we did not test for the effects of specific exercises. Therefore, we do not know if these results can be transferred to other populations or other compositions of Surf-Fair. Furthermore, the sample was not randomly distributed to the experimental groups – the study is a quasi-experiment. Consequently, a number of potential confounding variables might have biased the final results. These disadvantages of field research are partly compensated by its advantages. For example, we investigated an ecologically valid sample of students in the target context. Surf-Fair was developed for implementation in 5-7th grade classrooms. The only deviation from the manual was that the second author administered Surf-Fair instead of the teachers themselves.

Despite these limitations these results have several implications (Pieschl and Urbasik, 2013). On the theoretical side these results imply that cyberbullying has cyber-specific characteristics that can be adequate starting points for effective prevention. Surf-Fair exclusively addresses cyberbullying and its foundation is predominantly based on media literacy rather than conventional bullying. The presented results show that such a program can be effective. However, conventional anti-bullying programs like KiVa also can cause a reduction of cyberbullying (Salmivalli et al., 2011). Together, these results imply that there might indeed be a large intersection of conventional bullying and cyberbullying – but also unique characteristics of both kinds of bullying. Tackling the problem of cyberbullying from both or from either of these directions seems promising (Pieschl and Porsch, 2013; Pieschl and Urbasik, 2013).

There are also several practical implications for schools, especially for countries such as Germany where schools can self-select any anti-(cyber-)bullying policy or program (Pieschl and Porsch, 2012, 2013; Pieschl and Urbasik, 2013). At the current state of research it is impossible to give final evidence-based advice to schools. Only a few evaluation studies have been published about the effectiveness of prevention and intervention programs against cyberbullying. These results indicate that programs with a wide range of theoretical backgrounds can potentially reduce cyberbullying and that the effectiveness of cyberbullying prevention programs can be systematically evaluated (see above). First, schools should select programs with empirical indicators of their effectiveness. However, more practical consideration regarding feasibility and fit are also important such as: Who will administer the treatment (teachers vs. professionals)? How much (teaching) time can be spent on the treatment? What are the predominant problems in the specific school or youth group, a general lack of social competence or cyberbullying? Secondly, schools should select programs that fit

their specific problems and are feasible in their specific context. Programs such as Surf-Fair can only be successful if students already possess a certain level of social competence and if face-to-face problems are not the main reason for cyberbullying. Programs against conventional bullying should take precedence wherever necessary. If these programs do not explicitly address the cyber-specific aspects of cyberbullying, we recommend complementary programs such as Surf-Fair. Even such very short media literacy interventions can have significant effects.

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Chapter 67

WHAT CAN HIGH SCHOOLS DO TO PREVENT CYBER BULLYING?

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ABSTRACT

This chapter addresses three central questions relevant to school-based cyber bullying prevention programs for high schools. The first question is whether and how cyber bullying differs from traditional bullying behavior among teenagers. With ongoing increases in youths' use of electronic and Internet-based technology to communicate socially, cyber bullying has emerged as a new form of peer aggression and bullying behavior (Raskauskas and Stoltz, 2007). However, what is less clear is whether it is a new and distinct "form" of bullying or whether it is simply social bullying in cyber space. The second question is whether schools have the authority and responsibility to prevent behavior that occurs off-campus (Willard, 2007a), a concern that raises important legal issues and implications for prevention. The third question speaks to the central theme of the chapter, that is, what can high schools do to prevent cyber bullying? To the extent that cyber bullying is similar to other forms of bullying, programs to prevent bullying among adolescents should be equally effective in preventing cyber bullying.

To address this question, we will review current programming for high school aged youth. Additionally, data from a larger study of bullying behaviors are used to examine the prevalence of cyber bullying as well as the effects of different bullying prevention approaches on levels of cyber bullying and victimization in 14 U.S. high schools during a two-year period. We will conclude this chapter by discussing potential future directions for programs and policies aimed at preventing cyber bullying in high school populations.

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, Internet and electronic social communication have increased substantially among high-school aged youth worldwide. Studies have shown high and growing levels of use among teenagers in the United States (Lenhart, Purcell, Smith, and Zickuhr, 2010), Canada (Li, 2008), the United Kingdom (Slonje and Smith, 2008), Australia (Cross et al., 2009), East Asia (Jung, Kim, Lin, and Cheong, 2005), and the Netherlands (van den Eijnden, Meerkerk, Vermulst, Spijkerman, and Engels, 2008). On the one hand, social interactions in cyberspace can afford youth new opportunities for positive social engagement, including friendship, social expression, and social support (Gross, 2004; Snakenborg, Van Acker, and Gable, 2011). On the other hand, electronic communication can also provide a venue for negative and harmful social interactions. Of particular concern is cyber bullying, defined as repeated acts of aggression intended to harm, exclude, or embarrass others delivered through mobile phone or Internet-based technologies, such as through e-mail, chat rooms, blogs, social networking sites, and instant and/or text messaging (Patchin and Hinduja, 2006; Williams and Guerra, 2007).

Prevalence rates for cyber bullying and victimization among youth vary across studies. For example, Juvonen and Gross (2008) found that 72% of U.S. adolescents reported experiencing cyber victimization at least once in their lifetime when it was defined as someone “saying mean things” over the Internet. Other studies with adolescent samples have reported rates ranging from approximately 10% (Williams and Guerra, 2007) to 50% (Raskauskas and Stoltz, 2007) of youth who have been victims of cyber bullying over the past year. Across studies, findings suggest that 20% to 40% of youth experience cyber victimization (Tokunaga, 2010). These rates are similar to or slightly less than those reported in large-scale studies of youth involvement in non-electronic, “traditional” forms of physical and verbal bullying or victimization (Nansel et al., 2001; Ybarra, Boyd, Korchmaros, and Oppenheim, 2012).

Cyber bullying has been associated with a range of negative psychosocial outcomes, particularly for victims (Snakenborg et al., 2011; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004a; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004b). For example, youth who report being victims of cyber bullying are significantly more likely than non-victims to concurrently report depressive symptomatology, social anxiety, lower levels of self-esteem, and harassing others online themselves (Tokunaga, 2010). Cyber victimization has been related to emotional distress, anger, and sadness (Patchin and Hinduja, 2006; Topçu, Erdur-Barker, and Capa-Aydin, 2008; Ybarra, 2004). In some cases, the consequences are life-altering, such as in the recent cases of teen suicide stemming from repeated online harassment and victimization (Tokunaga, 2010).

Given the increased use of electronic communication among youth, relatively high rates of cyber bullying, and potentially devastating consequences for victims, there has been a surge of interest in how to best prevent cyber bullying during the teenage years. A related issue is what institutions or agencies should be the primary venue for preventive interventions. Schools are an obvious choice because teenagers spend a considerable amount of time there (Juvonen and Gross, 2008; Mason, 2008). However, because cyber bullying primarily occurs in out-of-school contexts, there is concern about schools’ authority to intervene (Willard, 2007a).

This chapter addresses three issues related to preventing cyber bullying in high schools. First, we consider whether and how cyber bullying differs from traditional forms of bullying. A central question is whether it is a new and distinct form of bullying, or whether it is simply social bullying in cyberspace. Next, we discuss whether high schools have the authority and

responsibility to prevent behavior that occurs off-campus. This raises important legal issues, including schools' ability to regulate free speech, their role in regulating non-school behavior, and their responsibility to provide a safe environment for students by addressing behaviors that may compromise student safety (Snakenborg et al., 2011; Willard, 2007a).

Third, we review what high schools can do to prevent cyber bullying. To the extent that cyber bullying is the same as other forms of bullying and shares common risk factors, programs to prevent bullying among adolescents should be equally effective in preventing cyber bullying. We review high school bullying prevention programs, focusing on programs that have examined the impact of general bullying prevention efforts on cyber bullying or have targeted cyber bullying specifically. Additionally, we present original data from a large-scale bullying prevention study in 14 U.S. high schools (Williams and Guerra, 2007). We conclude by discussing future directions for programs and policies aimed at preventing cyber bullying in high schools.

IS CYBER BULLYING A DISTINCT FORM OF BULLYING?

Definitions of bullying typically include repeated acts of aggression intended to harm others that involve a real or perceived power imbalance (Olweus, 1993). In the case of cyber bullying, the intent to harm others is clear, and a power imbalance may be inferred based on the "power" of electronic media to reach beyond a small group of youth. Although cyber bullying does not directly cause physical harm, it can include a threat of harm. In most cases, it is similar to indirect forms of bullying such as gossiping, excluding others, or saying mean things behind someone's back (Chibbaro, 2007; Underwood and Rosen, 2010).

What differentiates cyber bullying from non-electronic forms is the means by which it occurs—by definition it is bullying delivered through mobile phone or Internet-based technologies, such as through e-mail, chat rooms, blogs, social networking sites, and instant and/or text messaging (Patchin and Hinduja, 2006). This creates a multitude of options and diversity of forms. It may occur through individual or combined modes of communication (e-mail, instant message, chat room, blog posts, social networking profile, text or picture message, etc.) and through various methods or types of victimization, such as outing and trickery (tricking someone into disclosing personal information and then telling others), happy slapping (video recording and sharing acts of physical aggression), and masquerading or impersonating others (Willard, 2007b).

Cyber bullying also eliminates direct confrontation of victims. Given that cyber bullies are not engaging in face-to-face interactions with their victims, they may be removed from the impact of their actions on victims (e.g., emotional cues and distress), which in turn may have a disinhibiting effect that increases bullying (Hinduja and Patchin, 2008). The anonymity that comes with electronic communication also can amplify behavioral disinhibition (Underwood and Rosen, 2010; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004b). As a result of this anonymity, cyber bullies may experience fewer social consequences, such as disapproval and/or punishment (Willard, 2007a).

Cyber victims also are more readily accessible than victims of traditional bullying behavior (Patchin and Hinduja, 2008; Tokunaga, 2010). Victimization can occur at any hour of the day, across a variety of contexts, so that victims may be harassed even when at home—unlike many

forms of traditional bullying. Victims are less likely to report this “hidden” form of bullying. For example, Juvonen and Gross (2008) found that 90% of youth between the ages of 12 and 17 said that they would not tell adults about cyber bullying, with younger teens (ages 12-14) being more likely to say that they do not report instances to parents for fear of losing Internet privileges.

Although cyber bullying appears to be a distinct form of bullying, it is unclear whether prevention programs for general bullying still can be effective. An important question is whether the causes and correlates of bullying and victimization differ between cyber bullying and general bullying. In terms of age trends, both cyber bullying and traditional bullying increase significantly in middle school (Tokunaga, 2010). However, whereas traditional bullying decreases in high school, some studies have demonstrated that cyber bullying appears to increase (Hinduja and Patchin, 2008; Raskauskas and Stoltz, 2007; Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004a). Unlike traditional bullying, with males being more likely to engage in direct, physical bullying and females being more likely to use indirect (social or relational) bullying, cyberbullying seems to be equally divided between males and females (Nansel et al., 2001; Tokunkaga, 2010).

Still, youth who engage in traditional bullying are more likely to engage in cyber bullying—cyber bullying and victimization are highly correlated with other forms of bullying and victimization during adolescence (Gradinger, Strohmeier, and Spiel, 2009; Jose, Kljakovic, Scheib, and Notter, 2012; Wang, Iannotti, and Nansel, 2009). Cyber bullying perpetration and victimization also appear to share risk and protective factors with more traditional forms of bullying throughout childhood and adolescence (Hemphill et al., 2012; Juvonen and Gross, 2008; Williams and Guerra, 2007). This suggests that at least some common psychological and contextual underpinnings can be targeted by broad-based and comprehensive preventive interventions, although it may be necessary to additionally address the unique dynamics of cyber bullying for adolescents.

DO SCHOOLS HAVE THE AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY TO INTERVENE?

There is a general consensus that schools should act to regulate cyber bullying behavior through laws, policies, and practices (Juvonen and Gross, 2008; Mason, 2008; Raskauskas and Stoltz, 2007; Snakenborg et al., 2011). However, because cyber bullying typically occurs outside of school grounds, this is not a simple task (Draa and Sydney, 2009). Schools’ authority to regulate students’ off-campus freedom of speech and behavior, as well as their responsibility for the safety of their students, present important issues that have been raised in the context of school-based cyber bullying prevention. *Authority* refers to the legally justified right to impose formal discipline. *Responsibility* refers to the legal obligation of the schools to protect students (Willard, 2007a), although it remains unclear as to whether schools can be held responsible for cyber bullying that occurs between students when the actions are committed outside of school, on a student’s private computer.

The most frequently used legal standard is the *Tinker* standard (drawn from *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*, 1969), which holds that school officials have the legal authority to respond to off-campus student speech if that speech has caused, or could

cause, a substantial disruption on campus or interfere with the rights of students to receive an education and/or remain safe (Willard, 2010). Other legal proceedings have upheld this standard, but its application to specific cyber bullying cases may be difficult, as the effects of materials posted on the Internet or exchanged between students may vary substantially in the extent to which different situations or cases of cyber bullying disrupt on-campus learning or the school climate. For example, Mason (2008) has reviewed several recent legal cases that have come to different resolutions with regard to the regulation of off-campus speech and its impact on the school setting, sometimes ruling in the offending students' favor (e.g., *Killion v. Franklin Regular District*, 2001). Although a specific review of recent U.S. case law is outside the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that in cases of school authority to intervene, schools must provide ample evidence that the cyber bullying case in question disrupts daily school learning and students' perceptions of the school climate, and in some situations involves threats against a specific person (Mason, 2008).

There is a growing body of research to support this position. Studies have found that victims who are cyber bullied are more likely to retaliate at school (Juvonen and Gross, 2008). Other studies have demonstrated that students who are bullied at school are more likely to be a victim of cyber bullying off-campus (e.g., Hinduja and Patchin, 2008), indicating a bidirectional relationship between on- and off-campus traditional and cyber bullying behavior. Cyber bullying also has been found to have serious consequences on youths' general school-based functioning. Victims of cyber bullying have been found to report increased academic problems in their school-related achievement (Beran and Li, 2007), higher rates of truancy (Katzner, Fetschenhauer, and Belschack, 2009), and feelings that school is an unsafe place (Varjas, Henrich, and Meyers, 2009).

Beran and Li (2007) and Patchin and Hinduja (2006) suggest that observed declines in academic functioning might be attributed to poor concentration and higher levels of stress as a result of cyber victimization experiences, emphasizing the relationship between out-of-school cyber bullying and in-school consequences. Other studies have also demonstrated substantial school-based risks associated with off-campus cyber bullying. For example, Ybarra, Diener-West, and Leaf (2007) found that students who were harassed by others online were eight times more likely than non-harassed peers to concurrently carry a weapon to school, and were also more likely to skip school and report more school disciplinary problems.

As a result of growing concerns around cyber safety and the issue of schools' responsibility to intervene, school districts in the U.S. have developed a range of prevention and intervention strategies to address cyber (as well as other) bullying behaviors. The Protecting Children in the 21st Century Act, passed by the U.S. Congress in 2008 and including legislation pertaining to cyber bullying protection, has been an impetus for state-by-state legislation related to this issue, although some states had specific legislation as early as 2006 (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010; Snakenborg et al., 2011).

Currently, of the 50 U.S. states, 34 have enacted legislation in an attempt to regulate and control cyber bullying and cyber threats in schools. These laws contain provisions for school districts to control the impact of cyber bullying in learning environments. States that do not contain specific cyber bullying legislation (Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Indiana, Maine, Montana, North Dakota, Utah, and Wisconsin) do have comprehensive bullying or anti-harassment statutes that include harassment by electronic methods. The remaining 7 states (Hawaii, Louisiana, Missouri, Ohio, South Dakota, Texas, and Vermont) have pending

legislation that include cyber bullying within the broad definition of bullying, meaning school districts must adopt policies for the prevention of and education about all forms of bullying.

School personnel in the U.S. and elsewhere should be aware of their district policies and current legislation related to cyber bullying behavior (Draa and Sydney, 2009; Mason, 2008). Further, disciplinary actions related to cyber bullying—whether on or off campus—should be handled carefully, as some efforts may result in greater harm to the students being targeted. Asking for legal guidance is recommended in such cases, as is education for students, teachers, and staff about cyber bullying policies and school-based practices (Kowalski and Limber, 2007). An equally important strategy is to develop broad-based bullying prevention programs for teenagers that are effective in preventing cyber bullying.

INTERVENTIONS TO PREVENT CYBER BULLYING IN HIGH SCHOOL

Given the high degree of overlap between cyber and more traditional forms of bullying, existing school-based bullying prevention programs may be applicable to cyber bullying prevention. However, the majority of bullying prevention and other relevant school-based aggression prevention programs have been primarily developed for and evaluated with elementary or middle school youth, with few programs designed specifically for adolescents (Guerra and Leidy, 2008; Smith, 2010).

Meta-analytic reviews of traditional anti-bullying programs over the last decade have revealed equivocal findings for both program outcomes and the impact of participant age on program effectiveness. Several reviews of school-wide bullying prevention programs have found limited effectiveness, particularly for older youth. For example, Smith, Schneider, Smith, and Ananiadou (2004) reviewed 14 published school-wide bullying program outcome studies and Merrell, Guelder, Ross, and Isava (2008) reviewed 16 published studies. The majority of programs in these reviews were found to have little to no statistically significant effects on self-reports of bullying and victimization, and no differential effects by age of program participants.

In contrast, a more recent meta-analysis by Farrington and Ttofi (2009) in the *Campbell Systematic Reviews* included 44 published and unpublished bullying prevention program evaluations and demonstrated that overall, anti-bullying programs were associated with an average decrease of 20-23% in bullying and 17-20% in victimization. Programs that were more intensive and included parent components, classroom management and disciplinary methods, school-wide policies against bullying, and increased playground supervision had greater reductions in bullying behavior, whereas programs that contained video components, cooperative group work, and disciplinary methods were associated with greater reductions in victimization. Relative to other countries, programs implemented in Norway or Europe showed greater effects compared to programs implemented in Canada and the U.S. Programs seemed to be more effective for children ages 11 and older, although analyses comparing youth in early (11-14) versus late (15-18) adolescence were not included in the review. In general there are fewer program for high school aged youth, and studies that have been conducted show that program effects decline for the older adolescent age group (Smith, 2010).

Most evaluations of traditional anti-bullying programs included in these reviews do not specifically target cyber bullying or measure impact on these behaviors. In part, this is due to the predominance of programs for elementary school children. Given that cyber bullying does

increase during adolescence, beginning with the early adolescent (middle school) years, it is useful to review programs for middle school youth that may be particularly relevant for preventing cyber bullying and/or have specifically examined program impact on this behavior. We focus on four bullying prevention programs that are widely used in schools, have been recommended for cyber bullying prevention (Mason, 2008; Olweus, 2012; Snakenborg et al., 2011), and have been tested among middle school and/or high school youth. These are: (a) the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program; (b) Bully-Proofing Your Schools; (c) the Build Respect: Stop Bullying program; and (d) the KiVa Anti-bullying Program.

The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP) is one of the most well-known and widely disseminated bullying prevention programs. The OBPP aims to reduce and prevent bullying through improving the larger school climate, including implementing school rules and consequences around bullying behavior and providing interventions at the whole-school, classroom, individual, and community levels that target interpersonal problem-solving and peer relations (Olweus and Limber, 2010; Olweus, Limber, and Mihalic, 1999). In a recent comprehensive review of quasi-experimental outcome studies in Norway and the U.S., Olweus and Limber (2010) concluded that there is robust evidence for the effectiveness of the OBPP in reducing Norwegian youths' levels of bullying and victimization for elementary school students, but less evidence for effectiveness in the U.S. In non-U.S. samples, program effects have been found for early adolescents in middle school, although U.S.-based studies have not replicated these findings. In general, program effects in the U.S. have been particularly weak among middle and high school age youth (Bauer, Lozano, and Rivara, 2007; Evers, Prochanska, Van Marter, Johnson, and Prochanska, 2007). Although the program also has no published findings on cyber bullying reduction, Olweus (2012) has suggested that the use of evidence-based programing to target traditional bullying should also impact cyber bullying.

Another current school-wide bullying prevention strategy is Bully-Proofing Your Schools (BPYS) (Mason, 2008). BPYS is based upon the OBPP principles. It emphasizes bringing about changes in school climate and norms around bullying behavior through the implementation of school rules and consequences related to bullying (Menard, Grottpeter, Gianola, and O'Neal, 2008). Several experimental and quasi-experimental studies of BPYS in the U.S. demonstrated positive effects of the program on discipline and behavior at the elementary school level (Berkey, Keyes, and Longhurst, 2001; Epstein, Plog, and Porter, 1999), but again, these studies did not show effects for older youth.

The Build Respect, Stop Bullying program is one of few current programs tested among older high school students. Evers, Prochanska, Van Marter, Johnson, and Prochanska (2007) implemented a "transtheoretically-based, tailored" adaptation of this curriculum using three, 30-minute computerized sessions during the school year, along with additional materials about bullying that were provided to staff and parents. The program was tailored according to students' stage of change based on a transtheoretical change model; this model involved decision-making and reinforcement processes designed to assist youth in changing their bullying roles, or behavior (as bully, victim, or bystander). The computerized sessions consisted of text and video testimonials related to bullying and victimization. A sample of 12 middle and 13 high schools were matched and randomized into treatment and control groups, with a total of 1,237 youth in grades 6 through 8 and 1,215 youth in grades 9 through 11 participating in the study. Pre- to posttest analyses revealed a significant reduction at both the middle and high school levels in students reporting bullying and victimization. Although this study did not examine cyber bullying outcomes and has yet to be replicated elsewhere, the computer-based

platform could be promising when applied to cyber bullying prevention for high school students.

The KiVa Anti-bullying Program is one of few school-wide programs that has published effects on cyber bullying outcomes. Developed and evaluated in Finland, “kiva” means “nice” in Finnish and is also an acronym for “Kiusaamista Vastan,” an expression that translates to “against bullying” (Salmivalli, Kärnä, and Poskiparta, 2010). KiVa is grounded in social-cognitive theory, and is based upon research into aggressive children’s social status and the idea that bullying is a whole-group behavior (i.e., bullying contains several participant roles and involves bystander behavior). Consistent with other large-scale bullying programs, the KiVa intervention components are at the school-wide, classroom, and individual level. The components are also developmentally adapted for children ages 7-9, 10-12, and 13-15.

At the universal, or school-wide level, the program aims to increase awareness about bullying as a group process, to promote empathy toward victims, and to teach children how to support victims in bullying situations through classroom-based and school wide initiatives such as increased adult supervision and posters reminding students about bullying policies (Salmivalli et al., 2010). This universal level also contains a computer game for elementary school youth that is modeled upon the classroom lessons and interactively tests knowledge about program-related skills (Kärnä, Voeten, Little, Poskiparta, Kaljonen, et al., 2011). At the individual level, cases of bullying are handled by school staff through discussions between the bully and the victim, and through an intervention designed to increase interactions between the victimized child and more prosocial peers.

A randomized controlled trial of KiVa across 78 middle schools in Finland (grades 4 to 6) with a sample of 8,237 students demonstrated that involvement in the KiVa program was associated with decreased levels of bullying and victimization (Kärnä, Voeten, Little, Poskiparta, Kaljonen, et al., 2011), including reductions in cyber victimization (Salmivalli, Kärnä, and Poskiparta, 2011). This study demonstrated that the KiVa program, which was not specifically targeted at or adapted for cyber bullying, was also effective in reducing cyber bullying at the middle school level. Although this specific study focused on younger children, the overall program has demonstrated effects in a non-randomized trial that included high school youth (Kärnä, Voeten, Little, Poskiparta, Alanen, et al., 2011), making KiVa a promising option for future school-based cyber bullying prevention.

THE PRESENT STUDY

To further test the effectiveness of traditional bullying prevention programs on cyber bullying and cyber victimization among older adolescents in high schools, we report findings from a large-scale, 3-year evaluation of anti-bullying programs in 14 U.S. high schools conducted between 2005 and 2008 in the state of Colorado. Because all schools participating in the study implemented a comprehensive anti-bullying program (i.e., there is no control condition), we are limited to comparing the effectiveness of different types of programs on cyber bullying and victimization outcomes. We also present data on the prevalence of cyber bullying and victimization at the high school level.

METHOD

Overview

Data for the current chapter were collected as part of a larger study, The Bullying Prevention Initiative (BPI), funded by The Colorado Trust, a private, Denver-based grant-making foundation. The BPI provided funding for the implementation of bullying prevention programming in 78 schools, evenly divided between urban and rural settings, across 40 of Colorado's 64 counties. A pretest-posttest survey design was used to collect data from youth in grades 5 (elementary school), 8 (middle school), and 11 (high school) during the fall and spring of 3 academic years (2005-2006, 2006-2007, and 2007-2008). Schools were provided the opportunity to implement a variety of different bullying prevention programs beginning in the second year of the study (2006-2007), which included the OBPP and BPYS, described above. Findings on the prevalence and correlates of both traditional and cyber bullying for the full sample during years 2005-2007 are reported elsewhere (Guerra, Williams, and Sadek; 2011; Williams and Guerra, 2007, 2011). Analyses examining the effects of bullying prevention programming on bullying for this sample have not been previously published. Data reported in this chapter are limited to the high school students in the sample, and include program effects on cyber bullying outcomes.

Participants

A total of 1,276 high school students in grade 11 from 14 different schools (6 rural; 7 urban) participated in the present study from 2006 through 2008. Participants were evenly divided between males (50.7%) and females (49.3%). A majority of the high school subjects self-identified as White, non-Hispanic (57.9%), followed by Hispanic or Latino (33%), or as members of other racial/ethnic groups (9.1% total, consisting of: 2.9% other; 2.3% bi- or multi-racial; 1.5% Native American; 1.5% Asian/Pacific Islander; and 0.9% African American).

Procedures

Data collection procedures for this and the larger sample are detailed elsewhere (e.g., Guerra et al., 2011; Williams and Guerra, 2007, 2011). Briefly, parental consent and participant assent were obtained for all subjects in the current sample in compliance with all relevant Institutional Review Board policies. As mentioned above, data for the present study were collected during the fall and spring for the 2006-2007 and 2007-2008 school years and bullying prevention programs were implemented over this two-year period, beginning in the fall of 2006. Because empirical results were found to be the same during each of the two years of the present study, results from the 2006-2007 and 2007-2008 years were collapsed in the following ways to create a larger high school sample. Prevalence rates for traditional and cyber bullying and victimization are collapsed and reported for the fall of 2006 and 2007. A pretest-posttest design was used to examine the effects of the type of prevention program implemented in the high schools (see below) by collapsing students' reports from the fall of 2006 and 2007 as the pretest

data and the spring of 2007 and 2008 as the posttest data. Similar methods have been used in other studies of these data (e.g., Williams and Guerra, 2007, 2011).

Measures

Traditional and cyber bullying perpetration. Different types of bullying perpetration were measured with four items adapted from Espelage, Holt, and Henkel (2003). Physical bullying was measured by an item that asked whether students “pushed, shoved, tripped, or picked fights with students”; verbal bullying was measured by an item that asked whether students “teased or said mean things to certain students”; social or relational bullying was measured by an item that asked whether students “spread rumors about some students”; and cyber bullying was measured by an item that asked whether students “told lies about some students through email or instant messaging.” Youth were asked whether they had engaged in this behavior “since the school year began” and responses were coded on a 4-point scale ranging from 1-*never*, 2-*one or more times*, 3- *several times*, to 4-*a lot*. Although these items are thought to reference distinct forms of bullying, when the four items are combined they form a reliable bullying perpetration composite measure (Cronbach’s alpha at pretest = .73). Consistent with previous research using these indicators of bullying, the distributions of these items were highly skewed, with a high concentration of participants reporting that they had never perpetrated these types of bullying behaviors. Consequently, each of the four items was dichotomized so that comparisons could be made between participants reporting no perpetration of bullying behavior (a score of 1) and those reporting one or more instances of bullying perpetration (a score of 2-4).

Traditional and cyber victimization. Four items tapping physical, verbal, relational, and cyber victimization were adapted from a victimization scale by Espelage et al. (2003). These items asked whether they had experienced the following over the last school year: “A student or group of students pushed, shoved, tripped, or picked fights with me” (physical victimization); “a student or group of students teased or said mean things to me” (verbal victimization); “a student or group of students spread rumors about me” (social or relational victimization); “a student or group of students told lies about me through email or instant message” (cyber victimization). Responses were coded on a 4-point scale ranging from 1-*never*, 2-*one or more times*, 3- *several times*, to 4-*a lot*, and then dichotomized in the method described above due to the skewed distribution of students reporting no victimization on each of the four items. When combined, these items form a reliable composite measure (Cronbach’s alpha = .84).

Bullying prevention programs. Schools reported the name of their chosen bullying prevention curriculum implemented during the 2006-2007 and 2007-2008 school years. In the larger sample consisting of elementary, middle, and high schools, a majority of schools used either the OBPP or BPYS, both of which were dummy coded with “other” programs (a mix of interventions) as the reference group. In the high school sample, no schools utilized OBPP. However, 5 of the 14 schools used BPYS, with the 9 remaining schools all using a range of different prevention programs. In the current study, participants in schools using BPYS were given a code of 1, whereas participants in schools reporting the use of any other program were given a code of 0, so that effects of a current bullying prevention program designed for younger youth (BPYS; see above section) could be tested against other prevention program efforts.

RESULTS

Analyses focused on (a) examining the prevalence of cyber bullying and victimization relative to traditional bullying and victimization in high schools, and (b) testing the effectiveness of different prevention programs on cyber bullying outcomes. However, as observations related to program effects on cyber bullying outcomes in the study were nested within participants and schools, a condition which typically calls for multi-level modeling, initial 3-level unconditional models were created using Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM; Raudenbush, Bryk, Cheong, Congdon, and du Toit, 2011). Three level models included a within persons level, a between persons level, and a between schools level. Results from these models demonstrated that school site accounted for little of the variance in cyber bullying perpetration and victimization outcomes. Given the small amount of variance in cyber bullying accounted for at the between-school level, multi-level modeling was not utilized in any of the subsequent analyses, and all data were collapsed at the individual level and analyzed using Stata version 12.1 (StataCorp, 2011) with standard errors adjusted to account for clustering within schools. Missing data were handled through pairwise deletion, as no pretest demographics (i.e., gender, school site, race/ethnicity) or pretest cyber and traditional bullying or victimization variables were systematically related to missing data at posttest.

Prevalence of traditional and cyber bullying and victimization. Zero-order correlations were run to examine the pretest (fall 2006 and fall 2007) interrelations between physical, verbal, social or relational, and cyber bullying and victimization among high school students. Results showed that all intercorrelations were positive and statistically significant at the .01 level (see Table 1), indicating that multiple forms of both bullying and victimization co-occurred within this sample. Notably, there were moderate correlations between verbal, social, and cyber forms of victimization.

Next, the prevalence of the various forms of bullying and victimization in high schools at the beginning of each academic year within the study were examined. Table 2 shows the percentage of students who endorsed experiencing a particular form of bullying and victimization, as well as gender differences for each form, which were examined through exploratory chi-square tests for independence (with Yates Continuity Corrections). Results demonstrated that overall, cyber bullying and victimization were less prevalent than other forms of bullying, but that 17.1% of youth had perpetrated cyber bullying and 21.5% of youth reported being victimized through electronic means since the beginning of the school year (i.e., immediately prior to the collapsed fall 2006 and fall 2007 pretest data reported here).

Table 1. Zero-Order Correlations Among Pretest Bullying and Victimization Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Physical Perpetration	--						
2 Verbal Perpetration	.37**	--					
3 Social Perpetration	.18**	.25**	--				
4 Cyber Perpetration	.24**	.25**	.38**	--			
5 Physical Victimization	.28**	.22**	.13**	.12**	--		
6 Verbal Victimization	.16**	.26**	.27**	.13**	.54**	--	
7 Social Victimization	.11**	.20**	.28**	.19**	.38**	.62**	--
8 Cyber Victimization	.15**	.22**	.29**	.34**	.34**	.45**	.51**

** $p < .01$.

There were statistically significant gender differences in the proportion of boys versus girls reporting involvement across all forms of bullying perpetration and victimization. A higher percentage of boys reported perpetrating physical and verbal acts of bullying at least once in the last year, whereas more girls reported perpetrating social and cyber forms of bullying. A higher percentage of boys compared to girls reported physical victimization, but more girls than boys reported verbal, social, and cyber victimization.

Effects of prevention programs on cyber bullying and victimization. Effects of bullying prevention program were analyzed through logistic regressions. Initially, we investigated whether any school-level demographics differences were associated with choice of either the BPYS program (coded as 1; 5 schools total), or any of the other programs used (coded as 0; 9 schools total). Logistic regressions using percent of non-Hispanic White students, percent of student receiving free and reduced lunch, statewide testing scores (reading, writing, and mathematics), urban versus rural location, or student-teacher ratio predicted the binary prevention program outcome. No statistically significant demographics predictors were found, indicating that there were no systematic differences in choice of prevention program according to these school-level demographics variables.

We then examined the effects of BPYS versus other prevention programs on both cyber bullying perpetration and victimization following program implementation, which was the spring of 2007 and spring of 2008 data collection periods collapsed into one posttest time point. Logistic regressions predicting each cyber bullying outcome (bullying perpetration and victimization) were performed, using prevention program as the primary predictor, while controlling for pretest score on the outcome variable, gender, and race/ethnicity. Although preliminary HLM analyses demonstrated that school site accounted for only a small proportion of the variance in the cyber bullying outcome variables, in these analyses we corrected the standard errors for clustering at the school site, similar to procedures used in other studies (e.g., Salmivalli et al., 2011).

Table 2. Prevalence of Different Forms of Bullying and Victimization, and Gender Differences, at Pretest

	Overall	Boys	Girls		
	(%)	(%)	(%)	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Physical Perpetration	25.5	32.6	18.6	30.14	<.001
Verbal Perpetration	57.9	61.2	54.7	5.28	.02
Social Perpetration	22.7	17.8	27.5	15.51	<.001
Cyber Perpetration	17.1	14.7	19.3	4.11	.04
Physical Victimization	31.3	34.4	28.4	4.77	.03
Verbal Victimization	43.9	40.5	47.1	4.91	.03
Social Victimization	43.7	32.4	54.4	56.96	<.001
Cyber Victimization	21.5	15.5	27.2	22.57	<.001

Note. Chi-square statistics are reported with a continuity correction for a 2 by 2 table.

Results are shown in Table 3. The logistic regression for cyber perpetration revealed no statistically significant reductions in this behavior according to prevention program used. Similarly, no results were found for cyber victimization. Findings indicate that use of the BPYS program had no differential effect on cyber bullying or victimization relative to other programs that were implemented in the high schools.

As a result of these null findings, we then examined whether, on average, there was a change in percentage of pretest-to-posttest data for cyber bullying outcomes across schools for the total sample. Percentage calculations showed that both cyber bullying perpetration and victimization increased on average, to 17.5% of the posttest sample reporting cyber bullying perpetration at least once since the beginning of the school year (compared to 17.1% at pretest) and 23.1% of the sample reporting increases in cyber victimization during this period (compared to 21.5% at pretest).

Because the logistic regression model predicting posttest cyber bullying revealed an increased likelihood for cyber bullying perpetration by *males* at posttest (Table 3; $b = .74$, Odds Ratio = 2.11, $p < .001$), unlike the chi-square tests at pretest, we examined gender differences in both cyber bullying perpetration and victimization outcomes at posttest using chi-square tests of independence, with Yates Continuity Corrections.

Table 3. Logistic Regression Results for Cyber Bullying and Victimization Outcomes

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	Odds Ratio	95% CI
Cyber Perpetration Model					
Prevention Program	0.39	0.26	.12	1.48	0.89 – 2.46
Pretest Cyber Perpetration	1.81	0.15	<.001	6.14	4.50 – 8.36
Gender	0.74	0.19	<.001	2.11	1.43 – 3.09
Race	-0.43	0.25	.09	0.65	0.39 – 1.06
Cyber Victimization Model					
Prevention Program	-0.06	0.27	.82	0.93	0.55 – 1.61
Pretest Cyber Victimization	1.56	0.18	<.001	4.76	3.35 – 6.77
Gender	0.20	0.13	.14	1.22	0.95 – 1.58
Race	0.07	0.25	.75	0.93	0.57 – 1.50

Note. Standard errors were adjusted to account for clustering within school site.

Results were in contrast to pretest results, and showed that a greater percentage of males (21.1%) relative to females (14.4%) reported cyber perpetration since the beginning of the school year, $\chi^2(1, n = 812) = 5.892, p = .012$. However, there were no significant gender differences in the proportion of males versus females reporting cyber victimization at posttest, $\chi^2(1, n = 812) = 0.001, p = .969$. These stand in contrast to pretest results, as greater proportion of females reported cyber bullying and victimization relative to males in the pretest data.

DISCUSSION AND LIMITATIONS

This study examined the prevalence rates, gender differences, and impact of school-based prevention program efforts on high school youth in Colorado. Exploratory analyses revealed that cyber bullying and cyber victimization at the beginning of each of the two school years were significantly and positively correlated, and were also positively and statistically significantly correlated with all other forms of traditional bullying (physical, verbal, and social or relational). These findings are similar to previous studies showing a high degree of overlap or correlation between cyber and other forms of bullying behaviors (e.g., Grading et al., 2009;

Wang et al., 2009). Pretest prevalence rates of cyber bullying perpetration (17.1%) and victimization (21.5%) were somewhat lower than traditional bullying behaviors. However, these percentages were within the common range for cyber bullying and victimization across multiple studies (20% to 40%; Tokunaga, 2010). Notably, these percentages are higher than those reported for youth studied in the first wave of the larger BPI study (Williams and Guerra, 2007).

Gender differences for traditional bullying and victimization types were mostly consistent with previous large-scale research (e.g., Nansel et al., 2001), with more boys reporting physical and verbal bullying perpetration and physical victimization, and more girls reporting social perpetration and social and verbal victimization. However, at pretest, a higher proportion of girls were found to report both cyber bullying perpetration and victimization, whereas a higher proportion of boys reported cyber perpetration at posttest, with no gender differences in cyber victimization at pretest.

On average, both cyber bullying and victimization increased at posttest (to 17.5% and 23.1%) in the total sample, with pretest levels of cyber bullying and victimization significantly predicting these outcomes at posttest. In this regard, prevention program implementation did not significantly impact cyber bullying and victimization rates when the BPYS program was compared to a range of other programs used at the high school level. These findings suggest that current school-based prevention programs for high school youth in the U.S. are not effective in preventing cyber bullying. Still, it is important to note that this study was not a controlled effectiveness trial of a specific intervention and did not include a no-treatment control group.

The measures used are also brief, self-report indicators of bullying and victimization. Future research should utilize multi-informant measures with several items to capture the different types of bullying, particularly in the case of cyber bullying and victimization, given the large number of means through which cyber bullying and victimization may occur.

CONCLUSION: FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR PREVENTING CYBER BULLYING IN HIGH SCHOOLS

Given the limited effectiveness of traditional anti-bullying programs for high school students, and particularly for preventing cyber bullying, it may be necessary to develop programs that (a) specifically target cyber bullying, and (b) identify and impact the causes and correlates of bullying and cyber bullying among adolescents.

In terms of specifically targeted anti-cyber bullying programs, several programs have been developed. These include: (a) The i-SAFE Internet Safety Program (i-SAFE, n.d.) for grades kindergarten through 12; (b) Net Smartz (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2011) for youth up to age 17; and (c) Cyber Bullying: A Prevention Curriculum for Grades 6 Through 12 (Kowalski and Agatston, 2008). These programs offer general information on Internet safety for youth, educators, and parents, as well as more specific information regarding how to identify and appropriately respond to instances of cyber bullying behavior.

For example, the i-SAFE program modules for high school-aged youth contain lessons about protecting one's personal information, how to identify online predators, and the legal or school-based consequences of cyber bullying, whereas the Cyber Bullying curriculum

developed by Kowalski and Agatston (2008) for middle and high school youth includes sessions about creating a more positive cyber space, in addition to educational components related to cyber bullying identification and response techniques. Lessons in these curricula typically are designed for school-based delivery by teachers or other school personnel using interactive scripts for discussion, student activities, and web or video vignettes to facilitate learning (Mason, 2008; Snakenborg et al., 2011).

Although these curricula may be easily integrated into existing school-based prevention programming (Mason, 2008), empirical evaluations of these programs are rare, especially for high school youth. Initial studies suggest that these programs are effective in increasing youths' knowledge of Internet safety in elementary and middle school, although no direct impact on cyber bullying and victimization has been found. Mishna, Cook, Saini, Wu, and McFadden (2009) concluded that changes in knowledge may not be sufficient to reduce cyber bullying perpetration and victimization. In sum, although these cyber-specific programs are promising in their scope and applicability to school-based cyber bullying prevention, more research is needed to determine the effectiveness of these programs, especially for youth in high school.

A particular challenge for high school anti-bullying programs is to understand more fully the dynamics of bullying and victimization across the adolescent years. Qualitative findings from the Colorado BPI study suggest that bullying shifts from a focus on dominance hierarchies in elementary and middle school to competition for sexual partners during high school, and that it becomes an important form of "entertainment" or something to do (Guerra et al., 2011). Cyber bullying can provide an instant and powerful venue for "bringing someone down" (particularly among girls) by insulting, belittling, or circulating explicit and damaging photos and information about someone. The dynamics of school climate, teacher-student interactions, and other school-based conditions may be less relevant for teenage cyber bullying than the dynamics of romantic relationships and social networks. Future anti-bullying programs may need to consider how these shifting relationships impact efforts to prevent both traditional and cyber bullying among high school youth.

APPENDIX A

Author Autobiographies

Ariel A. Williamson, M.A., is a doctoral student in the Clinical Science program at the University of Delaware. She is interested in the implementation and dissemination of intervention programs for adolescent aggressive behavior problems in school, community, and juvenile justice settings.

Beatriz Lucas-Molina, Ph.D., is an associate professor in the department of Educational Sciences at La Rioja University in Spain. Her research interests include bullying and peer harassment in primary and secondary education, school-based violence prevention programs, and family interventions to reduce risk behaviors in children and adolescents.

Nancy G. Guerra, Ed.D., is Professor of Psychology, Associate Provost for International Programs, and Director of the Institute for Global Studies at the University of Delaware. She has published over 100 articles and chapters focused on prevention of aggression and

bullying among children and youth. She currently is the editor of the *Journal of Research on Adolescence* and was a previous associate editor of *Child Development*.

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Chapter 68

PROGRESS AND LIMITATIONS IN THE MEASUREMENT OF CYBERBULLYING

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ABSTRACT

To date, the measurement of cyberbullying has been approached inconsistently throughout the research literature. In addition to the myriad of approaches to its measurement, there remains no agreement on a universal definition of cyberbullying. This creates further challenges for its measurement for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is difficult to measure a phenomenon that cannot be easily defined. Secondly, no widely accepted definition within the research literature leads to the development of measures used only in their respective researchers' studies, and finally meaningful cross-study comparisons are problematic. Furthermore, accurately measuring cyberbullying is not only important for empirical research, but also for those working with real life manifestations of this issue across various clinical and educational settings. There appears to be a number of specific problems regarding the measurement of cyberbullying. These include inconsistencies in the measurement of prevalence rates which arise from problems with the construction of questions and problems with the response options provided in cyberbullying measures. Another feature of the measurement of cyberbullying that has varied across published studies is the duration of reference time periods over which participants are asked to recall incidents of cyberbullying. Furthermore, throughout the research on cyberbullying there is a lack of reported psychometric data on respective measures and related constructs. Lastly, differences remain in the specific cyberbullying behaviours or environments that are measured and the overall purpose of the cyberbullying measurement tool. Despite the fact that many of these concerns have been outlined in the traditional bullying measurement research, similar problems remain evident in the cyberbullying measurement research. This book chapter will review each of the above problem areas with a focus on how these issues have developed, affected the measurement of both cyberbullying perpetration and victimisation, and on alternative strategies to the measurement of cyberbullying.

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INTRODUCTION

The power of technology is ubiquitous. Every day, new information and communication technologies are implemented by corporations, government agencies, and individuals thereby changing the way people communicate with one another. The positive aspects of internet and mobile technologies should be recognised such as mass mobilisation, real-time communication and widespread access to information, resources and databases. Yet, such technologies also provide new opportunities for individuals to abuse the privilege of technology and use it as a vehicle to harass and bully.

The Definition of Cyberbullying

This type of behaviour has been labelled cyberbullying, a term which implies the extension of traditional bullying to cyberspace. However, different studies have defined cyberbullying in various ways and the lack of consensus has been described as “the most pervasive methodological drawback in cyberbullying research” (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 283). Furthermore, there are a number of different terms that appear to be describing a similar construct and are used interchangeably throughout the literature, without clear definitional differences. This creates a problem of poor discrimination as well as a lack of definitional clarity. Such terms include online harassment (Finkelhor, Mitchell, and Wolak, 2000; Ybarra, Diener-West, and Leaf, 2007), cyberstalking (Alexy, Burgess, Baker, and Smoyak, 2005; Finn, 2004), internet bullying (Williams and Guerra, 2007), cyber aggression (Pornari and Wood, 2010), and electronic bullying (Kowalski and Limber, 2007). Cyberbullying, however, is the most frequently used term in the peer-reviewed research literature and will be used throughout this chapter.

Just as there are many different labels for the same type of behaviour, the label ‘cyberbullying’ is associated with multiple definitions. A selection of cyberbullying definitions are provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Definitions of Cyberbullying Used in the Research Literature

Author (Year)	Cyberbullying Definition
Patchin and Hinduja (2006)	Wilful and repeated harm inflicted through the medium of electronic text (p.152)
Agatston, Kowalski and Limber (2007)	Using the internet to harass and bully others (p. S59)
Kowalski and Limber, 2007	Bullying through e-mail, instant messaging, in a chat room, on a website, or through digital messages or images sent to a cell phone (p. 22)
Smith et al. (2008)	An aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself (p. 376)
Slonje and Smith (2008)	Aggression which occurs through modern technological devices, and specifically mobile phones or the internet (p. 147)

The definition of cyberbullying in the research literature has more often consisted of extending the ‘traditional’ definition of bullying to include bullying that occurs in electronic media. In doing so, the most common definitions of cyberbullying include the three basic components of traditional bullying, namely: repetition, power imbalance and deliberate intent to harm (Olweus, 1993). Therefore, in order for behaviour to be considered cyberbullying, it must meet these specific definitional criteria. Smith et al.’s (2008) definition incorporated the three components of traditional bullying and has been used in multiple studies as the preferred cyberbullying definition (Menesini and Nocentini, 2009). Other researchers have detailed specific technologies in their definition as can be seen in Kowalski and Limber’s (2007) definition. This approach to definitional clarity is problematic because future technological advancements will reduce the relevance of these specific modalities of communication. Therefore, there remains a need for an enduring definition that will not require continual revisitation as new technologies emerge (Spears, Slee, Owens, and Johnson, 2009). Moreover, other research has defined cyberbullying very broadly without mentioning specific definitional criteria (e.g., Agatston et al.’s (2007) and Slonje and Smith’s (2008) definitions).

McGrath (2009) noted that due to the variety of “personal, disciplinary, cultural and linguistic factors” (p. 21-22) involved, it may be doubtful that one all inclusive definition can be agreed upon. So, if a unified definition of cyberbullying cannot be constructed, there remains a strong need to create avenues to measure this phenomenon that enable easy comparisons across studies. This means that researchers need to construct measurement tools that produce results that, regardless of the specific definitional criteria measured, can be easily interpreted.

The Measurement of Cyberbullying

The problem with inconsistent definitions is further confounded by an inconsistent approach to measurement. To date, this has been the case with the measurement of cyberbullying throughout the research literature. Without a uniform approach to its measurement, comparisons between the current cyberbullying studies have been extremely difficult.

The main goal of cyberbullying measurement thus far has been to gather prevalence rates of both cyberbullying victimisation and perpetration. This has been assessed mostly by self-report questionnaires and surveys (Tynes, Rose, and Williams, 2010). Others research has included focus groups (Agatston, Kowalski, and Limber, 2007) or interviews (Tynes, 2007) to measure cyberbullying. Some researchers have used traditional bullying questionnaires as a basis for the construction of a measure of cyberbullying (Revised Peer Experiences Questionnaire or the Olweus Bullying Questionnaire) and added cyberbullying related questions onto the already validated measure (Dempsey, Sulkowski, Nichols, and Storch, 2009; Wang, Iannotti, and Nansel, 2009 respectively). Other researchers have developed their own instrument to measure cyberbullying without providing a rationale for its necessity or superiority over others (Tokunaga, 2010); and often without reporting any reliability or validity statistics. There appears to be a number of specific problems regarding the measurement of cyberbullying. These include inconsistencies in the measurement of prevalence rates which arise from problems with the construction of questions and problems with the response options provided for respondents in cyberbullying measures. Another feature of the measurement of cyberbullying that has varied across published studies is the duration of reference time periods

over which participants are asked to recall incidents of cyberbullying. Furthermore, throughout the research on cyberbullying there is a lack of reported psychometric data on measures of cyberbullying and its related constructs. Lastly, differences remain in the sampled cyberbullying behaviours or environments that are measured and the overall purpose of the cyberbullying measurement tool. The above measurement problems have resulted in prevalence rates of cyberbullying victimisation that range from 6% (Finkelhor et al., 2000) to 72% (Juvonen and Gross, 2008) across multiple age groups.

PURPOSE OF THE CYBERBULLYING MEASUREMENT TOOL

As previously mentioned, cyberbullying questionnaires and surveys have overwhelmingly been constructed to measure the prevalence rates of both victimisation and perpetration only. Furthermore, given that research into cyberbullying and its associated constructs is in its early stages, questionnaires typically include a vast number of questions that tackle multiple areas regarding the cyberbullying phenomenon. For example, Li (2010) constructed the 'Cyberbullying Student Survey' and included questions on the respondents' experience of cyberbullying (including reaction, actions after the cyberbullying incident, who the respondent told, and who helped the respondent). The questionnaire also assessed the reasons why individuals become cyberbullies, attitudes towards cyberbullying, witnessing cyberbullying (including frequency of being a witness, response to witnessing cyberbullying, whether or not the respondent would report the cyberbullying and to whom), and opinions about cyberbullying (including how to stop cyberbullying and how the respondent interacts within the online world). Similarly, Smith et al.'s (2008) 'Cyberbullying Questionnaire' included 88 multiple choice questions and two open-ended questions regarding frequency of cyberbullying and victimisation, whether the respondent had heard about cyberbullying occurring in school, the perceived impact of cyberbullying compared to traditional bullying, the number and gender of the cyberbullies, the length of victimisation, who the victim had told, and what the respondent thought may stop cyberbullying from occurring.

Including such extensive and broad data collection should be considered a logical first step in the measurement of a new phenomenon. However, due to the continued development of measurement tools solely used for the respective authors' current study, there has not been a strong enough progression towards the development of tools that identify key variables within cyberbullying to measure. This is a disadvantage for measurement because there is a strong need to systematically investigate variables such as the causes or impact of cyberbullying in greater depth, rather than continuing to follow a purely exploratory approach. Future measurement tools should thoroughly consider the intended outcome(s) of the overall research so that the respective measurement tool can be constructed in such a way as to measure only the variables that are of direct interest instead of including any unnecessary variables.

DIFFERENCES IN MEASURED TECHNOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS AND BEHAVIOURS

There are a vast number of forms that cyberbullying can take and environments in which it can occur due to the proliferation and increased sophistication of Computer Mediated

Communication (CMC) and mobile technology. Incidents of cyberbullying traverse numerous media such as e-mail, instant messaging, chat rooms, discussion boards, social networking sites, blogs, text messages, or pictures and videos sent to mobile phones or uploaded onto the internet (Kowlaski, Limber and Agatston, 2008). Hinduja and Patchin (2008) also referred to online environments such as voting/rating websites where visitors to the website can rate a person's physical attractiveness, virtual worlds which are simulated environments where individuals communicate through their avatars, and online gaming.

Arguably these environments should all be included in the measurement of cyberbullying. However, this is not necessarily that straightforward as within each environment, a number of different behaviours can occur. Willard (2007) identified eight forms of cyberbullying including flaming, harassment, denigration, impersonation, outing, trickery, exclusion and cyberstalking. While useful, this taxonomy still does not reference the specific behaviours that occur within CMC and mobile phone technology. Therefore, using these forms when measuring cyberbullying may mean there will be a lack of detail regarding the specific behaviours that technology users engage in. Therefore, another concern regarding previous attempts at developing a measure of cyberbullying has been that measures do not take all forms or behaviours into account (Smith, 2011). More specifically, many questionnaires only ask about certain modalities of CMC such as instant messaging or sending/receiving pictures. For example, Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) asked participants two questions about their experience of online harassment that referred to "rude or nasty comments on the internet" or "using the internet to harass or embarrass someone with whom the youth was mad" (p. 323). Dempsey et al. (2009) made reference to four different cyberbullying behaviours: text message/instant message, comments on web space walls, threatening emails and the creation of a mean or embarrassing web page about the individual. Such research subsequently reports prevalence rates that are only based on a small number of behaviours that fall under the cyberbullying umbrella. Others have sampled a much broader range of behaviours (Akbulut, Sahin and Eristi, 2010; Calvete et al., 2010; Topcu, Erdur-Baker, and Capa-Aydin, 2008) or environments where cyberbullying can occur (Kowalski and Limber, 2007). The difference between these two approaches has an impact not only on prevalence rates, but also on the conceptualisation of cyberbullying in research, educational settings and the media.

The difficulty of including all cyberbullying behaviours in one measurement tool is obvious considering the ever-changing technological environments that continue to become available. To allow measurement tools to keep up to date with these changes and to measure environments and behaviours that are relevant to the populations in which they are being measured, constant attention needs to be paid to the current state of technology and how it is being used. To limit the scope of this task, surveys/ questionnaires could focus solely on one technological environment (e.g., chatrooms, social networking sites) or one area of enquiry (e.g., impact of cyberbullying victimisation, coping strategies used to deal with cyberbullying victimisation). This means that measurement tools will measure each variable rigorously and in sufficient detail so that each feature of the phenomenon of cyberbullying can be understood accurately. This will subsequently aid in the development of targeted and relevant interventions for the population being assessed.

Inconsistencies in the Measurement of Prevalence Rates

As the focus of cyberbullying research has been on the prevalence rates of either victimisation or perpetration, it is important to identify the meaning of the term ‘prevalence’. Solberg and Olweus (2003) focused on the epidemiological definition of prevalence when translating prevalence into the area of traditional bullying in schools. They referred to prevalence as:

The proportion or percentage of students in a school or other meaningful unit who have been exposed to bullying/victimizing behaviour by other students with some defined frequency within a specified time period in the group of interest. (p. 240)

Solberg and Olweus (2003) noted however, that there is significant variability in prevalence rates across studies for multiple reasons, some of which defy the above definition of prevalence. These reasons include: reliance on different data sources, the presence or absence of a definition of bullying, different time frames or reference periods used, variability in response or rating categories, and the use of single items to measure prevalence versus composite scores or scales. Despite the fact that these concerns have been outlined in the traditional bullying measurement research, similar problems are evident in the cyberbullying measurement research. The elements that contribute to the reporting of inconsistent, variable prevalence rates will be discussed below.

PROBLEMS WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF QUESTIONS IN CYBERBULLYING MEASURES

Definition

In their report for the Internet Safety Technical Task Force, auspiced by the Multi-State Working Group on Social Networking of State Attorneys General of the United States, Schrock and Boyd (2008) noted that the differences in the wording used to operationalise questions in different studies may explain the wide disparity in reported cyberbullying rates. The researchers pointed out that the reported differences in cyberbullying rates are especially evident when some questionnaires included a detailed definition of cyberbullying and others did not. For example, at the beginning of his survey, Li (2010) provided a paragraph long definition of cyberbullying and then proceeded to ask participants (Grade 7-12 students), based on the definition provided, “how often have you been cyberbullied?” or “how often have you cyberbullied others?” (p.388). Other studies also provided definitions of cyberbullying referencing specific mobile phone and online behaviours and criteria to meet the definition of cyberbullying (Beran and Li, 2005; Menesini, Nocentini and Calussi, 2010; Ortega, Elipe, Mora-Merchán, Calmaestra, and Vega, 2009; Patchin and Hinduja, 2006), while others provided no extra information or definition of the construct they intended to measure (Akbulut, et al., 2010; Calvete, Orue, Estevez, Villardon and Padilla, 2010; Topcu and Erdur-Baker, 2010; Tynes et al., 2010).

There appears to be a number of concerns that arise when analysing those questionnaires which provide participants with a definition of cyberbullying as a reference point to structure their answers, and those that do not. Firstly, as previously mentioned, there is not a universal

definition of cyberbullying. Therefore, most questionnaires that do provide a definition before any ensuing questionnaire items provide different definitions. For example, the cyberbullying definition Menesini et al.'s (2010) used in their cyberbullying measurement tool clearly referred to the three pillars of the traditional bullying definition: repetition, power imbalance and intent. However, Patchin and Hinduja (2006) provided a definition of cyberbullying that highlighted the importance of repetition and intent, but did not refer to a power imbalance. Not only is the lack of consistency in presented definitional criteria a concern for future meaningful cross-study comparisons, but it also creates a challenge for the respondent to respond to the questionnaire items accurately (Tokunaga, 2010).

Furthermore, Li (2010) did not provide his participants with a definition of cyberbullying, but he did provide a list of behaviour-based experiences that were examples of cyberbullying. However, none of these experiences referred to any of the above listed essential features of a cyberbullying definition. Ybarra (2009) conducted a systematic literature review of research papers on cyberbullying published between 1999 and 2008. Of the 14 studies reviewed, half of the studies provided a definition of cyberbullying. Ybarra compared the prevalence rates of the studies that provided a definition with the studies that only provided questions that referenced behaviour-based lists of experiences (e.g., sharing embarrassing pictures, being called names by others, rumours spread by others) and found that behaviour-based lists of experiences yielded a higher prevalence rate than a definition-based measure. Furthermore, Solberg and Olweus (2003) also noted that questionnaire respondents are more likely to subjectively interpret what is meant by bullying if there is not a clear definition, subsequently affecting the prevalence rates. These concerns outlined above create significant problems with comparing the prevalence rates estimated from each study and raise a number of questions about whether a definition should be provided at all.

In order to further examine the effect of the presence of a definition of cyberbullying and the use of the word 'bully', contained in questionnaires, on prevalence rates, Ybarra, Boyd, Korchmaros and Oppenheim (2012) compared the responses of 1200 participants (6-17 year-old) randomly allocated to one of four different forms of a survey question on cyberbullying victimisation: the definition plus word 'bully' form, the definition-only form, the 'bully'-only form or neither the definition nor the word form. The bullying definition included referred to behaviours that are repeated, involve a power imbalance between perpetrator and victim and occur over time (more than once a day). Despite noting that the definition used followed on from the Olweus (1996) definition, no reference was made to intent to harm, instead creating a criterion of over time.

This new criterion essentially extended the repetition criterion to include experiences that occurred over more than just one day. This again creates another example of the specifics of a definition affecting the outcome of results. Despite this, results indicated that including the word 'bully' in the introduction text of a cyberbullying measurement tool resulted in prevalence rates that were similar whether or not the cyberbullying definition was provided.

However, questionnaires that did not include the word 'bully' in the introduction also produced similar prevalence rates regardless of whether the definition was included or not. The authors therefore concluded that the word 'bully' should be included in cyberbullying measurement tools, yet the definition may not be as useful for respondents as much as it is for researchers when deciphering whether or not they have experienced cyberbullying. Results also indicated that when provided with a list of specific examples of bullying experiences, not

including either a definition or the word ‘bully’, resulted in the highest prevalence rates of bullying.

Therefore, according to the research, when constructing a cyberbullying measurement tool, one must be aware that behaviour-based lists of experiences yield the highest prevalence rates. This means that one must remain sensitive when interpreting prevalence rates.

However, behaviour-based lists may be considered as a more objective, accurate measure of cyberbullying considering using the term ‘bully’ in measures could potentially lead to underreporting of experiences. Furthermore, the provision of a specific cyberbullying definition in the introduction text of a measurement tool may be less important for the correct classification of experiences as cyberbullying for respondents, and more central to researchers and for theoretical developments.

Single Item Versus Global Questions

Inconsistency in the construction of questionnaire items also creates a problem for the estimation of prevalence rates because, as previously mentioned, specific behavioural item measurements can yield higher prevalence rates, especially when compared to global item assessments (Gradinger, Strohmeier, and Spiel, 2010). For example, Burgess-Proctor, Patchin, and Hinduja (2009) found that 38% of 8-17-year-old females responded affirmatively to the statement “I have been bullied online”, however when asked later in the survey about their experiences with specific cyberbullying behaviours (such as being ignored by others or disrespected by others), a greater number of participants responded affirmatively (45.8% and 42.9% respectively). Such results showed that despite potentially meeting the criteria for being a victim of cyberbullying, many do not consider themselves to be a victim. The authors noted that this discrepancy also highlights a possible difference between cyberbullying and “the less insidious online harassment” (p. 11). Nevertheless, the discrepancy in the prevalence rates between global and specific item questions is noticeable and makes comparisons of prevalence rates across studies difficult.

To investigate this further, Gradinger et al. (2010) examined whether, and to what extent, such measurement methods influenced the prevalence rates of cyberbullying perpetration. The study compared prevalence rates based on one global item (e.g., “How often have you insulted or hurt other students by sending mean text messages, e-mails, videos or photos to them during the last two months?”) with frequencies from three specific behaviour based items representing victimisation and perpetration (e.g., “How often have you insulted or hurt other students by mean text messages during the last two months? How often have you insulted or hurt other students by mean videos or photos during the last two months?”). The study found that in general, when cyberbullying prevalence rates were measured using global items, lower frequencies were found compared to the specific behaviour-based items. For example, 93.7% of the whole sample ($n=1150$) reported never cyberbullying another individual when asked the global item compared to the specific item frequencies of 89.1% never cyber-calling another, 89.3% never cyber-texting another and 92.7% never sending a video/photo to another. Despite not reporting whether the differences were significant or not, the researchers concluded that the study’s participants may have had an “unclear comprehension” (p. 210) of the global construct of cyberbullying as participants may not have thought to include the specific cyberbullying behaviours under the global construct of cyberbullying. This could therefore suggest that for questionnaires to accurately assess prevalence rates, global items should not be used. However, Ybarra (2009) suggested that it may be that prevalence rates increase with specific lists of

cyberbullying behaviours because more opportunities are created for a respondent to say yes. Or there may be a problem of recall versus recognition of the outlined cyberbullying behaviours.

Another limitation of using global items only to represent the construct of cyberbullying is that no information regarding the specific cyberbullying behaviours can be collected as the prevalence questions are worded too broadly. Using broad questions to define multidimensional constructs is a problem for various reasons including unreliability of items and the inability to elicit detail (Griezel, Craven, Yeung, and Finger, 2008). For example, Hinduja and Patchin's (2010) cyberbullying offending and victimisation measures explicitly outlined the behaviours that comprised cyberbullying in the questions, e.g., "took a picture of someone and posted it online without their permission" or "received an upsetting email from someone you didn't know (not spam)" (p. 212). This approach provided the researchers with a greater opportunity to understand the phenomenon of cyberbullying from a behavioural perspective which is vital to inform subsequent interventions or education. Questionnaires or surveys must therefore consider whether or not the specific behaviours that constitute cyberbullying are of importance or whether global prevalence rates will suffice.

PROBLEMS WITH THE RESPONSE OPTIONS IN CYBERBULLYING MEASURES

Valid estimates of prevalence rates of cyberbullying have also been difficult to achieve due to the differing response options offered to participants on cyberbullying measurement tools. In a review and synthesis of cyberbullying research, Tokunaga (2010) found that cyberbullying was often measured with one or two response items with dichotomous choices (yes/no responses). For example, Li (2007) developed a questionnaire that measured both traditional and cyberbullying and provided participants with yes/no responses to the statements "I have been cyber-bullied (e.g., via email, chat room, cell phone)" and "I have cyber-bullied others" (p. 1789). Prevalence rates were simply reported as percentages based on whether the respondent had answered yes or no. Other cyberbullying prevalence rates have been collected in a similar way (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2009; Finkelhor et al., 2000; Lenhart, 2007; Wolak, Mitchell, and Finkelhor, 2007). Such response options confound the measurement of the bullying criterion repetition as yes/no responses cannot differentiate single from repeated online incidents.

Unfortunately, questionnaires that have provided more response options for participants have done so at the cost of the repetition criterion. For example, questionnaires either use frequency estimate response options such as "never, sometimes or often" (Calvete et al., 2010) or "never, once/twice, a few times, many times or almost every day" (Beran and Li, 2005), or reference periods such as "once or twice a year, a few times this year, about once every week, about a few times every week or never" (Ang and Goh, 2010). Topcu and Erdur-Baker (2010)'s Revised Cyberbullying Inventory appears to be the only measurement tool which enables the distinction between single aggressive acts and cyberbullying by providing the following response options: "never, once, twice or three times, more than three times" (p. 662). Using response items that do not clearly reflect the continuum that exists between a single aggressive act and a repetitive act, especially when repetition is referenced in the definition of

cyberbullying provided, creates a problem for the accurate conceptualisation of cyberbullying and the comparison of prevalence rates. Furthermore, actual prevalence rates may be difficult to determine when response options reference a specific number of times victimisation has occurred (Tynes et al., 2010). For example, Li (2007) provided the response options “less than 4 times, 4-10 times and over 10 times” to the statements “I have been cyber-bullied” and “I have cyber-bullied others”. Moreover, cyberbullying questionnaires have yet to distinguish between those incidents perpetrated repetitively by the same individual and incidents that may have multiple perpetrators such as different individuals disseminating photos or defamatory comments.

Grading et al. (2010) noted that the repetition criteria for a cyberbullying definition should be captured accurately in the response items provided in questionnaires. The authors focused on traditional and cyber bullies and classified them as either occasional or frequent bullies based on two cut-off scores representing the frequency of behaviours experienced in the preceding two months (lenient vs. strict). The ‘lenient’ cut-off was ‘one or two times’ and the ‘strict’ cut-off was ‘two or three times in the last two months’; placing the response option firmly in the repetition criterion threshold. As previously mentioned, this study also investigated the effect of global versus specific item measurement methods; investigating the interaction of these methods with ‘lenient’ and ‘strict’ cut-off scores. The study found that the ‘lenient’ cut-off obviously produced a higher rate of traditional and cyberbullies compared to the ‘strict’ cut-off. More specifically, when using a global item and a lenient cut-off score, 18% of respondents reported they were cyberbullies compared to 51% using specific items. When using a strict cut-off score, global items produced a 3% prevalence rate of cyberbullies compared to 13% using the specific item assessments. The authors concluded that the differences in frequencies of cyberbullies highlight the importance of the specific measurements used to gather prevalence rates for either victimisation or perpetration. Furthermore, when using strict cut-off scores for response options, the difference between the estimated frequencies from global versus specific items is more evident.

Cyberbullying measurement tools therefore need to provide response options that are sensitive not only to the repetition criterion, but they must enable the successful comparison of prevalence rates across studies internationally. Furthermore, comparisons between prevalence rates produced by cyberbullying measurement tools need to take into account both the cut-off score and whether or not specific or global items were used.

VARIETY IN THE DURATION OF TIME PERIODS IN CYBERBULLYING MEASURES

Another feature of the measurement of cyberbullying that has varied across published studies is the duration of reference time periods over which participants are asked to recall incidents of cyberbullying (David-Ferdon and Hertz, 2007). Some research has used the preceding 2 months (Kowalski and Limber, 2007; Ortega et al., 2009), the preceding 6 months (Topcu and Erdur-Baker, 2010; Ybarra, Espelage, and Mitchell, 2007; Ybarra et al., 2007), the preceding year (Tynes et al., 2010; Wolak et al., 2007) or no specified time period (Akbulut et al., 2010; Calvete et al., 2010; Li, 2010). These differences make it difficult to compare results between studies. Furthermore, age comparisons become almost impossible as different time

periods mean participants can draw on their reported experiences of cyberbullying from varying age points. For example, studies measuring the cyberbullying experiences of youth that do not specify a time period may in fact be gathering data on experiences that occurred earlier during childhood. The year that the research data was collected is also important when analysing prevalence rates. Often published results can be 3–4 years old. Considering the rapidly changing technology, this also needs to be taken into account during interpretation.

Ybarra (2009) investigated the time periods provided in 14 cyberbullying research papers (study dates ranged from 1999–2008) and found that 5 papers did not specify a time period, five used ‘ever in the past year’, two used ‘ever in the past couple of months’, one used in the ‘current school year’ and one used ‘this semester’. Ybarra found that in the sample of research papers selected for comparison, time period did not appear to have a significant effect on prevalence rates. However, Ybarra concluded that this may be the case due to the considerable variability in reported prevalence rates across the studies included in this chapter (6–72%). Either way, time periods for response options on cyberbullying measurement tools need to be taken into consideration when comparing prevalence rates and other outcome measures across studies.

INCONSISTENT REPORTING OF VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF CYBERBULLYING MEASURES

Throughout the research on cyberbullying, reporting psychometric data on measures of cyberbullying and its related constructs remains inconsistent. This could be said to have occurred due to the exploratory nature of many surveys and questionnaires developed specifically for each research article. For example, Li (2007) did not provide any psychometric data for his cyberbullying survey, but reported the frequency of responses. Tokunaga (2010) speculated on the future of cyberbullying research and surmised that the development of valid and reliable measurement tools to “improve the overall quality of research by allowing scholars from divergent perspectives the opportunity to measure constructs equitably” (p. 283) is a priority. Some researchers have attempted to address the psychometric data inconsistency by developing their own measure of cyberbullying.

Topcu and Erdur-Baker developed the Cyber Bullying Inventory after a series of face-to-face interviews and focus groups with teachers and students in Turkey. A revised version was then published in 2010 after a review of the recent literature and a further focus group of students aged 16–18 years who were recruited from Turkish schools. In the revision, both cyberbullying perpetration and cyberbullying victimisation loaded onto a single factor. Internal consistency of the victimisation and perpetration scales were $\alpha = .82$ and $.75$, respectively. Convergent validity of the inventory was conducted using the Traditional Bullying Questionnaire developed by Topcu (2008). The relationship between the questionnaires was positive and statistically significant indicating that there was a considerable overlap between those who engaged in traditional bullying and cyberbullying perpetration and those who were victims of traditional bullying and cyberbullying. The validity of this inventory across cultures has yet to be determined.

Tynes et al. (2010) developed the Online Victimization Scale (OVS) consisting of four subscales representing the construct of online victimisation using online re-embodiment theory as a theoretical foundation.

The scales were general victimisation, sexual victimisation, individual racial discrimination and vicarious racial discrimination. Two confirmatory analyses were conducted on 14-19 year old participants and both sets of analyses supported the hypothesised four-factor model for online victimisation.

To validate the OVS, several measures that have been found to be associated with traditional victimisation were used including the Profile of Mood States-Adolescents (Terry, Lane, Lane and Keohane, 1999), the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), the Perceived Stress Scale (Cohen, Kamarck and Mermelstein, 1983) and the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diner, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin, 1985). The OVS was associated with all inventories.

Another approach to providing psychometric data for cyberbullying questionnaires rather than developing a new measure of cyberbullying, is to extend a previously validated measure of traditional bullying. Griezel et al. (2008) extended the Adolescent Peer Relations Instrument – Bully and Target, to include an additional 13 items on each scale (bully and target) which measured two forms of cyberbullying (visual and text). Reliability for the higher-order cyberbullying factor was $\alpha = .88$.

Confirmatory factor analysis confirmed the five factor first-order (physical, verbal, social, visual and text) and two higher-order factor structure (traditional bullying and cyberbullying) of the new measure. The researchers based the new items on the original instrument and reported Cronbach's alpha estimates in a sample of year 7-11

Australian secondary school students for both the visual and text subscales as $\alpha = .84$ and $.8$, respectively. Despite the factor structure and internal consistency, the researchers sampled participants from only one school which may limit the generalisability of the results to all school students. One way to allow for potential generalisation of results may be to sample from a population known to utilise the particular technologies measured throughout the instrument.

Although there have been some researchers who have reported measurement psychometrics appropriately, there needs to be a greater shift towards more consistent reporting. This will encourage the repeated use of available measurement tools which will support cross-study comparisons and reduce the number of measurement tools developed solely for the collection of data in a singular study.

The Impact of Culture on the Measurement of Cyberbullying

When measuring cyberbullying, one must consider the impact of culture on its conceptualisation and experience. Multiple studies have outlined the various terms used in multiple countries across the globe to describe not only traditional bullying (e.g., Arora, 1996) but also cyberbullying (e.g., Nocentini et al., 2010). Nocentini et al. (2010) investigated the terms used by adolescents to describe cyberbullying behaviours, and whether these terms were the same across countries. Results indicated that there is not always a direct translation of the term 'bullying', and therefore 'cyberbullying', in other languages. For example, the term 'cybermobbing' was used in Germany, harassment or harassment via the internet or mobile phone in Spain, and virtual- or cyberbullying in Italy.

Menesini et al. (2012) went on to explore whether culture had an impact on the conceptualisation, or definitional criteria, of cyberbullying. Italian, Spanish, Swedish, German, Estonian and French 11-17 year-old participants were randomly allocated a series of scenarios combining the presence or absence of cyberbullying definitional criteria. Results indicated that French participants were more likely to indicate that a scenario was an example of cyberbullying. Support for the criterion of imbalance of power was generally accepted across cultures, whereas intentionality was slightly less accepted in Italy and Germany compared to the other countries' respondents. The researchers attempted to contextualise the high frequencies of cyberbullying responses by the French participants by explaining that in the same year that the data had been collected, a large campaign on school and cyber-violence took place in schools, potentially increasing their awareness of what constitutes cyberbullying.

This research indicated that culture can have an impact on the conceptualisation and experience of cyberbullying. However, there remains a strong need for further research in this area. Therefore, cultural and language differences need to be considered when developing a cyberbullying measurement tool and when interpreting the results from such a measurement tool. This is especially important when the impact of an event, such as the cyber-violence campaign in France, can influence the reporting of cyberbullying.

CONCLUSION

Moving Forward in the Measurement of Cyberbullying

The limitations of the measurement of cyberbullying victimisation and perpetration mentioned throughout this chapter are numerous. However, there has been a lot of progress in what is a new and exciting field of research. There are some simple considerations that if adopted, could aid future research progress in this area of growing significance. Put simply, researchers need to be transparent in the decisions they make when developing a cyberbullying measurement tool. Below are a series of specific points to take into account during such a process.

1. Consider the definition of cyberbullying to be used in the respective research and explicitly state the definition used and how or if each definitional criterion will be measured.
2. Choose a clear purpose for the measurement tool. Consider what variables are to be measured. Are prevalence rates important or the detailed measurement of other variables? Consider the length of the questionnaire/survey and the subsequent effect on the respondents' responses.
3. Choose what environments to measure. Considerations need to be made regarding whether the measure will focus on one CMC or mobile technology environment or behaviours across all environments.
4. Choose what behaviours to measure. Considerations need to be made regarding whether the measure will include all cyberbullying behaviours or a selection of behaviours (e.g., uploading pictures or exclusion).

5. Definition – add in introduction text or not? Consider the purpose of the presence or absence of a cyberbullying definition in the measure. More specifically, consider what definition will be used (see point 1) and which definitional criteria are included in that definition and how this may affect the responses from respondents.
6. Consider whether or not to use single or global item questions. When collecting data, the format of the questions asked needs to be carefully considered based on the required outcome(s). Single item questions produce different data and results compared to global item questions.
7. Consider the type of response options provided for respondents. For the measure to be sensitive to the repetition criterion and enable cross-study comparisons, careful consideration needs to be taken when constructing measurement response options.
8. Time frame provided – will the time frame provided over which respondents are asked to recall incidents of cyberbullying affect the overall prevalence rates? The time frame provided needs to be explicitly stated so that cross-study comparisons can take place.
9. Reliability and validity psychometrics need to be reported. The following are examples of psychometrics that should be considered, depending on the measurement tool, when piloting and validating cyberbullying measurement tools: internal consistency reliability, test-retest reliability, content validity, criterion-related validity, convergent validity, and/or discriminant validity.
10. Consider the culture of the population being measured and whether the culture will affect the interpretation of results or the construction of the measurement tool.

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Chapter 69

CHANGING THE STUDENT EXPERIENCE OF CYBERBULLYING THROUGH A CYBER-SAFETY PROGRAM

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ABSTRACT

This chapter describes the implementation of a cyber-safety program to improve conditions of online environments and behaviour in primary aged school students. It is based on a 2012 research study that examined the effectiveness of internet safety education on the knowledge and behaviour of 72 students in Grade 5 (aged 11 years), especially in respect to Cyberbullying . Data was collected in an independent school in Melbourne, Australia and consisted of a survey of the all male students before and after participating in a program about cyber-safety as well as focus group interviews using open ended questions.

The aims of the pre-treatment survey, cyber-safety intervention program and post-treatment surveys were twofold: firstly, to establish the students' understanding of issues and actual behaviour related to cyber-safety and/or Cyberbullying as a baseline and secondly, to measure the impact that the education program had on their knowledge and attitudes by comparing data gathered from the pre-and post-treatment surveys. Additional information and in-depth insights were gained from semi-structured interviews held in small groups of four to six students. It was hoped that the experience of participating in the cyber-safety program would improve students' knowledge about responsible involvement in digital environments, with a specific focus on decreasing Cyberbullying behaviour.

Results indicate that the difference in the test results is statistically significant. It is therefore concluded that a school wide educational approach to cyber safety and a school culture that reinforces beneficial and safe online experiences will create an environment that discourages Cyberbullying .

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INTRODUCTION

The affordability of computers and advancements in mobile technologies has increased internet access. Information and Communication Technology (ICT) are becoming essential for work, education, entertainment and commercial purposes. Today's young people will need to be prepared for this technology rich world, the ubiquitous nature of mobile and digital activities and their inherent risk. One of these dangers is Cyberbullying which has emerged in the late 1990's and has been rapidly growing ever since. It is impacting students' learning and well-being by causing poor academic performance, school drop-out, physical violence, substance abuse, depression and suicide. Mostly affected are students in the middle years of their schooling who are especially vulnerable as they are approaching or going through puberty. While they are dealing with hormonal changes and their developing sexuality they have to simultaneously cope with upheaval of transitioning from primary to secondary schools and settling into a new environment, friendship groups and scholastic expectations. Cyberbullying and its negative consequences creates significant concern for the school, leadership and teachers who are endeavouring to provide the most beneficial environment for their students. Zero tolerance policies for bullying, acceptable use policies for internet access and educational programs to enhance cyber safety are some of these mitigating approaches. This research study investigates the impact of one such prevention program and is placed in the context just described.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S INTERNET ACCESS AND USE

Evidence from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) in 2011 suggests that nine in ten Australian households (91%) with children have access to a home computer. Over 86 % of children accessed the internet from school and 45 % from other locations such as public libraries or internet cafes. An estimated 2.2 million Australian children (79%) aged between 5 and 11 years reported accessing the internet with usage rates similar for boys and girls. In terms of age, 60 % of 5 to 8 year old used the Internet which increased to 96 % by the time these children were between 12 and 14 years of age (ABS, 2011a).

The Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA) found that every Australian family has at least one mobile phone and most posses three mobile phones. In terms of Internet use, 96 % of children aged between 12 and 14 years spend an average of 49 minutes per day online (ACMA, 2008).

While the most popular use for the internet was for educational activities for the majority of children (85%), playing online games came second (69%) followed by one in five children (22 %) who visited or used social media sites (ABS, 2011a).

This equates to around 18 minutes spent on messaging, 15 minutes spent in online games, 11 minutes in social networking sites and five minutes on emails (ACMA, 2008).

Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United Kingdom all had relatively similar levels of household internet access ranging from 72 % to 77 % (ABS, 2011b). In the United States 93 % young people aged between 12 and 17 years have access to the internet (Cowie and Colliety, 2010).

Internet access was at 72 % for all households in 2010 as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) established in their examination of 34 countries.

Young people in the European Union spend 88 minutes per day online. The majority of these 13 to 16 year olds watched YouTube (86%), communicated online (75 %) through email, Instant messenger or on social networking sites. Almost a quarter (23 %) visited chatrooms, virtual worlds, blogged and shared files (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig and Ólafsson, 2010). A study of 347 girls (aged 11 to 19 years) in New Zealand revealed that more than a third (33.5%) did get in touch with a stranger whom they had meet online and (34.5%) did not tell their parents about it. More than half (60 %) had given out their details (name, address, phone number) or pictures. Three quarters of the girls (75%) said that they were only occasionally controlled by their parents and more than a third (37.5%) were never monitored (ISG, 2001).

Although the study in this chapter is conducted in Australia, the above data indicates that the penetration of internet access, the amount spent online and the spread of activities is similar in the rest of the developed world.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF TECHNOLOGY

Without doubt, online environments can offer enormous benefits for learning and self-exploration, opportunities to communicate with others and gain social support, enjoy cross-cultural interactions and explore one's identity. However, as young people increasing spent more time online, the risks, especially for involvement in Cyberbullying is increasing too (Mishna, Khoury-Kassabri, Gadalla and Daciuk, 2011).

Empirical studies over the last decade in Australia, Canada, the UK and the USA have indicated that unsafe online behaviour and specifically Cyberbullying among young people has increased significantly. This creates numerous concerns in terms of the emotional, social, academic and legal harm that such incidents may have on a young person's life, which in turn has developed into a major worry for governments, educational authorities, child protection agencies, parents, teachers and young people (Hanewald, 2010).

Cyberbullying peaks during early adolescence. This is a time when young people have access to the internet and mobile devices (i.e., phones, tablets), feel comfortable with technology and believe that they are anonymous while online. Cyberbullying increases during primary school as students become more proficient with technology, reaches its highest levels in middle school during a time of personal change (i.e., onset of puberty, developing sexuality) and social tension (i.e., transition to secondary school, new friendship groups) until it decreases in high school as young people gain their driving license and use that mobility, which takes them away from the computer (Li, 2006; Beale and Hall, 2007; Williams and Guerra, 2007; Snakenborg, Van Acker and Gable, 2011; Hanewald, 2012).

The steady rise of Cyberbullying might be explained by young people's misconception that they are invisible online and cannot be identified if they give themselves false or fictional names for profile on social networking sites (i.e., Sunflower, Mickey Mouse) or for their email address (i.e., Hotgirl123@hotmail.com; bestman2012@yahoo.com). This assumed anonymity frees young people to say and do anything online as they believe that there are no consequences for their unacceptable behaviour (Beale and Hall, 2007). Hiding behind a computer screen seems

to provide a protection that affords displays of aggressiveness which young people may not dare in the 'real' world.

The impact of Cyberbullying includes emotional adjustment problems, difficulties with relationship and fitting into the school environment (Campbell, 2005). Victims of Cyberbullying suffered devastating psychological effects such as high level of fear, rage, powerlessness and depression which led to a state of anxiety, loss of confidence and withdrawal from school and friends (Hoff and Mitchell, 2009). The emotional distress of being cyber bullied is often accompanied by an inability to concentrate which causes poor academic failure (Mishna, Cook, Saini, Wu and MacFadden, 2011).

The victim's torment is further exasperated by a world-wide who is witnessing the public humiliation, the permanent digital record of the embarrassment, which can be endlessly duplicated and shared online as well as the intrusion into the victim's home as Cyberbullying penetrates even a person's most private spaces. Given the proliferation of internet access and usage by young people and the potential damage, it has become a priority to ensure that efforts are made to prevent inappropriate online behaviour. There are a range of methods to protect children and young people from the dangers of the internet, which can be categorised into three large approaches: electronically, legally and educationally (Hanewald, 2008).

APPROACHES TO INTERNET SAFETY

The three major approaches to address online safety are electronically, legally and educationally and will be discussed in more detail below.

The electronic approach uses technological solution such as blocking and filtering software (e.g., Net Nanny, CYBERSitter, Cyberpatrol, McAfee, Norton, Cyber Sentinel) that prevents access to internet content that is obscene, harmful or inappropriate and blocks the posting of such materials. It not only limits young people's exposure to inappropriate online materials, it also prevents them from accessing websites that are not approved, blocks the posting of personal information online, prevents unwanted contact and may even force the closure of the browser. Additional functions include setting time limitations for online use and the tracking of online activities through the capturing of screen pictures. Schools, libraries, some internet cafes and parents in their homes have installed these software programs to ensure safe and beneficial online experience for young people. However, while blocking, filtering and parental control software can be installed on laptops and computers it cannot be used on mobile or smart phones. Although Apple has introduced restriction options on their iPad, iPhone and iPod touch, it only applies to parental control that restricts access (e.g., to Safari, YouTube, iTunes, Ping, Multiplayer Games, Adding friends in Game Center) and disables purchases of Apps. The potential for bullying through text messages or 'sexting', the sending and receiving of sexually explicit images is still given.

Technological solution such as internet blocking and filtering software may lull educators and parents into a false sense of security, assuming that children are protected from any harm. This might cause adults to cease or relax their direct supervision of any children who are using a computer or mobile device. For example, in the EU 49 % of young people have a computer in their bedroom and go online there which allows for a great deal of privacy (Livingstone, Ólafsson, and Staksrud, 2011). A computer in the family home's living room is easier for

parents to supervise than one in a child's bedroom. Likewise, computers in the school library or in a computer lab are easier to supervise by teaching staff than students' individual laptops, tablets, mobile or smart phones as these can be carried to secluded or restricted areas such as the students' washrooms. Photos taken by students in the toilets or the shower area after physical education class can be easily used for sexting or Cyberbullying if victims are unaware that they are being caught on camera in a nude or semi-nude state.

Another drawback of technological solutions is the fact that internet firewall or blocks are not as impenetrable as parents and educators may think. These software programs can be circumvented with relative ease as sixteen-year old Tom Wood from Melbourne showed. The school boy needed only 30 minutes to hack through the Australian Government's new \$ 84 million Internet porn filter (Hanewald, 2012).

The legal approach includes the use of existing as well as the introduction of new legislation to deter potential perpetrators and punished offenders. For example, in the Australian state of Queensland, a teenager was charged with possession of child exploitation materials because he had the topless photo of his 15-year old girlfriend on his phone (Hearn, 2010). The prospect of a permanent criminal record for child pornography offences might be accompanied by a prison sentence and a life time of limited career and professional prospects. Many employment sectors (education, finance, law enforcement) require a criminal records check. A prior conviction as a sex offender will automatically exclude applicants from any appointments for positions.

Pleading ignorance due to their youth and inexperience is not a sufficient excuse as 19-year old Christopher Cross from South Australia discovered. He was charged with criminal defamation after setting up a Facebook group that targeted a local police officer. Although he "...didn't realise you could get in trouble for things on the internet" he was convicted (Hunt, 2009).

The perhaps most well known incident of new legislation occurred in the USA where the "Megan Meier Cyberbullying Prevention Act" was introduced on 22 May 2008. It was in response to the suicide of 13-year old school girl Megan Meier who hanged herself after being cyber bullied through MySpace and MSN Messenger. She thought to be in an online relationship with a boy called Josh Evans. However, this was fictitious person with an invented personal profile on MySpace by the mother of one of Megan's friends. This adult pretended to be Megan's boyfriend and taunted her with nasty messages until she killed herself. Although convicted, the adult was later acquitted (Huffstutter, 2007).

Legal approaches are also limited by the jurisdiction of the respective state or nation state, whereas Cyberbullying knows no geographical boundaries and is not limited to countries and their borders.

The educational approach is usually through internet safety programs. A plethora of internet safety educational materials have appeared rapidly such as websites that educate children and parents about the dangers of the internet. There are a number of formal and informal internet safety programs in existence. Non-profit and government agencies have been delivering internet safety programs to children and parents in their communities. These attempts from state education departments, government agencies, public libraries, charitable organisations and enthusiastic individuals produced a glut of materials including websites, cyber safety days, stickers, phone help lines, posters, brochures, flyers, invited guest speakers to give presentations or conduct workshops, displaying posters, class or individual discussion

with students on cyber safety, online interactive activities, video clips with vignettes about internet safety and so on.

Schools, administrators and educators are faced with the task of keeping students safe while at school and in particular while using digital environments at school. Therefore, most schools have now included internet safety messages into their curriculum and developed internet guidelines, netiquette rules and Acceptable Use Policies (AUP). Students and often also their parents have to sign formal agreements to adhere to these school policies. Any violations of these school regulations will be punished with a loss of internet privileges, suspension or even expulsion from school. Some schools focus on their role of equipping students with a moral compass with which they will be able to navigate cyberspace safely and responsibly and therefore concentrate their efforts on developing digital citizenship in their students.

It is anticipated that the range of these activities and funding to develop and disseminate internet safety education will increase even more in the next decades to address concerns of problematic online experiences by young people. Already, a considerable number of educational and technological initiatives have been launched although the effectiveness of such endeavours is largely unproven.

Some researchers have even highlighted the lack of impact of cyber safety programs as it does not reduce young people's risky online behaviour (Campbell, 2005). For example, a Canadian study by Crombie and Trinneer (2003) measured the effectiveness of an interactive computer game for students in Grade 6 and 7, which was designed to help students develop better attitudes towards online safety and assist them in developing their own internet safety rules. Their findings indicated that the students did increase their knowledge about internet safety but the students' actual behaviour did not change significantly. Just knowing about internet safety is not enough the knowledge needs to be applied.

A Belgian study concentrated on the primary students' (Grade 4 to Grade 6) perceptions and behaviours to using the internet. Findings of 1700 children and their headmasters indicated that there were high levels of unsafe internet use at home. School-based interventions were less effective than parental control in impacting on the behaviour of children. Their results pointed at the need to give schools directions for adopting safe internet measures (Valcke, Schellens, Keer, and Gerarts, 2006).

A British study concentrated on the students' behaviour in chatrooms and whether they applied the internet safety guidelines in that environment. Findings of 1369 children aged 9 to 16 years of age indicated that they were aware of the safety guidelines for online environments but did not know how and when to apply these (O'Connell, Price and Barrow, 2004). Hence, when implementing an anti cyber-bullying program a number of factors should be considered according to Couvillon and Ilieva (2011) such as developing young people's judgement about responsible and safe conduct online, practicing and promoting appropriate behaviour while simultaneously mirroring the nature of access and connectivity. Cyber safety programs should be a sustained strategy rather than a one-off event and imbedded within a school-wide proactive approach. This includes a commitment to keeping abreast of new devices and features and other technological developments. Teachers' attitude should be underpinned by an acknowledgment that anyone can be cyber-bullied and that the effects can be highly destructive. With this in mind, the research in this chapter attempted to evaluate one such cyber safety programs, measure the impact that it has on students' behaviour and attitude and thus gains insights on its effectiveness.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The study was conducted during the first half of 2012 at an independent school for boys only in Melbourne, Australia. Most students live in the catchment area, which is characterized by middle to upper class families. The students have usually attended the local primary school within close proximity with only very few boys travelling from further away. The campus holds 605 students, with approx. 125 students enrolled in 5 classes across year level 5. The students in these classes are typically 10 to 11 years old boys. According to school demographic data, 85 % of the students in Years 5 and 6 have their own mobile phone. The school espouses a Christian ethos and has a reputation for constantly striving to improve hence already strong policies against traditional bullying are in place. The low level of physical bullying is evident in only a few incident reports per year. A restorative practice approach is part of the existing school culture.

For this study, students in Year 5 were selected as they were all new to the school and the cyber safety awareness and prevention program aims to provide a foundation for their start in this new environment. While none of the students had prior experience with the school's cyber safety awareness and prevention program, they may have participated in cyber safety activities at their previous school. Alternatively or additionally, they may have received some guidance from their parents, siblings or friends or they may even have informed themselves through the media about strategies for safe online behaviour. Hence, it was anticipated that the pre-and post-treatment reflected changes in online attitudes and behaviours directly related to the school's cyber safety awareness and prevention program. The main aim of the educational cyber safety awareness and prevention program was to develop the students' understanding of Cyberbullying and give them a range of strategies to stay safe online.

The pre-treatment survey was administered at the beginning of the 2012 school year, which is Term 1 (February to March). The cyber-safety intervention program and post-treatment took place in Term 2 (April to June) of 2012. Semi-structured interviews with small focus groups of students were held after the training program, which added qualitative data to the quantitative data sets. The 15 question of the survey were administered online (through Zoomerang Online Surveys and Polls) and taken from the High-Wire Act, Cyber Safety and the Young Interim (Joint Select Committee on Cyber Safety, 2011).

The latter decision was based on the fact that the validity and reliability of this instrument had already been established and was therefore deemed appropriate and suitable. The focus of the survey was on young people's opinions and experiences about cyber safety and their techniques to diminish online risks, specifically their rate of cyber safety awareness, the kinds of information that they share and their support networks in case of a Cyberbullying incident.

RESEARCH AIMS

For some years now, the school had implemented an age-appropriate cyber safety awareness program for all students in the middle years with the aim that they would learn about and understand the dangers of the Internet and strive to be safe online. The overall object of the cyber safety awareness program was to increase students' capacity to employ a number of strategies to protect their identity and privacy while at the same time discouraging potential

attitudes and behaviours that might lead to or have been causing Cyberbullying .However, the effectiveness of this program has not been evaluated, which means it is unclear if and how much and what kind of impact the cyber safety program has on the students' knowledge and behaviour.

The research is aiming to ascertain this factor, that is evaluate effectiveness of the internet safety program, determine any modification to increase its success and implement any needed adjustments. Hence, the fundamental research question tried to explore in what way the cyber safety program changed the students' behaviour, knowledge and attitude. It was hoped that it would contribute to a knowledge base on what works in internet safety education by establishing what information students remember from a cyber safety education programs and how they apply this knowledge into their daily online conduct.

DATA COLLECTION

At the start of the 2012 academic year, a total of 128 students were enrolled in the Year 5 cohort. Written permission for participation in the research was given by 72 families (56.2%), with 28 (21.8 %) of families actively withholding consent, a further 26 families (20.3 %) simply failed (forgot) to respond. Two written consent forms (1.5%) were filled out incorrectly, which made them invalid. The mixed method data collection consisted of a pre-and post survey, which was administered online had 15 questions and took about 10 minutes to complete. The qualitative part comprised of focus groups interviews of five to 7 questions with randomly selected students from the cohort. The sessions were held either before school or during morning recess and lunch periods and the limited time available meant that each focus group's involvement did not exceed the set 15 minutes.

The pre-treatment survey established a baseline about their knowledge and behaviour whereas the post-treatment survey indicated the impact of the cyber safety program. The actual prevention program was Cyber Quoll provided by the Australian Communication and Media Authority (ACMA) which had been developed specifically for upper primary students (Year 5 and 6). It comprises six computer-based activities to educate students about appropriate behaviour and personal online and e-security issues (e.g., avoiding viruses, recognizing predators) while equipping them with a number of strategies to make safe choices while navigating cyberspace.

The program had already been used at the school in other year levels with anecdotal reports of success by teachers. The current study aimed to provide some empirical evidence to either support or refute those claims. In addition to the quantitative data gathered through the pre-and post treatment surveys, qualitative data was collected to gain greater and more in-depth understanding.

DISCUSSION

The online survey administered prior to the intervention provides baseline data on the students' general knowledge, behaviour and attitudes in regard to online activities.

CYBERBULLYING PREVALENCE AND RESPONSE

A total of 67 students completed the survey. In terms of actually Cyberbullying during the last year, only seven students (10%) reported being cyber bullied and only 16 students (24%) had heard of somebody else who had been cyber-bullied. These findings are below those commonly found in the literature (Hanewald, 2008, 2010, 2012). Students were asked pre-treatment “When you were cyber-bullied, what did you do about it?” The majority (19) told an adult or family friend. Others (17) blocked the bully or removed the person as friend, stayed offline (10), told a friend (5), got back at them (4) or spoke to the bully (1). Only one student did nothing and six indicated ‘other’. The high response rate of 62 students’ reaction to being cyber bullied compared to only six students who actually indicated that they had been cyber bullied seems to be caused by a misread of the question with student reading ‘if’ rather than ‘when’.

STUDENTS’ KNOWLEDGE SOURCES ABOUT ONLINE SAFETY

When asked “where did you learn about safety when using the internet?” most students nominated school (pre-treatment = 55, post-treatment = 63), information found online (pre-treatment = 3, post-treatment = 11), family (pre-treatment = 42, post-treatment = 29), and friends (pre-treatment = 6, post-treatment = 6). Two students indicated that they had not learned about online safety before the treatment. This is perhaps the clearest endorsement of cyber safety programs in schools as it is the source of knowledge regarding online safety for the majority of students while family as information source came as a close second.

PERCEPTION OF ONLINE SAFETY

When asked “Have you ever felt unsafe online?” for both the pre-and post treatment survey, the majority (69%) replied that they felt safe online and only a third (31 %) had felt unsafe online both in the pre-and post treatment survey. When asked “Are you worried about your safety when you are on the internet?” there was a slight increase in concern from the pre-treatment “yes” reply of 41 students to the post-treatment “yes” reply of 51 students which might be due to greater awareness of the potential dangers of online engagement. In exploring the issue of anonymity 29 of participants (43 %) indicated that they thought to be anonymous when online while 38 students (57 %) knew that they were identifiable.

Post-treatment, the figures changed to 34 % (anonymous) and 66 % (not anonymous) respectively, showing greater awareness of the traceability of their digital footprints.

AWARENESS OF PRIVACY

Students’ awareness in regard to the privacy of some details was very high both before and after the cyber safety program. For example, there was unanimous agreement that it was not okay to give out their family’s bank details over the internet. Prior to the cyber safety program,

only one student was unsure if giving out his password for his email address was okay which changed to 'no' afterwards. For the disclosure of their physical address, four students were unsure before the prevention program but changed their minds in the post-survey and would not give it out. In terms of 'sexting', only one student would send nude or semi-nude photos to others via phone or email while another student was not sure. After the cyber safety program both students thought it was not okay to do so. When it came to posting regular photos of others online without their permission, the majority (96%) thought it was not okay before treatment, which increased to 100 % in the post treatment survey.

DISCLOSURE OF PERSONAL INFORMATION

However, there was more uncertainty in regard to the disclosure of other personal information: 17 students (25 %) were happy to put their name on the internet, eight were not sure and 42 students (63%) would not do. After the cyber safety program, the eight uncertain students decided mostly against it, thus tallying as 47 students (70%) unwilling to put their name online in the post-treatment survey. Online disclosure of students' date of birth yielded comparable findings: prior to the cyber safety program, the majority (69%) thought it to be unsafe, 15 students (22 %) thought it be acceptable while six students (9%) were not sure. In the post-treatment survey, 87 % thought it to be unsafe, only one student was unsure while eight students (12 %) still thought it was okay. Eleven students (16 %) thought it was okay to put their school's name online in the pre-treatment survey, while eight were being unsure. In the post-test there was still one student who thought it was okay to do so. One student was happy to give out his mobile phone name before and after the treatment, while three boys were unsure which changed to two boys only after treatment. While the disclosure of single items might not be a major security concern, the aggregation and cross-referencing of several items allows predators to identify and track their potential victims, which might have to be stressed to convince all students.

DISCUSSING AND DISCLOSING ONLINE SECURITY ISSUES

Students were asked if anyone in their family talked about how to stay safe when online with 66 % responding positively while 34 % were negating the question in the pre-treatment survey. Unexpectedly, this reduced to 58% and 42 % respectively. Given the articulation and permission seeking process of this study and the accompanying cyber safety program, greater discussion in the home's of the students would have been assumed. It could be speculated that a reduction in family discussions might be due to the cyber safety program as parents might reason that this issue is being taken care of in school and needs no further attention.

When asked "If you were worried about something you saw online, who could you talk to?" most students nominated their family (pre-treatment = 65, post-treatment = 63), their friends (pre-treatment = 24, post-treatment = 26), their teacher (pre-treatment = 33, post-treatment = 47), the police (pre-treatment = 26, post-treatment = 21), and administrators (pre-treatment = 13, post-treatment = 15).

STUDENTS' REFLECTIONS ON INCREASING SAFETY ONLINE

When asked “What do you think can be done to make you safer online?” most students thought that learning at school (pre-treatment = 44, post-treatment = 47) and discussing it more with family (pre-treatment = 44, post-treatment = 36) would help. A smaller number thought that internet filters would help (pre-treatment = 13, post-treatment = 21) and increased policies and their enforcement (pre-treatment = 9, post-treatment = 13). One student (pre-treatment) thought that nothing needs to be done as it is safe online, which changed to five students after treatment. When asked “What could be done about Cyberbullying ?” the majority of students suggested more policing (pre-treatment = 36, post-treatment = 42), an increase in Internet filtering (pre-treatment = 39, post-treatment = 24), the provision of safe youth centres with entertainment and recreational centres (pre-treatment = 26, post-treatment = 23), and other (pre-treatment = 18, post-treatment = 19).

STUDENTS' REFLECTIONS ON THE MOTIVATION FOR CYBERBULLYING

This multiple choice questions (10 options) allowed several answers. Most students thought that the reasons “Why do people cyber bully?” were a bad home life (pre-treatment = 34, post-treatment = 38), people looking for a fight (pre-treatment = 29, post-treatment = 32), a lack of respect for others (pre-treatment = 29, post-treatment = 38), and a dislike of people from different backgrounds (pre-treatment = 28, post-treatment = 19). Dislike of people with disabilities (pre-treatment = 19, post-treatment = 15), boredom (pre-treatment = 19, post-treatment = 25), mixing with the wrong crowd (pre-treatment = 19, post-treatment = 24), fighting over girls/ boys (pre-treatment = 13, post-treatment = 21) copy cat of news stories (pre-treatment = 6, post-treatment = 5), and other (pre-treatment = 21, post-treatment = 18) received lesser endorsements.

Overall, the Cyberbullying incidents in this study are lower than those found in the literature which would explain why the majority of students felt safe online. Before the cyber safety program, most students had already gained knowledge about safe online use from school or family members and were very aware of the need to keep personal information private. Hence, very few students were prepared to disclose personal details online, post nude or semi-nude photos of them or upload pictures of others without their prior permission. This further improved after the cyber safety program but only very slightly. Discussion of online security issues in the family home decreased after the cyber safety program, probably reflecting complacency and reasoning that the issue was handled at school. Students' ideas about ways to increase cyber safety and their thoughts on the motivation of cyber bullies changed little between pre-and post treatment.

CONCLUSION

School have a commitment to provide safe and enriching online experience for students. In preparing students for 21st century learning, there also has to be a dedication to create an

educational technology environment that promotes safe and wise internet use. Schools are therefore seeking ways to protect children from internet dangers and equip them with the skills needed to ensure beneficial online experiences. Initiatives might include the installation of internet filters and blocks, prevention and education programs for parents and/ or their children that are delivered either online or offline through face-to-face presentations, video games or interactive software (Mishna, et al. 2011).

Due to the perceived need and the significance of the problem, a plethora of programs are available but their effectiveness is not proven. Hence, this study aimed to explore the effect of a cyber-safety program. It was hoped that it would reduce probable cyber-bullying by educating students about safe and responsible online behaviour while at the same time empowering victims and bystanders of cyber-bullying to report incidents and thus deter cyber bullies.

The findings of this study, namely the online survey pre-and post treatment indicated a slight increase in students' awareness of cyber safety and slightly more caution in disclosing personal information. Most students were already practicing safe online behaviour, which seems due to knowledge gained at school and in the family home.

However, the study described in this chapter is limited by the data, which comprised only surveys and focus group interviews but not actual observations of students using the Internet. Apart from the students themselves, parents and teachers could have been involved in questionnaires, phone interviews or focus groups to corroborate a more comprehensive picture of the situation. Furthermore, the study is limited by the application of a particular intervention (Cyber Quoll). Other interventions may yield rather different results.

Another factor is gender, which is a significant element in cyber-bullying according to Li (2006). Boys are much more likely to be cyber-bullies than girls. In self-reports, males disclosed themselves at a much higher rate as bullies than females did (Li, 2006). It is therefore assumed, that a co-educational school or a girls only school would have produced significantly different results than those obtained in this boys only sample.

Nevertheless, the data showed that schools are the major source of information on cyber safety. Hence, cyber safety awareness programs should be an essential part of the curriculum. Although the pre-and post treatment difference in this study was small, the cyber safety training did have a positive effect. While most students in this Grade 5 cohort were highly aware and effective in keeping themselves safe online, the attitude and behaviour of a few students still remains a concern even after the cyber safety training program. Investigating the training resistance of those young people will be a challenge for future research.

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Chapter 70

SETTING AN AGENDA FOR FUTURE RESEARCH INTO CYBERBULLYING USING SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Cyberbullying takes place within the context of different human interactions. It is therefore not merely “individual” behavior, but also highly “social” and embedded in the surroundings. The present chapter explores how research on cyberbullying can benefit from studying this behavior as a social and group phenomenon, analyzing interactions and relationships within the relevant contexts. For this purpose, the use of social network analysis (SNA) is proposed, as a highly suited perspective and toolset to study contacts and social ties. It is able to link cyberbullying to young people’s offline, as well as their online interaction networks. This approach has proven valuable to study social processes in traditional bullying, such as status acquirement, social influence and norm adherence. Ultimately, the chapter aims to set a research agenda to further the understanding of cyberbullying in adolescents’ social contexts using a unique methodological perspective.

INTRODUCTION

According to the often cited definition by Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, Fisher, Russell and Tippet (2008), cyberbullying is "an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who

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cannot easily defend him or herself" (p. 376). Research shows that cyberbullying is a common phenomenon, especially amongst (early) adolescents.

As indicated in the definition of Smith et al. (2008), cyberbullying takes place within a relationship between two or more people. Currently, however, not much information is available about the type of relationships in which cyberbullying occurs, and the broader social context these relationships are situated in. This is remarkable, as in research on traditional bullying (and more broadly aggression), the social context has been an important research focus for several decades and has proven to be very useful for understanding this type of behavior (see e.g., Cairns, Cairns, Neckerman, Gest, and Gariépy, 1988; Ennett and Bauman, 1993; Espelage, Green, and Wasserman, 2007; O'Connell, Pepler, and Craig, 1999; Salmivalli, 2010; Salmivalli, Huttunen, and Lagerspetz, 1997). This social context has been explored using several types of research methods, ranging from qualitative methods such as focus groups, in-depth interviews, and (participant) observation (Baldry, 1998; Craig, Pepler, and Atlas, 2000) to quantitative approaches such as (traditional) survey research (Lambert, Scourfield, Smalley, and Jones, 2008) and social network analysis (Dijkstra, Lindenberg, and Veenstra, 2007; Espelage, Holt, and Henkel, 2003). Social network analysis has proven to be a particularly suited method to study the relationships between, on the one hand, individuals' status in a (peer) network, their belonging to "cliques", and the characteristics of the larger social network they are part of (e.g., the "density" of their class unit in school) and, on the other hand, their involvement in traditional bullying.

In this book chapter we will explore how (future) research on cyberbullying might use social network analysis to gain a deeper insight into the social context that shapes and is influenced by cyberbullying. To do this, we give an in-depth overview of how adolescents – who are avid users of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) – connect online. Following the two perspectives ("full network analysis" versus "ego network analysis") that can be taken when conducting social network analysis (SNA), we will make an (analytical) distinction between 1) the "online communities" in which youngsters participate based on, for instance, common interests (e.g., hobbies, games...) with people they often do not know offline (in this case the "full network" that is being departed from is the online network itself), 2) the online connections or networks (e.g., e-mail networks, text messaging networks...) that result from adolescents' participation in full offline networks (such as their school environment) and 3) the online ego networks of youngsters (e.g., the total number of people youngsters communicate with online, regardless of the context they know these people from). Based on insights into aspects such as status, group formation and group norms in online contexts, we will set an agenda for future research into cyberbullying using SNA.

1. SOCIAL CONTEXT AND TRADITIONAL BULLYING

Research on traditional bullying has proven that there are a number of reasons why studying the social context in which bullying takes place is important. First, in order to understand bullying, merely focusing on the classical roles of "bully" and "victim" does not suffice. Bullying often occurs in a social situation in which the bullying is witnessed by other group members, who can have an important impact by joining the bully, supporting the victim, ignoring the behavior etc... (O'Connell et al., 1999; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkqvist,

Österman, and Kaukiainen, 1996). Salmivalli and colleagues (1996) distinguished as much as six possible participant roles in a bullying situation: bully, victim, reinforcer of the bully, assistant of the bully, defender of the victim and outsider.

Considering bullying as a group phenomenon, second, helps us to better understand individuals' motives to bully. It is widely documented in the literature that bullying is often used as a means to acquire or maintain a high social status within a certain peer group: higher status adolescents assert their power by intimidating or ridiculing lower status victims (see e.g., Hawley, 2007; Pellegrini, Long, Solberg, Roseth, Dupuis, Bohn, and Hickey, 2010; Salmivalli et al., 1997). The importance of social status in bullying was observed in ethnographical studies (Adler and Adler, 1995; Eder, 1985) and was confirmed in studies using sociometric and social network analysis (Farmer and Rodkin, 1996; LaFontana and Cillessen, 2002; Prinstein and Cillessen, 2003).

Third, researchers have made a connection between the persistence of bullying behavior and processes of influence or contagion among peers (Mouttapa, Valente, Gallaher, Rohrbach, and Unger, 2004; Olweus, 1993; Salmivalli, 2010; Sijtsema, Ojanen, Veenstra, Lindenberg, Hawley, and Little, 2010). In empirical studies, researchers often found that friends are similar in terms of both attitude towards bullying and involvement in bullying (Cairns et al., 1988; Espelage et al., 2007; Espelage, Holt, and Henkel, 2003; Mouttapa et al., 2004; Salmivalli et al., 1997; Sijtsema, Veenstra, Lindenberg, and Salmivalli, 2009; Witvliet, Olthof, Hoeksma, Goossens, Smits, and Koot, 2010). This phenomenon, that is often referred to as "homophily" can partly be explained by processes of self-selection (youngsters are attracted to others that share the same attitude and behavior), but also by processes of interpersonal influence (friends become more alike in their behavior) (Espelage et al., 2007; Sijtsema et al., 2010; Witvliet et al., 2010).

Fourth, also focusing on small groups or "cliques"¹ in peer groups, and larger groups like classrooms helps to understand bullying behavior. Next to personal influence, research has also provided evidence for the existence of "group norms" surrounding bullying. Significant differences in bullying behaviour, and in acceptance or rejection of bullying behaviour across groups and classrooms could be observed: in classrooms where bullying is normative, adolescents who bully are less likely to be rejected or are even liked by their peers (Chang, 2004; Sentse, Scholte, Salmivalli, and Voeten, 2007; Stormshak, Bierman, Bruschi, Dodge, and Coie, 1999).

Lastly, it needs to be remarked that the peer group can also play an important role in averting bullying and in providing support for the victims of bullying. The most effective anti-bullying interventions generally involve entire peer groups (Pepler, Smith, and Rigby, 2004). Youngsters with a good social support network, moreover, are less often involved in bullying and experience less internalizing or externalizing behaviour problems when bullied (Hodges, Boivin, Vitaro, and Bukowski, 1999). Finally, processes of influence also hold for prosocial behaviour: youngsters can learn positive social behaviour from their friends (Barry and Wentzel, 2006).

¹ "Cliques" are "natural groupings" of (five to eight) peers, of which the members have common interests, and spend a lot of time together (Cotterell, 2007, p. 55)

2. STUDYING THE SOCIAL CONTEXT: SOCIOMETRY AND SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

To study the social context in which bullying occurs, indices of relationships or social structure can be incorporated in traditional research techniques like survey research and qualitative or ethnographic approaches. There are, however, also techniques that explicitly focus on social structure going from basic “sociometric” nomination methods, to more advanced social network analysis techniques. “sociometry” was developed by Jacob Moreno as early as the 1930s (for a history on social network analysis, see: Freeman, 2004). It is most known for its sociograms, which are visual representations of the social reality representing people by dots and relationships by lines (see figure 1). Thanks to several mathematical, theoretical and computational developments, this method could be further developed into a method that is currently known as “social network analysis” (Freeman, 2004).

The term “social network” refers to a set of individuals (also called “nodes”), and the relationships (or “ties”) between these individuals. The basic idea behind social network analysis is that relationships, and the structures these relationships form, matter (Borgatti, Mehra, Brass, and Labianca, 2009, p. 893). Social network researchers describe prominent patterns in social networks, form theories about what these patterns mean, and try to explain behavior of individuals and groups by looking at these patterns or “social structure” (see e.g., Marin and Wellman, 2011; Wasserman and Faust, 1998, pp. 3-10; Wellman, 1988, pp. 19-61; Wellman and Berkowitz, 1988, pp. 1-18). Social network data can be analyzed in multiple ways. Researchers can for instance focus on the position of a person in a network, on the types of relationships in a network, on clusters or subgroups in a network and on the properties of a network in its entirety (for elaborate overviews see: Hanneman and Riddle, 2005; Monge and Contractor, 2003, p. 56; Wasserman and Faust, 1998, p. 25).

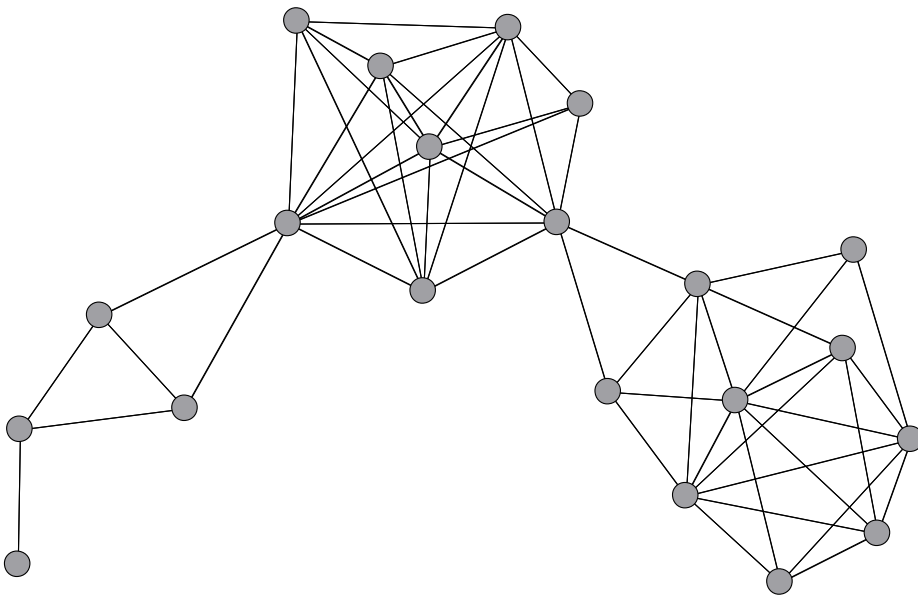


Figure 1. Example of a sociogram: mutual friendship in a classroom.

With regard to bullying, social network data are usually collected in a school context. The entire school, a grade, or a classroom hereby forms the network. Researchers ask the pupils to nominate several other students in their school, grade or class they like (or dislike), or who they are friends with. Based on this information, a friendship network is constructed and multiple measures are calculated (e.g., how central a person is in the network, what cliques are formed...). Next, these data are linked with self-reports on bullying behavior, or, with peer-nominations regarding bullying (i.e., asking specifically which pupils in the network are bullies or victims, or asking who they were bullied by/who they bullied). This type of data collection, in which an entire group or network is studied, is called full network analysis.

Another possibility to collect social network data is to map individuals' personal networks. In this case, an individual is asked questions about his or her personal connections. This type of data collection can provide insight into the broad array of interactions people engage in (with close friends, acquaintances, family, co-workers etc.), face-to-face and through technologies (Garton, Haythornthwaite, and Wellman, 1997). While most network research on bullying has adopted a complete network approach, some aspects of adolescents' lives have been studied in personal networks. Most notably this includes the influence of their peers on delinquency (Haynie, 2001), drug use (Lakon, Ennett, and Norton, 2006), and drinking and smoking (Fujimoto and Valente, 2012). When studying personal networks, respondents' connections in all environments can be taken into account, which offers benefits for the analysis of adolescents' mediated ties (discussed further on in this chapter).

3. ADOLESCENTS' ONLINE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTS

Cyberbullying, like traditional bullying, is a form of negative interaction taking place within a certain social context. In this section we will focus on the characteristics of the online social contexts youngsters are part of, to gain a better insight into the way these contexts might influence bullying behavior (see *infra*). As is evident from the existent literature, adolescents use ICT to create new (online) contacts and to maintain or deepen existing "offline" contacts (boyd², 2010; Kaare, Brandtzaeg, Heim, and Endestad, 2007; Livingstone and Bober, 2005; Subrahmanyam and Greenfield, 2008). From an SNA perspective, it is therefore useful to look at the characteristics of 1) online created (full) networks or "communities" that develop when people with similar interests meet online (e.g., in gaming groups or discussion fora), 2) online networks that are based on (full) offline networks (e.g., how do pupils from the same school communicate online with each other?, who e-mails with whom?, who is befriended with whom on social network sites?) and 3) the online ego networks of youngsters (e.g., the total number of people youngsters communicate with online, regardless of the context they know these people from).

3.1. Online Communities

As mentioned above, the Internet allows people to organize themselves in online communities. Research has studied different online communities, including those formed

² The first letter of the author's official name is in lower case.

around computer games (Boellstorff, 2008; Szell and Thurner, 2012), bulletin boards (Suzuki and Calzo, 2004), chatrooms (Clark, 1998; Subrahmanyam, Greenfield, and Tynes, 2004), fan websites (Baym, 1997; Theberge, 2006) and weblogs (Farid, 2010). One way of looking at the communities is to study them as bounded social spheres in which different group processes take place, such as friendship formation, status acquirement, and social norms formation. In addition, it can be studied how young people handle participation in multiple (sometimes overlapping) online communities. As friendship, social status and group norms are relevant when studying bullying behavior, these issues will now be elaborated further.

Within online social communities adolescents have the ability to develop social relationships. The foundation for such relationships is trust among the members of these online communities; in using pseudonymous identities and nicknames, members get to know each other and recognize their reputation in the community (Henderson and Gilding, 2004). Specific characteristics of computer mediated communication (reduced cues, asynchronous communication, anonymity, transcendence of geography) also facilitates further self-disclosure (Peter, Valkenburg, and Schouten, 2005). Therefore, adolescents may find online communities ideally suited to develop social relationships, even ones that are very intimate and personal (Henderson and Gilding, 2004; Peter et al., 2005; Wolak, Mitchell, and Finkelhor, 2003). The online environment may thus be seen as an additional setting in which friendship or more casual relationships are constructed, besides the usual connections in more traditional settings, such as family, school and leisure time (see for instance McGinnis, (1997).

As social status proved a key concept in explaining adolescent bullying, the notion is explored in the context of online communities as well. On the one hand, it can be argued that status is less visible in an online environment. As access to the community is easy and offline status symbols and appearances are hidden, online interactions may be characterized by equality of participation (Siegel, Dubrovsky, Kiesler, and McGuire, 1986) and equality of status (Dubrovsky, Kiesler, and Sethna, 1991). On the other hand, while social status may not be immediately apparent in online communities, users do attract certain regard over time. Similar to the offline world, being well connected serves as an indication of status. In online communities, this would comprise belonging to certain subgroups of the community, being affiliated with the right users and being familiar with the community's conventions (Axelsson, 2002). In addition, community members can also gain status by "giving gifts". In a virtual community this means providing other members with information, opinions and advice. Lampel and Bhalla (2007) identified status seeking as a strong motivator for gift giving behavior. Finally, in correspondence with the offline context, negative and aggressive behavior may also be founded in status seeking. While Tokunaga (2010) suggests traditional aggressors and cyberbullies may share the same motivations, few studies have investigated how this behavior fits in the social context of online communities.

When people meet each other in online communities, group membership becomes important and social norms arise. Communication with others online is therefore not merely information exchange. When people meet regularly, they can experience closeness, support, belonging and even intimacy (Boellstorff, 2008; boyd, 2010; Rheingold, 2000). In the context of such communities, often populated by adolescents and their peers, new sets of social norms and ethics will arise (Bradley, 2005). These ethics specifically deal with issues that are relevant in networked publics, such as how to articulate friendship in an online environment, how to behave politely online and how to deal with "drama" and fights on the Internet (boyd, 2010). Social norms online are also highly contextual. What is acceptable in one online community

may be unacceptable in another. O'Sullivan and Flanagin (2003) argued that messages which are perceived as "offensive" in one context, may be considered "normal" in another environment. For cyberbullying, this raises issues about what types of behavior are perceived as cyberbullying in different online communities.

Finally, contemporary teenagers can participate in different communities, providing them with the opportunity to "escape" from real life or to experiment with their behavior in different subgroups. Technological development lays the foundation for different platforms and applications, enabling people to connect to others, in multiple environments, crossing geographic boundaries (Wellman, 2002). Adolescents may seek out the opportunity to engage freely in discussions about the topics of their choice. These could include subjects which are not often discussed in their offline environment, such as gaming or the creative production of pictures and videos (boyd, 2010). Moreover, evidence shows that young people find a certain kind of social support in online communities, which some may lack in real life (Pascoe, 2010; Subrahmanyam and Greenfield, 2008; Wolak et al., 2003). As a consequence, young people who are bullied in an offline or online context, may find support or companionship in an(other) online community. In addition, engaging in multiple online communities may offer the opportunity to experiment with identity (Valkenburg, Schouten, and Peter, 2005). In general, people nowadays are connected to multiple (online) communities, but without feeling the personal involvement and control which characterize traditional communities (Wellman and Hampton, 1999). In terms of social networks, this would noticeably decrease constraint and increase structural autonomy, meaning that individuals have more opportunities because they are connected to others who are unconnected to each other (Mesch and Talmud, 2010). As peer control is restricted to separate communities, users can display certain behaviors in one community, without members from other communities knowing about it. This may have consequences for perpetrators as well as victims of bullying. While perpetrators can go about bullying in one context, people in other communities may not know about their behavior. Likewise, victims can take advantage of this freedom and restrict bullying to one specific context.

3.2. Online Extensions of Offline Networks

While previous approaches focused on online communities, the online interactions among teens can also be studied departing from existing offline social contexts and relationships. Young people mainly use ICTs to communicate with others they know from offline environments, such as their school, neighborhood, leisure activities and family circle (Boneva, Kraut, and Frohlich, 2001; boyd, 2010; Gross, 2004; Lee, 2009; Livingstone, 2009). They talk about issues that concern their everyday lives, such as personal matters and friendship (Boneva, Quinn, Kraut, Kiesler, and Shklovski, 2006; Licoppe and Smoreda, 2005), homework (boyd, 2010; Van Cleemput, 2010), relationships (Subrahmanyam and Greenfield, 2008) and family matters (Kaare et al., 2007). Hence, the online communication among young adolescents is often an extension of their offline lives, grounded in "real world" issues. Research on online interactions can therefore also map the existing relationships in offline environments (such as school) and study how these ties are translated online. Studies already indicate that the strength of a tie (e.g., being "good friends" versus being "acquaintances") seems to have an effect on the frequency of online communication, and the channels that are being used.

Adolescents who know each other better (in the offline context) communicate more frequently, using multiple communication channels. This use of multiple communication media by people who are strongly tied, is labeled “media multiplexity” in the literature (Haythornthwaite, 2005). It has been found in different groups such as academics (Haythornthwaite and Wellman, 1998), university students (Haythornthwaite, 2005; Haythornthwaite, Kazmer, Robins, and Shoemaker, 2000; Ledbetter, 2009; Miczo, Mariani, and Donahue, 2011), young adults (Boase, Horrigan, Wellman, and Rainie, 2006) and adolescent pupils (Van Cleemput, 2010). In the last study pupils reported using more media to communicate with close friends, compared to interactions with pupils who are “just friends” (Van Cleemput, 2010). In addition to using multiple media, the different communication media can be categorized on a uni-dimensional scale (Haythornthwaite, 2005). Group members, who communicate using only one channel, use the same channel (most commonly “face-to-face”). Those who use two channels, tend to add the same channel. This pattern is continued for every additional medium. For teenagers communicating about non-school topics, media are sequentially added in the following order: face-to-face, instant messaging, e-mail, text messaging, mobile calls, and landline calls (Van Cleemput, 2010).

To understand why teenagers choose particular technologies for their online conversations, the characteristics and uses of different media should be considered. For young people a variety of communication means is at their disposal. Communication applications which are commonly used for peer contact include social network sites (e.g., Facebook), instant messaging (e.g., Windows Live Messenger), e-mailing, mobile text messaging and mobile phone calling (Livingstone and Bober, 2005; Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, and Olafsson, 2011). In choosing the appropriate application for specific communication, teenagers are influenced by different factors, such as spatial constraints, message information and relationship strength (Mesch and Talmud, 2010). Some technologies are mainly used to communicate with strong ties. Mobile phones, for instance, are portable and readily available, allowing teens to coordinate their social activities by sending text messages (Grinter and Eldridge, 2001; Ling and Yttri, 2002). Because of its always-on status, the medium is commonly used for close and intimate relationships (Grinter and Eldridge, 2001). Instant Messaging (IM), as well, suits adolescents’ needs for maintaining and enhancing friendship with close peers (Valkenburg and Peter, 2009). Group identity is strengthened using this technology, as IM effectively simulates time spend with offline friends (Boneva et al., 2006). Other communication channels are used to communicate with a broader range of offline contacts. E-mail is the most prominent example of such technology. First, because teenagers rather associate this medium with “adult” and lengthy conversations (Kim, Kim, Park, and Rice, 2007) and second, because it is used for specific purposes, such as sending documents for homework (Van Cleemput, 2011a). Young adolescents may therefore chose to use e-mail for cooperating with pupils who are not well known, rather than relying on more “personal” media such as IM and mobile phones. Social network sites have emerged as an additional channel of communication, used mainly to support and strengthen weak ties (Mesch and Talmud, 2010; Steinfield, Ellison, and Lampe, 2008; Subrahmanyam, Reich, Waechter, and Espinoza, 2008). In a school context, this can lead to pupils connecting with each other on Facebook because they have met each other before (boyd and Ellison, 2007). While most of the communication channels can be linked to ties of a certain strength, it should be noted that many (well connected) adolescents use multiple channels to communicate, in accordance with media multiplexity (see supra).

When adolescents continue their social interactions in an online context, offline status and social position come into play as well. This idea is reflected in the “rich get richer” hypothesis, which states that socially skilled and extraverted people benefit more from online communication (Valkenburg and Peter, 2007). While results vary depending on the personality trait that was measured, most research finds that extraverts have more contacts online (Bianchi and Phillips, 2005; Kraut, Kiesler, Boneva, Cummings, Helgeson, and Crawford, 2002; Valkenburg and Peter, 2007). Social network analysis confirmed these findings in offline adolescent environments. Van Cleemput (2011b) found that having a higher number of mutual friends at school is related to communication with more fellow pupils by means of instant messaging, as well as mobile phone texting. Similarly, socially isolated adolescents are less likely to use instant messaging and text messaging (Alison Bryant, Sanders-Jackson, and Smallwood, 2006). In summary, the offline position of adolescents in a group also impacts their position in online environments.

3.3. Personal Online Networks

A third approach to online interactions is to study personal networks. From this point of view each individual (ego) has connections with others (alters) who they communicate with. Hogan (2008) describes two ways in which data on personal networks are commonly collected: either by surveying a random selection of participants within a certain population, or by gathering interaction data unobtrusively (e.g., requesting it from service providers or operators). The latter method has been applied for the analysis of mobile phone correspondence (Stoicaa, Smoredaa, Prieurb, and Guillaume, 2010), e-mail networks (Loch, Tyler, and Lukose, 2003) and Facebook data (Lewis, Kaufman, Gonzalez, Wimmer, and Christakis, 2008). While such data is useful to discern patterns in communication networks, usually little cues are available about the content of the interactions or the correspondents’ characteristics. In order to study cyberbullying, user-reported networks may be more informative.

Allowing respondents to select others from different environments provides a broad overview of their communication networks. Whereas studying social interactions in an existing context maps the entire network, user-reported egonet research provides a detailed view of one’s personal contacts (which can originate from any context). In previous research, this approach was used to analyze the strength of online ties (Boase et al., 2006; Mesch and Talmud, 2006), information exchange in a company (Haythornthwaite and Wellman, 1998) and the configuration of different communication relationships (Fisher, 2005; Kim et al., 2007). What the latter study found is that young students mixed relationships from different origins in multiple media, while older workers tended to manage different sets of contacts in different media (Kim et al., 2007). This finding suggests that adolescents’ lives from different contexts come together online. This is certainly the case for communication through popular social network sites, such as Facebook, where teenagers are connected with “friends” from different environments (Livingstone, 2008). While previously youth were able to separate social contacts from school, neighborhood and leisure activities, interaction on Facebook may dissolve those boundaries. Implications for online bullying are discussed in the following section.

4. A SOCIAL NETWORK PERSPECTIVE ON CYBERBULLYING

The present chapter has argued that the social context is essential in studying adolescents' bullying behavior. For cyberbullying, research already offers some cues about the social environment in which the behavior takes place. First, a limited number of surveys studies have asked respondents to indicate from which context they know their aggressors. As a general trend, about half of the adolescents reported being cyberbullied by someone they know in real life (Vandebosch and Van Cleemput, 2009; Ybarra, Mitchell, Wolak, and Finkelhor, 2006). In contrast, the number of youngsters who only know their perpetrator online ranges from 19 to 57 percent (Juvonen and Gross, 2008; Vandebosch et al., 2006; Wolak et al., 2003). These findings indicate that aggressors may originate from multiple contexts, offline, as well as online-only. In the former category peers from school take a prominent position. If the victim and perpetrator know each other, it is highly likely they are attending the same school, or even class (Juvonen and Gross, 2008; Kowalski and Limber, 2007; Smith et al., 2008). For the category of online-only perpetrators, interviews showed that online bullies may either pick completely random strangers, or they may choose specific targets who appear weak (Vandebosch and Van Cleemput, 2008). Second, in terms of social relationships between victims and perpetrators, evidence is more limited. Two studies indicated that over half of the online victims indicate being bullied by the same person offline, suggesting that bullying "extends" in cyberspace (Vandebosch et al., 2006; Ybarra, Diener-West, and Leaf, 2007).

While traditional research was able to touch upon some aspects of social contexts, many issues in cyberbullying are still to be studied, including bully-victim relationships, offline and online positions of perpetrators and victims, influence of online group processes and online subgroups and social norms. For a more thorough analysis of the social context a different angle and methodology are required. We have suggested here that social network analysis provides a suited perspective and toolset to understand bullying behavior in the social sphere. Social network analysis allows researchers to consider social interactions among respondents, such as communicating, being friends or bullying. Possible venues for SNA research in the context of electronic bullying are discussed for the three perspectives discussed previously: 1) online communities, 2) online communication departing from existing offline environments and 3) personal networks of interaction and communication.

4.1. Cyberbullying in Online Communities

In online communities we may expect to find the same processes which explain "real life" bullying. Social status seeking, being one of the main motivators for offline bullying (Sijtsema, Veenstra, Lindenberg, and Salmivalli, 2009), is likely to also affect negative actions online. Social network analysis can be applied to examine this influence, by linking the social status of online community members with their involvement in harassing actions online. Social status, often operationalized as social position, can be measured as the number of positive nominations received from group members. This could include fellow members indicating someone as a contributor on a Facebook-group, a chat partner in a virtual world, or a companion in an online game. Research can elaborate on the online social positions of self-reported victims and perpetrators, as well as group members who are known to defend the victim or assist the

perpetrator. Online bullies may be well connected members who feel supported in their behavior by other members. Alternatively, bullying may not be an effective way of acquiring status in an online context, as the community may rather appreciate “giving gifts” than displaying deviant behavior.

A second process found in groups is the emergence of social norms. In online groups the behavior of participants is guided by certain norms, which may originate from the entire community (e.g., general rules and guidelines) or from subgroups within the community. Different questions can be raised about the role of social norms in online populations and their connection to bullying. First, members who have a positive tie may also share the same behavioral norms. The processes of influence (learning about norms from friends) and selection (selecting friends with the same beliefs) can explain why members who are linked have similar ideas about acceptable behavior online. Social network analysis can be applied to study whether members who are befriended tend to share the same norms. Additionally, analysis of subgroups in the community may show that different subgroups of the population each have their own set of norms. Small variation in normative beliefs within cliques (or other subgroups) and larger differences between cliques would point to subsets of members who share norms. In terms of cyberbullying, network research can assess whether victims (and perpetrators) group together, and whether bully-victim interaction occur within or between different (normative or friendship) subgroups.

4.2. Online Communication by Offline Groups

Another approach, discussed in the previous section, is to study how social relationships and position in an existing offline context influence interactions online. Young adolescents tend to occupy similar social positions offline and online. Those who are socially skilled have more connections in the “real world”, as well as in the cyber context (cfr. the “rich get richer” hypothesis). For cyberbullying, the offline social position of youngsters could be related to their involvement in online bullying. Social network analysis could elaborate on this issue and assess the linkages between offline interactions (such as friendship, popularity or dislike) and reported online victimization, perpetration or bystandership. One social network study departed from an existing school network to predict involvement in cyberbullying (Festl and Quandt, 2011). In this exploratory study two complete school networks were reconstructed (n=409) based on pupils’ reported friendship ties. The friendship network showed that perpetrators, as well as victim/perpetrators are better connected and occupied “bridge” positions, connecting different subgroups (Festl and Quandt, 2011). Quantitative analysis of the data demonstrated that online perpetrators have more “best friends” at school, while victims have less. In addition, Festl and Quandt (2011) identified several “hot spots” of cyberbullying in which victims and perpetrators are closely connected. Comparable research by Wegge, Vandebosch and Eggermont (2013) studied cyberbullying in the context of social networks at school. Figure 2 features a graphical representation of cyberbullying involvement in the mutual best friends network of a school grade. Social network analysis indicated that having a lower number of mutual school friends predicted cyberbullying victimization. This study also demonstrated that adding social network variables contributed to explaining cyberbullying in a school context (Wegge et al., 2013).

A different set of questions concerns patterns of traditional bullying and cyberbullying. While the former approach considered social positions, networks analysis can also focus on

interaction patterns between adolescents. One type of interactions, particularly interesting for this chapter, is bullying and cyberbullying behavior. User reported involvement in (cyber)bullying can be mapped as a social network, providing a detailed overview of who is being cyberbullied by whom (see figure 3). For this purpose, respondents would nominate others who they have been cyberbullied by from an actor list of the studied population. This approach has been applied in a pilot study by Wegge et al. (2013), which studied cyberbullying behavior in an entire grade of secondary school pupils ($n=174$). Results indicated that cyberbullying is a true extension of traditional bullying, i.e., victims were being bullied by the same perpetrators offline and online. Again, this is in line with the idea that offline social attributes impact the online context. While this study has discussed key issues in (cyber)bullying and social relationships, many aspects still remain unexplored. Future areas of focus can include the role of cliques and subgroups, the different perspectives of victims and perpetrators and the relationship with online interactions other than bullying (for instance, being friends on Facebook).

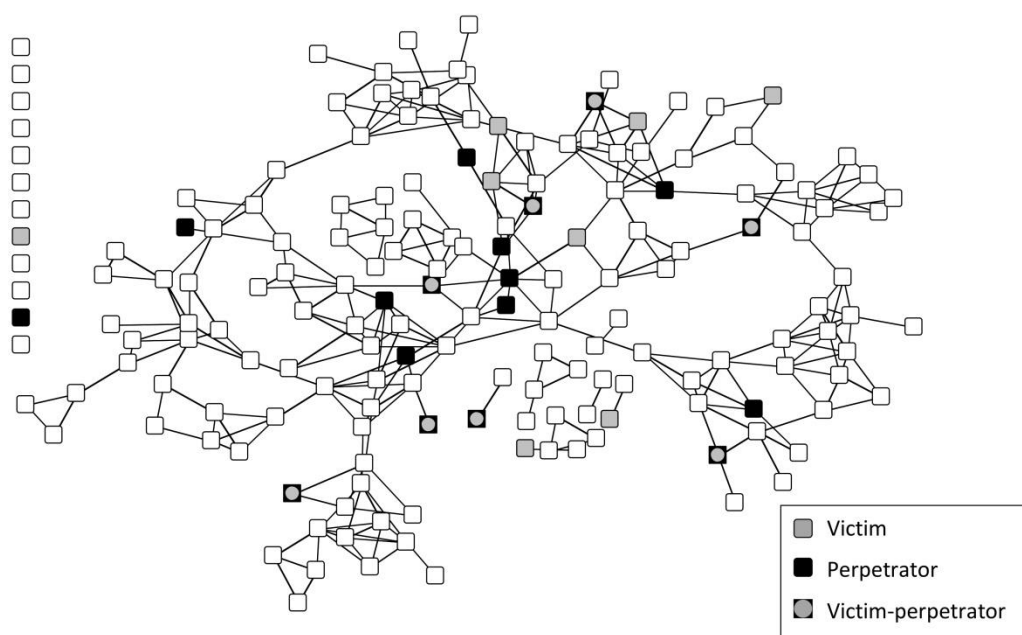


Figure 2. Cyberbullying involvement in a school grade friendship network.

A final set of issues deals with the technologies that offline groups of adolescents use to communicate online. It has been argued that people choose communication channels based on the characteristics of the medium, as well as the strength of ties with the correspondent. When studying online bully interactions as social networks, analysis can elaborate on the technologies used to target specific peers. While different media are used by young people to cyberbully others, research has not yet connected the number and type of channels to victim-perpetrator relations. It may be hypothesized, for instance, that pupils who are merely acquaintances use different media to bully, as compared to friends-of-friends. Additionally, communication channels may affect who is aware of cyberbullying instances. Although few pupils may observe mobile phone bullying, the number of potential bystanders is much higher in bullying on Facebook (Boyd, 2010). Studying the bystander networks can provide unique information

about who is witnessing cyberbullying and how this relates to technologies, as well as victim-bystander relationships.

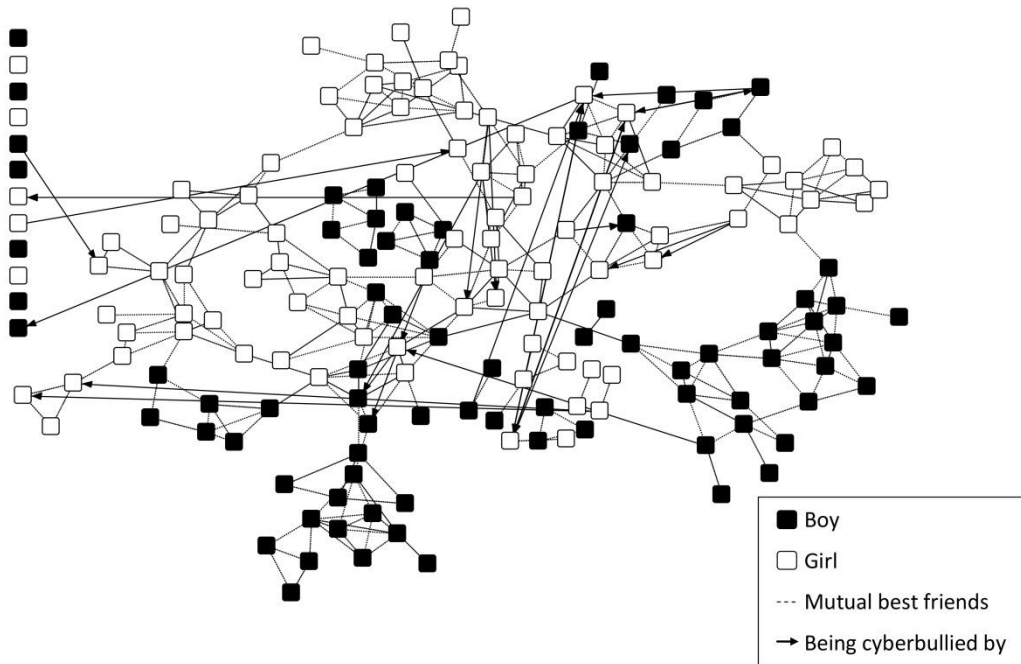


Figure 3. Patterns of cyberbullying in a school grade friendship network.

4.3. Personal (Online) Networks and Cyberbullying

Besides studying cyberbullying from the perspective of online communities and offline social networks, as discussed previously, SNA can also relate adolescent personal networks to online bullying. The former approach is limited to the study of one specific context, in which all actors provide information about their ties. Because all ties in the network are known, it allows the analysis of entire network configurations. In contrast, the ego network approach is concerned with the actors' personal ties in different environments. It enables respondents to provide information about ties and interactions with any actor they wish to nominate. Interactions can include being friends at school, communicating on IM, being (cyber)bullied, etc. The resulting social networks (and reported characteristics of the alters) can be analyzed to connect personal networks to involvement in cyberbullying.

Analysis could focus on the nature of the personal network, such as network size and the composition of contacts from different environments. In terms of size, it could be expected that youngsters who fall victim to cyberbullying are exposed to a larger network of online contacts as they are generally heavy Internet users (Kowalski, Limber, and Agatston, 2008; Walrave and Heirman, 2009). Alternatively, young adolescents who have suffered from cyberbullying in the past may also shy away from online contacts because of their negative experience. For perpetrators, who appear more central in friendship networks (cfr. *supra*), it can be expected that they are better connected online and have more Facebook "friends" or IM contacts. In

terms of composition, network analysis can assess who victims communicate with online. Victimized youngsters may choose to avoid others from “hostile” environments in which they are bullied (such as school) and direct their communication to peers from a different context (leisure for instance, or even Internet-only contacts). Other issues include the position of perpetrators in victims’ communication networks (What is the frequency and medium of contact? How do incidents affect contact?) and the role of adults in youngsters’ online communication (In whose networks do they appear? How does their presence influence victimization and perpetration?).

Finally, it has been argued that online means of communication, most notably social network sites, merge different “contexts” in adolescents’ lives, which were previously separated. Ego network analysis accommodates the study of personal contacts in different environments. It can assess, from the victim’s point of view, who has performed the bullying, who was a bystander, who responded to the actions etc. Perpetrators, as well as bystanders, may be found in multiple environments. Research can address how online victimization is linked to multiple contexts, as well as to what extent it is witnessed by peers from different settings. In addition, as bullying crosses the boundaries of physical contexts, so may defending behavior. Victims may be asked who has helped them when they were bullied, as to learn in which context defenders may be found. Finally, young people who are cyberbullied may feel inclined to separate peers from different environments, to impede further spreading of the bullying. In this regard, it is relevant to study whether victims use social network sites, for instance, to communicate only with peers from environments in which they are not victimized.

CONCLUSION

Cyberbullying, just like traditional bullying is highly embedded in the social context of young people’s relationships and interactions. The position that youngsters take within a social environment, their belonging to certain groups and subgroups, and the relationships with peers, all affect the patterns of victimization and perpetration in bullying. These contextual factors, as well as the processes guiding them, have already been evaluated and proven useful for explaining traditional bullying (see for instance Huitsing, Veenstra, Sainio, and Salmivalli (2010), Moutappa et al. (2004) and Salmivalli (2010)). In research on cyberbullying, however, such social contextual factors have remained largely unexplored. The present chapter has described how social context matters for electronic forms of bullying as well. Online communication among adolescents is embedded in social groups and takes place among correspondents who inherently have some kind of relationship. In addition, technological means of communication reshape social contexts in terms of possible connections (the emergence of online communities), communication channels (possibilities and uses of different applications), social norms and status (cyber ethics and online popularity) and social boundaries (overlapping environments and Internet-only contacts). The importance of social environments calls for a more contextual examination of cyberbullying, taking into account group processes and social relationships, as well as the specificity of the online context.

It has been argued that social network analysis is highly suited as a perspective and “toolset” to study cyberbullying in adolescents’ social contexts. The basic purpose of SNA is to examine social relationships (ties) between individuals (actors). In this regard, it is well

equipped to analyze the links between cyberbullying and the different interactions and relationships that young people have in offline and online environments. The three approaches presented in this chapter each apply a different research design to elaborate on different aspect. The first suggests that processes which are active in offline groups also drive social interactions in online communities. By studying online communities it relates cyberbullying to online status seeking, (sub)group norm adherence and participation in multiple environments. The second approach focusses on the online communication of adolescent groups who know each other from offline environments, such as school, leisure associations or sport clubs. This perspective would rather consider how social position and bullying involvement in an existing offline context, influences young people's online positive and negative interactions. Finally, the third approach adopts an "ego net" perspective, studying the configurations of people's personal networks in different (offline and online) environments. This design could assess the impact of overall network size and composition on cyberbullying involvement, as well as the overlap between different environments.

In summary, the approaches and questions presented here can be conceived as a research agenda for the analysis of cyberbullying from a social network perspective. This particular type of analysis concerns not only the application of new methods and tools, but also, perhaps primarily, a fundamentally different perspective. Social network analysis is grounded in people's social relationships and takes actor interactions as its main focus of analysis. As cyberbullying essentially involves actors interacting within a broader set of social relationships, it is crucial to understand the contextual factors which lead to involvement in such negative behavior. The proposed approaches promise further academic insight into the issue of cyberbullying, which may ultimately also help educators and organizations to act upon negative behavior within specific social contexts.

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Chapter 71

CONCEPTS OF BULLYING: DEVELOPMENTAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS

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ABSTRACT

This chapter considers the origins of the term ‘bullying’ and historical changes in the definition of bullying, leading to contemporary research definitions in terms of agreed criteria. It next considers how we can assess the actual working definitions or criteria used by pupils, teachers, parents or others concerned with bullying, in different countries. Developmental changes in the understanding of bullying are reviewed, and contrasted with developmental changes in bullying behaviours. In the final section, cultural similarities and differences are reviewed. Again two aspects are considered: the words used for bullying-related phenomena in different countries and their meanings, and the behavioural manifestations of bullying.

INTRODUCTION

The Encarta World English Dictionary (1) gives the following definition of bully: an aggressive person who intimidates or mistreats weaker people, mid-16th century origin uncertain, probably from Middle Dutch boele ‘lover’, originally ‘sweetheart’, then ‘fine fellow’, ‘blusterer’.

Within the research literature, a widely used definition of bullying (2) specifies that bullying:

- is an aggressive act
- with an imbalance of power (victim finds it difficult to defend him/herself)

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- has some element of repetition (these things can happen frequently)
- can be physical, verbal or indirect

Bullying is thus seen as a subcategory of aggressive behaviour, but of a particularly vicious kind, since it is directed, often repeatedly, towards a particular victim, who is unable to defend himself or herself effectively. The attacks are mostly unprovoked and are intended to hurt the other. Victimised children may be younger, less strong or simply less psychologically confident. The bullying child or children use this behaviour to inflict harm, gaining psychological gratification, status in the peer group or, at times, direct financial gain by taking money or possessions.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE STUDY OF BULLYING

The concept of 'bullying' first came to prominence in England through Thomas Hughes' (1857) book *Tom Brown's school days*, in which Tom and some of his friends are tormented by Flashman and his gang at Rugby school: 'Flashman was about 17 years old, and big and strong of his age ... a formidable enemy for small boys'. The Head of House says: '... there's a deal of bullying going on. ... Bullies are cowards ...'.

However the scientific study of bullying has its main origins in Scandinavia, and especially the work of Dan Olweus. A school doctor, Heinemann, introduced the Swedish term *mobbning* in a book '*Mobbning – Gruppvåld bland barn och vuxna*' (1972). This was borrowed from the ethological term 'mobbing', or 'all against one', describing a collective attack by a group on an individual (here, often of another species). Olweus then used the term in his book '*Forskning om skolmobbning*' (1973), translated as '*Aggression in Schools: Bullies and Whipping Boys*' (1978). His later book '*Mobbning – vad vi vet och vad vi kan göra*' (1986) uses the same term, and was the basis of his most well known book '*Mobbning i skolan*' (Swedish version), '*Mobbing i skolen*' (Norwegian version) and '*Bullying at School: What We Know and What We Can Do*' (English version) (all 1992/1993), which has been translated into many languages.

'Mobbing' carries the connotation of the 'group vs. one'. However, Olweus soon rejected this: "It is questionable how common all-against-one situations really are in a school setting ... it is perhaps rather unusual for the whole class (the boys or the girls) to be united in an intense collective activity ... mobbing by very small groups is the more frequent type in our schools" (3); and later "Data from our Bergen study ... indicate that, in the majority of cases, the victim of bullying is harassed by a small group of two or three students, often with a negative leader. A considerable proportion of victims, some 25-40 percent, report, however, that they are mainly bullied by a single student" (4).

Olweus also designed a self-report questionnaire to assess bullying in schools, incorporating a definition as indicated above. Shorter but similar definitions are (5): "Bullying is repeated oppression of a less powerful person, physical or psychological, by a more powerful person"; and (6): "The systematic abuse of power". A fuller definition is (7): "Bullying involves a desire to hurt + a harmful action + a power imbalance + (typically) repetition + an unjust use of power + evident enjoyment by the aggressor and generally a sense of being oppressed on the part of the victim".

The earlier work on bullying (3) only mentioned physical and verbal kinds of bullying (reflecting the main kinds of aggression described at the time). However contemporary definitions stress a broader range of forms that bullying can take. Only in the 1990s was attention drawn explicitly to indirect, psychological and relational forms of aggression, and also of bullying (8,9). In the 2000's, a new form of bullying, often called cyberbullying and using mobile phones and the internet, has become prominent (10).

Another recent term is 'bias bullying' or 'prejudice driven bullying'. This refers to bullying on the basis of group rather than individual characteristics, and would include racial harassment, faith-based bullying, sexual harassment, and homophobic bullying.

The modern definitions of bullying clearly embrace more than school contexts. There is a growing literature on workplace bullying, and bullying in prisons; there is less research on bullying in the community. There is some work on sibling bullying, but this behaviour in the home context is often referred to as 'abuse'.

ASSESSING DEFINITIONS AND CRITERIA USED, AND THE CARTOON TASK

Whatever definition researchers decide on, children and young people, and even parents and teachers, may not necessarily share that definition. Two main approaches have been used in the study of how bullying is defined outside the research community: basically, 'recall' and 'recognition' tasks. In 'recall' tasks, participants are asked to define bullying, say what they think it is, and/or give examples of bullying. For instances of this approach, see (11,12). While this tells us what participants readily call to mind, it does not necessarily represent their full range of knowledge. For example, children primarily give physical or verbal examples of bullying, and rarely indirect ones, even though in recognition studies most will agree that indirect examples can be bullying. Recall tasks are also not efficient at showing important age changes, such as the greater breadth of definition in younger children (see below, age changes).

For these reasons, many researchers have used 'recognition' tasks: for example a participant is given a vignette and asked if this is bullying. A particularly developed methodology is the cartoon test (13). The cartoon test can be used to give an empirically based understanding of how words such as 'bully' (or similar words in English or other languages) are applied, and facilitates comparisons across age, gender, or experience; and across cultures, as the cartoons are stick figures with universal applicability.

The test uses a set of 25 cartoons, illustrating different social situations that might or might not be bullying. The situations vary in terms of relevant definitional parameters, such as type of aggression, number of aggressors, relative power, intent of the perpetrator, provocation of the victim, repetition and negative effect on the victim. Themes such as racism, sexism and discrimination on the basis of disability or sexual orientation, are included, plus a number of neutral or prosocial cartoons as controls. To implement the test, each term is taken in turn, and the participant is required to either include or exclude each cartoon as examples of the term they are presented with, by scoring, or sorting in a pile, under the heading: 'this is X' or 'this is not X' (where X is the term being currently considered; such as bullying; harassment; teasing). For each cartoon, the percentage of participants who include it as part of their

'definition' of each term, is computed. A meaning profile for each term can then be constructed, based on which cartoons load heavily on it.

There was little gender difference in the understanding of terms on the cartoon task (13), even though other evidence shows that the style of bullying behaviours between males and females differs. However there were substantial age changes (see below), and also variation of meaning amongst the terms used in different countries (see below: cultural differences). Although this has not yet been done, the cartoon test (or similar methodology) could be used to track changes in meaning over time. For example in English, the term bullying has traditionally referred to mainly physical and verbal forms of attack; but, over the last decade, it is come to include more indirect and relational forms of aggression, such as spreading nasty rumours, and social exclusion.

AGE CHANGES

Understanding of bullying

There is good evidence of age-related changes in perceptions of bullying. These might be developmental (e.g., related to changing cognitive capacities and greater experience in older children or adults); or might be historical (e.g. reflecting predominant usage at the time a person was growing up and at school). It is possible to make some plausible suggestions about each of these, although cohort-sequential studies would ideally be needed to do this with confidence.

A number of studies show that until around 8 or 9 years of age, pupils use the term 'bullying' quite broadly, to cover all nasty kinds of behaviour even when no imbalance of power is involved (14,15). This appears to reflect a simple 'good-bad' evaluative dimension used by younger children. Researchers (16) compared children's perceptions of aggression, withdrawal and likeability items around 6, 9 and 12 years; using multi-dimensional scaling, they found a shift with age from a simple evaluative dimension and low cohesiveness of clusters at 6 years to a more complex separation of clusters with an additional active-passive dimension by 12 years.

Eight and 14 year-olds were compared on the cartoon task (13). Examining the structure of the cartoon set using multidimensional scaling, the solution for the 8 year olds produced only two clusters: Non-aggressive and Aggressive items. The solution for the 14 year olds showed five clusters: Non-aggressive; Physical aggression (an even-handed dispute or a provoked retaliation); Physical bullying (with power difference between the disputing parties in terms of size, strength, number and consistency); Verbal (direct+indirect); and Social exclusion.

How about adults? Children may tell an adult (parent, teacher) something about bullying, but how do adults understand this? This may depend, at least in part, on the significance adults give to children's words like 'hurt', 'calling names', and 'bullying'. It is therefore very important to assess what adults mean by 'bullying' (for instance) in order to evaluate what probability children have to be understood.

The definitions of 'bullying' held by children (4-6 years and 8 years), adolescents (14 years) and adults (parents) in England were compared, using a shortened version of the cartoon task (omitting extortion, sexual or racial discrimination, homophobic bullying or bullying about a disability, considered inappropriate for use with young children) (17). The findings, some of which are shown in table 1, showed that the two child groups (4-6 years and 8 years) had a

similar understanding of the term ‘bullying’, but were over-inclusive in their definition of bullying. For example most thought that fighting (without an imbalance of power) and that not letting someone play on one occasion was bullying (see table 1).

Adolescents and adults had a more differentiated concept of ‘bullying’ than younger children. In addition to distinguishing between aggressive and non-aggressive behaviors, they also distinguished physical and non-physical acts (such as name-calling, rumor spreading and social exclusion). They took into account the imbalance of power between the aggressor and victim, and the repetition of the behavior.

Table 1 indicates that few 14 year-olds and adults thought that fighting (without an imbalance of power) was bullying, whereas the majority considered fighting (with an imbalance of power) bullying. Noteworthy is that adults were less likely to consider social or relational aggression as bullying. Table 1 shows that fewer adults than pupils considered not letting someone play every day, or spreading rumors, to be ‘bullying’. This may be related to the more recent work in schools to include these forms of bullying within anti-bullying programs. It is possible that parents’ understanding of bullying derives from when they were at school, at a period when bullying was mainly viewed as describing verbal or physical aggression (see section above). These findings highlight the potential for miscommunication between teachers/parents and pupils who do not have a shared understanding of the concept of ‘bullying’. This may lead, on the one hand, to teachers/parents being seen by children as not responding to or even condoning certain types of ‘bullying’, and children seen by teachers or parents as over-reporting ‘bullying’.

Using the full cartoon set, the understanding of ‘bullying’ held by parents in England was examined (18), as well as similar terms in four other countries. It was found that parents tended to focus on physical acts of aggression and viewed ‘bullying’ as meaning severe physical aggression; and they were unlikely to consider severe social exclusion as bullying. Teacher and pupil responses to the cartoon task were investigated in Italy (19). There was high agreement on physical acts, but pupils were more willing to include social exclusion and gender based exclusion as aggressive or ‘bullying’ acts, than teachers.

Table 1. Some age differences in use of the term ‘bullying’. Adapted from Monks and Smith (17)

Cartoon	4-6 yrs (N=99)	8 yrs (N=40)	14 yrs (N=40)	Adult (N=40)	Chi-square (3df)
X and Y don’t like each other and start to fight	81.8	90.0	15.0	7.5	111.76***
X won’t let Y play today	72.7	87.5	45.0	27.5	41.03***
X starts a fight with Y who is smaller	72.7	92.5	97.5	92.5	19.52***
X never lets Y play	65.7	90.0	75.0	45.0	19.78*
X tells nasty stories about Y	76.8	90.0	85.0	52.5	18.34***

AGE CHANGES

Behaviors related to bullying

Until the late 1990s research into bullying behavior focused on children and adolescents over the age of 8 years, probably as a result of the widespread use of self-report questionnaires

such as the Olweus Questionnaire. More recently, research has examined these behaviors when children first enter school or preschool, from the age of about 4 years (20). It is clear that some children behave aggressively towards their classmates from very early on. The aggressive behaviours exhibited by young children differ from those identified in older children and adolescents. They can be aggressive physically, verbally and/or relationally; however, they more often use direct, confrontational methods, rather than indirect methods (such as rumor spreading) (21). Indirect aggression and bullying is more characteristic of older children and adolescents (8). Young children's aggression towards their peers also differs from bullying as observed in older pupils in terms of the repetition of these attacks. One key feature which distinguishes bullying from aggression is the repetition of the behaviour by the same aggressor to the same recipient (5). But although the aggressive behavior of young children shows some stability over time, with the same children behaving aggressively towards their peers, it is not the case that they repeatedly target the same individual(s); they appear to be targeting different children on different occasions. This means that victimization is a relatively common experience during early childhood, but tends to be a one-off for many children (21,22). As these behaviors do not meet the criteria to be defined as bullying, researchers have tended to label them as peer-victimization rather than bullying. However, it is thought that they may be the precursors to bullying. It has been suggested that the widespread and somewhat indiscriminate victimizing of a large number of peers may reflect the aggressors trying to identify the most susceptible victims, those who would withdraw or cry perhaps, within a new peer group (23). Others have noted that young children find it difficult to identify withdrawn behaviour in their classmates, which may result in aggressive children being less discriminating in their aggression (24). In addition, it has been proposed that this low stability of the victim role may be a reflection of the less fixed social hierarchy present among younger children as compared with those in middle childhood and adolescence, meaning that those children who are being victimized during early childhood may find it easier to escape this role and further victimization (25). Young children's broader definition of the term bullying may reflect their more limited cognitive capabilities, in terms of making subtle distinctions between behaviours in terms of repetition and an imbalance of power. Alternatively, it may reflect the actual experiences of children at this age, with a lack of repetition of being the target of aggression by peers being commonplace.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Terms used for bullying

When one tries to translate the term bullying in other languages, there is generally no equivalent word that covers fully the meaning of bullying. This can even be the case in other English speaking countries, such as the USA, where the term victimisation has mainly been used, at least until recently. In Latin languages (e.g., French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese) several terms exist, but none a very good match. Researchers in Poland (26, p.265) have commented that "The Polish language has no exact equivalent of 'bullying' ... one has to talk about 'acts of aggression', 'violence' or 'oppression'". This is quite a general issue. Some common words that are approximate equivalents of English 'bullying' are shown in table 2

(13,27,28, and Rubina Hanif, Farzaneh Pahlavan, Jorge Srabstein, Zehra Ucanok, and Shraddha Vora, personal communications).

In fact, as the research area on bullying expanded, and public concern has grown, in some countries the English word 'bully' or 'bullying' has been adopted or adapted. In Germany now the term 'bully' is used as well as 'täter'. In Spain, 'bullying' is an increasingly recognised term. And in Italy the term 'Il bullismo' has been introduced, as in Fonzi (ed.) (1997), *Il Bullismo in Italia*; Menesini (ed.) (2000), *Bullismo: Che Fare?*; and Genta (ed.) (2002), *Il Bullismo*.

A first empirical attempt to study the meaning of different terms cognate to bullying was made with the cartoon task (13). A survey of children's definition of bullying across different countries was carried out. Stick figures were used so as to avoid issues of clothing, which might vary by culture, and to avoid suggesting any particular ethnic group or skin colour. Identical pictures were used across all cultures. Each cartoon had a caption in the native language. The English captions constituted a reference set. In each other country, these captions were translated into the native language used by participants, and back-translated to ensure fidelity of meaning. Then terms for bullying and social exclusion were selected, and checked with focus groups of pupils to ensure these were widely used and understood. The sorting task was then given to a minimum of 20 boys and 20 girls each aged 8 and 14 years old, in 14 countries: Austria, China, England, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Slovenia and Thailand.

In each country, 1 to 5 terms were examined in relation to the cartoons, and specifically to the 5 main clusters of cartoons described above. The meaning of each term could be expressed as average percentage scores within each cluster of cartoons (rather than 25 individual scores). The similarity or difference in meaning between any two terms could then be assessed by comparing their percentage profiles across the five clusters. A hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted over a total of 67 terms, in order to show which terms had similar meanings.

Six main groups or clusters of terms were identified: 19 terms that are generally higher on physical bullying, verbal and social exclusion than on physical aggression; these terms tend to be closest to the definition of bullying, and do indeed include the English terms 'bullying' and 'picking on', and the Italian term 'prepotenza'; six terms that score most highly on social exclusion, for example Portuguese 'rejeicao'; seven terms that all score much more highly on verbal (direct+indirect) than on physical bullying or social exclusion, including the English term 'teasing'; 19 terms that are weighted most highly on verbal (direct+indirect), but moderately on physical bullying, and less on social exclusion, including the English terms 'harassment', 'intimidation' and 'tormenting'; three terms that are only weighted highly on physical aggression and physical bullying; and 13 terms that load highest on either physical aggression or physical bullying, but moderately on either verbal (direct+indirect) and/or social exclusion, including the Italian terms 'violenza' and 'aggressivita'.

The cartoon methodology proved easy to administer and to be a relatively interesting task to do but obviously the results are limited by the situations presented. In particular, the set of 25 cartoons does not represent some situations found in eastern countries such as Japan or South Korea, including severe or whole class-based social exclusion; nor does it include cyberbullying, an increasingly common form. An expanded set of 40 cartoons has been developed, and has been piloted in England, Iceland, Canada, Japan, mainland China, Hong Kong, South Korea, and recently in Turkey and Pakistan (29).

Table 2. Words used as possible equivalents or translations of “bullying” in different countries (romanised equivalents used for some languages)

Country	Some Terms Used
England	Bullying Harassment Teasing Intimidation Tormenting Picking on
Norway	Erting Mobbing Plaging Krangling
Sweden	Mobbning Utfrysning Kränkning
Denmark	Mobbe Skoleboeller
Iceland	Einelti Radast a Hrekkja Skilja ut undan Strida Taka fyrir
Finland	Kiusaminen Härnääminen
Estonia	Vägivalda Alandama
Netherlands, Flanders	Pesten Plagen Bangmakerij Treiteren Geweld op school
Germany	Ärgern Angreifen Gemein sein Schikanieren
Austria	Sekkieren Ärgern Gemein sein Angreifen
France, Wallonia	Violence Harcèlement
Spain	Maltrato Egoismo Abuso Rechazo Meterse con Acoso Larteria
Portugal	Provoção Violência Abuso Rejeição Insulto Armar-se
Italy	Violenza Prepotenza Aggressività Cattiveria Scorretto Approfittarsi Fare il duro
Greece	Kano to magha Miono Taleporo
Slovenia	Nadlegovanje Nasilništvo Trpinčenje Ustrahovanje Zavračanje Zlorabljanje
Czech Republic	Šikanování Zastravování
Serbia, Croatia, Slovakia	Trpinčenje Nadlegovanje
Romania	Noebrazat Intimidare Hartuire
Poland	Tyranizowanie
Lithuania	Smarmumas Agresija Pažeminti
Russia	Zadirat Zapugivat
Bulgaria	Tyraniziram Nacilvam
Hungary	Terrorizálás Erőszakos
Turkey	Zorbalık Dislamak Alay etmek Eziyet etmek Korkutmak Taciz etmek Kabadayilik
India (Hindi)	Dabang Darana dhamkana Robe jamane wala
Pakistan (Urdu)	Ghunda pan Tang karna Dhamkana
Iran (Farsi)	Zoorguoui Gholdory Guardankolofity
Thailand	Nisai mai dee Klang Tum raai
China (Mandarin)	Ling ru Qi fu Qi ling Qi ru Qi wu Qi ya Wu ru
Hong Kong (Cantonese)	Ha yan
Japan	Ijime Ijiwaru Iyagarase Fuzake Shikato Nakamahazushi
South Korea	Wang-ta Eun-ta Jun-ta Gipdan ttadolim Gipdan gorophim

This data can increase the sensitivity of researchers to variations in meanings between terms when used in questionnaires, surveys and reports; and hence in interpreting cross-national comparisons.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Behavioral differences in bullying

The nature of the language we use to describe ‘bullying’ interacts in a complex way with the nature of ‘bullying behaviours’ that actually occur in different cultures. In general, we find

out about what happens by asking about it: 'How often have you been bullied this term?'. 'Bullied' has to be translated appropriately. A number of such studies have been carried out: see reviews in (28) and for explicit cross-national comparisons using similar methodologies (30,31). These studies show a lot of structural similarities. For example, boys are generally more numerous in the 'bully' category but not necessarily in the 'victim' category; boys are more likely to engage in physical bullying; rates of being a victim (but not bullying others) decline with age; bully/victims are most at risk of psychological problems. However these studies often show different percentages of bullying across different countries. These might reflect real behavioural differences; or they might reflect differences in interpreting the term 'bullied'; or in meaning differences between the related concepts primarily used in that country.

For example in Italy, children involved in bullying (bullies or victims) have been found to range from 45% to 37% in primary school; the corresponding percentage in England is about 27%, in Portugal around 20%, in Spain 18%, in Japan 11%, and in Norway 9% (28). Are these differences due to actual differences in the amount of bullying, or do they depend on the fact that Italian, English, Portuguese, Spanish, Norwegian and Japanese children are responding to different linguistic terms or cultural concepts? Evidence that part of the problem relates to linguistic terms has come from Italian research. The term 'prepotenze', widely used as the appropriate term for 'bullying' in Italian questionnaire studies, has a broader meaning profile than 'bullying', as shown by the cartoon test; it includes physical aggression as well as physical bullying, for example. Italian researchers have found that the use of different terms to translate 'bullying', significantly affects the incidence rates obtained (32).

Although we can try to bypass linguistic differences by relying on observed behaviors, this is problematic in the case of bullying. For example, a definition give above (7), includes 'a sense of being oppressed on the part of the victim'. Even though it is not so explicit in other definitions, whether something is 'abuse' or 'oppression' will depend in part on how the recipient or 'victim' of the act, views the situation. If they take the act as playful; or if they take the act as justified in some way; then it would be difficult to argue that this is bullying, oppression, or an abuse of power. But of course we can only know how the recipient views the act, by asking them – either directly, or by responding to a standard questionnaire on bullying.

It is thus difficult to distinguish behavioural differences from linguistic differences. As an example, consider the differences between 'ijime' and 'bullying', which has received considerable attention. In Japanese, 'ijime' is defined slightly differently from 'bullying', with more emphasis on the psychological and group nature of the attack (33). The cartoon test shows 'ijime' to have a stronger loading on verbal/indirect than on physical bullying (in contrast to 'bullying'); it does not load highly on social exclusion, probably because the original cartoon test did not include the kinds of group-based social isolation that 'ijime' can involve (29).

Kanetsuna and colleagues (34, 35) have examined the kinds of situation in which high school pupils say that ijime (in Japan) or bullying (in England) occurs, using corresponding questionnaires and interviews in the two countries. They found some significant differences. In Japan, pupils reported ijime as most likely to come from pupils that they knew well, of similar age and often within the classroom; in England, pupils reported bullying as often coming from pupils they did not know well, often older, and often in the playground. However, we need to bear in mind that the Japanese pupils have been asked about ijime. It seems that an older pupil using their position of power to take advantage of a younger pupil, might not be considered as ijime, even though it might be considered as bullying in England. The expanded cartoon set has one cartoon where the rest of the team won't let a pupil take part in a competition, even though

s/he is one of the best players, because s/he is from a lower year group. 81% of 14 year old English pupils say this is bullying; but only 29% of 14-year old Japanese pupils say this is *ijime*. What this example shows is that some (ab)use of power by older pupils might happen in Japan, as in England, but not be reported as *ijime*; inevitably, reports of bullying or abusive behaviour will reflect what is thought of as abusive, and the related terms to describe this, as well as any actual differences in behaviours.

The Japanese example is not unique. A somewhat similar pattern of difference comes from studies of 'wang-ta' in South Korea, by Kwak, Koo and colleagues (36,37). 'Wang-ta' has a very similar profile to 'ijime' on the cartoon test, and also seems to occur between pupils who know each other (e.g., former friends). Within a classroom context this can mean the whole class shunning one pupil. It can take the form of even more severe social exclusion, where another term 'jun-ta' refers to the whole school labelling the victim and shunning that person. Not surprisingly, many such victims show psychiatric symptoms and may have to receive special schooling (37).

Japan, and South Korea, may both be considered as more collectivist societies than England or most western industrialised countries; a more collectivistic culture may imply a greater possibility of concerted whole-group (e.g., whole-class) norms emerging, which could at times be aggressive – thus the possibility of severe whole-class aggression and shunning of a victim. (This possibility is also exacerbated because, unlike the situation in many western countries, secondary school pupils largely maintain the same home-base classroom for all lesson topics). In addition, Japan and South Korea may be considered more hierarchical, with more respect for older persons, including older pupils, such that (ab)use of power by older persons will be more likely to be seen as legitimate and not abusive (38).

In summary, although many similarities emerge in cross-national studies of school bullying, there are also important differences. Such differences may be actual differences in behaviour, perhaps due to societal differences in dimensions such as individualism-collectivism, or hierarchy. More prosaically, they may be due to differences in schooling arrangements (age bands, lunchtime arrangements, extent of home-room class teaching). And, there are also differences in conceptions of abuse, and abuse of power; and differences in the words available to describe these. In addition, all of these factors can and do change through historical time.

CONCLUSION

It may be unfortunate that 'bullying' has come to occupy a certain privileged position in the scientific community, due to the dominance of English-language journals and publications. We have a range of terms with both subtle and sometimes obvious differences in meaning (as defined by situations which may be thought of as having considerable cross-cultural similarity). In this sense, the social construction of meaning, and its cultural and temporal variability, becomes apparent and explicit. This is not a reason for abandoning the scientific endeavour, but certainly a warning for care and circumspection in the interpretation of results across age groups, languages, cultures, and historical periods.

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Chapter 72

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

Over the past 25 years, concern has been growing for children's bullying. We now recognize that bullying is wrong and hurtful. Research has fuelled a growing understanding that persistent bullying may be an indication of significant psycho-social problems. In this paper, we describe our longitudinal research on the development of bullying, examine risk factors associated with diverse pathways of bullying, and consider intervention strategies to address problems among children and youth who bully.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 25 years, there has been a growing concern for children's bullying. We now recognize that bullying is wrong and hurtful. Research has fuelled a growing understanding that persistent bullying may be an indication of significant psycho-social problems (1). In this chapter, we describe our longitudinal research on the development of bullying, examine risk factors associated with diverse pathways of bullying, and consider intervention strategies to address problems among children and youth who bully.

Bullying has been defined as negative actions -- physical or verbal -- that have hostile intent, are repeated over time, and involve a power differential between the child who is bullying and the victimized child (2). The nature of bullying changes as children mature. Bullying can start in early childhood and persist through the school years, peaking during the school transitions (3,4). From early adolescence, new forms of aggression, carried out from a position of power, emerge. With developing cognitive and social skills, children become aware

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of others' vulnerabilities and of their own power relative to others. With development, bullying diversifies into more sophisticated forms of verbal, social, cyber, sexually- and racially-based aggression.

Recent research has begun to uncover the complexity in bullying and the diversity among children who bully: some have serious problems with aggression and self regulation; others are socially skilled and central members of the peer group who have learned to acquire power through bullying (5-7). We have investigated the diverse pathways in bullying with a longitudinal study of 871 students (466 girls; 405 boys) beginning when students were 10 to 12 years of age and following them for seven years through the end of high school (8). Using statistical analyses that reveal clusters of children who develop in similar ways, we found four different pathways that reflected students' reports of bullying their peers over the seven years. One group (10%) reported consistently high levels of bullying from late elementary through high school (high bullying group).

A second group (13%) reported bullying at about the same level as the high group in late elementary school, but their levels dropped to almost no bullying at the end of high school (desisting group). A third group (35%) reported consistently moderate levels of bullying throughout the years (moderate bullying group). The remaining 42% of the students almost never reported bullying (low bullying group). Given these diverse groups of children and their different levels of involvement in bullying, we were interested in examining what factors differentiated the four groups as these indicators provide direction for prevention and intervention strategies.

How to understand bullying: Developmental-systemic perspective

Through our research, we have come to understand bullying as a relationship problem that requires relationship solutions. Our observational and survey research reveals that bullying problems arise from complex interpersonal dynamics rather than simply from a child's problems with aggression (8-11). In considering factors that may place children at risk for bullying their peers, we must take a developmental-systemic perspective to examine both individual children's characteristics as well as the quality of children's relationships. Consequently, in our longitudinal research on the development of bullying, we studied several individual characteristics including moral disengagement, physical aggression, and relational aggression as potential risk factors associated with bullying others.

In our research, moral disengagement was measured with questions on: being mean to others, cruel to others, not being trustworthy, being manipulative, and lacking guilt. From a systemic perspective, we were interested in the quality of students' relationships with their parents, as well as with peers. We asked students about their relationships with parents in terms of trust, conflict, and monitoring.

We asked students about their relationships with peers in terms of conflict with peers and susceptibility to peer pressure. We were also able to assess the degree to which other youth in the students' peer groups also reported bullying and hence formed a peer context for bullying.

Diverse developmental pathways and profiles of risk

Low bullying group

Given that bullying is wrong and hurtful, it is encouraging that almost half (42%) of the students in our study very seldom reported bullying others from late elementary school through to the end of high school. Consistent with gender differences in other forms of aggression, the proportion of girls in the low bullying group was almost double that of boys (53% and 29%, respectively). Students who followed the low bullying pathway reported the most adaptive individual and relationship factors. Compared to the moderate, desisting, and high groups, they were least likely to report moral disengagement, and physical and relational aggression. The low group also reported the healthiest relationships. They had more trust and less conflict with parents who were in touch with their lives (monitoring). Their peer relationships were also healthiest, with low conflict and susceptibility to peer pressure, and fewer friends who themselves bullied. In considering the risk factors for the groups involved in high, moderate, or desisting bullying, we used the low bullying group for comparisons. In a sense, we consider this group the “gold standard”: these youth have developed the critical relationship skills and understanding to avoid using their power aggressively with peers and to maintain positive relationships within the family and peer group.

High bullying group

At the other end of the spectrum is the group of youth who report persistently high levels of bullying from late elementary school (ages 10 to 13 years) through the end of high school (ages 14, 15, 16, and 17 years). Within this group, there was a marked gender difference: the proportion of boys who fell onto the high bullying pathway was four times higher than the proportion of girls (16% and 4%, respectively). This pattern suggests that bullying is highly atypical for girls. Although their numbers are lower, girls who engage in chronic bullying experience a wide range of psychosocial problems (11). In late elementary school, children who are on course for persistently using their power aggressively presented with high levels of individual and relationship problems. They were significantly higher than the low group on moral disengagement, as well as on physical and relational aggression. These problems persist into high school with the same group differences on individual risk factors associated with bullying. When we consider relationships in these children’s lives, a similar pattern of risk emerges. In late elementary school, they are significantly different than the low bullying group on low trust and high conflict with parents, and their parents’ monitoring is lower. With peers, the high bullying group reports significantly higher conflict and susceptibility to negative peer pressure, and they associate with more peers who bully compared to the low group. As they continue on the high bullying pathway, all of these risk patterns persist into high school.

Moderate bullying group

In many respects, there is cause for concern about youth who report moderate, but consistent levels of bullying over the late elementary and high school years. Gender differences are also found in this trajectory group: 41% of boys fell into the moderate bullying group, compared to 30% of girls. These data suggest that a persistently moderate level of bullying is somewhat normative for boys, even though bullying is wrong and hurtful. Youth on the moderate bullying pathway reported individual problems that were similar to the high bullying group. In elementary school, they were significantly higher than the low bullying group on

moral disengagement, physical and relational aggression. These patterns of individual risk persisted into high school. It is in their relationships that we see a difference between the patterns of the high and moderate bullying groups, primarily within the family context. Although they reported significantly lower trust and monitoring than the low bullying group in both the late elementary and high school years, there was no difference between the moderate and low groups' reports of conflicts with their parents. In relationships with peers, the moderate bullying group differed from the low bullying group in reports of conflict and in associating with bullying peers at both time periods. In the early adolescent years, the moderate bullying group did not differ from the low group on susceptibility to peer pressure; however, they reported succumbing to peer pressure in the adolescent years.

Desisting bullying group

The desisting group is interesting because it gives us a glimpse of what might be important to enable youth to move beyond using their power aggressively as they mature. In contrast to the high and moderate bullying groups, a similar proportion of boys and girls fell onto the desisting pathway (14% and 13%, respectively). When in late elementary school, the desisting bullying group reported engaging in bullying at a level similar to the high bullying group. During this stage, they appear to have many of the same individual and relationship risk factors as the high and moderate bullying groups. Compared to the low bullying group, they reported more moral disengagement, and more physical and relational aggression. Their relationships with parents were lower on trust, higher on conflict, and they reported that their parents were less aware of their comings and goings than the low bullying group. Their relationships with peers were similarly troubled in late elementary school: they had more conflict with peers and their friends were more likely to bully compared to the low bullying group. Similar to the moderate bullying group, in early adolescence these youth reported low susceptibility to negative peer pressure that did not differ from the low bullying group.

The picture for the desisting group changed substantially in high school, when their reports of bullying decreased. Positive developments were evident in all domains – the desisting group no longer differed from the “gold standard” low bullying group on any of the individual risk factors, nor on the quality of their relationships with parents. They were no longer higher in conflict with peers and seem to have stopped associating with friends who bully. The only risk factor that remained was susceptibility to peer pressure.

Our longitudinal research reveals important variations in the development of bullying and in associated risk factors – there is not a standard profile of children who bully. To assess and intervene with children who bully, we need to consider a range of individual strengths and weaknesses, as well as the relationship contexts in which children develop (12,13). In the next section, we consider the prevention and intervention strategies to support the healthy development and relationships of children who bully.

Interventions for bullying: Developmental-systemic perspective

Our research has led us to recognize bullying as a relationship problem, leading to a basic tenet for prevention and intervention strategies: A relationship problem requires relationship solutions. Within the relationship context of bullying, children who bully learn how to use power and aggression to control and distress others. Prevention and intervention strategies need

to provide children who bully with the critical skills and contexts to transform their relationships from ones in which they use their power aggressively to those in which they use their power positively. Our work draws heavily from a positive youth development perspective (14). Within this positive perspective, we avoid labeling children as “victims” or “bullies,” but take a broader perspective on their strengths and challenges. The goal of interventions with children who bully is to enhance their relationship capacity and to promote healthy relationships in the present in order to lay the foundation for healthy relationships throughout the lifespan. Youth who are persistently high on bullying require intensive clinical support; those on the moderate and desisting trajectories require support tailored to their needs until they learn the skills and orientations necessary for healthy relationships.

To achieve relationship solutions, children who bully need to be provided with formative, rather than punitive consequences – interventions that provide a clear message that bullying is unacceptable, build awareness, skills, empathy, and insights, and provide alternatives to bullying. Research points to many domains for intervention at the individual and relationship levels. Support for children with bullying problems can be delivered through school-based and clinical programs, but lessons are also required on a moment-to-moment basis in the home, classroom, and community.

Individual risk factors

At the individual level, moral disengagement emerges as a strong risk factor for persistent bullying. Children who bully their peers fail to understand or ignore the critical message that bullying is wrong and hurtful. Bandura (15) described moral disengagement as a lack of self regulation regarding moral conduct. Youth on the high and moderate bullying trajectories consistently reported problems in being mean and cruel to others, not being trustworthy, being manipulative, and lacking guilt. These youth require specific support in recognizing that bullying is wrong, in appreciating the rights of others, and in regulating their own emotions and behaviors in order to reflect and act on what is right and wrong.

Bullying is a form of aggression; therefore, it is not surprising that other forms of aggression are related to persistence in bullying. The use of aggression may relate to two basic problems: the lack of emotional and behavioral regulation and the need for power and status. The first problem of self regulation might differentiate the high and moderate groups, although our research does not specifically address this issue. Children who persist in bullying at a high rate may not have learned the lessons of self control and social skills critical to healthy relationships.

It is important to support these youth in learning to control their anger, developing social understanding, and solving social problems in adaptive ways. The second problem is that children who bully have learned to use their power aggressively: they are asserting social power through aggression.

The challenge is to redirect these children’s leadership potential from the negative strategies of bullying to positive leadership skills and opportunities. These children require support to find positive ways of gaining power and status among peers.

Family and peer relationships

Children first learn how to relate to others in the family context and then in the broader contexts of peers, schools, and communities. If these relationships are strained, children fail to develop the attachments, skills, insights, and trust that are essential for positive relationships. We found that relationships with parents are low in trust and high in conflict for both the high and moderate bullying groups. There is also low monitoring, which is an index of the quality of the relationship and youths' willingness to disclose details of their lives to their parents (16). A prevention focus on family relationships is critical because without a foundation of healthy relationships within the family, youths are limited in their capacity to achieve healthy relationships outside the family. Parents may need support in developing a positive perspective of their children and in finding strategies that are positive and constructive.

Youth who fall on the high and moderate bullying pathways also experience strained relationships with peers. They have more conflict with friends and are embedded in groups with peers who also bully. High conflict with peers will arise if a youth does not possess adaptive problem solving skills and/or is associating with others who lack these skills. Because of the strong reinforcement that deviant youth provide each other for negative behavior (17), reducing the extent to which a youth associates with troubled peers may be a critical strategy to address problems of bullying.

Children who exhibit persistent problems of bullying at a high or moderate rate are learning the "effectiveness" of using their power aggressively to control and distress others. Left unchecked, these relationship patterns may carry forward into dating aggression and into marital abuse, child abuse and workplace harassment in adulthood. Bullying is wrong and hurtful at any age. Children who persistently bully have failed to learn critical relationship skills and attitudes. They experience a wide range of physical and mental health problems and are in need of focused support to enable them to move on to healthy relationships – the foundation of well-being throughout the lifespan.

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Chapter 73

SCHOOL BULLYING: ITS NATURE AND ECOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

Recent youth suicides only highlight a persistent problem in schools – bullying and sustained peer victimization. Being a target or victim of bullying has long been recognized as having short- and long-term psychological effects on children and adolescents across the world today. School bullying is one of the most significant public health concerns facing children and adolescents. Objective: Involvement in the social phenomena of school bullying is often explained as emerging from a wide range of risk and protective factors within the social-ecology of youth. The social-ecological model posits that bullying behaviors are shaped by various interrelated contexts, including individual characteristics, family, peers, and the school environment. Methods: Research is reviewed to highlight the correlates of bullying involvement across these contexts using social-ecological and social-learning frameworks. Meta-analytic studies are reviewed on the short- and long-term impact of bullying involvement and efficacy of bullying prevention programs. Specific recommendations for prevention planning and future research efforts are provided. Conclusions: Bullying is a multi-faceted issue, which is best understood in the larger social context in which it occurs. Individual characteristics of students contribute to bullying involvement when students have families that promote violence, teachers that ignore or dismiss bullying, schools that have negative climates, and students who hang out with friends who bully. These social contexts need to be targeted in bully prevention programs to reduce bullying and peer victimization in schools.

INTRODUCTION

School-based bullying emerges from a complex interplay among individual characteristics of bullies, victims, bully-victims, and bystanders, their family experiences, their school

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environment, influences from their peers, and larger community factors. In this paper, research is reviewed to highlight the correlates of bullying involvement across these context using social-ecological and social-learning frameworks. Specific recommendations for prevention planning and future research efforts are provided.

Involvement in the social phenomena of school bullying is often explained as emerging from a wide range of risk and protective factors within the social-ecology of youth (1). The social-ecological model posits that bullying behaviors are shaped by various interrelated contexts, including individual characteristics, family, peers, and the school environment (2). Also, because bullying is seen as a form of aggression that initiates and is maintained through learning, modeling, and socialization, social learning (3) theoretical frameworks have been used to understand school bullying (1). Bandura's (4) social learning theoretical framework emphasizes that the context in which individuals learn is influenced by the reciprocal relationship among the biological and psychological characteristics of the person, his/her behavior, and the environment.

DEFINITION AND ASSESSMENT

With few exceptions, the definition that dominates the bully research literature has been adopted from Professor Dan Olweus's pioneering scholarship on bullying in Europe. He posited that "A student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more students" (5). It is important to consider the components of this definition as we move forward. It is evident from this definition that bullying involves negative actions that are repeated. In other variations of this definition it is implied that bullying is intentional and involves a power differential between the victim and those who are perpetrating the bullying. Growing evidence, however, suggests that students' own definition of bullying deviates substantially from this widely adopted definition.

More specifically, Vaillancourt and colleagues in Canada asked students ages 8 to 18 years ($N = 1767$) to provide their own definition of bullying, and only 1.7% included the notion of intentionality, 6% mentioned repetition, and only 26% mentioned a power imbalance, however, 92% did indicate behaviors that are negative (6). In a randomized design, students presented with a definition indicated less bully victimization than students who responded to just behavioral indicators of bullying without a definition, suggesting that presentation of the definition impacts reporting rates. More recently, Cook and colleagues indicated in a meta-analysis of 153 studies that the association of bully status (bully, victim, bully-victim) and individual and contextual outcomes were not moderated by whether a study provided a definition of bullying, or provided only behavioral descriptors of aggression (7). Taken together, it is imperative that the next generation of bullying research explicitly tests the components of the bullying definition in order to determine the most salient aspects of intentionality, repetition, and a power differential. Finally, bully assessments must go through extensive cognitive testing to determine what aspects of a definition, if any, students are using when responding to follow-up questions and how prevalence rates and correlates differ when other forms of aggression are assessed with a definition.

A closer examination of definitional and assessment issues will be instrumental as research moves to expand our understanding of bullying and victimization that is occurring through cell phones and computers. Cyberbullying, or technology aggression research is in its infancy, thus,

all disciplines must contribute to this emerging literature by conducting studies on this topic to determine which theories of school-based bullying translate or do not translate to the computer-based bullying.

PREVALENCE

Recent youth suicides only highlight a persistent problem in schools – bullying and sustained peer victimization (1). Being a target or victim of bullying has long been recognized as having short- and long-term psychological effects on children and adolescents across the world today (see meta-analysis, 7). Bullying is one of the most significant public health concerns facing children and adolescents (8). Involvement in bullying among elementary and middle school students is quite prevalent with students assuming roles such as bully, victim, bully/victim, and various bystander roles (7,9). Worldwide incidence rates for bullying in school-aged youth range from 10% of secondary students to 27% of middle school students who report being bullied often (10). Current estimates suggest that nearly 30% of American students are involved in bullying in one of these capacities (11).

Specifically, findings from this nationally representative sample indicated that among 6th to 10th graders, 13% had bullied others, 11% had been bullied, and 6% had both bullied others and been bullied. Bullying involvement has also been implicated as a predictor of school shootings. In the United States, an investigation was commissioned in 2000 by the Secret Service; family and friends of students involved in 37 incidents of targeted school shootings and school attacks between 1974 and 2000 were interviewed. Researchers discovered that 71% of the perpetrators had been victims of bullying (12). It appears that retaliation on the part of former victims is spanning across the globe with the recent school shooting in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-13003419>).

Individual differences. Certain individual characteristics heighten risks for being victim of bullying. Boys are more often victimized than girls (7,13), although this depends somewhat on the form of victimization; whereas boys are more likely to experience physical bullying victimization (e.g., being hit), girls are more likely to be targets of indirect victimization (e.g., social exclusion) (14). One of the few studies that addressed influences of race on bullying found that Black students reported less victimization than White or Hispanic youth (11). Other factors increase one's likelihood of bullying others. Boys are more likely to bully peers than girls (15), and individuals with behavioral, emotional, or learning problems are more likely to engage in bullying than peers (16).

Bullies, particularly male bullies, tend to be physically stronger than peers. Juvonen, Graham, and Schuster (17) found Black middle school youth more likely to be categorized as bullies and bully-victims than White students. Another study found somewhat more Hispanic student bullying reports than for Black and White youth (11).

ACADEMIC AND PSYCHOSOCIAL CORRELATES

Psychosocial Correlates. In the most comprehensive meta-analysis of the correlates of bully involvement among children and adolescents, Cook and colleagues (7) found overlapping and distinct individual correlates across 153 studies of bullies, victims, and bully-victims.

Overall, bullies have elevated externalizing behaviors, social competence and academic challenges, negative attitudes and self-cognitions; whereas victims have elevated internalizing behaviors, negative self-related cognitions, and lower social skills. In addition, bully-victims have elevated co-morbid internalizing and externalizing behaviors and negative attitudes about oneself.

Academic outcomes. Recent studies are supporting what we have suspected for years. Being a target of bullying can have a major impact on school engagement, achievement, and test scores. For example, Glew and colleagues (18) found an association between bullying victimization and low academic achievement. More recently, Glew and colleagues (19) found that for each one-point rise in the grade point average of 7th, 9th, and 11th graders in an urban public school district, the odds of being a victim, versus a bystander, decreased by 10% (19).

A study of 930 6th graders in the first year of middle school found that students who were bullies, victims, or bully-victims showed poorer school adjustment (e.g., doing well on schoolwork, getting along with classmates, following rules, doing homework) than their uninvolved peers over three assessments into the end of the 7th grade (20). It stands to reason that the prevalent nature of bullying is preventing many very talented children and adolescents from achieving their full academic potential.

FAMILY CORRELATES

Research has suggested that bullying behaviors (bullying and bully/victim) and victimization are differentially associated with various family-level factors. A thorough examination of the extant literature indicated that bullies have elevated family conflict and lower parental monitoring, and are highly influenced by negative home environment (7).

Specifically, among a European sample of middle school children, families of bullies displayed low cohesion compared to families of victims and bully/victims, especially among siblings (21). Moreover, bullies and bullies/victims report receiving less parental social support than their peers who are uninvolved in bullying (22). Evidence also suggests an association between bullying and an authoritarian parental style and conflict/disagreement with parents (23), while others have cited associations between bullying and lack of warmth and parental indifference/permissiveness toward children (24). Perceptions of family functioning are also related to bully perpetration.

Among a sample of Australian 11 to 16 year olds, bullying was associated with poorer psycho-social family health, less positive relations with parents in families where both parents were present, and low parental emotional support (25). In families where only mothers were present, bullying was related to negative attitudes towards their mother for boys only (26,25).

In a sample of American middle-school children, significant differences were found in the prevalence of bullying and victimization by siblings among bullies, victims, bullies/victims, and those not involved in bullying (27). Nearly one-third of students who reported bullying their peers were also bullied by their siblings (29.03%). More than half of those who bullied their peers (56.45%) reported bullying siblings. In addition, research has shown that sibling conflict is associated with teacher ratings of aggression and high rates of sibling conflict are associated with less social competence and more aggression (28).

Generally, children who witness or experience the perpetration of violence in the home may identify with the perpetrator and/or learn that violent and aggressive acts are appropriate

behaviors, especially when the behavior goes unpunished (29,30). Additionally, an explanation consistent with Bandura's social learning theoretical framework would posit that because students experience and witness certain behaviors in the familial setting, they are likely to perform those behaviors when motivated to do so in the school setting. When children witness aggressive behavior on the part of their parents, social learning theory would propose that some children model the behavior of the aggressive parent by becoming bullies whereas others model the behavior of the parent who was aggressed against by becoming victims of bullying.

Indeed, several studies found that domestic violence is more likely to occur in families of bullies (31,30,32) victims of bullying (33), and bully-victims (34) than in families of those not involved in bullying. Child maltreatment has also been associated with bullying involvement (30,35), although more research needs to be conducted on this connection.

PEERS

Consistently, bullying perpetration is found to be influenced largely by peer norms and peer socialization (36,37,38). In addition, scholars suggest that bullying prevention programs that emphasize and encourage bystander intervention are likely to be effective in reducing bullying rates in schools (39,40,41,42). These researchers encourage bystanders to either report an incident of bullying or to confront students who are bullying other students. It is believed that as more bystanders intervene then bullying will become less prevalent and a more positive school climate will result. Data often suggest, however, that adolescents rarely intervene to assist victims. Further, self-declared bullies and bystanders sometimes report feeling sorry after bullying their peers though they rarely intervene in bullying episodes (43). O'Connell, Pepler and Craig (44) videotaped 1st through 6th graders ($n = 120$) during recess. The researchers found that 54% of peers spent their time reinforcing bullies by passively watching, 21% actively modeled bullies, and only 25% intervened. Older boys (grades 4-6) were more likely to join actively with the bully than were younger boys (grades 1-3) and older girls. Younger and older girls intervened on behalf of victims more often than older boys. Additional analyses of these videotapes showed that peers were present during 88% of bullying episodes, but only intervened 19% of the time. The researchers indicated that 57% of the interventions effectively stopped the bullying (45).

More recently, Rigby and Johnson (41) attempted to elucidate the characteristics of youth that are willing to intervene in bullying situations. Four hundred Australian primary and secondary students viewed a videotape of a bullying situation and were subsequently asked what they would do if witnessing the bullying. Multiple regression analysis indicated that greater willingness to intervene was associated with being younger, having rarely or never bullied others, having been victimized, and having a positive attitude toward victims. In addition, students were more likely to intervene if they believed their friends expected them to support victims. Similarly, Gini and colleagues found that empathy was associated with defending a victim only for boys, not for girls (46), and attitudes supportive of victims were found for younger adolescence and among girls (47). Consistent with Rigby and Johnson's study, Pozzoli and Gini (48) found that perceived positive peer pressure to defend a victim interacted with personal responsibility to predict defending. That is, students who held moderate or high levels of personal responsibility were more likely to defend a victim if they perceived their peers to hold a positive view toward defender behavior. Recent studies of early

adolescents suggest that cognitive and affective dimensions of empathy differentially predicted willingness to intervene in bullying situations (49). More specifically, Gini and colleagues (49) found that bullies had similar rates of morally competent (cognitive dimension) behavior as victims and defenders, but bullies had lower morally compassionate or caring (emotional dimension) than victims or defenders. Pöyhönen and colleagues (50) found that defending was associated with vicarious understanding (emotional dimension) of victims, rather than a cognitive understanding of the victim.

Finally, only one empirical study has considered how willingness to intervene in bullying situations is potentially influenced by the amount of bullying among a student's peers or within their friendship group using nested, peer-level data (51). Some of the extant literature had included the application of social network analysis to test similarity of friends on measures of bullying perpetration (52,53,54) but none had assessed how bullying perpetration among friends negatively influences adolescent's willingness to intervene over time. Espelage and colleagues (51) examined the associations among gender, empathy, attitudes toward bullying, willingness to intervene, and bullying within peer groups in a sample of 6th and 7th grade students ($N = 346$). The authors identified peer groups via social network analysis using NEGOPY (55) and examined peer group influence through multi-level modeling. Greater bullying perpetration within one's peer group was highly predictive of less individual willingness to intervene, suggesting that any prevention efforts to address bystander or defender intervention must first reduce the level of bullying with peer groups.

TEACHERS, ADMINISTRATORS AND PARAPROFESSIONALS

Teachers, administrators and other staff all influence the social climate of their schools, playing a prominent role in the education of their students. While teachers and students share the same environment, research has shown that there are often differences in perceptions of bullying prevalence, which then has implications for intervening and addressing bullying problems. The ability for teachers to identify incidents of bullying amongst students is influenced by a number of factors. As children get older and transition to middle and high school the way bullying is presented changes. Likely due to developmental trends, physical forms of aggression give way to more relational and social forms of aggression as children grow older. Teachers are more effective at identifying bullying behaviors among elementary school children, which tends to be more physical in nature, and have greater difficulty identifying bullying behaviors in adolescents, which tends to be more relational (56). Relational aggression may be more difficult for teachers to identify as it can include social exclusion and can often be done in ways that do not have the same overt behaviors that physical aggression includes. Teachers' attitudes towards the severity of bullying are also related to this transition from more physical forms of bullying to more social and relational aggression. Teachers have rated physical bullying as more serious compared to verbal bullying (57). These attitudes then carry over to how likely individuals are to intervene.

Teachers are less likely to intervene when bullying is of the social exclusion type. The level of sympathy and to what extent teachers view students as victims is a factor. Teachers tend to have less sympathy for victims of social exclusion and are therefore less likely to get involved, and even if they do intervene they will utilize more lenient interventions (57). Furthermore, this

willingness to intervene may also change, as students get older. Teachers may be more willing to redirect younger children, but may not feel as comfortable doing so with older students.

Student characteristics as perceived by the teacher can also impact how bullying is viewed. Teachers may hold views about certain students, which makes it difficult for the teacher to recognize when the student is a victim of bullying. Students who teachers identify as assertive and well adjusted are less likely to be perceived as victims of bullies (58). The attitudes and beliefs that teachers have regarding bullying is important to consider as these beliefs permeate the classroom atmosphere and influence the feelings students have. These beliefs also influence the behaviors of students, both the bullies and victims.

CLASSROOM FACTORS

While bullying starts as a dyadic interaction between a bully and a victim, it is best understood in the broader social context in which it occurs (59). The broader context includes the school, classrooms, and the individuals who engage in these locations, including teachers, students and staff. Teachers play a unique role in the classroom. While they are not directly a part of the peer networks of their students, teachers serve as a connection to other settings and to other adults (60). Teachers can provide a strong influence as they guide their students in academic activities and interactions with peers, setting a tone for what is appropriate. Teachers play a central role in how their classrooms are organized and managed, which then influences the peer ecology (60). Research has demonstrated that teacher's management of the class has a strong relationship with bullying. Classroom management influences bullying both directly, and indirectly via the social structure of the class (61). Therefore, not only does classroom management have direct implications for the prevalence of bullying, but also has an effect on the relationships and social norms of the class, which then influences bullying behaviors.

Teachers attitudes and beliefs about bullying influence the way they manage their classrooms. Kochenderfer-Ladd and Pelletier (62) looked at attitudes teachers had regarding bullying and how that influenced how teachers intervene with elementary age students. Those teachers, who believed that students would not be bullied if they asserted themselves, indicate they would advise their students to stand up for themselves (62). However, when teachers believed that bullying was a normal part of student interactions, they were less likely to intervene. In this view, victims of bullies are not seen as being as adversely impacted by the bully's behaviors. It may be that teachers who do not feel sympathy for a victim may feel that getting involved is unnecessary (57).

Craig, Henderson, and Murphy (63) argue that teacher attitudes towards bullying, as well as their likelihood to intervene, is influenced by contextual and individual factors. When bullying is physical, as opposed to verbal, in nature, and is witnessed, teachers are more likely to view the incident as bullying and view it as more serious and worthy of intervention. Furthermore, when verbal aggression and social exclusion were witnessed these behaviors were more likely to be labeled as bullying (63). Therefore, the views that teachers take and their subsequent actions are directly influenced by them witnessing the event.

The norms of a classroom also influence how children treat each other. In addition, classroom factors influences how victims of bullies are treated by their peers. When reactions to bullying and discipline are lacking or inconsistent in a classroom, this can set up an

atmosphere of tolerance for bullying behaviors. In classrooms where aggressive behaviors are more accepted there tends to be higher levels of aggression (64). Ignoring incidents of social exclusion and relational aggression may be even more common. When teachers ignore social exclusion, they are likely to send an inappropriate message that this type of bullying behavior is tolerated and even permitted (57). This casual attitude can also make victims feel that teachers are uncaring or unable to protect students from bullying.

Teachers can influence the dynamics of their classrooms, encouraging a more egalitarian structure. Classrooms in which the social power is more evenly distributed foster a more pro-social and less hostile environment (64). Aggressive students tend to be less popular in classrooms where students are more equal to each other, as opposed to classrooms where students have unique roles and places in the social hierarchy respective to their classmates. In classrooms where students have unique roles, aggression may be seen as tool for students to maintain their position or to move to alternate positions (64). Being conscious of social hierarchies and power differentials can allow teachers to structure activities and lessons in a way that promotes a decrease of these disparities.

While creating a more egalitarian classroom environment has been shown to decrease concerns with bullying, it can be difficult to achieve in practice. Teachers tend to do well in identifying the most popular and salient groups in a class, but have more difficulty identifying less popular groups (60). Additionally, the social atmosphere, and the status hierarchies in the classroom may change with age. In primary school classrooms (grades one to four), the social structure in a classroom may be more flexible as compared to secondary school classrooms (grades five and beyond). In primary grades, the social hierarchies observed are less stable, in that children at the higher or lower ends of the hierarchy can change their position over time. This more flexible social structure in the younger grades may create situations in which bullies target many different students without a constant focus on one student, as victims can move more freely to peer interactions that have more favorable outcomes (65). Whereas secondary school classes tend to have stronger hierarchical structures, which may explain the lower prevalence but higher stability of victims seen in secondary schools (65). In this case, it is more difficult for students on the lower end of the hierarchy to move and interact with different peers. Additionally, in secondary schools directing aggression to an already disliked peer (low status) appears to be more normative than in primary schools (65). Shifting these norms is a goal that teachers can try obtain through classroom setups and activities.

SCHOOL STRUCTURE

The location of where bullying takes place varies with the age of students. For elementary school students, bullying tends to take place on playgrounds, in cafeterias and classrooms, whereas for older students in addition to the cafeteria and classrooms, hallways and locker rooms are also a source of concern (56). Being aware of areas on school campuses that can increase risk for students can be an effective tool for school staff wanting to intervene in incidents of bullying. It has also been noted that when the student-to-teacher ratio increases, there is an increased risk for victimization (66). While it is not necessarily large schools that create an increased risk (67), when teachers are accountable for a greater number of students they may not have the resources or abilities to diligently intervene on behalf of all the students.

SCHOOL CLIMATE AND ETHOS

A disordered school environment will make it more difficult for teachers to effectively manage their classrooms. This disorder also has implications for the prevalence of bullying. Bradshaw and colleagues (66) found that students within the same schools share similar experiences regarding the perceptions of their school and the appropriateness of using aggression in response to frustrations. Students shared similar perceptions regarding their school environment. However, even though teachers and students share this same environment, their perceptions regarding the school atmosphere and the prevalence of bullying may not always be the same. Teacher reports of the prevalence of bullying are often lower as compared to student reports (58).

Past research has suggested that many teachers may be unaware of the rate of bullying and the extent to which students are victimized. Teachers and school staff tend to underestimate the numbers of students who are victims (56). As a result, teachers may miss opportunities to intervene. According to Pepler et al. (68), 84 percent of teachers reported that they intervened nearly always or often to stop bullying, while only 35 percent of students reported that teachers' intervened. Bradshaw and colleagues (56) also found large discrepancies between staff perceptions of how frequent bullying occurred and student reports of victimization. While these discrepancies may be a result of teachers not being fully aware of the bullying that is occurring in their schools, it may also partly be a factor of students not wanting to report incidents of bullying to teachers and staff.

Students may not go to teachers and staff for support as they might feel reporting the bullying will make the situation worse (56). The advice that students receive from adults, while well intentioned, may not provide them with the resolution they hoped for. For instance, suggestions to "ignore the person" may not be the most helpful advice (69). Additionally, students may also be afraid to report episodes of bullying to teachers out of fear that retaliation will ensue (69).

While students may not seek help, teachers and staff can provide cues to students regarding what types of behaviors and attitudes are accepted in the school. When teachers and other school staff tolerate, ignore, or dismiss bullying behaviors they are conveying that bullying behaviors are acceptable within the school (58). This also has implications for the victims of bullies as they may begin to internalize these beliefs. This can also go in the opposite direction, where school personnel convey to the students that these behaviors are unacceptable. When teachers are able to "intervene in a timely, consistent, and decided manner their efforts are usually effective" in addressing the actions of the bully and the needs of the victim (62, p. 432). Schools should reflect strong disapproval for aggressive behavior, bullying, and social exclusion, and this intolerance should be clearly communicated to students so as to discourage these behaviors (57). This type of school climate will also provide support for victims as they are more inclined to feel supported by their school, teachers, and other staff.

Many of the prevention efforts aimed to reduce bullying assess ways in which teachers can approach situations within their classrooms and provide them with tools to intervene and effectively manage bullying (62).

META-ANALYTIC STUDIES OF BULLYING PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

Despite a long history of published studies on what predicts bullying involvement in school-age children and adolescents (70,36), systematic evaluations of large-scale prevention programs are only now appearing in the literature. In 2008, a meta-analytic investigation of 16 studies published from 1980-2004 yielded disappointing results regarding the impact of anti-bullying programs (71). This meta-analysis included data from over 15,000 students (grades Kindergarten to 12) in Europe, Canada, and the United States. Positive effect sizes were found for only one-third of the study variables, which primarily reflected favorable changes in knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions of bullying. No changes were found for actual bullying behaviors. These authors indicated in a tentative fashion that school bullying interventions showed modest evidence of enhancing student social competence, self-esteem, and peer acceptance. In addition, it appears that programs shifted in a positive direction teachers' knowledge of effective practices and efficacy of intervening and responding to incidences at school.

Ttofi, Farrington, and Baldry (72) simultaneously conducted a larger meta-analysis that included more studies. In a report for the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, they evaluated 44 bullying intervention studies. Results indicated that bullying and victimization were reduced by 17-23% in experimental schools compared to control schools. Ttofi et al. found that reductions in bullying were associated with classroom rules, classroom management, parent training, increased playground supervision, home-school communication, classroom rules, classroom management, and the use of training videos (72). Further, there was a dosage effect; the more elements included in a program, the greater likelihood of reducing bullying. There is sadly, a huge gulf between research and practice in bullying prevention and intervention work. We believe that the next generation of bullying scholarship needs to address the problem from scholars inside and outside of education, and move beyond a focus solely on individual children, but attempt to change the contextual variables that are promoting bullying in our society.

Despite these empirical efforts, what we know and what we can learn about bullying and peer victimization is changing as rapidly as the contexts are changing in which children are embedded. This dynamic proliferation of attention to bullying and peer victimization calls for a continuation of research programs that push the science and practice of bullying research into the next phase. A sample of areas that could benefit from direct prevention and intervention focus include:

- (1) Examining the role of neuroscience in understanding the impact of bullying victimization on child development and inability for youth to engage academically. Only recently has research emerged on the impact of peer victimization on brain functioning (6).
- (2) Incorporating innovative computer science tools and techniques to supervise and track teachers in their efforts to implement school-based bullying prevention programs with fidelity as outlined by developers. Bullying programs are only as good as their implementers. Teachers are the best to implement these programs in their classrooms; however, they have many demands on their time and are likely to drift in their ability

to adhere to bullying lesson implementation. Indeed, the recent meta-analyses (72) suggest that implementation level moderates the efficacy of school programs.

- (3) Developing better observational methods from communication, engineering, and computer science to collect complex observational data on playgrounds, classrooms, etc., where bullying occurs at the highest frequency. Self-, teacher, and peer-reports of bullying all have their validity and reliability issues and generally all fail to assess the dynamic and interactional nature of bullying; thus, observational methods need to be developed that are cost-effective and efficient in examining the interpersonal dynamics of bullying.
- (4) Adapting bullying prevention programs to address diversity in sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, and immigration status. Very little research has focused on the effectiveness of “generic” bullying prevention efforts with subgroups, such as LGBT youth, or ethnically diverse populations.
- (5) Bullying perpetration develops and is supported through a peer norm that promotes bullying and a peer norm that discourages assisting the victim (36,51,73). Given the importance of modifying peer group attitudes in the direction of bystander intervention, prevention programs need to be developed that target the peer group dynamics, attitudes, and behaviors.

CONCLUSION

School bullying is a concern for many students and is an experience that is prevalent in countless schools. It has been recognized that both victims and bullies experience both short-term and long-term psychological effects (74), including academic and psychosocial problems. Bullying is a multi-faceted issue, which is best understood in the larger social context in which it occurs. This includes an examination of individual characteristics, family conditions, peers, and the school environment.

Research has explored many aspects of bullying and its consequences, and future research is hoped to expand on areas that are not as well understood. Furthermore, the changing nature of the world in which children live, including the expansion of technology in their lives, requires that research considers and explores new areas of potential conflict and concern. Moving these research efforts to practice is imperative to inform prevention and intervention programs that can effectively intervene with bullying. Taking into consideration the complex nature of bullying, such efforts may be best suited with a focus on the broader context in which children interact, as opposed to intervening with children solely on an individual level.

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Chapter 74

BULLYING AMONG SIBLINGS

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ABSTRACT

Parents are often concerned about repeated conflicts between their daughters and sons. However, there is little empirical research of sibling bullying. In this chapter we conduct a review of existing studies of sibling bullying. Are there any associations between sibling bullying and peer bullying at school? What are the consequences of sibling bullying? Is there good justification why sibling bullying has been so neglected in research? *Method:* Studies of sibling relationships were reviewed. Four quantitative studies were identified that report on both sibling and peer bullying. *Results:* Sibling bullying is frequent with up to 50% involved in sibling bullying every month and between 16-20% involved in bullying several times a week. Experience of sibling bullying increases the risk of involvement in bullying in school. Both, bullying between siblings and school bullying make unique contributions to explaining behavior and emotional problems. There is a clear dose-effect relationship of involvement of bullying at home and at school and behavior or emotional problems. Those involved in both have up to 14 times increased odds of behavior or emotional problems compared to those involved in only one context or not at all. *Conclusions.* The empirical evidence is limited and studies are mostly cross-sectional studies. Nevertheless, the review suggests that for those victimized at home and at school behavior and emotional problems are highly increased. Sibling relationships appear to be a training ground with implications for individual wellbeing. Strengthening families and parenting skills and increasing sibling support is likely to reduce bullying and increase wellbeing.

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INTRODUCTION

Sibling relationships are generally the most enduring relationships in a lifetime (1-3). By middle childhood children spend more time interacting with siblings than with parents(4). Siblings play an important role in each other's lives as companions, teachers, and caregivers (5-6). Through their relationship and their interactions with each other, siblings significantly contribute to each other's development and adjustment. According to Brody (7), siblings can either have a direct (i.e., related to child-sibling interactions) or an indirect (i.e., related to one child's impact on parents and therefore on the siblings) effect on each other's development. The social ties build in sibling relationships can have wide ranging influences. Studies found that positive quality of sibling relationship and interaction can facilitate the acquisition of skills that are important in cognitive and social development (8) (9). More specifically, it has been found that positive sibling relationships help children develop social skills and provide emotional support (10), protect children from other family adversities such as adverse life events (11) or marital conflicts (12) or poor peer relationships (13). On the other hand, negative sibling relationships intensify adjustment problems (14) and may create long-term adverse effects.

Physical aggression between siblings has been reported to be the most common form of family violence and is experienced by up to half of all children in the course of a year (2). Some (15) reported that 40% of the children whose parents they interviewed had hit a brother or sister with an object during the preceding year, and 82% had engaged in some form of violence against a sibling. Others report that that between 30% and 98% are physically attacked or victimized by their siblings during a year (16). In many families aggression between siblings is frequent and a source of great concern to parents (17) and is the most prevalent form of family violence(2). Similarly, up to a quarter of children become victims of violence from non-sibling peers, most frequently at school (18). As the example shows violence between children in the family or children in the nursery or school is viewed differently than violence between adults or of an adult to a child (1). The same act seems to have different meaning if it occurs between siblings or peers compared to adults. If committed by an adult it would readily be labeled an assault and treated as a crime. In contrast, if committed by one child against another it is often described as scuffles, fights, or altercations. It is so common that few people regard it as deviant behavior and within families it is often ignored.

Thus, the quality of the social ties between sibling relationship may have positive, negative or even unanticipated consequences. For example, unanticipated consequences of good sibling relationships are that if one sibling becomes obese, the chance that the other will become obese increases by 40% (95% CI, 21 to 60). (19). Thus even a positive relationship can have unanticipated negative outcomes.

In the following we will explore the extent, the reasons and the consequences of sibling bullying. Is sibling bullying different from bullying between non-sibling peers? Are there any associations between sibling bullying and peer relationships at school? Are the consequences of sibling bullying less overwhelming, less injurious or less psychologically harmful than of peer bullying? Is there good justification why sibling bullying has been so neglected (2)?

SIBLING BULLYING

Bullying victimization refers to children being exposed repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other children who are or perceived to be stronger (20). It is intentional harm doing and systematic abuse of power (21). Bullying can be physical or direct including verbal abuse, hitting, kicking, destroying others' belongings or blackmail. In contrast, relational bullying refers to deliberate social exclusion of children such as ignoring, excluding them from games or parties, spreading gossip or humiliation (22). Direct bullying is more frequent at younger ages and decreases with age. It has been suggested that relational bullying increases in adolescence. Those subjected to both direct and relational bullying on a regular basis appear to be at the highest risk for adverse outcomes (23-24).

Surprisingly, when abuse researchers report about violence between siblings they very rarely use the term "bullying" although it is often clear that they are referring to bullying as defined above (25). Sibling relationships have similar characteristics that are associated with bullying in the peer group. Unlike friendships and similar to peer relationships in the classroom, sibling relationships are involuntary, i.e., children cannot choose their siblings they live with but they were born into these relationships. Siblings are rarely equal in terms of age, size, and physical or psychological strength; therefore there is an imbalance of power. Furthermore, the direct or indirect attacks are not single events but are frequent and repeated. Finally, similar to peers confined in the same group, siblings spend considerable amounts of times together often in the absence of an adult, which provides significant opportunities for the bullying of one sibling by another. Time spent together leads to familiarity that can breed contempt. This means they know exactly how to provoke or upset their siblings (17). Sibling interactions are emotionally charged relationships defined by strong, uninhibited emotions of positive, negative and sometimes ambivalent quality (7).

STUDIES OF SIBLING BULLYING

A range of previous studies, mainly in the 70s and 80s, looked at family violence and reported on physical attacks or sexual abuse between siblings (25-26). Others have used retrospective designs on sibling aggression between siblings (27). Thus there has been awareness of violence between siblings but these studies did not include the repetitive nature of intentional harmful acts that defines bullying but included one-time events (16,28).

Table 1 provides an overview of four studies that systematically investigated bullying between siblings. The studies are from the USA (29), Israel (26), Italy (30) and the UK (31). All studies are cross-sectional and assessed both sibling and peer bullying with self-report scales completed by the children.

In addition, three of the studies investigated behavior or emotional problems, and some additionally wellbeing (31); personality and other sibling relationship areas (30) or loneliness (29). All four studies studied children in early adolescence, i.e., between 10 and 15 years of age and sample sizes ranged from 195 to 2163 adolescents; between 87% and 100% of these adolescents had siblings.

Table 1.

Authors	Country	Sample	Age	Instruments ¹	Sibling Bullying	Peer Bullying	Associations with Behavior or Emotional Problems																
Duncan (1999)	USA	Total N: 375 Females: 178 Males: 194 With siblings 336 (89.6%)	Mean: 13.4 years (7-8 graders)	- Adapted Peer Relations Questionnaire (Rigby & Slee, 1992) - Multiscore Depression Inventory for Children (MDIC) (Berndt & Kaiser, 1996) - Children’s Loneliness Questionnaire (CLQ – Asher & Wheeler, 1985)	Total N: 336 Not involved: 186 (55.4%) Involved: - Victim: 10 (3%) - Bully: 49 (14.6%) - Bully/victim: 91 (28.6%) (classifications: pretty often/very often)	Total N: 373 None: 207 (55.5%) Victim: 60 (16.1%) Bully: 72 (19.3%) Bully/victim (34 (9.1%) (Classification: Pretty often/very often)	As most siblings were bully/victims, all subgroups collapsed into Sibling involved in Bullying (N: 150) Siblings involved: - had higher scores in all MDIC-scales e.g. Anxiety or overall depression. - higher loneliness scores in CLQ - a significant sibling involvement by peer involvement interaction was found: - those who were bully-victims at school and involved in bullying at home had the highest level of psychopathology - those not involved at home or at school had the lowest psychopathology and loneliness																
Wolke & Samara (2004)	Israel	Total N: 921 Females: 473 Males: 448 Jews: 449 Arabs: 472 With siblings: 898 (97.5%) Median Number of siblings: 3	Mean: 13.7 years SD: 0.9 years (7-9 graders)	- Adapted Bullying Questionnaire (Olweus, 1991; Wolke et al. 2000) - Assesses physical, verbal and relational bullying - Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ, Goodman, 2001)	Total N: 898 Victim: 152 (16.9%) - Physical only: 3.3% - Verbal only: 6.6% - Both: 5.4% (Classifications: every week/several times a week)	Total N: 921 Victim: 145 (15.8%) Bully/bully-victim: 120 (13.1%) (Classification: every week/several times a week)	- SDQ factor analysed and standardized for sample. Scales: Total Problems, Hyperactivity/ Conduct problems defined borderline/clinical range as >80th percentile. - analyzed close-response relationship of sibling bullying and SDQ scores a) Severity of victimisation: None, physical <u>or</u> verbal, both. b) Across contexts: neither, home or at school, both <table><tr><th>Severity:</th><th>None</th><th>Physical or Verbal</th><th>Both</th></tr><tr><td>SDQ Borderline/ Clinical</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Total Difficulties</td><td>16%</td><td>31%</td><td>57%</td></tr><tr><td>Hyperactivity Conduct Problems</td><td>13%</td><td>34%</td><td>56%</td></tr></table>	Severity:	None	Physical or Verbal	Both	SDQ Borderline/ Clinical				Total Difficulties	16%	31%	57%	Hyperactivity Conduct Problems	13%	34%	56%
Severity:	None	Physical or Verbal	Both																				
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Authors	Country	Sample	Age	Instruments ¹	Sibling Bullying	Peer Bullying	Associations with Behavior or Emotional Problems			
							Cross Context SDQ Borderline/ Clinical Total Difficulties Hyperactivity Conduct Problems	None 16% 12%	Physical or Verbal 24% 22%	Both 46% 52%
Menesini, Camodeca and Nocentini 2010)	Italy	Total N: 195 Females: 97 Males: 98 (selected from N:562. All had siblings ± 4 years of age)	10-12 years (middle school)	• Bully Questionnaire (Wolke & Samara, 2004) • applied confirmatory factor analysis (4 scales) – Sibling bullying – Sibling victimization – School bullying – School victimization • Big Five Questionnaire for Children (Barbaranelli et al 2008) • Sibling Inventory of Behaviour (Hetherington et al 1999)	• No report on prevalence • Males were more often bullies of younger siblings • Females bullied more often older siblings • Children of older and male siblings were more often victimized	No report of prevalence	Not assessed			

Table 1. (Continued)

Authors	Country	Sample	Age	• Instruments ¹	Sibling Bullying	Peer Bullying	Associations with Behavior or Emotional Problems
Wolke & Skew (2011)	UK	Representative sample from Household Panel N: 2163 Females: 1075 Males: 1081 1872 (87%) had siblings both biological parents: 57% one biological parent: 29% step-parent: 13% no biological parent: 2% biological siblings: 87% half sibling: 10% step-sibling: 3% oldest: 40% middle/Co-twin: 23% youngest: 38%	Median: 12.5 years Range 10-15 years	• Sibling Bullying Questionnaire (Wolke & Samara, 2004) • Peer Bullying Questionnaire (Sapouna et al 2010) • Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ, Goodman, 2001) • Child Happiness (Chan & Koo, 2010)	Total N: 1872 Bully: 4.5% Bully/victim: 33.6% Victim: 16% (quite a lot (every month) or a lot (a few times every week)) • Boys were more often bullies or bully/victims • Girls were more often pure victims • No association found with family or sibling type • Older siblings more often bullies	Total N: 2163 Victims: 12% Of these: • Physical only: 1.2% • Relational only: 7.1% • Both: 3.8% Bullies: 1% Victimization • No gender difference • Reduced with age • More often in children living in step parenting households	Relationship between sibling bullying roles and SDQ Total Difficulties clinical range (>90th percentile) (adjusted for school bullying) Bully: Adj. OR: 2.1 (0.9, 5.0) Bully/victim: Adj. OR: 3.2 (2.2, 4.7) Victim: Adj. OR: 1.7 (0.9, 3.0) Relationship between bullying victimisation (victims, bully/victims) home and/or school and SDQ Total Difficulties (clinical range) Unhappiness (see figure 1) Sibling or School Adj. OR: 2.7 (1.8, 4.1) Adj. OR: 2.2 (1.5, 3.1) Sibling and School Adj. OR: 14.1 (8.4, 23.5) Adj. OR: 10.5 (6.6, 16.7)

¹ please see the original articles for references instruments used in studies.

The median number of siblings was 1 in the UK (32.8% had 2 and 15.9% 3 or more siblings) (31) while the median was 3 siblings in the Israeli Jewish or Arab families (26). Only the UK study (31) provides detailed information on the family composition with just over half the adolescents (57%) living with both biological parents (table 1).

Most siblings were biological siblings (87%), 10% had half siblings and 3% step siblings. All but one study (31) are based on convenience samples drawn from schools in the USA, Israel or Italy. In contrast, the UK sample is drawn from a household panel study with 40,000 households and is representative for the whole of the UK (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland) (31) (see <http://www.understandingsociety.org.uk/>).

PREVALENCE AND TRENDS

Sibling bullying

Three of the studies have information on the prevalence of sibling bullying while the fourth study (30) used a questionnaire (26) to construct scales of sibling or peer victimization and bullying with confirmatory factor analysis. Thus the Italian study does not allow for estimation of prevalence. The US study (29) considered those who answered pretty often/ very often in relevant items of the Peer Relations Questionnaire (adapted for siblings) as involved in bullying. Only 3% were found to be pure victims, most were bully/victims (28.6%) and 14.6% pure bullies (total involvement in sibling bullying: 46.2%) (table 1). The study in Israel (26) counted only those who were frequently victimized (every week or several times a week), i.e., used a more stringent criterion, and did not ask about sibling bullying perpetration. They found that 16.5% were victims with verbal and both verbal and physical bullying (e.g., hitting) most frequent (table 1). The most recent study in the UK considered bullying if it was reported as quite a lot (at least 4 times in the last 6 months) or a lot (at least every week or several times a week). Sixteen percent were pure victims, 33.6% were bully/victims (i.e., were victimized and bullied at other times) and 4.5% were pure bullies (31). Physical bullying (hitting, kicking, pushing) and verbal abuse were the most frequent types of sibling bullying and victimization. No age trend in sibling bullying or victimization was found.

Peer bullying

The rates of peer victimization across the studies were fairly similar with between 12% (31) and 16% (26, 29) of adolescents reporting that they are targets of peer bullying. In contrast, large variation in the prevalence of bullying perpetration were apparent with between 13.1% (26) and 28.4% (29) reported to be bullies (pure bullies or bully/victims) in Israel and the USA but only 1% reporting bullying in the UK (31). Thus very few children admitted to bullying others, a finding replicated in other recent cohorts in the UK (23) (32). It may indicate that efforts to combat bullying in school (33) have resulted in adolescents being less willing to admit to being perpetrators of bullying in schools in the UK. Both the UK and US study looked at age trends and found that peer victimization reduced with age (29, 31).

To summarize, firstly, sibling bullying involvement (as victim or bully) appears to be more frequent with rates as high as 46% to 54%, compared to bullying between peers (29, 31). This is consistent with retrospective reports (27). Secondly, where assessed, most of those involved in sibling bullying are both perpetrators and victims (bully/victims).

In contrast, peer bully/victims are less frequent than pure victims in early adolescence (34). Thirdly, all types of peer victimization reduced with age with older adolescents less likely to become victims of either physical or relational victimization, a finding reported previously (35) (34). In contrast, no changes according to age were found in sibling bullying although this was only investigated systematically in one study (31).

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SIBLING BULLYING

Duncan (29) found that boys were more often victims of sibling bullying but no sex differences in bullying perpetration between the sexes were found. Others found that boys were often sibling bullies or bully/victims while girls were found to be more often pure victims (31). It appears that boys more often bully younger children while females are more often perpetrators of bullying towards older siblings (30).

Overall, younger siblings of older brothers are at increased risk of victimisation (30,31) and may lead to sustained antisocial behaviour towards older siblings (17).

In particular, older brother/younger sister dyads have been found to be characterised by higher levels of conflict and less support (36). Furthermore those with low empathy are more likely to bully their sibling (30). In contrast no relationship of sibling bullying to family type or sibling type (biological or step siblings) was found (31).

BULLIED AT HOME – BULLIED AT SCHOOL?

Arguments that familial and extra-familial relationships are linked come from several theoretical orientations. Social learning theorists have suggested that children learn particular behaviors in relationships with their parents and siblings, and that these behaviors then generalize to their interactions with peers and friends (37) (38). Attachment theory proposes that children's relationships with peers and siblings are influenced by internal working models of relationships which are carried forward from their earliest relationships with attachment figures (39) (40). Another process, which has been suggested as linking familial and extra-familial relationships, is that children's enduring characteristics, such as temperament, elicit similar responses from different relationship partners (41). Each of these theories suggests that there are connections between children's relationships with siblings, friends and peers; however, the proposed mechanisms linking relationships differ according to theory (26).

There is also reason to expect few associations between children's familial and extra-familial relationships. Firstly, siblings growing up in the same context only share, on average, 50% of their segregating genes and they are subject to non-shared experiences in the family and to parental differential treatment (42). Secondly, two children in a friendship or peer relationship are from different families and may have different temperamental characteristics, interests and talents. Their previous experiences in relationships vary and their beliefs and

expectations about how to behave in relationships are likely to differ also. Apart from different characteristics that individuals bring to their relationships, societal norms and culturally held beliefs about how one should behave in particular relationships, such as sibling relationships compared to best friendships, encourage differences and decrease the likelihood of associations between them (43). Associations between children's sibling relationships and their friendships have been reported in several studies, but the pattern of findings is inconsistent. For example, no simple 'carry-over' from sibling relationships to friendships have been found (43).

The four studies reviewed here indicate significant carry-over from sibling victimization to peer victimization. The Israeli study (26) found that of 152 children that were victims at home, 77 (50.7%) were also victims at school, in contrast to only 95 of 769 non-victims at school (12.4%; odds ratio: 7.3; 95% CI: 4.9-10.6). However, this study could not look separately at pure victims versus bully/victims. Duncan (29) found that the majority of peer bully/victims (60%) reported being bullied by their brothers or sisters. Similarly most of peer/bully victims (76.7%) and peer bullies (56.4%) reported that they bully their siblings. The UK study(31) found that victims at home were more likely to be also victims at school (Odds ratio 1.7, 95% CI: 1.3-2.2). However, when the study looked at pure victims and bully/victims separately, the relationship was mainly carried by sibling bully/victims (odds ratio: 1.9; 95% CI: 1.4-2.5) (31).

The Italian study found that sibling victimization was significantly associated with school victimization with standardized path coefficients of .35 to .38 (boys and girls, respectively) after control for a range of individual differences and other sibling relationship factors. Sibling bullying predicted school bullying at a similar level (boys: .30; girls=.35).

All sibling relationships involve conflict occasionally, however, when the conflicts are severe, repetitive and intentional (bullying), then it appears that these have a profound effect on peer relationships. The reviewed studies are all cross-sectional and thus cannot provide evidence for the direction of influence. However, Ensor and colleagues (17) recently reported on an innovative study that combined direct observation of sibling directed antisocial behaviour in the family's homes at 3 and 6 years and interaction of unfamiliar peers in an experimental setting.

The laboratory situation consisted of three unfamiliar children invited to a triadic play situation. Those young children who showed sustained high antisocial behaviour towards their siblings (3 and 6 years) were more likely to bully or refuse to share or interact with unfamiliar peers. Thus, at least in young children, experiences with siblings are predictive of bullying unfamiliar peers.

ASSOCIATIONS OF SIBLING BULLYING WITH BEHAVIOR OR EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS

Original research on potential consequences of peer bullying used cross-sectional studies and found moderate associations with behavioral, emotional or health problems (44-47). Longitudinal studies have now replicated these findings (see Sourander, this issue) (48). Furthermore, the longitudinal research indicates that there may be a dose-effect relationships with those bullied more chronically, severely or experiencing other trauma are at increased risk of adverse outcome (23, 49). Furthermore, initial behavioral or emotional difficulties may both

lead to more likely victimization (48) but victimization itself has a unique adverse effects not accounted for by pre-existing problems or different genetic susceptibility (50).

Three of the four studies of sibling bullying in the literature investigated associations between home and school bullying with behavioral or emotional functioning. The focus will be here on the associations reported with sibling rather than peer bullying.

Firstly, as shown in table 1, the United States (29), Israeli (26) and United Kingdom (31) study all reported relationships between involvement in bullying at home with emotional and behavior problems. This relationship was found even when controlled for bullying experiences in school (26,31).

Secondly, bully/victims whether at home or in school appear at highest risk for maladjustment. The US study (29) found that those who were involved in any sibling bullying and were bully/victims at school were at the highest risk for psychopathology. The Israeli study was large enough to use multiple logistic regression to control for bullying roles in the other context (e.g., sibling bullying controlled for school bullying) and a range of social factors.

Victimization by siblings, being a bully/victim or bully at school was most strongly related to Total and Hyperactivity/Conduct problems (26). Similarly, in the UK study (31), when controlled for bullying experience in school, only being a bully/victim at home was highly significantly associated with clinically relevant total behavior difficulties (Adjusted OR: 3.2 (2.2; 4.7)). Thirdly, all three studies found a clear indication of a dose-effect relationship between sibling and school bullying involvement. While either being bullied at home or school increased maladjustment, being bullied in both settings highly increased the rate of behavior or emotional problems and unhappiness. This is indicated by an interaction between home and school bullying (see table 1).

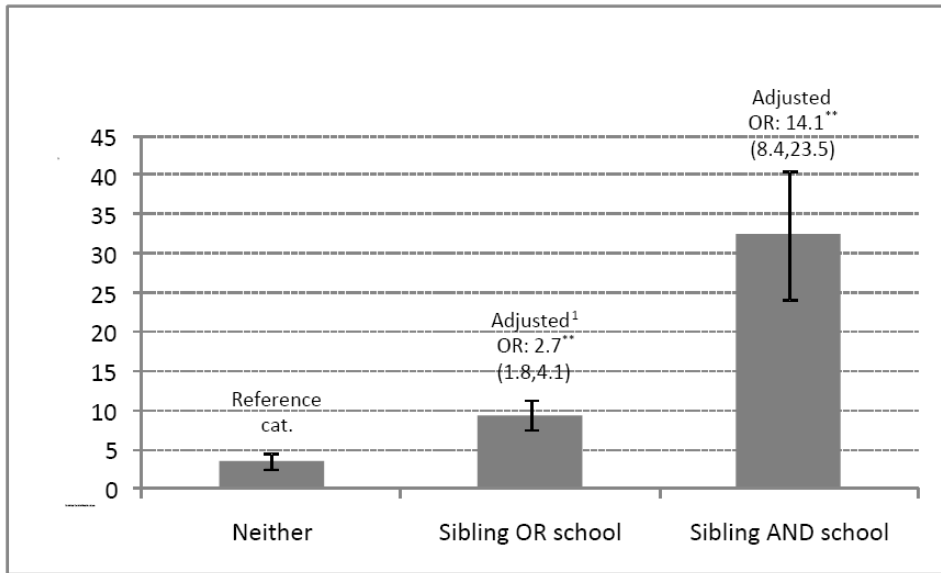
This effect is illustrated for the UK study of sibling and peer bullying (31) in figure 1 and 2. While victimization at home or school was related to behavior problems or unhappiness, being victimized in both settings led to 10 (figure 2) and 14 times increased odds of unhappiness or clinically relevant behavior problems, respectively.

Finally, a recent longitudinal study examined the short-term stability of bullying victimization at 3 time points over 9 weeks among primary school students in the United Kingdom and Germany (mean age 8.9 years) (32).

The study assessed individual factors, sibling bullying experiences and social network factors in the school classes (e.g., hierarchies, density of relationships, reciprocity etc.) and their contribution to remaining a victim of bullying.

Relative risk analyses indicated a six-fold increased risk of remaining a victim at consequent follow-ups, compared to a child not victimized at baseline becoming a victim over the follow-up period. Individual characteristics explained substantially more variance in the stability of bullying victimization than class-level factors.

Hierarchical logistic regression analyses revealed that being victimized by siblings and being rejected by peers predicted remaining a victim over a nine week period. Overall, being a victim of sibling bullying was the best predictor of remaining a victim at school (OR=2.99; 95% CI = 1.15; 7.77).

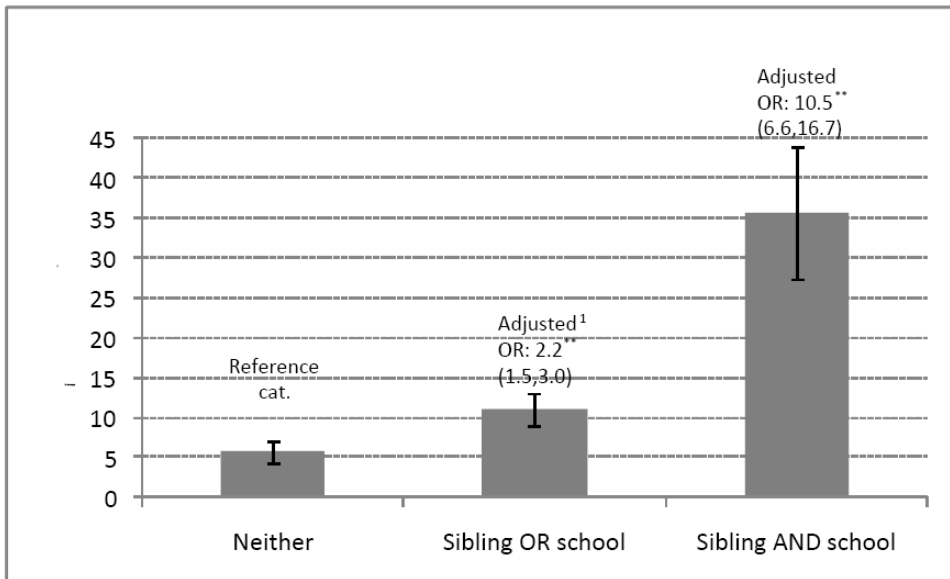


Reproduced from Wolke and Skew (31). ** $p < .001$.

¹Odds ratios adjusted in logistic regression for age of adolescents (10-12; 13-15 years), sex, family type (2 categories: natural parents; other), highest parental qualification and family income (in quintiles).

²Abnormal SDQ scores were determined as scores >90th percentile of all adolescents with SDQ data.

Figure 1. Relationship between bullying at home and/ school and clinical SDQ scores.



Reproduced from Wolke and Skew (31). ** $p < .001$.

¹Odds ratios adjusted in logistic regression for age of adolescents (10-12; 13-15 years), sex, family type (2 natural parents; other), highest parental qualification and family income (in quintiles). ²Unhappy was determined as scores <10th percentile of all Understanding Society adolescents on the Happiness scale.

Figure 2. Relationship between bullying school and unhappiness.

CONCLUSION

Firstly, sibling bullying is widespread and nearly normative with up to 50% involved in bullying every month and between 16%-20% involved in bullying several times a week at home (26, 31). Secondly, being a perpetrator and victim (bully/victim) appears to be the most frequent role taken in sibling bullying involvement. This is in contrast to peer bullying where the most frequent role is victim or bully (21, 35). Thirdly, while victimization and, in particular, bully/victim numbers appear to decrease during adolescence, sibling bullying remains relatively stable over time, at least between 10 and 15 years of age (26, 31). Fourthly, there is consistent evidence that experience of bullying between siblings transfers to peer relationships and bullying involvement in school. Fifth, both bullying siblings at home and between peers at school make unique contributions to explaining behavior and emotional problems. Sibling bullying appears to also predict stability of victimization in school, i.e., those bullied at home are less likely to escape victimization at school (32). Finally, there is a clear dose-effect relationship and their magnitude indicates multiplicative interaction (29)(31). If an adolescent is involved in bullying at home (in particular as a bully/victim) and bullied at school, the odds for emotional and behavior problems are exponentially increased compared to an adolescent just involved in bullying in one context. There is no respite for these school children either at home or at school. Furthermore, experience of parental violence and unpredictability are individual factors relevant to severe sibling violence (2). These children are poly victimized (51).

There are a number of limitations concerning this review. All, but the study of victimization stability (32), are cross-sectional analyses and do not allow for conclusions regarding causality: Are children with behavior problems more often bullied or does bullying lead to behavior or emotional problems and less wellbeing? It may be that both mechanisms, as shown for school bullying, may be operating (48) and that siblings with certain temperamental characteristics may elicit bullying (2) (52). Longitudinal research in large enough samples is required to help disentangle whether sibling bullying uniquely contributes to less wellbeing and maladjustment. Furthermore, report by other data sources and linkage to other data including school examination results and health data could provide objective measures of outcomes that do not rely on self-report. To understand mechanisms it will be necessary to investigate family constellations (53) (54), and assess other members of the household (2). It appears that combinations of an older brother and younger sister may be a particular recipe for conflict (30).

Despite these limitations, the findings so far are compelling enough to suggest that for those victimized at home and at school there is little escape from bullying and its consequences. Sibling relationships appear to be a training ground with implications for wellbeing of the individual (25). Previously trans-context effects from home to peer relationships and wellbeing have been reported for highly positive sibling relationships (11) – this review extends this by showing that highly negative sibling relations also transfer across contexts. Overall, bullying is one of the major safety concerns for parents as also reported by the recent UK Staying Safe Survey in the UK (55) that interviewed young people aged 12 to 17, and parents/carers. Bullying was the second highest concern expressed about children's safety by parents (61%), and also by children (though only by 35%). The current findings add that bullying also takes place at home, starts very early in life (17), is related to parenting (2) and interventions should include the family and parenting skills of dealing with repeated conflicts between siblings.

Bullying starts at home! Strengthening families and parenting skills and increasing sibling support is likely to reduce bullying in school and increase wellbeing (13).

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Chapter 75

BULLYING: A STEPPING STONE TO DATING AGGRESSION?

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is the use of power and aggression to control and distress another. In this chapter, we review research to explore whether the lessons learned in bullying provide a stepping stone to aggressive behavior in dating relationships. We start by considering definitions and a relationship framework with which to understand both bullying and dating aggression. We consider bullying from a developmental-contextual perspective and consider risk factors associated with the typical developmental patterns for bullying and dating aggression, including developmental and sociodemographic, individual attributes, and family, peer group, community, and societal relationship contexts that might lead some children and youths to follow developmental pathways that lead to bullying and dating aggression. We conclude by discussing implications for intervention with a review of evidence-based interventions.

INTRODUCTION

Bullying is the use of power and aggression to control and distress another. We are concerned that the lessons learned in bullying may provide a stepping stone to aggressive behavior in dating relationships and lay the foundation for troubled relationships across the lifespan. Although there is research linking experiences of victimization within dating relationships to victimization in other kinds of relationships (1-4), we have limited our focus in this review to the development of children and youth who bully, and adolescents who perpetrate dating aggression.

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For this chapter, we reviewed research on the link between bullying and dating aggression by conducting a literature search with Scholars Portal (February 2011). There were 634 publications identified with the keywords ‘dating violence’ or ‘dating aggression’. When we narrowed the search to include ‘bullying’, there were only 21 articles, dating back to 2001, in which the keywords bullying and dating violence or aggression were both used. Most did not explicitly investigate whether the two are linked. From the outset, then, it was clear that the empirical literature bearing directly on this question is sparse. Nonetheless, we believe there is a case to be made for such a link, and we attempt to draw together the evidence to support this hypothesized link between bullying and dating aggression. We start by considering definitions and a relationship framework with which to understand both bullying and dating aggression, followed by a consideration of a theoretical perspective and empirical data on the prevalence and commonalities in individual and relationship risk factors associated with bullying and dating aggression. We conclude by discussing implications for intervention in light of evidence-based interventions.

BACKGROUND

Bullying is a form of repeated interpersonal aggression in which there is a power differential between the individual who is bullying and the individual being victimized (5). Bullying can be direct, such as physical and verbal bullying, or indirect, such as social exclusion or malicious gossip; it may be conducted face-to-face or electronically (6). Our research over the past 20 years has helped us understand bullying as a relationship problem that requires relationship solutions (7). The issue of power within relationships is central to bullying. The power of those who bully comes from recognizing and targeting others’ vulnerabilities related to factors such as age, race, gender, sexual orientation, disability, difference, or disadvantage. When children and youths are repeatedly involved in bullying their peers, they experience regular lessons in the use of power and aggression to control and distress others. In many ways, youths who bully are reinforced for their aggression: they gain power over the victimized child, they receive the attention of peers (8), and gain status in the peer group (9). Conversely, children and youths who are repeatedly victimized become trapped in a destructive relationship in which they become increasingly powerless and unable to defend themselves. A small proportion of children, who are generally the most troubled, are involved in both bullying their peers and being victimized by their peers (10).

The nature of bullying changes through the elementary, middle, and high school years. Bullying can start in early childhood and persist through the school years, peaking during the school transition (11). The use of coercive power and aggression in relationships generally drops off as children and youth learn that this is an ineffective means of maintaining relationships. A small proportion of youths, however, persist in their frequent use of coercive power and aggression through adolescence and into high school (12).

Other youths engage in intermittent bullying throughout the school years, perhaps to selectively assert power over individuals and within the peer group. As with other forms of problem behavior, it is important to recognize the heterogeneity in the developmental of bullying as this has implications for prevention and intervention.

DEFINITION OF DATING AGGRESSION

Dating aggression is actual or threatened harm by one partner in a dating relationship against the other partner (13). Physical aggression may include slapping, scratching, pushing, and shoving, as well as more severe behaviors such as biting, choking, shaking, punching, burning, or use of a weapon. Psychological aggression includes verbal or coercive behaviors that deliberately control, embarrass, humiliate, or isolate the dating partner from friends or family. Both physical and psychological dating aggression may be sexual in nature – such as forcing a dating partner to engage in an unwanted sexual act, or sexual humiliation. Among adolescents, dating aggression tends to be mutual: if one partner is aggressive, the other typically retaliates (14).

BULLYING AS A PRECURSOR TO OTHER RELATIONSHIP PROBLEMS

Just as not all peer aggression meets the criteria we use to define bullying, it is likely that not all dating aggression is part of a pattern of bullying. The most common version of dating aggression is relatively infrequent and not usually part of a systematic attempt to exert power over the dating partner (15). Bullying, however, is a risk factor for dating aggression (11), which in turn is a risk factor for adult intimate partner violence (16). Moreover, when dating aggression is systematic, recurrent, one-sided, and based on power motivation (i.e., shares the defining elements of bullying), it is much more similar to the type of intimate partner violence that Kelly and Johnson (15) have called Coercive Controlling Violence, and Carlson and Jones (17) have identified as the most severe and dangerous. Within our research program, we have hypothesized that the interactional style that characterizes bullying within the peer group (the use of aggression and other forms of coercion to exert power over another) may transfer to the context of romantic relationships. We have long believed that the use of power and aggression in bullying may foreshadow their later use to control and distress the other person in a multitude of later relationships, in forms such as sexual harassment, dating violence, gang violence, marital violence, child abuse, workplace harassment and elder abuse ((18); also see Corvo & deLara (19) who have also suggested such a pathway).

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

We have adopted a developmental-contextual perspective (20,21), which treats development as a continuous and cumulative process influenced by the ongoing series of mutual transactions between individuals and the physical, social and cultural contexts in which they are developing. The nature and outcome of those transactions is affected by factors associated with both the individuals and the various layers of their contexts, with different aspects of each becoming important or salient at different points in the developmental process. Children will not all develop in the same way because of their unique individual qualities and the different environments in which they are interacting; environments will respond differently to children who have different qualities, and change because of children's influence on them.

Table 1. Risk Factors for Bullying and Dating Aggression

	Bullying	Dating Aggression
Developmental and Socio-Demographic Characteristics		
Age	Bullying increases across elementary school, peaking at the school transition, and decreases through high school (11,22)	Physical and sexual dating aggression increase with age up to about age 16 or 17 (23) then decrease (23,24) Psychological and relational aggression increase with age (23,25)
Gender	Boys report higher rates of bullying than girls across age (26) Boys engage in more physical bullying than girls (8) Girls and boys are similar in rates of verbal and cyber bullying (27)	Boys more likely to perpetrate severe dating abuse (23) and sexual dating abuse(23,28,29) Girls more likely to perpetrate relational (25) and physical dating aggression (24,27,29) but desist more rapidly in late adolescence (24)
Ethnic and cultural background	Few differences in the rates of bullying by youths of varying races (31). Different rates of bullying perpetration by race linked to youths reporting being bullied because of their race (32)	Minority status individuals more likely to perpetrate dating aggression (23,33,34) Adolescents of Asian heritage less likely to engage in dating violence than other ethnic groups (30)
Other Individual Attributes	Early pubertal development (35) Depressive symptoms (36) Moral disengagement (12, 37)	Early pubertal development (11) Depression (34,38) Chronic anger (25,34) Chronic anxiety (25,34,38) Lack of reasoning-based conflict resolution skills (39) Low self control or self regulation (25,40,41) Hostile attribution bias (42) Rejection sensitivity (43,44) Relationship insecurity (44)
Individual		
Attitudes & Beliefs	Attitudes condoning bullying (45,46)	Attitudes condoning dating aggression(28,33,39,47,48,49) Positive attitudes toward traditional gender roles (28) Gender stereotypes (33) Low perceived penalties for dating aggression (33)
Behaviors	Delinquency (50) Alcohol use (51) Drug use (51) Physical aggression (12) Social aggression (12) Rule breaking (52)	Delinquency (38,47,53) Alcohol use (51) Drug use (34,51,53) Aggression against peers (25,34) Verbal aggression, blaming, conflict escalation (39) Bullying of peers (11,35,38) Sexual harassment of same- sex and cross-sex peers (11,35) Aggression against parents (54) Aggression against previous romantic partners (47)

	Bullying	Dating Aggression
Relationship Context		
Family	More conflict and less trust with their parents (12) Harsh physical punishment (55,56) Low parental monitoring (12) Low levels of warmth and cohesion (57) Not living with both parents (12)	Family conflict (40) Childhood victimization by parents (28,38, 42, 54) Harsh parenting (53,54) Parents' psychological violence (excessive harshness + parental disorganization) (38) Low parental monitoring (25,53) Psychologically controlling parenting by mother (25) Witnessing parents' relationship violence (33) Single parent household (23,33,38) SES (parents' education) (23,24)
Peers	Having friends who bully (12) High conflict with friends (12) Susceptibility to peer pressure to engage in deviant behavior (12) Increased peer status (58)	Having friends who aggress against dating partners (28,34,40) Having friends who express norms supporting dating aggression (40) Victimization by peers (47)
Romantic Dyad	Early into romantic relationships (35) Physical aggression in dating relationships (51)	High level of conflict with romantic partner (47) Jealousy and controlling behavior toward romantic partner (13) Hostile couple interactions (33,39,47,48,59) Power imbalance (60) Partner's dating aggression (4,13,24,28,29,30,47,49)
School/ community	Levels of violence in the school neighbourhood were related to higher levels of bullying at school (61) Poor relationships with their teachers (62)	Exposure to community violence predicted dating aggression (63)
Societal	Income inequity at national level linked to levels of bullying (64,65)	Aggressive media use (48)

It is our contention that relationships are the key to understanding these transactions at every developmental phase and in every contextual domain. We have employed this perspective in the organization of Table 1, which presents empirically-established risk factors for both bullying and dating aggression. We begin Table 1 with the developmental and socio-demographic risk factors associated with the typical developmental patterns for bullying and dating aggression. We next identify individual attributes in Table 1 that might lead some individuals to be more likely than others to follow developmental pathways that lead to bullying and dating aggression, and finally examine the contexts in which development occurs: the family, peer group, community, and broader society.

RISK FACTORS RELATED TO BULLYING AND DATING AGGRESSION

Bullying

In our cross-sectional research (11), we found that the rates of bullying were highest around the transition from elementary to high school and were lowest at the end of high school. Longitudinal analyses revealed that there is substantial variability in the development of bullying, with four common pathways from ages 10 to 17 (12). One group (10%) reported consistently high levels of bullying from late elementary through high school. A second group (13%) reported similarly high levels of bullying in elementary school, but by the end of high school they reported that they almost never bullied their peers. A third group (35%) reported moderate levels of bullying across these years. The final group (42%) reported very low levels of bullying from age 10 to 17. There were more boys represented in the chronically high bullying group and more girls represented in the group with low levels of bullying. The nature of bullying changes with age. Rates of physical bullying peak in Grade 8 and then decline (66). From late childhood, new forms of bullying emerge. With developing cognitive and social skills, children become aware of others' vulnerabilities and of their power relative to others. Bullying then diversifies into more sophisticated forms of verbal, social, and electronic bullying, as well as sexual harassment and dating aggression (11). Boys tend to engage in physical forms of bullying and sexual harassment more than girls (67). Girls and boys exhibit similar levels of electronic, verbal, and social bullying (66). There are generally few differences in the rates of bullying by youths of varying races (31). When there are racial differences in rates of bullying perpetration, the youth who report bullying their peers also tend to report being bullied because of their race (32).

Dating aggression

The most common trajectory of psychological and relational dating aggression is for these behaviors to increase with age throughout adolescence. Physical and sexual dating aggression typically increase up to about age 16 or 17, then decrease, presumably reflecting a greater social sophistication and recognition that aggression is an ineffective problem-solving strategy. Girls use more relational dating aggression than boys do. They also have higher rates of physical dating aggression than boys do, perhaps reflecting the greater social acceptance typically reported for aggression by girls against boys (28,39). Boys are more likely to report using severe forms of dating abuse (such as choking or beating up), and sexual dating aggression (23,28,29). Girls tend to desist in their use of dating aggression more rapidly than boys do with age (24). Minority group status, accompanied as it typically is by prejudice, exclusion, and material hardship, is frequently associated with higher rates of dating aggression, but some minority culture groups (such as Asian-Americans (30)) may have values and customs that serve as a protective factor against the development of dating aggression.

INDIVIDUAL RISK FACTORS

Bullying

Children and youth who persistently bully have a range of individual problems. They have a tendency to be generally aggressive in their peer relationships – they engage in more physical and social aggression than their non-bullying peers (12). These youth may not have acquired the essential behavioral and emotional self regulation and social skills required for healthy relationships. The youth who bully at a high and moderate rate are also more morally disengaged than those children who do not bully. Bandura (68) described moral disengagement as a lack of self-regulation regarding moral conduct. These children ignore the critical message that bullying is wrong and hurtful. They consistently report being mean and cruel to others, not being trustworthy, being manipulative, and lacking guilt. It is important to keep in mind the heterogeneity among children and youth who bully their peers. On an individual case basis, it is important to determine whether a child is being aggressive and not attending to the feelings and well-being of others because he/she is dysregulated and not able to perspective take or whether he/she chooses not to take into account the harm to others because of the social advantages achieved through bullying. In general, youth who bully tend to have a range of mental health problems, which may be related to their lack of behavioral and emotional self regulation. As might be expected, youth who bully their peers experience more externalizing problems such as aggression and delinquency and antisocial personality symptoms (69,70). They also engage in higher levels of alcohol and other substance use starting at an early age (51). Consistent with these problems, youths who bully experience a range of school achievement problems (52). Some youths who bully also report elevated levels of depressive symptoms (36), as well as physical complaints, such as headaches (71).

Dating aggression

Adolescents who engage in dating aggression, or use it increasingly with time while their peers desist, have a disproportionate tendency to be depressed, chronically angry or anxious (25,34,38), insecure about their relationships, and excessively sensitive to rejection (43,44). They are likely to interpret ambiguous social cues as signaling rejection or threat (42). They lack competence in regulating their emotions and behavior (25,40,41), and have not developed the skills they need to interact effectively with their peers and resolve interpersonal conflict constructively (39). Early pubertal development is an additional risk factor, perhaps because the hormonal and physical changes of puberty are harder to cope with effectively at a younger age. Recent research by Ellis and his colleagues (72) suggests that early pubertal development may be a marker for an interaction between an aspect of the family context and an individual's biological sensitivity to the environment: They found that early and fast-paced pubertal development was associated with the combination of high stress reactivity and low quality parent-child relationships. Adolescents who engage in dating aggression have a belief system that supports that behavior: They have generally accepting attitudes about dating aggression, traditional or stereotypical ideas about gender, and expect that there will be few negative consequences for aggression against a dating partner (33, 39, 47-49,60). Similar to bullying, dating aggression is associated with a host of risky and problematic behaviors, including other forms of aggression against peers, aggression against parents, sexual harassment, delinquency, and the use of alcohol and other drugs. In the specific domain of dating relationships, it is

associated with a verbally aggressive, blaming and escalating style of dealing with conflict, and with jealous, controlling behavior toward the romantic partner. Aggression in one dating relationship increases the probability that it will occur in subsequent dating relationships.

Relationship risk factors

Although the relationship contexts shift significantly from childhood into adolescence, the risks associated with troubled relationships are related to both bullying in childhood and dating aggression in adolescence. As they mature, adolescents are faced with the task of developing their identity and, at the same time, they develop increased autonomy from their parents and sometimes experience more strain in their relationships with parents. As they distance themselves from parents, adolescents become closer to both same-sex and opposite-sex friends, and begin the process of developing intimate relationships.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Bullying

Children and youth who bully others are more likely than non-bullying youth to come from families characterized by low levels of family warmth and cohesion (57). In mid-adolescence, youths with a history of frequently bullying others report significantly more conflict with their parents and significantly less trust in their parents (i.e., not feeling that their parents would be there for them when they needed them) compared to youths who do not bully. Adolescents with a history of moderate bullying also report significantly less trust in their parents than adolescents who do not bully (12).

Adolescents whose parents are authoritarian and use physical punishment are more likely to bully others than adolescents who are not physically punished (55, 56). Exposure to models of interpersonal aggression through interparental violence predicts bullying above and beyond children's direct experiences of maltreatment (55).

In addition, children and youth who bully others are more likely than non-bullying youth to report that they have poor communication with their parents and that their parents are poor in monitoring their activities (12), which often reflects willingness of adolescents to disclose to their parents (73).

Dating aggression

Adolescents who engage in dating aggression are likely to have been raised in families under strain – lacking educational and other resources, shouldering the responsibilities of raising children as single parents (23,33), and/or having high conflict (40). Youth who engage in dating aggression tend to have experienced maltreatment, themselves (28, 54) and witnessed marital violence (33). Parents in these strained families sometimes respond to their situations by being harshly punitive, psychologically controlling, and even abusive to their children. In

such households, children's relationships with their parents do not provide them with the models and support they need to accomplish the important developmental task of developing the capacity for relationships. This contributes to or exacerbates the individual vulnerabilities that we have just discussed above, leading to the children becoming even more of a challenge to their parents and further undermining their parents' effectiveness (74). When these youth enter adolescence, struggling parents may also fail to provide the support they need to make the transition into more complex and intimate relationships.

PEER RELATIONSHIPS

Bullying

Bullying unfolds in the context of the peer group almost all of the time (8). Children and youths who chronically bully their peers may be trying to establish a place for themselves in the peer group. They use bullying to establish status and power over others and, in the process, are often at the center of attention within the peer group (8, 58, 75). In some respects, bullying may be a bid for inclusion, leadership, and status, albeit a negative one. We have found that boys and girls who bully have an ambivalent friendship profile (26). For example, in early adolescence, they report spending more time in activities with peers than other youths, suggesting they are well integrated into a peer group. These friendships, however, may be problematic.

These same youths report more conflict in their friendships than youths who do not bully. These adolescents may not have developed the diverse social competencies and positive conflict resolution strategies that are required for mature, balanced friendships. Although the negative leadership style of youths who persistently bully may enable them to maintain peer contacts and develop some form of peer status, it appears to create challenging relationship contexts that may serve to sustain antisocial behavior patterns through and beyond adolescence.

Children and adolescents who persistently bully at a high or moderate rate have high conflict in their peer relationships, choose friends who also engage in bullying and they are highly susceptible to negative peer pressure from their friends (12). In this peer context, bullying is likely to become a more firmly established pattern of behavior. When peers also victimize these troubled youth, and act as role models by being aggressive in their own dating relationships, these peer associations become a risk factor for dating aggression.

Dating aggression

Dating aggression is most common in romantic relationships that have a high level of conflict (47), in which the partners tend to interact in an irritable, hostile, disrespectful and conflict-escalating way (33,39,48,59), and in which there is an imbalance of power between the partners (60). Aggression by an individual's dating partner is one of the strongest predictors of that individual's own aggression (4, 13, 24, 28, 29, 30, 47, 49).

RISK FACTORS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY AND BROADER SOCIETY

Bullying

The most important social context for children beyond the family is the school community. Consistent with the other contextual risks, troubled relationships within the school context are associated with a higher risk for bullying. Children who bully their peers tend to have poor relationships with their teachers, including little or no mutual warmth, caring, or generally positive feelings (62). Conversely, there is a reliable association between a positive school climate (i.e., warm relationships and consistently applied high standards for behavior) and low levels of bullying and aggression in schools (76, 77).

In a nation-wide study in Colombia, Chaux and colleagues (61) found that many school-level factors are associated with higher levels of bullying including: low empathy, beliefs supporting aggression, hostile attributional biases, and poor anger management. They also found that levels of violence in the school neighborhood were related to higher levels of bullying at school.

At a broader societal level, there is emerging evidence of a strong association between the level of income inequity for a municipality (61) and for a country (64) and the level of bullying and other forms of interpersonal aggression among youth. From analyses of income inequity in the developed world, Wilkinson and Pickett (65) contend that the process of social comparison and a drive to have status underlie many interpersonal and health problems.

Dating aggression

There is some evidence that dating aggression is higher among adolescents who have been directly exposed to violence in their community (63). In addition, exposure to media appears to have an influence on dating aggression. Adolescents who regularly consume aggressive television, movies, video games and music have higher rates of dating aggression, and this relationship is mediated by increased acceptance of dating aggression (60). Considerably more research is required in this area of concern.

IS BULLYING A STEPPING STONE TO DATING AGGRESSION?

If dating relationships provide a context in which youth can continue to express and establish interpersonal power and dominance through aggression, then interactions in these intimate adolescent relationships may lay the foundation for later relationship violence in adulthood. One of the most striking observations about our review of the risk factors in Table 1 is how similar the profiles of risk factors are for bullying and dating aggression. A longitudinal study by Fergusson, Boden and Horwood (78) suggests that the predictors of intimate partner violence in adulthood are very similar as well. Although having common risk factors does not necessarily mean that these aggressive interactional styles are progressive steps on a common developmental path, it is consistent with that hypothesis.

In addition, our research (11,35) and that of others (38) have revealed that young adolescents who perpetrate bullying become involved in romantic relationships earlier than those who do not bully, and are more likely to report verbal and physical aggression in their earliest intimate relationships.

It is logical, especially from a developmental-contextual perspective, to expect that the lessons learned in one relationship domain will transfer to new relationships as these develop. This hypothesis is consistent with attachment theory in which it is argued that the earliest relationship between children and their parents provides an internal working model of relationships that children use for developing other relationships through childhood and adolescence (79). In line with attachment theory, Furman and colleagues (80) found that adolescents' working models and relational styles for dating relationships had a close resemblance to those for friendships on the dimension of control in the relationship, even though they had a stronger resemblance to parent-child relationships on the dimension of support. Although we do not yet have convincing longitudinal evidence about the specific path between bullying and dating aggression, the evidence is growing about the transfer of aggression between other relationship domains. For instance, we have found in a longitudinal study (47) that dating aggression predicts later aggression in a different dating relationship.

We have also found (54) that adolescent aggression against parents remains strongly related to dating aggression even after partialling out the shared variance associated with age, family income, dating victimization, and childhood victimization.

More directly to our point, Pettit et al. (81) found that experiences in the peer relationship domain are powerful influences on later behavior in the romantic relationship domain. In a longitudinal study of rejection in parent, peer and romantic relationships, they found that biases in social information processes about peers and romantic partners were so closely related that separate paths for peer and dating experiences were not empirically justified.

Fredland (82) has suggested that there is a transitional stage between bullying and dating violence in which the form and content of bullying begins to reflect the sexual interest and preoccupations associated with puberty. Guerra, Williams & Sadek (83) collected qualitative data that support that contention. Youths in their focus groups expressed a common theme that bullying in middle school often grew out of sexual or romantic attraction, and took on a noticeably sexual tenor.

This is consistent with our quantitative findings (21) that cross-gender (and not same-gender) harassment increased in frequency from Grade 6 to Grade 8, and was linked to pubertal maturation and participation in mixed-gender peer groups. It is also consistent with Pelligrini's (22) finding of a relationship between bullying at the beginning of seventh grade and sexual harassment at the end of that grade, fully mediated by students' dating frequency.

Considerably more research is required to understand the complex developmental processes that may underlie the links between bullying and dating aggression. Understanding bullying as a relationship problem highlights that these patterns of interpersonal aggression in childhood and adolescence arise from complex transactional dynamics rather than simply from an individual child's problem with aggression or with another child's inability to defend him or herself. Relationships are "active ingredients" of the environment's influence on healthy development (84). It is important, therefore, to consider how daily interactions at home, school, and in the community shape children's development of critical social, emotional, behavioral, and cognitive capacities. Unlike lessons in reading and arithmetic, with step-by-step processes that enable most children to acquire the skills, the lessons for successful social interactions are

much more complex and not fully understood. They require developing an understanding of one's own thoughts, emotions, and behaviors, as well as the thoughts, emotions, and behaviors of others. Those with whom children interact are highly variable and often unpredictable: even a single person varies from day to day in warmth, responsiveness, and emotions. The complexity of social interactions highlights the need to provide extensive, dynamic, and ongoing socialization support to children to enable them to relate positively to others, be effective in achieving social goals, and use their interpersonal power positively, rather than negatively.

In the following section, we briefly review prevention and intervention strategies to support the development of relationship capacity and prevent interpersonal aggression through childhood and adolescence.

PREVENTION, EARLY IDENTIFICATION AND INTERVENTION

Foshee and Reyes (85) have made a number of valuable recommendations about how primary prevention of dating aggression should be done for adolescents, to whom they should be directed, and when they should be introduced. We are in essential agreement with their suggestions, but would extend them somewhat further with a consideration of bullying as a potential stepping stone to dating aggression and by offering some suggestions about what content areas are most likely to be important.

HOW SHOULD PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION BE DONE?

Based on their review of longitudinal predictors of dating aggression, Foshee and Reyes (85) identified three areas on which they thought prevention efforts should focus: Improved parenting; prevention of behavioral precursors to dating aggression, such as peer aggression, delinquency, alcohol and substance use; and changing peer contexts to be less supportive of dating aggression. This is very consistent with our assessment of risk factors for both bullying and dating aggression, and the developmental-contextual perspective we have adopted. Among the many behavioral precursors to dating aggression, we would particularly emphasize the importance of an interactional style developed through persistent bullying. With respect to the content of bullying and dating aggression prevention programs, we recommend the following program features:

- *Focus on relationships.* Regardless of the developmental stage at which prevention or intervention efforts occur, bullying and dating aggression are problems with relationships and must be addressed with relationship solutions. Our research and our review of others' research have convinced us that the best way to deal with these problems is to help young people develop positive, supportive relationships, highlighting the skills and social cognitions that are essential for healthy relationships before and through the time that romantic relationships are beginning to form. The Fourth R is a curriculum-based program that addresses adolescent risk behaviors by focusing on relationship goals and challenges that influence youths decision-making.

In a rigorous evaluation of the program, Wolfe and his colleagues (86) confirmed that teaching youth about healthy relationships and ways to avoid physical dating violence in Grade 9 Health classes can reduce physical dating violence and related risk behaviors 2.5 years later, especially for boys.

- *Emphasis on skill-building.* In their focus group study of dating aggression, Sears and her colleagues (28) found that high school students very much wanted help to develop skills for maintaining healthy dating relationships and dealing with relationship conflict. Therefore, prevention efforts may find a receptive audience if they provide an opportunity for children and adolescents to build strong relationship skills. Safe Dates (87) and the Youth Relationships Project (88) are evidence-based dating aggression prevention programs that provide compelling empirical evidence of reducing physical dating aggression (85,89). These programs include extensive role playing activities to help young people learn communication and conflict management skills. Similar skill-building elements are found in bullying prevention programs. For example, the Finnish KiVa program (90) includes instruction and role play to build skills in supporting peers who are being bullied, and has been shown to be effective in reducing bullying.
- *Focus on peer contexts.* Like Foshee and Reyes (85), we think that the peer context is critical to changing children and adolescents' relationship behaviors. KiVa (for bullying) and Safe Dates (for dating aggression) reduce bullying and dating aggression by changing the way in which peers respond to them. Evaluation of the Safe Dates program (91) confirmed that changes to social norms in the peer group were significant mediators of reduced dating aggression.
- *A comprehensive approach.* Our developmental-contextual perspective leads us to agree with Foshee and Reyes that prevention efforts will be more effective if they affect multiple layers of the context in which young people are embedded. The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, an evidence-based bullying prevention program, includes components at the individual, peer group, school, and community levels (92). Safe Dates addresses the peer layer especially, but also introduces resources from the surrounding community; awareness of community services was also a mediator of the program's beneficial effects (91). Given the demonstrated associations between family factors and the development of bullying and dating aggression, we would recommend an increased opportunity for parents to learn about promoting healthy relationships for their children. An example of supporting parents to support their youth can be found in the Connect® program developed by Moretti and her colleagues (93). In this program, parents of troubled youth are taught to: 1. Identify relationship and developmental issues related to problem behavior and conflict; 2. Step back and consider parenting choices that maintain emotional availability even in situations of conflict; 3. Understand and manage their own emotional reactions to conflict with their teen, and 4. Use basic parenting skills to support their relationship with their teen while setting limits. Preliminary evaluations are indicating both short and long term improvements for both troubled youth and their parents. Beyond parents, we believe that all adults involved with children and youth need the skills and understanding to promote healthy relationships. In our national Promoting Relationships and Eliminating Violence Network (PREVNet), we are working with more than 50

national organizations to enhance the practice of adults involved with children and youth across Canada (94).

- *Focus on the issue of power.* A major thesis in this paper is that bullying is a gateway or stepping stone to dating aggression because bullying teaches children to use power coercively to control vulnerable others. An intervention that prevents this pattern, or reverses it, will need to deal explicitly with the issue of interpersonal power, and help young people learn to use power in a way that is positive, respectful, and shared. The Youth Relationships Project (88) includes extensive opportunities for participants to discuss and practice the positive use of power.

WHEN SHOULD PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION BE DONE?

Foshee and Reyes (85) have pointed out that the best timing for prevention of dating aggression is in the short window during which dating is developmentally relevant to young people, but before patterns of aggression have time to develop in dating relationships. They recommend that prevention programs begin at about age 13 (eighth grade) in order to take advantage of this opportunity.

As they noted, many young people will have begun some variant of dating by that time, and our research (51) indicates that those who have begun dating by that time are disproportionately at risk to be involved in both bullying and dating aggression. Although we agree that the eighth grade is a good time to begin programs that specifically deal with dating aggression, a developmental pathway from bullying to dating aggression implies that efforts to prevent or intervene with bullying behavior, which could begin much earlier, would contribute to the prevention of dating aggression, regardless of when dating begins. It would also be important to make a concerted effort to prevent and intervene in sexual bullying, which appears to increase just prior to initial dating, beginning at around sixth grade.

TO WHOM SHOULD PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION BE PROVIDED?

Foshee and Reyes (85) have pointed out that there are advantages and disadvantages to both universal and more targeted (selected or indicated) prevention efforts. Our understanding of the diversity in developmental pathways for both bullying and dating aggression and the review of the risk factors have convinced us that both are necessary. Universal programs can promote early prevention and provide the necessary changes in the relationships that promote social-emotional development in the family, peer group, school, or community contexts. For those children and youth who are especially at risk, targeted programs can be used to address the individual and relationship risk factors and enhance protective factors to promote healthy social-emotional development. The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program and KiVa both have universal components but intense interventions with those who are found to be directly involved as perpetrators or victims of bullying. The Youth Relationships Project is offered to high risk youth who have been maltreated or who have witnessed domestic violence, as referred from social service or victim protection agencies, but has been run in tandem with the universal Fourth R program (95,96).

CONCLUSION

Healthy relationships are the foundation for children's and adolescents' development and the cornerstone for a healthy and productive society. Children can only develop the capacity for healthy relationships if they grow up within safe and healthy relationship contexts. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (97) provides an international policy and legal framework for ensuring the rights of the child for safety and many other critical elements for healthy development.

The Kandersteg Declaration (98) recommends action to use policy and prevention programs which are: based on scientific research; appropriate for age, gender, and culture; and multi-systemic involving families, peers, schools, and communities. It also recommends action to evaluate the success of policy and programs and to guarantee the rights of children and youth. At this point, there is a substantial gap between these calls and requirements and the lived experiences of children and youth in their families, schools, peer groups and communities. We are particularly concerned for those children and youth who are learning to use aggression within peer and dating relationships, as well as for those youths who are on the receiving end of this aggression.

As researchers, we believe we have an important role in closing the gap between what is envisioned for the healthy development of children and youth and what currently exists to promote their safe and respectful relationships and full potential.

By preventing violence and promoting healthy relationships for children and adolescents, we can optimize their healthy physical, social, emotional, and cognitive development – all of which underlie well-being, healthy relationships, productivity, and citizenship throughout the lifespan.

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Chapter 76

WORKPLACE BULLYING: THE CASE OF TEEN WORKERS

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ABSTRACT

Work is an important yet understudied life domain for adolescents that has important implications for their development and well-being. Work relationships, particularly with supervisors and coworkers are critical influences on teens. To the extent these relationships are negative, as evidenced in workplace bullying, the impact on teens can be wide-ranging and enduring. In this chapter, research on workplace bullying and its effects is briefly summarized and used as a context for exploring adolescent experiences with bullying on the job, both in terms of their vulnerability to exposure and unique impacts. Implications of these findings for health professionals in the assessment and treatment of teens exposed to workplace bullying are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Work is a part of many adolescents' daily lives. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), in 2009, youth (15-24 years old) are a notable part of the working world with rates varying from 24% of youth in Hungary to close to 79% in Uganda (1). In North America, the majority of young people are engaged in some form of paid employment (United States 56.3% and Canada 68.4%). The US Bureau of Labor's National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 found that working while attending high school increased with age ranging from 41% for freshman (13-14 year olds) to 87% of seniors (17-19 yr olds) with a notable portion of these students working 21 hr or more per week (e.g., 25% of working freshman and 56% of working seniors) rivaling their in-class school time (2). By far the majority of youth workers are nonstandard employees (i.e., part-time or temporary), often a result of also being in school.

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According to U.S. statistics, the majority of adolescents work in unskilled entry-level jobs, most frequently in eating and drinking establishments (33%) and other service industries such as custodial and construction work (25%) (2). Given that teens work, examining the nature and connection of working generally, and specific work experiences in particular to adolescent health and well-being is important.

RELEVANCE OF WORK FOR ADOLESCENTS

Work is a critical life domain for anyone but it may be particularly powerful for adolescents. Beyond the provision of economic benefits, work is a source of identity, psychological health, and provides opportunities for interpersonal connection and self-determination (3). Work has a special relevance for adolescents as it represents an initial foray into a “domain that will be central to their adaptation and social standing as adults” (4, pg. 546). Working can support developing autonomy and independence that are key tasks for adolescents. Within this context, adolescents may learn not only skills and knowledge relevant to particular types of work but also attitudes and behaviors that will be relevant to future occupational achievement. Further, work experiences “spillover” and thus have implications for other life domains such as family, friends, and for many adolescents, school (5, 6, 7). Work also provides adolescents with interaction with adults other than teachers and parents who can mentor and provide alternative role models (4). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, early work experiences have implications for overall identity development.

Skorikov and Vondracek argue that vocational identity is the driving force behind identity development (8). Thus, what happens “on the job” has implications for adolescents’ sense of efficacy and confidence about who they are and their abilities to be successful as adults.

IMPORTANCE OF WORK RELATIONSHIPS

Of particular relevance to this discussion of workplace bullying is the recognition that the nature of work is inherently relational. What is accomplished at work is done in and through interactions with others. Quality of interpersonal work relationships has been identified as a powerful influence on workers’ mental and physical health (9). Interpersonal relationships are critical in most jobs as people interact with coworkers, supervisors, subordinates and customers and this social context gives work its meaning. These relationships can buffer or exacerbate adverse effects of exposure to job risk factors (10). Indeed, these relationships can become the source of stress and harm as evidenced by the workplace harassment, bullying and aggression literatures (11, 12).

In addition to their immediate impact, interpersonal work experiences may have influence beyond the immediate interaction. Such experiences may become internalized and influence how an individual views and reacts to interpersonal interactions and other life experiences across diverse contexts (3). Further, it is through interaction that workers generally and teens in particular learn about themselves (13).

For the adolescent worker, positive and supportive relationships with coworkers and supervisors can bolster autonomy, feelings of competence and self-esteem, and model self-regulation and engagement (4).

Conversely, experiences with abusive or authoritarian leadership may negatively influence relationships with other leaders as well as the teens' own sense of themselves as well as other work-related attitudes and behaviors (14, 15). There is evidence to suggest that adolescents are more influenced by their work environments than adults (16). Thus, the impact of positive or negative relationships will be greater for teen workers than older workers and, because of this intensity, the effects may also be stronger and more enduring (17).

Finally, a social learning perspective suggests that teens learn vicariously through observing behaviors of others and how they are treated may become how they treat others. Thus, teen's early work relationships may have immediate and long-term impact on identity, self-esteem and self-confidence, work attitudes, health and safety behaviors, job satisfaction and occupational attainment (10). Thus, examining adolescent work relationships and their impact on psychological, social, and job related outcomes is vital to our understanding of the value and impact of work for the developing adolescent and how we can respond as health professionals to address the impact of adolescent work experiences.

Unfortunately, research on adolescent work relationships is scant. There is a rich literature on vocational and career development, but until very recently it has tended to focus on work intensity rather than work quality (18, 19). Further, the focus in this research has been on outcomes in the domain of school and family and on problem behaviors such as substance abuse and criminality and much less on work-related and health outcomes (18, 19). The research that has focused on work quality has only recently begun to look into relationships with coworkers and supervisors and the impact on adolescent psychological and social development (4).

The adolescent development literature has tended to focus primarily in the domains of family, peer and schools with surprisingly little attention to the work context. (5, 18) The organizational and employment literatures that have focused on relationships at work generally and harmful relationships like aggression and bullying in particular have tended to focus on adults or on full-time work in organizations whose employees tend to be adults (19).

Indeed few studies have considered adolescent workers at all and those that do have utilized different definitions of young workers. The ILO defines young workers as 15-24 year olds (1). This includes early and late adolescents as well as "emerging" adults, clearly not a homogenous group. Most research in bullying has focused on adult workers, occasionally going as young as 18, leaving the 15-17 year old group untouched. Thus, this review will focus primarily on studies focused on the mid to late adolescence, i.e., the 15-19 year age group.

In this article, I will provide a brief overview of what is currently known about workplace bullying and its effects. This will provide a context for exploring adolescent experiences with bullying on the job both in terms of vulnerability to exposure and unique impacts given who they are. I will finish up with a discussion of issues to consider in helping adolescents address workplace bullying.

WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT WORKPLACE BULLYING?

Before exploring adolescent experiences with bullying at work, it is important to give a brief overview of what is currently known about workplace bullying involving adults (See 11 for further detail). First, bullying is relational. Bullying is a hostile relationship rather than an event and occurs with a particular actor (20). Who the actor is has an influence on the nature

and degree of the impact. Actions from coworkers, supervisors, and the public are often experienced very differently (21). Second, bullying involves repeated behaviors over an extended period of time. The behaviors involved are varied and often move from subtle and covert to overt and direct. The more frequent behaviors, particularly from organizational insiders such as supervisors and coworkers, tend to be indirect and often nonphysical. That is, workplace bullying actions are predominantly psychologically aggressive. The types of behavior include those that

- Focus on personal aspects such as name calling, demeaning remarks, belittling opinion, devaluing with reference to age, gender, race/ethnicity or appearance, gossip and rumors, and intimidating or threatening actions. These are behaviors that are not atypical among adolescents.; and
- Focus on work-related aspects such as excessive monitoring, exclusion from work or information, undue pressure, impossible deadlines, unequal distribution of work, and assigning meaningless tasks (11). Interestingly, the most frequently reported behaviors are passive in nature, i.e., the “failures to do” such as withholding information and exclusion. This makes it challenging both for the target and for observers and potential interveners to discern what is happening.
- Third, a key distinguishing feature is that such treatment is persistent, i.e., endures for long periods of time. In the adult literature, duration has varied from 1 month to over 10 years. In a recent university study, 1/3 of those who were bullied had endured it for over three years (22). This notion of persistency is critical as it is an important predictor of the nature and extent of impact. Fourth, bullying is a gradually evolving process with a tendency to escalate and draw in other parties to the interaction as actors, supporters, and observers (11). Thus, like school bullying, workplace bullying is a communal phenomenon (23). Unchecked, workplace bullying has the potential to spawn other such relationships thereby creating a hostile work environment where many workers are now “behaving badly”.

Finally, bullying is different than conflict between equals due to the existence of a power imbalance (11). The source of power may be pre-existing in the structure of the workplace (e.g., boss-subordinate; actors has control of rewards and punishments) or more social, such as influence that comes from acknowledged expertise, control of critical information, connections to powerful others, or general likeability (French and Raven, 1959). The power imbalance can also develop as a conflict escalates and one party becomes disadvantaged relative to the other. The importance of the imbalance is the potential impact on the target’s resources and ability to defend him/herself as well as the actor’s ability to continue their actions (20). This has implications for the nature and intensity of negative effects and highlights the importance of prevention and early intervention, as well as the necessity of strategies for remediation of effects.

ADOLESCENT VULNERABILITY TO WORKPLACE BULLYING

Given that little research attention has been paid to workplace bullying involving adolescents, prevalence data are scarce. However, we can get a sense of rate of exposure by

considering data from adult samples as well as data regarding prevalence according to occupation and work status.

In their review of the global literature, Nielsen et al. (24) conclude that at least 1 out of 10, and perhaps as many as 1 out of 5, workers are exposed to bullying in their workplaces. There is variability by country and by region of the world. For example, the European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS) in 2010 reports an overall rate of 4.1% with country rates ranging from less than 1% in Poland, Bulgaria, and Italy to almost 10% in France (25). The US literature reports rates from 10-14% (19). These rates apply to direct targets. Extending the victim net to include witnesses, results in a dramatic jump in rates of exposure to workplace bullying. For example, in a representative sample of over 7000 US workers, 12.3% of respondents indicated they had witnessed others being bullied at work in the previous 12 months (26). Adding to this the 12.6% who said they had been bullied during this same period, almost 25% of the American working adults (18 years and older) are exposed to and affected by workplace bullying in a 12-month period.

With respect to age, younger workers appear to face similar rates of exposure as older workers. The EWCS reports little difference between 15-29 and 30-49 year old categories (4.2% and 4.3% respectively) while the age 50 plus category show a lower rate of 3.7% (25). The 2010 Zogby Survey of a representative sample of 2658 working adults (18 yrs and older) found a similar pattern of results with workers of age 50 plus having less exposure (9%) in the past year than 18-29 and 30-49 age groups of 11% each (27). Younger people did report witnessing more bullying (20%) than 30-49 and 50+ at 16% and 13% respectively. However, with both surveys, the category of young worker encompassed both adolescents and young adults. These two groups are at very different places in terms of their social and cognitive development. To get an idea of what adolescents' experiences with working relationships are like, I now turn attention to research on other negative work relationships.

The related area of workplace sexual harassment of young workers, particularly mid-to-late adolescents suggests that teens may be at greater risk for exposure to workplace bullying. Fineran (28) found that 39% of female and 30% of male high school students report being sexually harassed on the job. Fineran and Gruber (29) found that 52% of employed high school girls in their sample experienced some form of sexually harassing behavior in the past year on the job. These numbers are substantially higher than the workplace bullying rates reported above. Interestingly, research utilizing an adult sample found generalized forms of workplace harassment like bullying were more frequent than sexual or racial harassment (30). Taken together, these studies suggest that the rates of teen exposure to bullying may be higher than for older workers.

Another reason to expect that the prevalence rates from these representative surveys may be an underestimate is that the source of the bullying is not identified, i.e., the actor. Source is often associated with differential rates of exposure and impact (21). Thus, rates will vary dependent upon who the actor is. For example, North American research has found that bosses were more frequently the source of emotionally abusive behaviors for young (18-19 year old) workers while adult workers were equally likely to report bosses and coworkers as actors (31, 32). In terms of impact, aggression from organizational insiders (coworkers and supervisors) has more "meaning" and thus greater effects for workers than aggression from customers and the public (33). Hostile behaviors from supervisors have a greater negative impact than behaviors from coworkers (34). Given the developmental tasks that define adolescence such as identity and autonomy, the potentially unique significance of work and thus work relationships

for these tasks, and the propensity of teens to be more impacted by the work, teens may in fact be more vulnerable to bullying than adults.

RISK FACTORS FOR WORKPLACE BULLYING

Baillen, Neyens, De Witte and De Cuyper propose three interrelated pathways to workplace bullying: intrapersonal, interpersonal and intragroup/organizational (35). Individual and work-related antecedents are implicated in either being the source of these processes or influencing how workers cope with the challenges created by these processes.

The Intrapersonal pathway is one in which workplace bullying is a result of stressors and frustration and how employees cope with them. Research in this area focuses on individual characteristics that may enhance vulnerability to be a target or propensity to be an actor. Relevant target characteristics are those that may affect what the individual perceives as occurring (i.e., interpreting ambiguous behavior or situations as hostile) or may provoke affective and behavioral reactions that are provocative to others (submissive or provocative victims) or make them seem as “easy” targets for displaced aggression (36). Individuals with a propensity to experience negative affect such as anger, fear, and worry, anxiety, sadness and depression report higher levels of hostile treatment (37, 38, 39, 40). Similarly, relevant actor characteristics associated with increased aggression are ones associated with anxiety or anger and hostility such as negative affectivity, trait anger, poor self-control, emotional susceptibility and irritability, dispositional aggressiveness, (hostile) attributional bias and unstable self-esteem as well as lack of self-reflection and poor perspective taking ability (11,41-43).

What is interesting about these characteristics is that they map closely on to characterizations of adolescence as a period when negative emotions are more predominant than at other stages of life (44). It is also a stage at which emotional regulation and management are still developing. Given that successful regulation of emotion is central to functioning in interpersonal relationships and coping with challenges, generally, adolescents are at risk for interpersonal difficulties (44). Anger is of particular relevance as it has been associated with aggressive expression (45). Thus, it could be argued that adolescents may be more prone to anger or other negative emotions and that this can drive not only their behavior but also their perceptions of others' behavior. For example, research on teen workers' experience of abusive leadership suggests that teens may perceive leader behavior more negatively (i.e., label it as abusive or bullying) and, in turn, may be more negatively impacted by it (14). Adolescents are also more accepting of aggression and violence as a means to addressing frustrations (19). Research on affect and young workers found that anger was a frequent emotional response to perceived mistreatment and that young workers were more likely to respond with aggression than older workers (33, 45). Thus, the evidence suggests that, due to their emotional competence, teens may not only be more likely to perceive or interpret others' behavior as hostile (and thus, higher rates of bullying reported) but they may also be more likely to behave aggressively themselves, i.e., at greater risk for being bullies or provocative victims.

The Interpersonal pathway is one where workplace bullying may result from interpersonal conflict that is ineffectively managed and escalates, i.e., dispute-related bullying (35). In escalated conflicts, everyone engages in increasingly hostile and damaging actions. These conflicts become bullying situations when one party becomes notably unable to defend

themselves yet the other continues on an increasingly punitive path. Indeed attempts by the target to actively address the issues are often unsuccessful and such failure is often tied to increasingly negative impact on the target (47). Given that work is inherently relational, effective performance at work demands being able to develop and manage relationships effectively, which means being able to handle conflict. Evidence suggests that teens have had little practice with constructively resolving interpersonal conflict (48, 49). To the extent teens do not have either the skills or confidence in their ability to handle differences or to express their concerns constructively, disagreements can escalate into increasingly aggressive interactions. Such interactions can put the teens at risk for becoming either the victim or the bully.

The intragroup/organizational pathway is one in which workplace bullying is a result of a group or organization's features that enable or directly stimulate bullying. Of particular relevance to this discussion of adolescent workers is the notion of enabling processes or structures whose (non)existence affect whether bullying is even possible (50). Two examples of enabling factors are 1) youth aggressive culture and 2) quality of working environments in which teens are employed.

Youth aggressive culture is closely linked to socioemotional and interpersonal competence discussed above. In their review of young workers and aggression, Tucker and Loughlin argue that adolescence appears to be a peak time for aggression and violence (19). They argue that adolescents appear to have a greater acceptance or tolerance for aggression and violence as a response to frustrations. Further, they note that in the broader community, teens are generally at greater risk for being victims and actors of aggressive behavior, e.g., problem behaviors such as delinquency and substance abuse. Thus, they argue that youth are primed for, and experienced with, aggressive experiences and the workplace would be one more venue for that to be experienced and expressed. Another relevant group influence is that of peers. The research on teenage deviant behavior indicates that peer influences are particularly strong during adolescence (51). This finding is relevant to the extent that workplaces, in which teens find themselves, such as fast food and retail establishments, are dominated by very young workers. Thus, the presence of young coworkers and supervisors perceiving slights and modeling aggressive behavior may contribute to loosening of norms regarding aggression and violence.

Qualities of the working environment that create stress and frustration for workers such as unfair or inequitable treatment (perceived injustice), lack of autonomy and decision control, poor communication, role overload, conflict and ambiguity and uncomfortable physical environments have been linked to aggressiveness at work (42). Bullying may be the result of ineffective coping with these stressors. Young workers, particularly teens, tend to work in lower level services industries such as retail sales, consumer services such as eating and drinking establishments and service industries that are characterized by these qualities (2, 10, 52). These are industries where rates of bullying tend to be higher. For example, according to ECWS 2009, hotels and restaurants (8%) and wholesale and retail trade (6%) have rates notably higher than the rate of 4.1% for the overall working population (25). Eating and drinking establishments are interesting workplaces from a workplace bullying perspective as they have a number of risk factors including

- Being predominantly staffed by young coworkers and supervisors (i.e., less experienced, lower emotional competence, greater likelihood of aggression and conflict);

- The presence of job stress in the form of time pressure and customer demand (18). Stress has been associated with aggressive behavior, particularly in teens.
- Restaurants, in particular, have bullying ingrained as part of the culture (53). For example, chef apprentices report higher rates of exposure to bullying than other workers in the restaurant.

In addition to the industry, teen workers typically occupy entry-level positions and are often part-time or temporary (2). Thus, in the organizational structure, teen workers are at the lowest level of the hierarchy and potentially at risk for hostility from higher ups.

Youth are also vulnerable because of their limited mobility due to 1) being placebound by virtue of living at home and/or attending school and 2) lack of alternative employment as there are fewer jobs at the unskilled or limited skill level, a situation that has worsened during the current global recession. Thus, teens are less able to leave hostile workplaces and thus, less able to limit their exposure to bullying. Taken together, the workplace context, adolescents' relative position in the organization, limited mobility and their own social and emotional competence to manage interpersonal situations suggest that young workers are not only at risk for bullying but may be at greater risk for being both targets and actors than other age groups.

IMPACT OF WORKPLACE BULLYING

Given the unique developmental tasks and the socioemotional competence of adolescents, young workers are different in important ways from their older colleagues. These differences may influence the nature and degree of impact of exposure to workplace bullying.

In terms of nature of impact, the extant and primarily adult worker literature reveals that exposure to persistent aggression such as bullying has profound and often disabling effects on an individual's functioning across a number of domains including 1) disruption of cognitive, psychological, emotional and physical well-being; 2) decrements in job related attitudes and behaviors; and 3) strain in interpersonal relationships such as family and friends. (See 11 for review). While the range of effects is striking, what has been missed in the workplace bullying literature by not focusing attention on teen workers is the potential effects in the domains of school, family, and peers; domains viewed as critical influences on adolescent development and identity (18). More specifically, research on the costs and benefits of working for adolescents has targeted school involvement and academic achievement, career aspirations, family and peer relationships as well as problem behaviors such as drugs and alcohol, sexual behavior and other forms of delinquency (5). These are clearly important outcomes that should be considered in studies of adolescent worker experiences with bullying.

Of these outcomes, recent research with working adults suggests that workplace bullying can have negative implications for family and friendships as these individuals experience distress and strain of providing support for the targeted loved one and frustration at not being able to change the situation for them (54). Such strain can translate into increased conflict within the family or with friends, disrupting critical social support that is vital for helping the target deal with their current job situation. For teen workers, such strain and conflict may be even more problematic given the vital importance of family and peer relationship to overall identity development and the achievement of autonomy. Evidence from the adult literature on

bullying documents the development of problem behaviors such as alcohol and drug use as a way to self-medicate to deal with the mental and emotional issues associated with being a target of workplace bullying (47). In addition to substance abuse, the youth employment literature suggests that sexual behavior and general delinquency would be possible outcomes to examine (18). These behaviors have long-term implications for adjustment into adulthood. In terms of school outcomes, Fineran and Gruber study of workplace sexual harassment found evidence of school avoidance and academic withdrawal (29). While disruption of school is a serious outcome in its own right, by affecting school engagement, workplace bullying may also indirectly influence subsequent career development. Self-efficacy is another important outcome to explore for teen workers. MacMillan and Hagen found a negative link between victimization and self-efficacy (55). Mortimer and Staff's longitudinal study of young workers found that job stress affected self-efficacy at 4 and 9 years post high school. Lubbers et al. showed that self-efficacy influenced subsequent job performance and even physical health at later periods of time (57). These results suggest that teen exposure to workplace bullying may have important long-term implications for not only health and well-being but also for key relationships, academic achievement, career development, work behaviors, and ultimately occupational attainment (Frone, 1999).

As noted earlier, teen workers may be more affected by job experiences than older workers due to their relative inexperience as well as their socioemotional competence. Thus, the above described effects may be even more damaging for young workers. However, there are factors that may moderate such impact. For example, degree of investment in or identification with work has been shown to moderate the impact of work experiences on the individual (33, 56). Applied to teen workers, this suggests that the intensity of impact may be lessened to the extent the teen does not see work as a central part of their overall identity. Greater attachment to and opportunities for achievement and autonomy in the other domains of school, family and peers may offset the impact of workplace bullying on teen's sense of self and self-efficacy. Further, relationships in these domains, assuming they are constructive, could provide support in terms of reframing the experience to be less damaging to the teen, i.e., it is not their fault as the actor is being unfair or inappropriate, and/or by simply providing distraction so that rumination on the work experience does not occur (18).

In sum, workplace bullying can have broad ranging and particularly intense effects on teen workers; effects that may have enduring implications for both general and occupational development into adulthood. Its effects are not limited to the work domain but can spillover and potentially disrupt life in the domains of school, family and peers. It is important that research and practice focus specifically on teens' experiences at work, particularly their relationships with coworkers and supervisors, and examine impact on functioning across diverse life contexts.

IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

This review has highlighted the exposure risks and potential impact of hostile working relationships on adolescent development and well-being. Such findings have implications for health professionals working with teens in at least three areas: 1) assessment, 2) treatment/intervention, and 3) employment preparation. Work is clearly an important life

domain for adolescents and should be included in any assessment of mental and physical health. Most simply, teens should be asked about experiences on their jobs. Exploring the nature and quality of work relationships and the impact on the teen's cognitions and feelings about themselves, their own efficacy, and competence would be important. An examination of how the teens are processing these experiences as well as their understanding of their own responses may help illuminate areas for intervention. Based on the evidence of domain spillover, it would also be important to examine how these work experiences connect to issues and relationships with family, peers, and schools. Examining how relationships and experiences in these domains may buffer, address, or exacerbate the impact of work experiences would provide important information regarding coping and support and ways to bolster adolescent resources to respond.

In terms of treatment and intervention, educating the teen about workplace bullying and distinguishing it from normal conflict and employment discipline processes would help raise an adolescent's awareness that such interactions are inappropriate and harmful. An analysis and understanding of the possible reasons for the bullying experience, e.g., intrapersonal, interpersonal, and/or intragroup/industry factors highlights specific actions for addressing the teen's experience (35). To the extent the sources are intrapersonal, i.e., emotional competencies of the teen, strategies would focus on helping teens develop more effective stress and emotional management strategies, particularly management of anger. If the situation is being fueled by deficits in interpersonal/social skills, efforts could focus on the development of the teen's relationship building and constructive conflict management strategies such as listening, assertion, and problem solving. In addition, facilitating teen skill development in presenting problems to their work supervisors would also be important, i.e., constructive help seeking. To the extent the hostility and bullying is a quality of the particular workplace (job risk), the health professional can help the teen see how the environment is unhealthy and beyond their ability to control, i.e., not their fault. Engaging the teen in systematic job skill and vocational interest assessment can help a teen develop a realistic sense of their strengths and career goals. Pairing this with concrete skill development in resume writing and interviewing would help the teen find more constructive work and work environment and through this process contribute to their sense of efficacy and competence.

The intervention strategies noted above all focus on building teen competency and resiliency. Complementary actions could include drawing in significant others (family, friends) and helping them understand the challenge faced by the teen and the ways in which they could provide support for the individual. Examples of such support could be helping the teen understand the experience (e.g., reframing, reattribution) and/or providing quality experiences in other domains that bolster teen self-esteem and self-confidence or simply provide a pleasant distraction and preventing harmful rumination.

At a broader level, health professionals would be important resources in discussions of how we approach preparing teens for working and the work world. For example, work-study or cooperative programs with high schools and workplaces are a mechanism for introducing teens to work as an educational experience under a careful and thoughtful joint school-workplace supervision model. Another approach is the apprenticeship model, in which the teen works closely with an adult who is a master in a particular trade or occupation. Both these mechanisms are (or should be) grounded in an understanding of adolescent and vocational development and the importance of thoughtful mentoring, skill development and guided self-reflection. Within these contexts, working relationships can be explored, skills taught, and teens can raise their concerns for thoughtful analysis and constructive feedback.

CONCLUSION

Work is a critical life domain for adolescents that can have profound and enduring effects on their pathway to adulthood. Teen workers' relationships with their coworkers and supervisors are particularly important in terms of the quality of the overall work experience and providing the social context in which the meaning of working is constructed. When these relationships are hostile, undermining and destructive, the effects on teens' health and well-being, self-efficacy, identity and vocational goals can be profound. Further, these effects can be felt in other life domains such as family, peers and school and can be enduring, influencing the teen well into adulthood. Unfortunately, little is understood about teens' working experiences and work relationships generally, and hostile and bullying relationships in particular. This review of the extant and related literatures suggests that teens are exposed to workplace bullying and may indeed be at greater risk for both exposure and for the nature and intensity of harm by virtue of their stage of life development and the nature of their workplaces in which they find themselves. It is hoped that this review provides important information and suggested directions for health professionals and researchers to pursue in identifying and addressing the challenges teens face in their working relationships.

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Chapter 77

BULLYING AND GANGS

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ABSTRACT

Although bullying is associated with gangs, questions arise as to whether bullying, as such, takes place within gangs. In this chapter we will provide a critical analysis of bullying as this pertains to youth gangs and especially to violence within gangs, and as applied to the behaviour of individual gang members. We will talk about young men between 12 and 25 years of age and review relevant literature with a view to theorising the nature of the relationship between bullying and violence within a youth gang context. Bullying is associated with the reasons why individuals join gangs and with gang-related behaviour, but the violence within a gang is of a different character than that usually described by the term bullying. Bullying has implications for related and/or subsequent types of street violence, but is less relevant for descriptions of violence within a youth gang context as such.

INTRODUCTION

Two issues of concern have become especially prominent in media and research discussions of youth behaviour in recent years: bullying and youth gangs. A substantial body of literature exists on both of these social phenomena, and likewise there are major ongoing efforts to devise various types of (early) intervention programmes and desistance strategies. A strong connecting point between these literatures is the focus on violence (variously described but that includes physical through to psychological aspects), and the risks and actual harms to individuals stemming from gang and bullying behaviour. Interestingly, many of the strategies designed to short circuit bullying and gang-related behaviour are likewise similar in nature,

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with a stress upon early intervention and holistic approaches to personal and community development (1,2).

This paper explores the relationship between gangs and bullying by considering two key questions:

- Is there a causal association between participation in bullying and participation in youth gangs? and;
- Does bullying take place within youth gangs?

For present purposes the term ‘bullying’ is used to refer to behaviour characterised by a distinct type of repeated aggression and a systematic abuse of power (3). In essence, bullying is about the exercise of power that simultaneously makes a social statement about the worthlessness of the victim. The definition of ‘gang’ is contentious, but generally speaking it refers to street present young people who regularly engage in violence and criminal or delinquent behaviour (4).

An underlying assumption of this paper is that in addition to violence per se being a link between bullying and gang behaviour, a further link pertains to the gendered nature of the violence. That is, most physical aggression is tied to masculinity and the self-perceptions and self-images of boys and young men, particularly those from the working class (5). The construction of violence as a working class phenomenon partly stems from the importance of physicality - the body - in working class life and culture. Traditionally paid work was largely reliant upon performing physical tasks (in the factories, in the mines, in the trades, in the army). The centrality of physique and the physical translates into forms of aggressive masculinity which celebrate strength, speed, agility and general physical prowess.

While considerations of masculinity help to frame with issues of violence (in the school yard as well as in the street), we are still left with intriguing questions regarding how different forms of violence are related to each other, and how they overlap. These questions thus return us to further exploration of the relationship between bullying and youth gang behaviour.

CRITICAL REFLECTION

This chapter relies on literature dealing with gangs and bullying in order to offer an interpretive conceptualisation of the relationship between these social phenomena. The ‘methodology’ therefore is less that of empirical study than critical reflection. Even so, there are distinct matters that nonetheless have to be addressed. For example, in gangs research, ‘One of the key methodological issues in the study of gangs has been whether the unit of analysis is the gang, the gang member, or the act (crime) committed by the gang member or members’ (6). This is worth exploring in order to illustrate the analytical conundrums associated with gang research.

There are major difficulties in defining what a gang is (7-9). So, too, there are major problems in trying to identify who a gang member is and their precise relationship to a particular youth group formation. The question here is not so much the presence of the group, but a particular individual’s involvement with that group. Group membership is largely a fluid process, with specific individuals having varying degrees of association over time.

Consider for example the following. A young person may occasionally associate with a 'gang', but not be a member. A young person may participate in the activities of the 'gang' once in a while, but not be a member. A young person may desire to be a part of the 'gang', but not actually become a member. A young person may say they are part of the same crowd or 'gang', but not actually be a member of the relevant core group. A young person may have all the external trappings of a gang member (street gang culture in the form of dress, posture, talking style) but not be a member of a gang.

Gang membership is not absolute or fixed, but highly variable and changing. Indeed, there is often no clear dividing line between those who are in a gang and those who are not. Being a member of a 'gang' is generally a contingent process, one defined by specific activities, special relationships and specific networks at any particular time (10,11). Gang membership also tends to be marked by different degrees of commitment and association. Any particular group tends to be loosely organised around a core group (the hard core or leaders), fringe members (who participate in gang-related activities on a less frequent basis), and 'wannabes' (those who aspire to be hard core members of the main group). Again, these categorisations are fluid and may not always apply to actual group formations. People could drift in and out of particular youth formations, including those self-described by the young people as 'gangs'. For some, it is a short-lived passing phase, for others it might constitute a longer-term commitment.

It is not only perception by others, but self-perception, that is crucial to the development of gang identity. Sydney research has found, for example, that some of the young men who were interviewed presented themselves as a 'gang' in order to gain a measure of 'respect' (12). The symbolic representation of themselves as members of a gang, however, was more at the level of overt performance (i.e., presenting an image of being tough and dangerous), than in relation to particular kinds of professional criminal activity. The point of claiming gang status was to affirm social presence, to ensure mutual protection and to compensate for a generally marginalised economic and social position. Significantly, research indicates that where young people themselves claim gang membership, they tend to engage in substantially more anti-social and criminal behaviour than those who do not profess to be gang members (13,14). Who you say you are thus has implications for what you do and with whom. Group identification is thus intertwined with group activity.

Various kinds of group formations (e.g., gangs, crowds, peer groups, subcultures) and different kinds of violence (e.g., riots, mob action, street fighting) are linked in the sense that certain key attributes tend to feature across much of what occurs in public spaces such as city streets (15). For example, work undertaken on violence and masculinity demonstrates a strong cultural component to violence, especially for males (16,17). Particularly for working class young men, physical prowess or toughness is a form of social capital. In most social milieu, a young man's reputation depends in part upon the credible threat of violence (17). Quick resort to physical combat – as a measure of daring, or courage, or defence of status – appears to be a standard cultural expectation, especially for working class boys and young men. This perhaps explains the widespread nature of violence among school-age male populations. That is, in a context in which 'manhood' is yet to be proven by attainment of paid work, marriage, leaving home or beginning a family of their own, physicality itself, relying upon the body, is one way in which to 'prove oneself' (5). This would therefore help to explain the prevalence of male violence across the schoolyard, if not the intensity and differences in manifestation.

BULLYING

Bullying has major effects on perpetrators, on victims and on observers. Moreover, those who bully may themselves be on the receiving end of bullying, at school, at home or on the street. The consequence of bullying lies in individuals changing their personal behaviour, from avoiding certain places at certain times of the day, through to becoming more aggressive and lashing out at those around them. Bullying can involve one-on-one confrontations, or groups that pick on specific individuals and/or social groups. The dynamics of bullying are structural, situational and individual in that they involve social differences between participants (such as ethnic or class differences), interactional factors such as the presence or absence of observers (including guardians) and personal dispositions (such as propensity toward aggression). It is the complexities that surround bullying that can lead researchers to conflate bullying and gang behaviour.

For young people, engagement in bullying or gaining protection from the threat of physical violence may be important motivations for joining a gang. For instance, when considering the effects of bullying at school in relation to gang-related behaviour, research has found that bullying is a strong predictor of anti-social behaviour and development (18); that self-reported bullying at a younger age (14 years) increases the likelihood of violent convictions between ages 15 and 20 years and self-reported violence at age 15-18 years (19); and that school bullies are much more prone than non-involved students for later offending (3). Being a bully means being used to violence. It also means associating violence with everyday activities, including those experienced as pleasurable or fun, as well as those denoting street status.

Conversely, it has also been shown that repeated exposure to being bullied can undermine the health and wellbeing of vulnerable students (1), and harassment frequently has its roots in social prejudice (e.g., gay students, those from ethnic minorities). Being bullied at school is significantly associated with being bullied outside school (20). It is notable that in New South Wales between 2005 and 2009, there was an upward trend in the rate of recorded assault incidents between school-aged children on government school premises during school hours, generally involving two students of the same gender (generally boys), aged between 13 and 15 years (21). Such violence begets violence, especially when combined with structural inequalities and social differentiation. It has been observed that 'from the perspective of a marginalized individual living in a marginalized community who has suffered considerable personal trauma, the gang can be an effective mechanism for supporting violent aggression in what appear to be irrational ways' (6). Personal tragedies, including being victimised, can affect children and young people in ways that put them on a trajectory toward gang involvement.

Interestingly, English research has found that a bigger proportion of young people are more worried about being physically attacked than bullied (22), hence implying that occasional violence, including group violence is ever-present and all-pervasive in schools. This has also been found to be the case in Australian youth gangs research (14) which found high incidences of school based gang violence and individual non-gang violence. At a formal definitional level, bullying refers to repeated behaviours that involve a wide range of physical and non-physical harms, but that are targeted at the same individual. What some of the gangs research shows is that students are not only concerned about this kind of targeted, specific violence (i.e., what we usually think of as bullying), but the more randomised forms of violence where you are never quite sure who is going to attack you and for what reasons (e.g., the Australian study showed a

lot of violence involving non-gang students, usually of a one-to-one kind, as well as group based violence linked to youth gangs). The triggers to violence are often situational (e.g., accidental bumping) as well as occasionally linked to intentional bullying. Overall, the extent of violence is of considerable concern to students and contributes to a general anxiety about being physically attacked.

Racism and prejudice can frequently exist as precursors to violence, as well as being forms of structural violence in their own right (7). This is evident in the ways in which racialisation of the gangs debate in places such as Great Britain, Australia and North America is stigmatising certain population groups (9). Having said that, however, bullying and gang formation cuts across actual colour or religious divides and is about territory and neighbourhoods. In regards to territoriality, young men protect themselves by posing as dangerous and 'bad', and by behaving and dressing aggressively (23, 24). How they do so, however, may plug back into wider racial and ethnic stereotypes. For instance, 'In street culture, negative stereotypes from mainstream society can provide protection and status....symbolic signs associated with the category 'foreigner' can be conceptualized as a form of embodied street capital.' (24). Gangster images combined with ethnic markers and aggressive physicality may well provide group protection in what are generally hostile social environments for minority groups (12).

While there are sound reasons to accept that bullying may help to propel some young people into gangs – either for protection or for enjoyment – the activities of youth gangs are not reducible to bullying type behaviour as such. This is because of the specific character of youth gang violence. Thus, for example, 'youth gang-related violence mainly emanates from inter-gang rivalries, turf protection and expansion, and interpersonal disputes or "beefs"' (23). The nature of the violence is intrinsically dictated by the nature of the group formation. In such a context, bullying may, in some circumstances, be frowned upon insofar as it does not reflect a legitimate avenue for the expression of 'manhood', 'masculinity' and 'machismo' associated with gang identity, peer solidarity and group status.

Indeed, the specific cultures and rituals of gangs are essential to consider when it comes to how violence is perceived and experienced by gang members. For example, gang induction may require initiates to endure a character test in what are called "beat-downs" or "jump-ins" (23). Is this bullying? Not really, since the violence is welcomed by the recipient and interpreted as empowering rather than an imposition of power. Street culture more generally also demands ongoing character tests that involve constant affirmation of dangerousness and ability to fight (24), essential gang member attributes. In other words, violence within the gang, and on the street, is expected and routinised.

The motivations for gang violence include such things as retaliation, which is related to the group aspects of violent acts. Groups of young men who are regularly vilified and subject to street taunts and attacks may band together and become a gang for the purposes of protection and symbolic strength (12); these same people experience racism from teachers at school (subjectively experienced as a form of 'bullying'). On the other hand, rivalries between defined groups may involve 'picking on' a specific individual (from the other side or gang); but this in turn needs to be interpreted not as individualised bullying but part of a collective social dynamic.

Gang violence may be experienced as 'fun' by participants, in the sense that it provides an adrenaline rush and is associated with 'typical' working class masculine pursuits that define a 'top night out' such as drug taking, drinking and fighting (25-27). Not surprisingly, then, 'Groups of men with a history of fighting often evolve into gangs in the Russian context' (6),

an observation that has Australian equivalents (10) and that resonates in other cultural and national contexts as well (7).

At both personal and group levels, gang violence provides a particular type of expression of masculinity. Indeed, fighting is seen as a proof of manliness, regardless of whether you win or lose (26). In the context of both a 'will to violence' (27) and a cultural association between violence and masculinity (28), the gang provides a ready-made forum for the expression of individual aggression.

How you fight (with fists or with other weapons) is also connected to conceptions of manliness (10). More generally, the interpretation of violence is defined in terms of 'rules of engagement' that act so as to 'render violence intelligible and rewarding for those who participate in it' (29).

These rules refer to violence within the gang such as initiation and fights between gang members, as well as external violence. For example, gang-related violence is often guided by rituals of restraint when a gang member fights another member of the same gang, whereas 'outsiders' are more likely to suffer from a no holds barred approach. Gang responses to and engagement in violence are thus typically defined by the situation, not by the characteristics of the perpetrators as such.

In some cases, there is the perception at the street level that some types of 'violence' are not really violence. For example, a 'fair fight' is not violence, but 'Violence occurs when the rules are broken. Violence is that which is unpleasant and morally non-defensible, like attacking smaller guys, using weapons, stamping on somebody who is lying down or putting your foot in somebody's face' (24). In Oslo, then, the rules not only guide behaviour but they also guide interpretation.

From one point of view, violence may well be seen as rational in particular situational contexts. For example, force or violence may be viewed as rational behaviour to the extent that it is designed to effect change in the target of violence. Furthermore, many young people fight not because of an absence of values, but because of values that hold such behaviour to be a justifiable, commonsense way to achieve certain goals (30). This is especially understandable in the context of concerns about masculine identity, and violence that relates to defence of 'male honour' (17). But the rationale behind the violence need not be simply due to cues or triggers imposed externally.

There is increasing evidence that violence also stems from the efforts of young people themselves to engineer situations and events with the intended aim of increasing the likelihood of violence occurring (26, 27).

From this perspective, the gang provides a forum or ready-made opportunity structure within which to engage in what is felt to be exhilarating activity. Fighting is fun; and gangs provide an avenue to increase the thrill factor beyond the norm. Violence can thus be seen to be attractive and desirable in its own right, as well as being linked to instrumental purposes (14). Group violence achieves a number of rational, emotional, psychological and social purposes, simultaneously.

DISCUSSION

Bullying has become a ubiquitous term to describe all manner of conflict between individuals and groups, with particular emphasis on bullying among adolescents. Definitions

of bullying have changed over time to include more phenomena being associated with or descriptive of bullying, especially non obvious, indirect forms of bullying such as exclusion (1). This change also includes reference to the commonly held belief that bullying involves one individual bullying another individual. Later research has identified a group basis to bullying where a group either bullies an individual or another group (1). Thus the definition of a bully has expanded from traditional perceptions of the bully as primarily individually based, to include the group as bully.

In the context of an expanding definition, it becomes difficult to separate bullying from other forms of potential and actual conflict or violence between individuals and groups. That is, very little differentiation exists – given current definitions – between bullying and general conflict/violence, in relation to both its antecedents and expression. However, what does appear to be a common thread is the power relation between individuals and groups. Those physically stronger, or culturally dominant, are able to persecute others through perceived difference and weakness relative to themselves. Marginalisation equals vulnerability to bullying by others. Be marginal at your own risk.

Bullying is persecution that includes picking on, intimidating, slandering or assaulting an individual or group which is vulnerable to persecution. An individual or group that displays weakness is physically or culturally marginal or vulnerable relative to the other individual or group. The definition of ‘other’ is crucial to the act of bullying, since without the sense of ‘other’ (that is, not us or not normal), bullying generally does not occur.

It has been suggested that two key characteristics separate bullying from other aggressive behaviour; repeated victimisation, and a power imbalance, with bullying taking various forms including, physical, verbal abuse, social exclusion and indirect forms such as spreading rumours (20). Bullying behaviour thus may include name calling, verbal or written abuse, exclusion from activities, exclusion from social situations, physical abuse, or coercion. Bullies may behave this way to be perceived as popular or tough or to get attention. They may bully out of jealousy or be acting out because they themselves are bullied.

Bullying is typically defined as either one individual or group threatening or intimidating a targeted individual (31). Australian studies have shown that race or ethnicity is significantly associated with peer victimisation (1). Other Australian research has indicated that racism is expressed through being unpleasant, verbal abuse, exclusion, avoidance and physical assault (32). Note that those actions/behaviours described by young people to describe expressions of racism are also those behaviours that define bullying. If the above definition is accepted then the question becomes; “How does bullying differ from other forms of conflict between young people”? Is all conflict based on bullying? Indeed, in some circumstances those actions described as bullying can be a tactic or opening gambit for negotiated violence among young people, especially slurs and insults (30).

Additionally, there is no ‘typical’ bully or victim, each can be one or the other depending on circumstance; there are, then, “bully-victims”. Other roles include defenders (those who protect the victim) and bystanders (onlookers) (20). Again, this observation begs the question of how do these roles differ from the roles observed in general conflict/violence between people, especially group based conflict such as gang fights. All group based conflict exhibits these roles; there is nothing about either the definition of bullying or the roles observed that makes them specific to bullying.

As mentioned above, the definition of an individual or group as ‘other’ is inherent to bullying and the ‘other’ must be vulnerable in a physical and/or cultural sense; they must be in

a weaker position relative to the bully(s). Factors associated with bullying include race, ethnicity, gender, disability, sexual orientation, and peer group (having few friends or untrustworthy friends). Within a sociocultural perspective bullying has its roots in social prejudice (1).

Peer/friendship groups are generally formed on the basis of common interests and purposes and to provide support for group members. They may also constitute a threat to outsiders, sometimes to ex members, who they may bully (1, 32), with the act of bullying in this case constituting a challenge to the 'other' to fight. Slurs are traded until the point of violence or retreat by one party. The act of bullying within a group context then, is the basis of negotiated conflict between groups of young people.

Situations arise whereby young people are members of a group that is more powerful than another group. Bullying may be motivated by a grievance or prejudice, rivalry, or simply to have fun at the expense of another. These acts of bullying are typically initiated and sustained by the connection with a group rather than driven by individual motives, this view presupposing that bullying is typically a group phenomenon.

It would thus appear that the type of bullying undertaken and the motives for bullying are dependent upon the context within which it occurs. Typically, schoolyard bullying is where the normal rules of restraint do not apply. Bullying is not restricted to settling a gripe or asserting status in a one off opportunistic situation but is the systematic, ongoing persecution of another over time. The continual targeting of an individual or group is based on some psychological (introverted, shy), physical (puny), or cultural (gay, ethnic) attribute. The target is seen as 'other', because they generally belong to a marginalised group or are 'self' marginalised.

Gang violence may likewise involve bullying individuals and groups outside of the gang itself. Gang rivalry, for instance, involves mutually recognised antipathy. In this social context, each individual is always seen as gang member, even when alone. An individual's membership of a gang makes them vulnerable when they are not with the gang. They may not only be vulnerable to bullying by other rival gang members but also by young people who are not a member of a gang. Their membership in a gang thus makes them vulnerable to bullying by others, especially when they do not have other gang members around to protect them.

With respect to this, Australian research has suggested that gang members are significantly more likely than non-gang members to report that other students pester or persecute them and that they dread going to school (32). Moreover, when asked why young people join groups a significantly greater proportion of gang members than non-gang members reported that they joined the gang for protection. When present in numbers, the gang may provide a defence against being bullied, both by individuals and other (competing) groups.

The motives for bullying in a gang context may be different from those where an individual is bullied either by a single person or a non-gang peer group. Gang bullying is not only about degradation or aiming a statement about the worthlessness of the individual; it is a tactic used as part of ritualised violence. It is not persecution per se, but rather an opportunistic behaviour aimed at asserting physical and thereby social dominance over a rival group. It is interesting in this regard to note that ex-gang members are not usually put into the category of the 'other', as indicated in research that reveals that gang members can normally leave the gang without serious consequences (23).

In conclusion, although bullying is associated with the reasons why individuals join gangs, the violence within a gang is of a different character than that usually described by at least some

definitions of bullying. But gang members can and do ‘bully’ outsiders. Thus, there is an association between bullying and gangs, but this association is more complicated and layered than may at first appear.

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Chapter 78

BULLYING VICTIMIZATION AMONG 13 TO 15 YEAR OLD SCHOOL CHILDREN: RESULTS FROM TWO COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN 66 COUNTRIES AND REGIONS

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ABSTRACT

This chapter will examine the prevalence of bullying victimization in 66 countries and territories from five continents. The study was based on data from two large international surveys: the 2001/2 Health Behaviour in School-aged Children survey (HBSC) and the Global School-based Students Health Survey (GSHS). The surveys provide nationally representative, cross-sectional information on 13-15 year old school children (N=218,104). Outcome Measures: Bullying victimization, once or more within the past two months (HBSC)/30 days (GSHS). Results: On average 32.1 % of the children were bullied at school at least once within the past two months in countries involved in the HBSC study and 37.4 % of children were bullied at least one day with the past 30 days in countries involved in the GSHS study. In both surveys, there was large variation in prevalence across countries. The lowest prevalence in the GSHS survey was observed in Tajikistan (7.1% for both boys and girls) and among HBSC countries in Sweden (16.0 % for boys and 14.6% for girls) and the Czech Republic (17.1% for boys and 14.2% for girls). The highest prevalence for boys in the GSHS survey was found in Zimbabwe (Bulawayo) (70.2%) and for girls in Zambia (67.1%). In the HBSC survey, Lithuania had the highest prevalence of bullying victimization (62.7% for boys and 64.4% for girls). Conclusion: Victimization to bullying violates the fundamental rights of children and our study suggests that many countries who signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child need to work harder to fulfill the goals.

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INTRODUCTION

The Convention on the Rights of the Child under the Charter of the United Nations (1) states that ‘the child should be brought up in the spirit of the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular in the spirit of peace, dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality and solidarity’. The convention was ratified by 140 nations by July 2007. Environments that allow bullying victimization violates children’s right to be brought up in the spirit of tolerance and solidarity, and the prevalence of bullying is therefore an issue of importance, not only nationally, but also internationally.

Bullying is defined as a deliberate, repeated or long-term exposure to negative acts performed by a person or group of persons regarded of higher status or greater strength than the victim (2). Bullying might be verbal acts such as threats, insults or nicknames or physical acts such as assault or theft. Also social acts such as exclusion from the peer group are considered bullying. Bullying is aimed at victims who cannot easily defend themselves (2,3) and is aggression beyond common teasing (4). Prevalence of bullying victimization decrease with age, and exposure to bullying is generally higher among younger children, with the youngest and weakest being exposed the most (2,3,5-7).

Bullying victimization is strongly associated with physical and psychological health outcomes (5,6,8-20) and seem to have long term consequences on health and well being of the individual (21-23). Moreover, victims of bullying have difficulties in establishing social relationships with peers (2,5,14,24,25) and some victimized children react by bullying others, to defend themselves or to bolster their self image, thus creating a vicious circle that is likely to increase the prevalence of bullying and its adverse effects (26). Further, bullying behaviour and victimization track over time (2,15,22), which means that many children are exposed to bullying for years.

Since the first seminal studies on bullying were conducted in Norway and Sweden (27,28) national studies have found bullying to be a prevalent behaviour among school children in a wide range of countries (5,6,8-14,17,19-20,29). Publications from the international Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children (HBSC) study have generally confirmed data from national studies (18,24), but have shown that there are large international differences in the prevalence of bullying. The HBSC study, however, only comprises countries from Europe, North America and Israel.

This study used data from two large international surveys to examine the prevalence of bullying victimization among of 13-15 year old boys and girls in 66 countries and territories from five continents.

DATA THAT WE USED

We used data from two internationally comparative school-based surveys. Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC) is a standardized, international WHO collaborative study with repeated cross-sectional surveys among 11, 13 and 15 year old students in representative samples of schools in the participating countries from Europe, North America and Israel (30). The data collection is based on an internationally standardised and validated questionnaire. The study aims to gain new insight into young people's health and well-being,

health behaviours and their social context. This paper reports data from the 35 participating countries and territories in the 2001/2002 survey.

Each national study included students in the relevant age groups (11, 13 and 15 year olds) from a random sample of schools. The present paper uses HBSC data from 13 and 15 year olds in order to compare with data from the Global School-based Health Student survey (GSHS) (see table 1).

Table 1. Bullying questions used in the Health Behaviour in School-aged Children 2001/2002 questionnaire and in the GSHS survey

HBSC 2001/2002	
Here are some questions about bullying. We say a student is BEING BULLIED when another student, or a group of students, say or do nasty and unpleasant things to him or her. It is also bullying when a student is teased repeatedly in a way he or she does not like or when he or she is deliberately left out of things. But it is NOT BULLYING when two students of about the same strength or power argue or fight. It is also <u>not</u> bullying when a student is teased in a friendly and playful way.	
How often have you been bullied at school in the past couple of months?	
1 ☐	I have not been bullied at school in the past couple of months
2 ☐	It has only happened once or twice
3 ☐	2 or 3 times a month
4 ☐	About once a week
5 ☐	Several times a week
GSHS	
Bullying occurs when a student or group of students say or do bad and unpleasant things to another student. It is also bullying when a student is teased a lot in an unpleasant way or when a student is left out of things on purpose. It is not bullying when two students of about the same strength or power argue or fight or when teasing is done in a friendly and fun way.	
During the past 30 days, on how many days were you bullied?	
A	0 days
B	1 or 2 days
C	3 to 5 days
D	6 to 9 days
E	10 to 19 days
F	20 to 29 days
G	All 30 days

Table 2. Prevalence of bullying in 66 countries and territories: percentage of 13 and 15 year old school children, who have been bullied at least once in the previous couple of months (Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC)) and percentage of 13-15 year old school children, who have been bullied at least once within the past 30 days (Global School-based Student Health Survey (GSHS)) by sex and country

Country	Study	Year of data collection	N of participants	Boys % bullied	Girls % bullied
Austria	HBSC	2001	2,882	48.0	40.5
Belgium (Flemish)	HBSC	2002	4,136	27.8	21.2
Belgium (French)	HBSC	2002	2,884	48.8	34.2
Botswana	GSHS	2005	2,197	52.6	51.8
Canada	HBSC	2002	2,720	37.0	33.2
Cayman Island	GSHS	2007	1,299	24.4	28.2
China (Beijing)	GSHS	2003	2,348	23.0	17.4
China (Hangzhon)	GSHS	2003	1,802	30.7	32.9
China (Wuhan)	GSHS	2003	1,947	34.2	31.6
China (Wurunqui)	GSHS	2003	2,918	32.5	31.2
Croatia	HBSC	2002	2,946	23.9	20.1
Czech Republic	HBSC	2002	3,321	17.1	14.2
Denmark	HBSC	2002	2,962	29.2	30.0
Djibouti	GSHS	2007	1,777	44.3	35.8
Egypt	GSHS	2006	5,249	63.7	57.6
England	HBSC	2002	3,842	32.9	31.2
Estonia	HBSC	2001	2,691	42.8	40.6
Finland	HBSC	2002	3,477	23.7	19.6
France	HBSC	2002	5,514	33.0	35.6
Germany	HBSC	2002	3,550	38.5	31.7
Greece	HBSC	2002	2,555	25.6	23.0
Greenland	HBSC	2002	596	38.5	41.7
Guyana	GSHS	2004	1,212	42.9	37.6
Hungary	HBSC	2002	2,793	17.2	20.9
Ireland	HBSC	2002	1,863	27.6	20.5
Israel	HBSC	2002	3,769	39.9	20.4
Italy	HBSC	2002	2,862	25.8	28.8
Jordan	GSHS	2004	2,457	49.8	42.9
Kenya	GSHS	2003	3,691	56.6	57.4
Latvia	HBSC	2001	2,286	51.3	43.2
Lebanon	GSHS	2005	5,115	38.9	29.4
Libya	GSHS	2007	2,242	40.0	30.5
Lithuania	HBSC	2002	3,778	62.7	64.4
Macedonia	HBSC	2002	2,813	30.2	25.4
Malta	HBSC	2002	1,361	26.7	17.8
Morocco	GSHS	2006	2,670	41.3	25.0
Namibia	GSHS	2004	6,367	56.5	47.8
Netherlands	HBSC	2001	2,792	28.6	23.7
Norway	HBSC	2001	3,363	29.3	23.2
Oman	GSHS	2005	2,979	35.2	36.9
Phillipines	GSHS	2003/4	7,338	34.7	36.1
Poland	HBSC	2002	4,283	31.3	26.8

Country	Study	Year of data collection	N of participants	Boys % bullied	Girls % bullied
Portugal	HBSC	2002	1,766	47.9	41.7
Russian Federation	HBSC	2002	5,515	33.0	30.7
Scotland	HBSC	2002	2,661	24.9	26.6
Slovenia	HBSC	2002	2,482	19.5	21.9
Spain	HBSC	2002	3,722	27.0	24.2
St. Lucia	GSHS	2007	1,276	25.2	25.1
St. Vincent and Grenadines	GSHS	2007	1,333	30.7	29.4
Swaziland	GSHS	2003	7,341	43.0	37.8
Sweden	HBSC	2001	2,427	16.0	14.6
Switzerland	HBSC	2002	3,211	42.3	38.9
Tajikistan	GSHS	2006	9,714	7.1	7.1
Tanzania (Dar el Salaam)	GSHS	2006	2,176	27.1	28.5
Trinidad and Tobago	GSHS	2007	2,969	21.8	18.7
Uganda	GSHS	2003	3,215	50.0	41.1
Ukraine	HBSC	2002	2,898	48.2	40.4
United Arab Emirates	GSHS	2005	15,790	25.0	17.1
United States of America	HBSC	2001	3,546	35.4	31.2
Uruguay	GSHS	2006	3,406	24.7	21.7
Venezuela (Barinas)	GSHS	2003	2,249	38.9	30.4
Venezuela (Lara)	GSHS	2003	2,166	36.7	35.6
Wales	HBSC	2002	2,536	23.9	27.2
Zambia	GSHS	2004	2,257	62.5	67.1
Zimbabwe (Bulawayo)	GSHS	2003	1,804	70.2	52.5
Zimbabwe (Harare)	GSHS	2003	1,997	60.2	51.1
Total HBSC	HBSC	2001/2	106,803	33.3 ^a	29.2 ^a
Total GSHS	GSHS	2003-2007	111,301	39.5 ^a	35.3 ^a
Total all		2001-2007	218,104	36.9 ^b	32.3 ^b

^a Country level averages (un-weighted).

^b Study level average (un-weighted).

The GSHS was developed by the World Health Organization (WHO) in collaboration with United Nations, UNICEF, UNESCO, and UNAIDS with technical assistance from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). The GSHS aims to provide data on health and social behaviours among school-going adolescents.

The GSHS survey comprises data on 13-15 year olds from 31 countries and territories from Africa (nine), the Americas (eight), the Eastern Mediterranean region (eight), the Western Pacific regions (five) and Europe (one).

As the GSHS survey is not conducted within any internationally distinct timeframe, we have used surveys conducted as close to the year 2001/2 as possible. We used data from the 31 countries and territories, where the survey included measures of bullying (31). All surveys were performed within the years 2003 to 2007, and the year of data collection for each country is presented in table 2.

In total, this study present results based on data from 218,104 students (sample sizes ranged from 596 in Greenland (all 13 and 15 years old Greenlanders) to 15,790 in the United Arab Emirates). In the HBSC survey, students answered a standardized questionnaire during a school

lesson after instruction from an adult (32) and in the GSHS survey students self-reported their responses to internationally standardized questions on a computer scannable answer sheet during one regular class period (33).

In HBSC, bullying was measured by the item: ‘How often have you been bullied at school in the past couple of months?’ The responses were: (1) I haven’t been bullied at school the past couple of months, (2) it has only happened once or twice, (3) 2 or 3 times a month, (4) about once a week, and (5) several times a week.^{30,33} The responses were dichotomized into: (1) never, (2) at least once. In the GSHS study, bullying was measured by the item: ‘During the past 30 days, on how many days were you bullied?’ The responses were: (A) 0 days, (B) 1 or 2 days, (C) 3 to 5 days, (D) 6 to 9 days, (E) 10 to 19 days (F) 20 to 29 days (G) all 30 days.³¹ The responses were dichotomized into: (1) 0 days, (2) at least 1 day. A full presentation of the measurements and response categories is presented in table 1.

WHAT WE FOUND

Table 2 presents basic data from the two surveys alphabetically by country and age-adjusted prevalence of bullying victimization based on the above dichotomizations. Figures 1 and 2 present country specific bullying victimization prevalence consecutively, for boys and girls.

We found large proportions of students reporting to be bullied at least sometimes within the past one or two months. On average 32.1 % of the children were bullied at school at least once within the past two months in countries involved in the HBSC study and 37.4 % of children were bullied at least one day with the past 30 days in countries involved in the GSHS study (table 2).

There was large variation in prevalence across countries. The lowest prevalence in the GSHS survey was observed in Tajikistan (7.1% for both boys and girls) and among HBSC countries in Sweden (16.0 % for boys and 14.6% for girls) and the Czech Republic (17.1% for boys and 14.2% for girls). The highest prevalence for boys in the GSHS survey was found in Zimbabwe (Bulawayo) (70.2%) and for girls in Zambia (67.1%). In the HBSC survey, Lithuania had the highest prevalence of bullying victimization (62.7% for boys and 64.4% for girls).

On average, prevalence was highest among boys (39.4% in the GSHS study and 33% in the HBSC study), but only slightly smaller among girls (33% in the GSHS and 29.2% in HBSC). In 40 of the 66 countries and regions, we found prevalence differences between boys and girls to be small (<5%), and in 15 victimization was more prevalent among girls. However, in the 26 countries or regions with gender prevalence differences larger than 5%, bullying was most prevalent among boys (see table 2). In four countries, the prevalence of bullying for boys was more than 10% higher than for girls (Belgium (French): 14.6%, Morocco: 16.3%, Zimbabwe (Bulawayo): 17.1% and Israel: 19.5%). Israel had the highest relative prevalence difference between boys and girls; the prevalence of bullying victimization for boys was almost double as high as for girls (39.9% vs 20.4%).

All African countries involved in the GSHS study, except Tanzania, had very high prevalence of bullying for both boys and girls. In six of the African countries more than every second boy were bullied, and in five of these countries this was also the case for girls. In

Boys

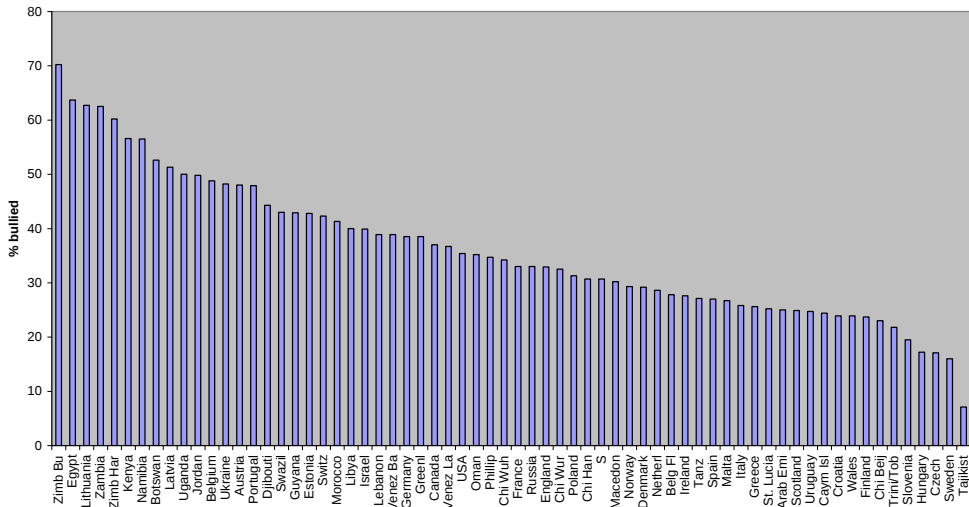


Figure 1. Age-adjusted prevalence of bullying among 13 to 15 year old boys from 66 countries and territories by country (percentage).

Girls

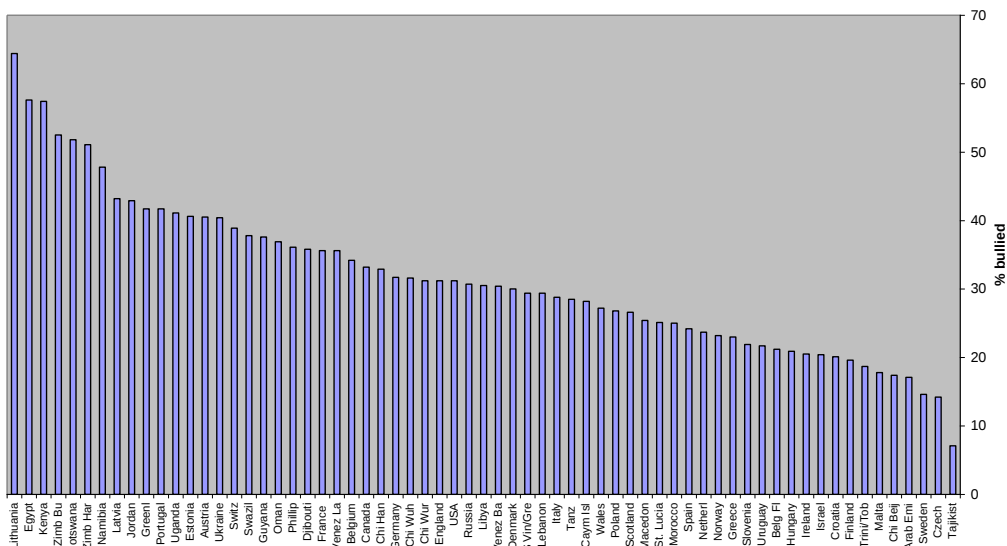


Figure 2. Age-adjusted prevalence of bullying among 13 to 15 year old girls from 66 countries and territories by country (percentage).

Other than the geographical patterns mentioned above, we found bullying prevalence to be largely unrelated to geographic area. For instance, among the Eastern Mediterranean countries included in the GSHS study, there were large prevalence differences between countries. In Egypt, 60.7% (average for boys and girls) of the 13-15 year old children were bullied, while in the Arab Emirates 21.0% were bully victims. And in Southern Europe, 44.8% of the Portuguese children were bullied, while this was the case for 24.3% of the Greek 13-15 year old children.

DISCUSSION

We found high prevalence of bullying in most of the 66 countries and territories studied. On average, every third 13-15 year old had been exposed to bullying within the past months. In only three countries, The Czech Republic, Sweden and Tajikistan, we found prevalence of bullying victimization to be under 20% for both genders. Even though, there were large differences in prevalence levels between countries, far too many children worldwide suffer from being victims of negative social, verbal or aggressive acts that are intended to hurt or degrade them.

In the Baltic countries and most of the African countries involved in the study, a majority of children are exposed to bullying. These numbers are worrying, and though especially the African countries have other major child public health issues of concern, efforts to reduce bullying should be made. School attendance in Africa is much lower than in most other regions of the world. The African countries included in this study all have between 57% (Zambia) and 85% (Botswana) of their children attending school, while most other countries in the study have more than 95% of their children attending primary education (34). Children that have the opportunity to attend school in these countries should not have their academic benefit, their well-being and their self worth damaged by high prevalence levels of bullying. Bullying on the scale found in African and Baltic countries is likely to affect every child, whether victim, offender or bystanders.

However, our study demonstrates that bullying is not only an issue for the countries mentioned above. Within all geographical regions studied, we found countries with high and countries with relatively low prevalence of bullying, and no obvious pattern to explain the variance. Countries, that would be reckoned to have approximately the same ability and resources to create healthy and democratic work environments for children, showed very different prevalence levels. For instance, in Sweden prevalence of bullying is low (15.3%), while in Denmark, another Scandinavian welfare state with much the same opportunities for families, schools, teachers and children, bullying prevalence was almost twice as high (29.6%). In Spain and Portugal, that are countries with geographical and cultural similarities, bullying prevalence is 25.6% and 44.8%, respectively. And despite the very high bullying prevalence in all other African countries in the study, only every fourth child in Tanzania has been a victim of bullying the past month (27.8%). Factors as knowledge, policies and interventions that may explain these international differences, should be explored and utilized to create policies and interventions in countries that have higher prevalence of bullying, despite possessing the same opportunities.

The strengths of this study are the use of two international surveys, with large random school samples taken from a wide variety of geographical and cultural settings. For both

surveys participating research teams had to comply with standardized procedures for sampling, measurements and data collection. These procedures have contributed to the cross-national comparability of the data within each study.

There is a risk of selection bias, in some countries because school attendance is low and only children that attend school are respondents, and in all countries because some students were absent from school at the day of data collection or did not respond to the questionnaire. In countries with high school attendance it is likely that students who were victims of bullying were over-represented among the non-participants, i.e., the prevalence levels may be underestimated. In countries with low school attendance, it is difficult to estimate the effect of any selection bias. If most bullying in these countries takes place at school, non-attendance may be protective to bullying. However, school attendance may give the students a higher status in the local community and behavioural patterns including bullying may disseminate between school and local communities, so that children not attending school in these countries are at even higher risk of being bullied.

The measurement of bullying in the two surveys is not identical. The HBSC questionnaire asks about bullying at school and the GSHS questionnaire about bullying in general. However, the wide variation in prevalence across both surveys may indicate that the two measures of bullying victimization may not lead to very different prevalence estimates, maybe because children asked about bullying in the school setting give answers that are mostly related to the school setting, whether this specific setting is mentioned in the question or not. We have not been able to find studies that study the validity and comparability of these two measurements on the same population.

Further, the translation of questions concerning bullying into many different languages may result in information bias. The notion and severity of the concept of bullying may vary by cultural setting and is probably evidenced in some of the variability observed across countries. Nevertheless in all countries, bullying behaviour represent some sort of negative social interaction. And our earlier studies have shown remarkably stable associations between bullying and a range of physical and psychological symptoms across 28 countries of great cultural diversity (18), results that are supported by recent studies from countries like India and Namibia (19,29). Also, despite possible information bias, the association between bullying and a range of behavioural factors seem to be comparable across studies from different countries (19,20,24,29).

As stated above, the international differences in bullying levels may be based partly on cultural difference in reporting. Also the bullying concept may be perceived to cover more severe interaction in the translation into some national languages than others. This, however, is not likely to explain all international variations. For instance in the Scandinavian countries the term bullying is translated into the same word, and regardless we find very large discrepancies between these countries in the level of bullying. The national differences in policies, in school systems and school environment may account for another part of the differences, and we would welcome studies that explore how much of the differences in bullying prevalence can be explained by such differences at the national and organisational level.

Intervention programmes have demonstrated an effect on diminishing bullying within the school environment (3,37). The most comprehensive work has been performed by Olweus (2,3), who has pointed out the importance of intervening at different levels to successfully diminish the level of bullying in the school environment, and a recent review have confirmed that school-based interventions that involve multiple discipline and a whole-school approach

are most successful in reducing bullying (36). Interest and engagement at the school level is a predisposition for any successful intervention, and knowledge of the actual level of bullying at the school is an important motivational factor. The most important tool for diminishing bullying is addressing the school environment. It is recommended that the problem be highlighted for teachers and pupils by special work sessions and that it be made harder to actually perform the behaviour by increasing inspection in breaks and at other occasions, when bullying is likely to occur. At the class level Olweus highlights the importance of creating mutual behavioural norms among the group of children, for instance by letting the pupils themselves define rules for acceptable social behaviour in the group. Regular discussions in the group on how these rules are observed are essential, as are discussions at parent meetings to assure support from the home environment of the children. Olweus recommends effective interventions be directed first and foremost at the environmental level. However, for the individual involved both as victim, offender or both he recommends talks and coaching with the children as well as their parents (2).

Fairly consistent evidence suggests that children's bullying behaviour can be significantly reduced by well-planned interventions (36). The effect of relatively simple intervention tools against bullying should become known and used in countries with high prevalence of bullying, including in African schools, where intervention tools should be adapted to the cultural setting.

A recent study involving three university populations from Japan, South Africa and the US suggest that physical child harm in the families may be another important factor related to children's bullying behaviour (37).

They conclude that children that were not physically harmed by a family member in their childhood had the lowest risk of being involved in bullying of any kind as children. These results suggest that changes in societal norms on violence against children in families may be another important way to influence bullying prevalence, but the results from the study needs to be verified by other studies.

Bullying behaviour is a violation of the Convention on Rights of the Child.¹ Article 19 in The Convention express that 'States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.' And in article 28 of the Convention: 'States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.'

All countries involved in this study have signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and all countries, except the US have ratified the convention. Switzerland and the United Arab Emirates were the last countries from this study to ratify the convention in 1997. Our study suggests that very many countries that have signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child need to work much harder to live up to its goals.

This means working to intervene in schools to reduce the high prevalence of bullying, but possibly also to constitute or improve general legislations and norms for, how to treat children in our communities.

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Chapter 79

PSYCHIATRIC CONDITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is a complex phenomenon moderated by the personal characteristics and behavioral traits of the individual, but also by family rearing practices, as well as by situational factors such as the frequency and type of bullying. The phenomenon is also affected by group processes among the individuals present during the event. Bullying is a distressing experience that is often continuous over years and predicts both concurrent and future psychiatric symptoms and disorders, even in adulthood. At young ages, ADHD and depression as well as anxiety are prevalent concurrently with bullying among the children involved. Later in young adulthood male victims are at risk for anxiety, male bullies for personality disorders, and male bully-victims for both personality disorders and anxiety, and the risk is especially increased, if the child is disturbed when involved in bullying at school age. Rarely does any single behavior predict future problems as clearly as bullying does, and additional assessment of psychiatric problems is always warranted, if the child is involved in bullying as a bully, victim or bully-victim. Based on our current knowledge, school-based interventions regulating the behavior of the child, increasing prosocial skills and promoting peer relationships are recommended for those without concurrent psychiatric disturbance, but those displaying psychiatric symptoms and disorders should be referred for psychiatric consultation and intervention.

INTRODUCTION

Bullying behaviors are complex phenomena. The significance of peer relationships in bullying is clear (1) and everyone present when bullying behaviors occurs has impact to the actual situation (2). A large number of studies have shown that when bullying behaviors take

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place, the roles of the individuals present can be defined according to their behaviors (3). Some are actively involved as a bully, a victim, a defender of the victim, or a reinforcer or assistant of the bully, while others play more passive roles as bystanders or outsiders, but generally all the persons present moderate the bullying by their own behavior (2,4) leading to a very complex social situation, which is a challenge for all concerned. As bullying behaviors frequently take place at school (5-6), this challenge is commonly confronted by school professionals, especially teachers but also other staff working at schools such as school health professionals.

Over the last 25 years certain personal characteristics and behavioral traits have been found to be associated with bullying behaviors. Victims have been found to be shy, silent, fearful, anxious, physically weak, insecure or in some way 'different', to cry easily and to have low self esteem (7-11), while bullies are reported to be domineering towards their peers, hostile, disruptive, and aggressive, to feel little empathy with victims and to have difficulties in concentration (1,7- 8,12-13). A common feature of both bullies and victims seems to be an inability to handle their emotions effectively. Certain problems also seem to predispose the child for bullying, such as stuttering (14), overweight and obesity (15).

However, earlier studies aiming to clarify the characteristics of children with bullying behaviors have not studied children, who bully and also are bullied as a separate group, and only during the last decade has information become available about these children, who seem to constitute the most troubled group of those involved (16-19).

CONTINUITY AND THE IMPACT OF BULLYING BEHAVIORS ON CHILDREN

The impact of bullying on children is affected by several factors. These include the personal characteristics mentioned above, but family factors, especially certain child rearing practices, also seem to be important. Overprotective, intrusive parenting and parental psychological control have been found to be related to the risk of becoming a target of bullying (20). On the other hand, lack of parental involvement, supervision and nurturing or inconsistent authoritarian parenting are connected to becoming a bully (21-22). Interparental violence and parental maltreatment have also been found to be associated with bullying and victimization (23-24). On the other hand warm family relationships and positive atmosphere at home are reported to protect the children from the negative outcomes of being bullied (25). However, there are also reports that parenting and interparental relationship are unrelated to bullying and victimization (26-28). Findings concerning bullying, parenting and family relationships are by no means conclusive and this area of research warrants further studies.

Situational factors also have major impacts on the effects of bullying. The longer the period during which the child is involved, and the more severe these behaviors, the more serious will be the consequences that most probably follow (28-29). The continuity of bullying behaviors among children has been shown. Already in 1992, Boulton and Underwood (30) reported that bullying is a generally stable behavior, lasting one year or more, and the stability is seen especially among boys. Later studies have reported stability over a period of one or two years (9-10,31). In a study concerning 1,268 children, the continuity of the involvement in bullying was shown over four years (16) and later over seven years, covering the period from childhood to middle adolescence (32). The continuity was especially prevalent among bully-victims, and

males were more prone to stay involved than were females, as also were children from low SES families.

Sourander and colleagues (33) also found bullying behaviors to be persistent over an 8-year period. They reported interesting gender differences in their sample of 898 children. In their study, almost all the boys who were victims at age 16 had been victims already at age 8, but among girls only half of those who were victims at age 16 had been victimized at age 8 years. Among bullies, the continuity was less clear: among boys, half of the bullies at age 16 had been bullies already at age 8, whereas the corresponding figure among girls was one fourth. It seems then that females are in a more favorable situation as far as staying involved in bullying over several years.

Recent research has also suggested that genetic factors play a part when the impact of bullying is considered. Sudgen with her colleagues (34) showed that the variation in the serotonin transporter (5-HTT) gene impact the risk of the development of emotional problems when facing bullying. This genetically influenced response was also related to the frequency of bullying experience. Benjet et al. (35) have also reported the interaction of serotonin transporter gene and depression among adolescent girls when they experience relational bullying. Genetic research concerning psychiatric problems is still in its infancy and further research is needed. However, the results suggest that unfavourable outcomes of bullying are likely to be also genetically influenced. Findings support the diathesi-stress model of emotional problems and could explane why some children develop emotional problems and some do not develop any such problems although they seem to face similar adversities.

BULLYING AND CONCURRENT PSYCHIATRIC SYMPTOMS AND DISORDERS

A large cross-sectional study conducted in 25 countries indicated that involvement in bullying was associated with poorer psychosocial adjustment, showing that bullies, victims, and bully-victims consistently reported greater health problems and poorer emotional and social adjustment than non-involved children (36). Another international comparative cross-sectional study in 28 countries of 123,227 students aged 11, 13 and 15 years showed that the risk of high symptom load increased with increasing exposure to bullying (29). In this large-scale study, both physical symptoms such as headaches, stomach aches, backache, and dizziness and psychological symptoms such as bad temper, feeling nervous, and sleeping difficulties were more likely to be present in bullied children. In a later study, Srabstein et al. (37) reported that involvement in bullying was associated with poor health status in a sample of 15,686 students in grades 6 to 10. In their study, several weekly occurring psychosomatic symptoms were associated with being a victim but also with being a bully or a bully-victim. According to their results, the association between bullying behaviors and health problems increased with the number of morbidities reported.

Children with several childhood problems (stuttering, overweight, intellectual disabilities etc.) have been found to be at significantly higher risk of being involved in bullying behaviors and having psychiatric symptoms. In a school-based sample of 4,746 adolescents in grades 7 to 12, teasing about body weight was consistently associated with low body satisfaction, low self esteem, high depressive symptoms, and thinking about and attempting suicide, even after

controlling for actual body weight which indicates how harmful this kind of intimidation defined as 'only teasing, not bullying' can be during the adolescent years (38). A few years ago, Blood and Blood (14) have reported an association of stuttering and self-reported anxiety, and hypothesized a bidirectional relationship between these. Reiter and Lapidot-Lefler (39) suggested that victims with intellectual disabilities have emotional and interpersonal problems, and bullies and bully-victims with intellectual disabilities display higher levels challenging behaviors such as temper tantrums, being quarrelsome and having a tendency to lie and steal.

Psychiatric symptoms and deviance have consistently been found to be associated with bullying (11,16,19,32,40-41). Bullying behaviors and psychiatric symptoms have been found to co-exist already at young ages (11). The association of bullying and psychiatric symptoms remains similar when different informants such as parents or teachers report the child's symptoms and also when children and adolescents themselves rate their psychiatric and psychosomatic symptoms (11,32).

Depressive symptoms, feeling low and nervous, having difficulties in sleeping and anxiety have been found to be common among youngsters involved in bullying in many studies (11,37,42,43-44). In particular, victims are prone to have depressive symptoms and psychological distress (32,45). However, in most studies evaluating the relationship of bullying and depression, e.g., a study of 16,410 secondary school pupils aged 14 to 16 years, both adolescent-bullies and those victimized were at an increased risk of depression and suicide (42-44). Similar findings have been reported by Klomek et al. (46), indicating that adolescents subjected to frequent exposure to victimization or bullying others are at higher risks of depression, ideation, and suicide attempts than are adolescents not involved in bullying. In their study even infrequent involvement was related to increased risk of depression and suicidality, especially among girls. In a study involving 9,863 adolescents, adolescents who were frequently involved in bullying, either as perpetrators or victims, were more than twice as likely to have depressive symptoms as their counterparts who were not involved in bullying (47). A meta-analysis of research concerning victimization and concurrent psychosocial maladjustment found a stronger association of bullying with depression than with anxiety, loneliness or general self esteem (45). The findings of this meta-analysis strongly suggest that victims experience more negative affect and negative thoughts about themselves than do other children. Suicidal tendencies and actual suicides have been found to be clearly associated with bullying in several studies (42,46, 48), and this topic will be addressed in more detail in this book.

Although internalizing symptoms, including depression and anxiety, are prevalent in bullies, numerous studies reported that they displayed especially externalizing and aggressive behaviors (9,11,49). Fighting and other violent behaviors were common among them (50). On the other hand, repeatedly bullied children can also be violent and this can have fatal consequences, as several incidents of school shootings during the last ten years have shown, when individuals who have been targets of bullying, mostly for longer periods, have attacked their peers and teachers at school and killed or injured many.

When comparing children involved in bullying, there are many reports that bully-victims are the most troubled group (11,26,37,42-43,46, 48). Bully-victims are reported to display high levels of physical and verbal aggression and to score high on emotional symptoms (13,51-52). In a large epidemiological study of 5,813 children aged 8 years (11) bully-victims displayed most psychiatric symptoms and had the highest rates of behavior disturbance compared with other groups of children (bullies, victims and non-involved children), and this finding was shown on measures using different informants (parents, teachers and children themselves).

Externalizing behavior and hyperactivity were especially related to bully-victims, and these children also expressed most depressive symptoms themselves. Wolke et al. (53) also found bully-victims to be the most behaviorally disturbed group in a study of 6- to 9-year-old children. In their study, bully-victims were 2.7-fold more likely to have any behavior problems, 3.4-fold more likely to be conduct disordered, and 2.5-fold more likely to be hyperactive than non-involved children. In addition, depression has been reported to occur especially among individuals who both bully and are bullied (42-43).

In a sample involving 423 parents and 420 children aged 8 years, most of the children involved in bullying had a psychiatric disorder (54). In particular, the disorders were common among bullies (70.8%) and bully-victims (67.1%). In this sample of 8 year-olds the most common diagnosis among children involved concurrently in bullying was ADHD, and secondly depression. Of the bullies, as many as almost one third had ADHD. One in five of bully-victims had ADHD, and ADHD was also the most common disorder among victims (14.4%). Depression was found especially in bully-victims, followed by bullies and victims. The only disorder more prevalent in victims was anxiety. These results most probably describe the situation at younger ages and it is very probable that at later ages victims have more depression and anxiety than found in this elementary school age sample, as is suggested by several studies using questionnaires as methods to evaluate bullying and concurrent psychiatric symptomatology (17) or bullying and later psychopathology (40).

The age at the time of bullying may be important regarding concurrent and later psychiatric symptoms, as children who are victimized in early teen age seem to be especially at risk of having psychiatric symptoms in later years (32,55). It has been suggested that early adolescence is a period when children are especially vulnerable to bullying, and that bullying is intense and repetitive at that age (55). However, our knowledge about the more specific impact of the age (when one is a bully, a victim or a bully-victim) on the future outcome is still scanty and warrants further research. That adolescence is a vulnerable period is also suggested by Campell and Morrison (56), who studied the relationship between bullying and psychotic-like experiences and appraisals in 14-16-year-olds, and found in a sample of 373 adolescents that bullying was significantly associated with a predisposition to psychotic experiences.

They also reported that negative post-trauma cognitions were associated with predisposition to psychotic phenomena, as were positive beliefs about paranoia. They suggested that being bullied at school and beliefs about trauma and psychotic symptoms might contribute to the development of psychosis. An association between bullying and psychotic symptoms is also reported among 12 year olds by Arseneault et al. (57). Lataster and colleagues (58), with a general population sample of 1,290 adolescents at the age of 14 years, reported that non-clinical psychotic experiences were strongly and independently associated with both bullying and sexual trauma. They suggest that the traumatic experiences of victimization may feed cognitive and biological mechanisms underlying the formation of psychotic ideation, and that adult psychosis can be understood in a developmental framework of onset of at-risk mental states in early adolescence.

BULLYING AND LATER PSYCHIATRIC SYMPTOMS AND DISORDERS

Smith and Myron-Wilson (59) pointed out less than a decade ago that only recently has attention begun to focus on the specific problems caused by bullying. However, very few studies so far have evaluated bullying and future psychiatric disorders using diagnostic interviews or longitudinal prospective methods, and no larger studies have been carried out in patient populations. Findings reported by Kim et al. (18) suggested that there is a causal effect of bullying experience on the later development of psychopathological behaviors. In their study, most forms of new-onset psychopathological behaviors at follow up (follow-up period of 10 months) were associated with antecedent bullying experiences. There are also increasing data showing long-term associations of childhood bullying and future psychiatric symptomatology and also poor outcome in many different domains of life in later years (32,40,43,60-61).

Some studies of bullying and future psychiatric disorders in adulthood have used retrospective methods. But retrospective studies have several limitations, such as recall bias, that have to be taken into account when interpreting the results, and in general a cautious attitude towards the findings is recommended. However, at present few prospective studies exist so in some areas our knowledge is based on findings generated by retrospective studies. Fosse and Holen (60) reported long-term consequences of bullying in their sample of 107 consecutive adult psychiatric female outpatients who were screened for eating disorders. They found that females with bulimia nervosa in adulthood had experienced far more bullying by peers than had others. However, other childhood experiences associated with bulimia nervosa in adulthood were also involved, such as coldness and overprotection from fathers, and more childhood emotional, physical and sexual abuse. Jordanova et al. (62) reported in their large representative sample of 8,580 participants aged 16-74 years that bullying was one of the lifetime stressors (occurring most likely during childhood or adolescence) that was significantly associated with common mental disorders such as depression and generalized anxiety, and the strength of association did not vary substantially across the age range of the sample.

Early reports concerning an association of bullying and psychiatric disorders, e.g., Olweus (63), found that males who had been victimized at school age were more depressed a decade later. Only recently, using a large prospective epidemiological sample, have associations of childhood bullying behaviors and psychiatric morbidity many years later in early adulthood among males been documented (61). In this study, adult psychiatric morbidity was assessed as part of the medical examination of military recruits and twice during the military service using the ICD-10 classification. When the status of bullying of these males at the age of 8 years was studied, most bully-victims (97%) and bullies (80%) and half of victims (50%) scored high on the Rutter scale, indicating co-existent morbidity at the elementary school age. One third of bully-victims, 18% of bullies and 17% of victims, and only 9% of those who were uninvolved at the age of 8 years, had a psychiatric disorder more than ten years later. Bully-victim status at early school age predicted both antisocial personality disorder (OR=3.9) and anxiety disorders (OR=5.2). Males who were bullies at age 8 years were more likely to have antisocial personality disorder (OR=2.9), whereas males who were victims were at risk for anxiety disorders (OR=2.6) in early adulthood. When bullying status and scoring positively on psychiatric symptomatology at age 8 years were simultaneously taken into account, males who were bully-victims with a high number of psychiatric symptoms had a 5-fold risk for a

psychiatric disorder compared with noninvolved children who had a low number of psychiatric symptoms at age 8 years. Altogether, bully-victims accounted for nearly one third of psychiatric diagnoses made in early adulthood. The findings that bully-victims have the most psychiatric problems is consistent with those showing that children displaying both emotional and behavioral problems are the most unfavorable group regarding psychiatric problems in the long run (64).

A multinational study with data from 25 countries found that adolescent bullies are more likely than others to drink alcohol and to get into fights (36). Alcohol-related problems in late adolescence have also been found to be associated with being a bully at school age by Niemelä and colleagues (65). Kaltiala-Heino et al. (43) found that frequent excessive drinking and the use of other substances was most common among bullies and thereafter among bully-victims. Furthermore, being bullied predicted drunk driving offences in late adolescence (61).

When the future of children with bullying problems is followed up to late adolescence and adulthood, several detrimental outcomes that are known to be related to psychiatric problems and personality disorders have been found. Nansel et al. (50) reported that involvement in bullying, both as bullies and targets, was associated with the greater probability of weapon carrying, fighting, and injury from fighting, and researchers point out that bullying can be considered to be an important marker for more serious violent behaviors. In particular, the risk for violent behaviors was higher if the bullying was experienced away from school surroundings.

Bullying is also associated with future criminality among males (61, 53). Olweus (63) reported that a third of those who were bullies in early primary school had several convictions by the age of 24 years, which is far more than the figure for others. In a study using information about criminal offences from a police register, young males who had been frequent bullies and bully-victims at the age of 8 years were responsible for one third of all juvenile crimes during a 4-year follow-up period at ages 16 to 20 years (61). Bullying also predicted various types of offending: violence, damage to property, drunk driving, and traffic offences. Frequent bully status at age 8 predicted both occasional and repeated offending, and frequent bully-victim status predicted repeated offending. However, only those involved in bullying with a high level of contemporaneous psychiatric symptoms at age 8 years had an increased risk for later criminality.

Our current knowledge about future problems related to bullying is mostly related to males only, whereas the future and developmental pathways of females involved in bullying is far more unclear. According to the current knowledge consequences of bullying, however, might vary according to the gender as several studies suggest various risk profiles for males and females. A follow-up study showed that frequent victimization at age 8 years predicted later suicide attempts and suicides among females (information up to the age of 25 years) even when conduct and depression symptoms at age 8 yrs were taken into account which was not the case among males (66). On the other hand some current studies (having however clearly shorter followup times) have suggested that genders react to bullying in a similar way and for example boys have similar risk for depression as girls (67) and peer victimization at school is equally associated with mental health problems among boys and girls (68).

Both Undheim and Sund (67) as well as Bakker et al. (68) suggest that boys and girls are getting more similar these days so gender per se is unlikely to result in different reactions to the same peer stressor.

BULLYING AS A SIGN OF HEALTH PROBLEMS AND NEED FOR PSYCHIATRIC INTERVENTION

Findings from numerous studies carried out in various countries and cultures have shown an association of psychiatric symptoms, disorders and bullying, and recently this association has been reported to continue after a decade or more. Long-term effects of being bullied in school years on adult personal relationships have also been reported (69-70). Studies have also shown an association of bullying and referral to psychiatric consultation (11, 54), indicating a relationship of bullying and psychiatric problems also in real life. The association between involvement in bullying at early elementary school age and use of the psychiatric services is seen even after a 10-year follow-up (33). The probability of being concurrently referred for a psychiatric consultation is highest among bully-victims, followed by bullies and then by victims (11,54). In a sample of elementary school-aged children, the probability of bully-victims being referred at some time was 5.1-fold that of non-involved children. For bullies, the probability of being referred was slightly lower (4.6-fold) and lower still for victims (2.0-fold). Involvement in bullying even more clearly increased the probability of having been referred for psychiatric consultation in the previous three months (8.7-fold for bullies, 7.1-fold for bully-victims and 2.6-fold for victims) when compared with children not involved in bullying (54).

In a study of medication use among 5,205 adolescents in grades 5, 7 and 9, Due et al. (71) evaluated health problems, medicine use (for headache, stomachache, difficulties in getting to sleep and nervousness), bullying, and various psychosocial conditions, using anonymous reporting. They found that adolescents who are victimized use more medication for pains and psychological problems than do others. The increased risk for medicine use was not explained by the higher prevalence of symptoms among the victims. The researchers point out that not only do bullying behaviors have health-damaging effects in the psychological domain, but also the medications used more frequently by victims might have adverse effects on these children. They call attention to the need for awareness about the excessive use of medicine among victims, and argue that preventive actions should be taken in both areas - to decrease the level of bullying and the use of medicine among adolescents.

CONCLUSIONS

In general we can say that bullying is clearly a highly distressing experience and few single behaviors signal the need for psychiatric evaluation as clearly as bullying does. Many studies have pointed out that teachers, who meet children and adolescents on a daily basis, are in a unique position to detect childhood problems such as bullying behaviors, and to intervene, including arranging referral for psychiatric consultation. Many teachers are aware of bullying problems at school, and various projects and programs against bullying have taken place at many schools. However, bullying has been largely disregarded by child health professionals until now. In the last ten years several papers have addressed the need for pediatricians, general practitioners, school nurses and child mental health professionals to take action when bullying problems emerge, and to consider these problems as possible reasons for the children's somatic or psychiatric symptoms (15,72-74). Even active screening for psychiatric problems among children involved in bullying using parent and teacher symptom checklists has been suggested

(61). Juvonen and colleagues (17) also suggest that in addition to addressing bullying directly with children and their parents pediatricians can also recommend school based antibullying programs that aim to change peer dynamics that support and maintain bullying. Preventive actions should start very early, most preferably at home before the child starts school. Parents and other caregivers should teach children the social skills and the ability to resolve conflicts and to deal with emotions, as Lyznicki and coworkers (73) point out. Research so far suggests that bullying behaviors should be addressed at school (5,8), but there are also studies showing that this is not enough for children who have psychiatric symptoms (19). Bullies, victims and bully-victims with psychiatric symptoms need closer attention and most probably also psychiatric intervention.

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Chapter 80

BULLYING AND SUICIDE

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ABSTRACT

Being a victim or perpetrator of school bullying, the most common type of school violence, has been frequently associated with a broad spectrum of behavioral, emotional and social problems. Suicide is third leading cause of mortality in children and adolescent in the US and around the world. This chapter provides a systematic review of the previous 37 studies conducted in the children and adolescents from communities as well as in special populations that examined the association between bullying experiences and suicide, with an emphasis on the strengths and limitations of the study designs. Despite methodological and other differences and limitations, it is increasingly clear that any participation in bullying increases the risk of suicidal ideations and/or behaviors in a broad spectrum of youth.

INTRODUCTION

“Bullying” is an aggressive behavior in which individuals in a dominant position intend to cause mental and/or physical suffering to others (1). Bullying is a serious public health problem with the international prevalence ranging from 9-54% (2-4). All participants in bullying are reported to be at substantially increased risk for significant mental and/or physical sequelae of bullying. Victimized children are reported to have a myriad of clinical problems, including bed

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wetting, sleep difficulties, anxiety, depression, school phobia, feelings of insecurity and unhappiness at school; they may also have low self-esteem, loneliness, isolation and somatic symptoms (5-12). In contrast, perpetrators of bullying are reported to have more depression and are more likely than are their peers to be involved with antisocial behaviors and legal problems later in adulthood (10,13). Victim-perpetrators, (aggressive victims) are considered to be a distinct subtype of school bullying, experiencing more psychopathology, as well as problematic family and educational profiles that differ from the other two school bullying subtypes (14).

Suicide, the third leading cause of mortality for adolescents in the US and around the world, is one of the most serious symptoms of psychopathology (15). For example, a recent, large scale, epidemiological study in the US suggested that in the past year, 19% of the high school students had serious suicidal ideation, 15% made a specific plan to attempt suicide, 8.8% reported suicidal attempts and 2.6% made a suicide attempt that was serious enough to require significant medical attention (16). Similarly, a 2001 Korean study found that the rate of completed suicides for adolescents (from 11 to 19 years) was 15.5 per 100,000, making suicide the third leading cause of death, after car accidents and cancer (17). For children at greater risk for suicide, perceived peer rejection, being bullied and being perpetrators of bullying were associated, directly and indirectly, with major depression, substance use and antisocial behavior with severe suicidal ideation (18-20).

The goals of this chapter were: (1) to provide a systematic review of the previous studies that examined the association between bullying experiences and suicide, with an emphasis on the strengths and limitations of the study designs; and (2) to shed light on directions for future research.

IDENTIFICATION OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

A literature search was carried out using six databases, without date specification: Web of Science, SCOPUS, EMBASE, PubMed, PsychInfo and Ovid Medline. The search terminology included: 1) Bullying included either bully*, peer victimization, peer aggression, relational aggression, peer relation, school violence, school aggression, social dominant*, social hierarchy* or peer abuse; AND 2) Suicide included either suicide, suicide attempt, suicide ideation, suicide behavior, self-harm or self-injurious behavior. The subsequent literature search resulted in 867 papers, which was narrowed to 103 relevant papers by further review of abstracts. Among these 103 papers, 37 papers that met our inclusion criteria (below) were finally selected for this review paper.

Studies were included in the review if they met the following criteria: 1) age of study participants is = high school students in general population and all age ranges in special populations, including populations with developmental disorders, behavioral disorders, of homosexual and/or bisexual orientation or at detention centers; 2) statistical methods were described so that the appropriateness of the analyses could be evaluated; 3) quantitative research that provided numerical data regarding bullying/peer victimization exposure and suicidal risks; 4) measures for bullying or peer victimization were described; and, 5) measures of suicidal behaviors, ideations or self-injurious behaviors were described.

Studies were excluded in the review when: 1) no quantitative data were provided; or 2) suicidal risks were not compared between bullying and non-bullying groups.

The studies were grouped according to the characteristics of the study population: 1) children and adolescents of general population; and, 2) special population, including people with Asperger Disorder (AD), Learning Disorders (LD), behavioral disorders, homosexual and/or bisexual orientation or at detention centers. Within each group, suicidal risks were categorized by the types of suicidality: 1) suicidal ideation including suicidal thoughts and suicidal plans; 2) suicidal attempts including suicidal behaviors and self-injurious/self-harm behaviors; and, 3) a composite variable of any suicidality.

Since this chapter aims to provide a systematic review of the previous studies that investigated the association between bullying experience and suicide risks rather than to create a statistical summary of suicidal risks in people with bullying experience, the authors did not perform meta-analysis.

The authors selected odds ratios (ORs) with 95% confidence intervals (CIs) for presenting suicidal risks in the summary tables because: 1) ORs are the most common risk ratios researchers used in their original studies; 2) ORs are conceptually intuitive to understand for most of the readers; and, 3) Suicidal risks represented by ORs can be easily translated into clinical practice for the children and/or their families. In those instances in which when ORs were not available, statistical method and findings that were used in individual research were noted in footnotes.

In the examination of the relationships between bullying and suicidality, adjustments must be made for several confounding factors. These factors include: 1) sex; 2) psychopathology (depression, aggressive-impulsive behaviors and disruptive behaviors); 3) a history of suicide; 4) parental divorce; and, 5) sociodemographic disadvantage. In this review, covariates that were controlled in the analyses to examine the relationships between bullying experience and suicide were examined and listed in the summary tables.

THE NATURE OF THE STUDIES

The search strategy identified a total of 37 studies as eligible for inclusion in this review. Two reports included separate results for either subgroup of study sample (23) or same sample (26,28). These two studies were reviewed separately under the same author list.

Researchers from 16 countries and five continents have conducted research on the bullying and suicide. Approximately a half of these studies were conducted in the US, one third in Europe and the rest were conducted in Australia, South Korea, Japan, South Africa and Canada. Nine out of 17 US studies (53%) used data from the Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS). To monitor priority health-risk behaviors among youth and young adults, Center for Disease Control (CDC) developed the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS) (21). YRBSS includes national, state, and local school-based surveys of students in grades 9–12 that have been conducted biennially since 1991. YRBS is a data from these ongoing YRBSS surveys.

Table 1. Summary of the studies selected for the review (total number of studies: 37)

Characteristics of Study Methods	Number	Percentage
Countries of Study Participants		
1. North America (n=18)		
US	17	45.9
Canada	1	2.7
2. Europe (n=13)		
England/Wales/Ireland	2	5.4
Finland	1	2.7
Netherlands	2	5.4
Norway	2	5.4
Sweden	1	2.7
Belgium	1	2.7
Italy	2	5.4
Germany	1	2.7
3. Australia (n=2)	2	5.4
4. Asia (n=4)		
South Korea	2	5.4
Japan	2	5.4
5. Africa (n=1)		
South Africa	1	2.7
Study Design		
1. Cross-sectional	37	100.0
Study Population		
1. Children & Adolescents of General Population (n=27)	27	73.0
2. Special Populations (n=10)		
Asperger disorder	1	2.7
Learning disorders	1	2.7
Drug addict	1	2.7
Detention/Jail/Offenders	2	5.4
Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual	5	13.5
Bullying Measures		
1. Self Report	34	91.9
2. Peer nomination	2	5.4
3. Clinical Assessment/Interview	1	2.7
Suicide Measure		
1. Self Report	36	97.3
2. Clinical Assessment/Interview	1	2.7
Measures of Suicidality ⁺		
1. Suicidal Ideation	20	54.1
2. Suicidal Behaviors/Self-Harm Behaviors	20	54.1
3. Composite Variable of Suicidality	8	21.6

⁺: Sum of each item is greater than 100% because some studies measured multiple aspects of suicidality including suicidal ideation, attempts and/or self-harm behaviors.

All 37 studies were cross-sectional surveys. 73% of studies were conducted in children and adolescents in their communities; the rest were performed in special populations, such as populations with developmental disorders (AD and LD), drug problems, legal problems and homosexual or bisexual orientations (see table 1.)

MEASUREMENT OF PREDICTORS: BULLYING

92% of research measured bullying using self-report: 5% (two studies) (22, 23) used peer nomination to identify bullying and another 3% (one study) of research interviewed children with Kiddie-Schedule for Affective Disorders and Schizophrenia-Present and Lifetime (K-SADS-PL) (24) to identify bullying experience in the study populations (see table 2.) The time frame of bullying experience inquired ranged from 'ever in the past', 'for the last six months' to 'weekly experience.' The self-reports of bullying can be further divided into three categories:

- Self-reports designed to identify bullying experience with items describing specific bullying behaviors. Items in these self-reports include -
 - Physical bullying such as pushing, shoving, grabbing, kicking, biting or hitting;
 - Verbal bullying such as insulting, threatening, calling names or spreading rumors; and,
 - Exclusion such as being ignored, being rejected, or no talking.

The number of items included in this category of self-reports varies across studies, ranging from one²⁵ to 40 items²⁶. This category is represented by 13 studies (23,25-33).

- Self-reports designed to identify a broader range of behavioral aspects of bullying and the experiences of children and adolescents that resemble bullying behaviors, peer abuse or peer victimization. Examples of this type of self-report of bullying include the use of items from YRBS survey. Included were YRBS survey items -
 - How many days did you not go to school because you felt you would be unsafe at school or on your way to or from school?;
 - How many times has someone threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife or club on school property?;
 - How many times has someone stolen or deliberately damaged your property such as your car, clothing or books on school property?;
 - How often they had started a fight;
 - Have you ever threatened to use a weapon to get something from someone; and,
 - Have you ever used a weapon to threaten or assault someone.

Sixteen studies used this type of self-report to identify bullying experience (34-49).

- Self-report designed to identify bullying experience with direct inquiry about 'bullying' experiences with or without the provision of a definition of bullying. The bullying survey in WHO Youth Health Study is an example. In this study, children and adolescents were asked how frequently they had bullied others/been bullied during the current term and whether these actions occurred many times per week, once per week, less frequently, or not at all, after the definition of bullying was provided. Eight studies used this form of bullying self-report (50-57).

The peer nomination method was used in two studies. Kim et al. (22) used Korean-Peer Nomination Inventory to identify four types of victims, and/or perpetrators, using the 17 items. Rigby and Slee (23) also used Peer Rating Measures, using the eight items to identify victims and bullies.

In one study, a direct interview was conducted using one item from K-SADS-PL interview to identify bullying experience in children and adolescents²⁴.

MEASUREMENT OF OUTCOMES: SUICIDE

Self-report and interviews were used to measure suicidality in children and adolescents. Three types of suicidality were measured: suicidal ideation, suicidal behavior including self-harm/self-injurious behaviors and composite variable of any suicidality (see table 2). Self-report of suicidality were measured in following ways:

Suicidal ideation

Suicidal ideations that were measured in the selected studies included: “tired of life/occasional thoughts of suicide,” “for last 6 month, thought about committing suicide,” “I have explicit plans of suicide/preparations for suicide.” The time frame covered for suicidal ideations included: “ever,” “past 12 months,” “past 6 months,” “past 2 months,” “past 2 weeks,” and “current suicidal thoughts.” Suicidal ideations were identified using suicide inquiring questions that were created for the surveys, including the YRBS and the EAT (25-28,31,39,42,43,48,51,54), a part of existing questionnaires or interview scales, including Youth Self-Report (YSR), Beck Depression Inventory, Goldberg Health Questionnaire (22,23,50,53), or suicide specific questionnaires, such as Suicidal Ideation Questionnaire (49,56).

Suicidal behavior

Suicidal Attempts included in this review paper were measured by items such as, “Have you ever on purpose tried to take your own life?” and “Have you attempted suicide in the past 12 months that resulted in an injury requiring medical attention?” Suicidal attempts were identified using suicide inquiry questions that were created for the particular survey, including the YRBS survey (25,31,33,35,37,39,40,43,45-48,51,53), or a part of existing questionnaires or interview scales including YSR, or Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (22,56). Self-harm/injurious behaviors were identified by self-harm/injurious behavior questions that were created for the survey (52), or a part of existing interview scales such as K-SADS-PL (57). Items assessing self-harm/injurious behaviors that were identified in the selected papers ranged from “Have you cut your wrist and/or arm more than once?” to “Have you deliberately taken an overdose of medication or tried to harm yourself in some other way?”

Composite score of any suicidality

Eight studies created a single composite score of suicidality based on the responses to the multiple questions on suicidal ideations and/or suicidal behaviors asked of study participants. This composite variable of suicidality became the outcome of interest (29,30,32, 34,36,38,41,44).

Interviews were performed in one study to measure suicidal ideations and behaviors. Mill et al. (24) conducted interview using 19-item Scale for Suicide Ideation to measure current and past suicide ideations, and 19-item Suicide Intent Scale to quantify suicide intent and attempts. One study did not describe how they measured suicidal ideations and attempts (55).

COVARIATES ADJUSTED IN THE ANALYSES TO EXAMINE ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN BULLYING AND SUICIDE

Covariates that were adjusted in the examination of the association between bullying and suicide were summarized in tables 3 and 4. Among the studies conducted in general populations of children and adolescents, 23 out of 27 studies adjusted for sex whereas 5 out of 10 studies in special populations controlled for sex in the examination of the relationship between bullying and suicide. Eight studies conducted in the general population, as well as four studies of special population, adjusted for other psychopathological risk factors for suicide. These risk factors included depression, substance abuse or emotional/psychological distress.

Only a single study out of the total of 37 studies considered past suicide history as a covariate in their analyses (54). Seven studies using a general population adjusted for parental divorce or family structure as a proxy for parental divorce in their analyses, whereas none of the studies of special populations did so. Additionally, 21 studies of the general population, as well as six studies of special populations, controlled for socioeconomic disadvantages including SES, poverty, exposure to violence, social capital and social support, and demographic information, such as age and race.

SUICIDE RISKS IN CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS WITH BULLYING EXPERIENCE

Risks of suicidal ideations, suicidal attempts and composite risks of any suicidality that were associated with bullying experience are summarized in two tables: Table 3 summarized 27 studies in general population of children and adolescents and table 4 summarized 10 studies in special populations.

Table 2. Study Subjects and Measures of Bullying and Suicide in Selected Studies

Authors (year)	Study Subjects	Bullying Measure (items)	Suicide Measure (items)
Woods et al. (1997) ³⁴	3,054 9 th -12 th graders in US	Self Report - YRBS: P (1)	Self Report - YRBS: Ideation (1), Attempt (1) & Subsequent Medical Attention (1)
Kaltiala-Heino et al. (1999) ⁵⁰	16,410, 8 th & 9 th graders in Finland	Self Report - WHO Youth Health Study: V (1) & P (1)	Self Report - BDI: Ideation (1)
Rigby & Slee (1999) ²³	1,003, 12-18years old adolescents in Australia	Self Report - Rigby & Slee Questionnaire: V (11) & P (6)	Self Report - Goldberg Health Questionnaire: Ideation (4)
Rigby & Slee (1999) ²³	788, adolescents in Australia	Peer Nomination - Peer Rating Measures: V (4), P (4) & Filter (8)	Self Report - Goldberg Health Questionnaire: Ideation (4)
Garofalo et al (1999) ³⁵	3365, 9 th -12 th graders in US	Self Report - YRBS: V (4)	Self Report - YRBS: Attempt (1)
Cleary (2000) ³⁶	1,569, 9 th -12 th graders in US	Self Report - YRBS: V (3)	Self Report - YRBS: Ideation (1), Plan (1) & Attempt (1)
Svetaz et al. (2000) ³⁷	1,603, 7 th – 12 th graders with LD, US	Self Report: V (1) & P (1)	Self-report: Attempt (1)
Evans et al. (2001) ³⁸	913, 8 th graders in AZ, NV, TX in US	Self Report - YRBS: V (3)	Self Report - YRBS: Ideation (1) & Attempt (1)
Rossow & Lauritzen (2001) ⁵¹	800, drug addicts of all age in residential or outpatient clinic, Norway	Self Report: V (1)	Self Report: Ideation including Plan (4) & Attempt (1)
Russell & Joyner (2001) ³⁹	11,940, 7 th -12 th graders in US	Self Report: V (4)	Interview – Computer guided: Ideation (1) & Attempt (1)
Roland (2002) ²⁷	2,088, 8 th graders in Norway	Self Report: V(4) & P (4)	Self Report: Ideation (1)
Bontempo & D'augelli (2002) ⁴⁰	9,188 11 th -12 th graders in US	Self Report - YRBS: V (2)	Self Report - YRBS: Attempt (1)
Eisenberg et al. (2003) ²⁵	4,746, adolescents in US	Self Report: V (1)	Self Report: Ideation (1) & Attempt (1)
Van der Wal et al. (2003) ²⁶	4,721, 7 th & 8 th graders in Netherlands	Self Report - Amsterdam Children's Bullying Questionnaire: Direct V (12), Direct P (12), Indirect V (8) & Indirect P (8)	Self Report: Ideation (2)
Van der Wal (2005) ²⁸	4,721, 7 th & 8 th graders in Netherlands		Self Report: Ideation (2)

Authors (year)	Study Subjects	Bullying Measure (items)	Suicide Measure (items)
		Self Report - Amsterdam Children's Bullying Questionnaire: Direct V (12), Direct P (12), Indirect V (8) & Indirect P (8)	
Badlry & Winkel (2003) ²⁹	998, adolescents in Italy	Self Report - Olweus questionnaire: Direct V (4), Relational V (3)	Self Report – YSR: Ideation (1) & Attempt (1)
Vermeiren et al. (2003) ⁴¹	794, 12-18 year old males in Belgium	Self Report - Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory: Overt P (3) & Covert P (3)	Self Report: Ideation (1), Self-Harm (1) & Attempt (1)
Mills et al. (2004) ²⁴	12-15yrs old, 101, Screen (+) & 108, random normal in Ireland	Interview - K-SADS-PL: B (1)	Interview - SSI & SIS: Ideation (19) & Intent (19)
Huebner et al. (2004) ⁴²	11,248, 18-27 years old Gay/Bisexual men in US	Self Report: V (3)	Self Report: Ideation (1)
Matsumoto et al. (2004) ⁵²	201, 14-19 years old delinquent adolescent at detention center in Japan	Self Report: V (1)	Self Report: Self-Injurious Behavior including arm &/or wrist cutting (1)
Warner et al. (2004) ⁴³	1,285, LGB people (M: 29.8-36.5) in England & Wales	Self-Report – Computer Based: V (5)	Self Report: Ideation (1) & Attempt (1)
Kim et al. (2005) ²²	1,718, 7th & 8th graders in Korea	Peer Nomination – Korean Peer Nomination Inventory: Verbal, Physical, Exclusive & Coercive V (11), P (6) & Filter (11)	Self Report – YSR: Ideation (2) & Attempt (1)
Ivarsson et al. (2005) ⁵³	183, adolescents in Sweden	Self Report: V (1) & P (1)	Self Report – BDI: Ideation (1) & Attempt (1)
Viljoen et al. (2005) ³¹	244, 13-19yrs old offenders in Canada	Self Report: Verbal, physical & other types of V (7) & P (7)	Self Report – YRBS: Ideation & Plan (2), Attempts (3) & Self-Harm (2)
Adelmann (2005) ³⁰	50,148, 6th grade in US	Self Report: Physical & Verbal V (4)	Self Report: Ideations (1) & Attempts (1)
Bae et al. (2005) ⁴⁴	13,601, 9th-12th grade in US	Self Report - YRBS: V (1)	Self Report – YRBS: Ideation (1), Attempt (2), Medical Attention (1)
Park et al. (2006) ⁵⁴	1,312, 10 th – 12 th graders in Korea	Self Report: V (1)	Self Report: Ideations (1)
Friedman et al. (2006) ³²	96, 18-25yrs old gay males in US	Self Report: V (4)	Self Report - K-SADS-PL & YRBS: Ideation and Plan (3) & Attempts (1)
Goodenow et al. (2006) ⁴⁵	202 LGB high school students in US	Self Report - YRBS: V (2)	Self Report – YRBS: Attempt (2), Medical Attention (1)

Table 2. Study Subjects and Measures of Bullying and Suicide in Selected Studies

Authors (year)	Study Subjects	Bullying Measure (items)	Suicide Measure (items)
Hacker et al. (2006) ⁴⁶	1,192, 9 th grader & 1,055, 11 th grader in US	Self Report - YRBS: V (1)	Self Report – YRBS: Attempt (1)
Haynie et al. (2006) ⁴⁷	9,594 7 th – 12 th graders in US	Self Report: V (4)	Self Report: Ideations (1) & Attempt (1)
Hidaka & Operario (2006) ³³	1,025, >14 year old, gay, bisexual, questionable men in Japan	Self Report: Verbal & Physical type of V (2)	Self Report: Attempt (ND)
Liang et al (2007) ⁵⁵	5,385, 8 th -11 th graders in Cape Town, South Africa	Self Report: V (1) & P (1)	Self Report: Ideations (1) & Attempt (1)
Brunstein-Klomek et al. (2007) ⁵⁶	2,341, 9 th -12 th graders in US	Self Report - WHO Youth Health Study: V (2) & P (2)	Self Report – SIQ-JR, DISC & Suicide Screen: Ideation (15) & Attempt (7)
Brunner et al. (2007) ⁵⁷	5,759 9 th grader in Heidelberg, Germany	Self Report: V (1)	Self Report – SADS-PL-C: Self-Harm & Suicidal Behavior (1)
Romito & Grassi (2007) ⁴⁸	502, university students (M=25 years) in Trieste, Italy	Self Report: Psychological & Physical type V (2)	Self Report: Ideations (1) & Attempt (1)
Shtayermman (2007) ⁴⁹	10, Asperger Syndrome patients (M=19.7 years old) in US	Self Report – SEQ: Overt V (5) & Relational V (5)	Self Report – SIQ: Ideation (30)

V: Victim, P: Perpetrator, VP: Victim-Perpetrator, ND: Not described in the manuscripts, BV: bully-victim, ⁺: Other statistical analyses were performed instead of computing odds ratios, [§]: suicidal risks of victims were compared to that of bystanders, ¹: bullying experience is limited to the duration of custody; YRBSS: Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System, NLSAH: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, LGBQ: Lesbian, gay, bisexual or questioning, D: Cohen's D indicator of effect magnitude (measure of mean difference), SIQ-JR: The Suicidal Ideation Questionnaire, DISC: Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children, SPS: Suicide Probability Scale, SDQ: Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire, CDI: Child Depression Inventory, SSI: Scale for Suicide Ideation, SIS: Suicidal Intent Scale, SEQ: Social Experience Questionnaire, SIQ: Suicidal Ideation Questionnaire.

Table 3. Summary of the Results that Examined the Relationship between Bullying and Suicide of the Selected Studies Previous Studies (General Population)

Authors (year)	Research Design	Covariates Adjusted in the Analyses	Suicidal Risks: OR (CI)		
			Ideation	Attempts	Composite
Woods et al. (1997) ³⁴	Cross-sectional	Sex, substance use, cigarette smoking, age, race, lack of seat belt use, carrying a gun,			Male P: 1.3 (1.2-1.5) Female P: 1.4 (1.2-1.6)
Kaltiala-Heino et al. (1999) ⁵⁰	Cross-sectional	Sex, depression, family structure, age, moving, lack of social support,	<weekly V or P: 1.4 (1.0-1.9) Freq P: 4.0 (2.6-6.4) Freq V: 2.1 (1.3-3.4) Freq VP: 2.5 (1.0-6.2)		
Rigby & Slee (1999) ²³	Cross-sectional	Sex, age, social support	V: $\beta=0.08^*$ P: $\beta=0.09^*$ V & P **		
Rigby & Slee (1999) ²³	Cross-sectional	Sex, age, social support	V: $\beta=0.21^*$ P: $\beta=0.21^*$ V**		
Garofalo et al (1999) ³⁵	Cross-sectional	Sex, drug use, age, race, sexual orientation, sexual behavior		Male V: 1.6 (1.3-2.1) Female V: 2.4 (2.0-2.8)	
Cleary (2000) ³⁶	Cross-sectional	Sex, race, grade			Male V: 2.5 (1.4-4.3) Female V: 1.7 (1.2-2.3)
Evans et al. (2001) ³⁸	Cross-sectional	Sex			Over representation of P & VP in high suicidal risk group
Russell & Joyner (2001) ³⁹	Cross-sectional	Sex, hopelessness, depression, alcohol abuse, intact family, age, race, parental education, poverty, same sex romantic attraction/ relationship, recent experience with suicide	Male V: 1.6 (1.3-2.0) Female V: 1.6 (1.1-2.2)	Male V: 2.1 (1.4-3.3) Female V: 2.4 (1.7-3.5)	

Table 3. (Continued)

Authors (year)	Research Design	Covariates Adjusted in the Analyses	Suicidal Risks: OR (CI)		
			Ideation	Attempts	Composite
Roland (2002) ²⁷	Cross-sectional	Sex	Male: P-0.19, V-0.08 [§] Female: P-0.24, V-0.25 [§] Male: N-0.18, P-0.68, V-0.45** Female: N-0.27, P-2.14, V-1.13**		
Bontempo & D'augelli (2002) ⁴⁰	Cross-sectional	Sex, LGBQ		Male LGB V: D-2.8 Female LGB V: D- 1.3 ⁺	
Eisenberg et al. (2003) ²⁵	Cross-sectional	Sex, race, SES, school level, BMI	Male V: 1.7 (1.3-2.2) Female V: 1.5 (1.2-1.9)	Female V: 1.6 (1.3-2.1)	
Van der Wal et al. (2003) ²⁶	Cross-sectional	Sex, family structure, age, SES, ethnicity	<i>Male Indirect V:</i> Sometime-2.1(1.3-3.4) Freq-5.6 (2.9-10.8) <i>Male Direct P:</i> Sometimes-1.7(1.0-2.8) Freq P-2.3 (1.3-4.3) <i>Female Direct V:</i> Sometime-1.7 (1.2-2.6) Freq -2.6 (1.4-4.9) <i>Female Direct P:</i> Sometimes-1.5(1.0-2.1) Freq P-2.7 (1.4-5.0) <i>Female Indirect V:</i> Sometime-1.8 (1.1-2.8) Freq-3.6 (2.1-6.3)		
Van der Wal (2005) ²⁸	Cross-sectional	Sex, family structure, age, SES, ethnicity	Reactive P: 4.7 (3.2-6.7) Proactive P: 1.6 (1.1-2.3)		
Badlry & Winkel (2003) ²⁹	Cross-sectional	Sex, age, SES, residence, number of people living in the house, exposure to domestic violence, harm from parents			Relational V: $\beta=0.146^*$

Authors (year)	Research Design	Covariates Adjusted in the Analyses	Suicidal Risks: OR (CI)		
			Ideation	Attempts	Composite
Vermeiren et al. (2003) ⁴¹	Cross-sectional	Sex			Control-8.10 Covert P-12.13**
Mills et al. (2004) ²⁴	Cross-sectional	None	NV: 2.2% V: 9.7% ^{§§}	NV: 1.5% V: 8.3% ^{§§}	
Kim et al. (2005) ²²	Cross-sectional	Sex, anxious/depression, family structure, SES, residence,	Over 6mo VP: 1.9 (1.26-2.87) Over 2wks Female V: 2.8 (1.6-5.1) Female P: 2.0 (1.2-3.1) Female VP: 2.8 (1.4-5.7)	VP: 1.9 (1.0-3.4)	
Ivarsson et al. (2005) ⁵³	Cross-sectional	None	BV: 47% V: 39% B: 12% Neither: 20% ^{§§}	BV, V & B: 7.3% Neither: 1.8% ^{§§§}	
Adelmann (2005) ³⁰	Cross-sectional	Family violence, family substance abuse, illegal activity at school, victimization by others			B: $\beta=0.15^*$
Bae et al. (2005) ⁴⁴	Cross-sectional	Sex, substance use (smoking, drinking, drug), sad>2weeks, weight/eating problem (over/underweight, exercise, vomiting, fasting), violence (physical, sexual, weapon carry), race			Male V: 1.9 (1.4-2.5) Female V: 1.7 (1.2-2.3)
Park et al. (2006) ⁵⁴	Cross-sectional	Sex, depression, suicidal attempt history, parental divorce, school, grade, sexual & physical abuse, hostility, smoking, drinking, SES, parental alcoholism, academic performance, communication, self-esteem,	No association		

Table 3. (Continued)

Authors (year)	Research	Covariates Adjusted	Suicidal Risks: OR (CI)		
	Design	in the Analyses	Ideation	Attempts	Composite
Hacker et al. (2006) ⁴⁶	Cross-sectional	Sex, depression, drug use, sexual abuse, having friend		11 th Grader V: 3.9 (1.3-12.1)	
Haynie et al. (2006) ⁴⁷	1-year Prospective study	Sex, two-parent family, age, race, parental education, public assistance, same-sex attraction, social capital, parent-child relationship, school relationship, peer network		Male V: 1.3 Female V: 1.5	
Liang et al (2007) ⁵⁵	Cross-sectional	Sex, ethnicity, grade, city, school	V: 1.7 (1.3-2.1) VP: 1.9 (1.3-2.7)	V: 1.4 (1.0-1.9)	
Brunstein-Klomek et al. (2007) ⁵⁶	Cross-sectional	Sex, grade, school	Male Freq V: 4.5 Male Freq VP: 9.9 Female Infreq V/P: 3.3 Female Freq V: 5.3 Female Freq P: 9.0 Female VP: 10.0	Male Infreq V/P: 2.7 Male Freq V: 3.9 Female Infreq V/P: 2.3 Female Freq V: 5.4 Female Freq P: 9.9 Female VP: 12.7	
Brunner et al. (2007) ⁵⁷	Cross-sectional	None		V ^{§§} : No risk-20.3% Occasional-24.7% Repetitive-26.0%	
Romito & Grassi (2007) ⁴⁸	Cross-sectional	Sex, family violence, sexual violence, intimate partner violence	No association	No association	

*: Multiple regression, **:ANOVA, §: Correlation, §§: Frequency, +: Cohen's D indicator of effect magnitude.

Table 4. Summary of the Results that Examined the Relationship between Bullying and Suicide of the Selected Studies Previous Studies (Special Populations)

Authors (year)	Research Design (population)	Covariates Adjusted in the Analyses	Suicidal Risks: OR (CI)		
			Ideation	Attempts	Composite
Svetaz et al. (2000) ³⁷	Cross-sectional (LD)	Emotional distress, substance use, somatic complaints, violence, perceived risk of untimely death, religion, looks younger/older, sexual risk, family risk, family suicide, parental education, school performance, school problem		V: 3.21 P: 2.65	
Rossow & Lauritzen (2001) ⁵¹	Cross-sectional (drug addict)	None	V: 1.7 (1.2-2.3)	V: 2.2 (1.6-3.0)	
Huebner et al. (2004) ⁴²	Cross-sectional (LGB)	Sex, age, education, race, HIV status, openness with others regarding sexual orientation	Discrimination V: 2.1 (1.4-3.4) Physical V: 2.1 (1.1-3.9)		
Matsumoto et al. (2004) ⁵²	Cross-sectional (detention center)	None		<i>Grammar school V^{§§}:</i> NC-16.8% WC-40.0% AC-35.3% WAC-44.4% <i>Junior High V^{§§}:</i> NC-9.9% WC-20.0% AC-17.6% WAC-44.4%	
Warner et al. (2004) ⁴³	Cross-sectional (LGB)	Sex, use of drug, age, sexuality, employment, ethnicity, marital status, number of children, living circumstances, conflict with sexuality & religion, nature of current relationship, parental awareness of sexuality, HIV tested, discussion with professional about emotional problems	Attack: 1.7 (1.3-2.3)	Attack: 1.4 (1.1-1.9) Insult: 1.4 (1.1.-2.0)	

Table 4. (Continued)

Authors (year)	Research Design (population)	Covariates Adjusted in the Analyses	Suicidal Risks: OR (CI)		
			Ideation	Attempts	Composite
Viljoen et al. (2005) ³¹	Cross-sectional (offender)	None	N-14.5% V-45.0% P-6.5% VP-30.0% ^{§§}	No difference between bullying & non-bullying	
Friedman et al. (2006) ³²	Cross-sectional (LGB)	Sex, school, gender-role behaviors,			Mediating role of bullying between gender role non- conformity and suicide risk ⁺⁺
Goodenow et al. (2006) ⁴⁵	Cross-sectional (LGB)	Sex, distress/depression, age, race, school characteristics, personal (sexual) victimization, perceived staff support, LGB school support group, school programs & policies		<i>Attempt</i> V: 4.4 (2.0-9.3) <i>≥2 Attempts</i> V: 4.6 (1.8-11.8) <i>Attempts with injury</i> V: 2.4 (1.3-4.4)	
Hidaka & Operario (2006) ³³	Cross-sectional (LGB)	Sex, psychological distress, education, sex with woman, disclosure sexual orientation to parents, friends, offline meeting with men		V: 1.6 (1.1-2.6)	
Shtayermman (2007) ⁴⁹	Cross-sectional (AS)	None	No association		

*: Multiple regression, **:ANOVA, §: Correlation, §§: Frequency (chi-square test), §§§: Fisher's exact test, +: Cohen's D indicator of effect magnitude, ++: Path-analysis, LD: Learning Disorder, LGB: lesbian/gay/bisexual, AS: Asperger Syndrome.

Using fifteen samples from the general population, studies examined the risks of suicidal ideations in the victims of school bullying. While three studies reported no association, 12 studies reported increased risks of suicidal ideations in the victims of bullying, with ORs ranging from 1.4 to 5.6. One study reported a statistically significant interaction with sex: female victims were at a greater risk of suicidal ideations than male victims (22). Additionally, three studies reported dose-response-relationships: frequent victimization was associated with higher risks for suicidal ideations than less frequent victimizations (26,50,56). Eight out of 10 studies that examined the risks of suicidal ideations in the bullying perpetrators from general population, reported increased suicidal risks, with ORs ranging from 1.4 to 9.0. One study (22) reported significantly higher risks of suicidal ideations in female perpetrators than in male perpetrators, and three studies (26,50,56) reported dose-response-relationships for frequency of perpetrating behaviors and suicidal risks. All five studies that examined risks of suicidal ideations in the victim-perpetrators (VPs) of school bullying in general population reported increased risks, with ORs ranging from 1.9 to 10.0. The suicidal risks in VPs were highest among all the groups involved with bullying in four studies (22,53,55,56), and one study reported higher suicidal risk in female VPs compared to male VPs (22).

Thirteen studies examined risks of suicidal attempts, including self-injurious behaviors, in the victims of bullying in general population and 12 studies reported increased risks, with ORs ranging from 1.5 to 5.4. One study reported significant interactions between suicidal risks and female sex (25) and one study showed dose-response-relationships (56). Two studies (53,56), out of the four studies that examined risks of suicidal attempts in the perpetrators of bullying in general population reported increased suicidal risks, with ORs ranging from 2.3 to 9.9. One study also reported dose-response-relationships between perpetrating behaviors and suicidal risks (56). All five studies that examined the composite risks of any suicidality in victims of bullying in general population reported increased risks of suicidality, with ORs ranging from 1.7 to 2.5. Two studies also examined the risks of composite suicidality in perpetrators and reported increased risks with ORs ranging from 1.3-1.4.

Five studies examined risks of suicidal ideations in victims of bullying in special populations and four studies reported increased risks in juvenile offenders, people with LD and lesbian/gay/bisexual (LGB) sexual orientation, with ORs ranging from 1.7 to 2.1. One study that examined the risks of suicidal ideations in perpetrators of bullying among juvenile offenders reported lowered risks compared to the ones not involved with bullying (31).

Seven studies investigated the risks of suicidal attempts and self-injurious behaviors in the victims of bullying in special populations and six reported increased risks, with ORs ranging from 1.4 to 4.6. The special populations with increased suicidal risks included people with LD, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency and of LGB sexual orientation. Also, one study reported the increased risk of suicidal attempts in the perpetrators of the children and adolescents with LD with OR 2.7 (37).

Additionally, one study examined composite risks of any suicidality in the people with LGB sexual orientation and reported that bullying had a mediating role between gender role conformity and suicidal risks (32).

DISCUSSION

Suicidality, the third leading cause of mortality for adolescents, has been examined in relation to bullying in 37 studies conducted in various countries. The majority of these studies reported positive associations between all bullying types and suicidal risks, with strongest risks in Victim-Perpetrators, both in general populations of children and adolescents and populations with special needs (behavioral problems or of LGB sexual orientation.) In addition, a few studies found suicidal risks differed on the basis of sex, as well as with regard to dose-response-relationships. The ORs for suicidal risks associated with bullying experience ranged from 1.4 to 10.0. These prior findings need to be interpreted with caution due to three important, methodological problems:

1. When examining the relationship between bullying and suicidality, most of these studies failed to control for other well-established suicide risk factors, including sex, psychopathology (depression, aggressive-impulsive behaviors and disruptive behaviors), and a history of suicide (58). Twenty eight of the 37 studies controlled for sex. Twelve studies also controlled for psychopathological risk factors for suicide, including depression, substance abuse or emotional/psychological distress. Only a single study controlled for sex, depression and previous suicidal history; this paper reported a negative association between bullying and suicide (54). Taken together, the interpretation of the observed positive associations between bullying and suicide in these studies is seriously limited as uncontrolled risk factors may have confounded the relationships between bullying and suicide.
2. The interpretation of these findings is complicated by shared method variance caused by the use of the same informants to identify both bullying status and suicidal behaviors/ideations (59,60). In those instances, self-reports of bullying are based on the individuals' own perception of the social circumstances, a situation in which it is possible that the psychopathological characteristics of the reporter can lead to misinterpretation of otherwise normal social events. This can result in a confounded relationship between suicide and bullying. Two of the 37 studies used peer nomination to independently identify bullying type and self-reports for delineating suicidal thoughts/behaviors; both of these studies reported increased risk of suicide in students with bullying experience (22, 23).
3. All 37 studies were cross-sectional, making it impossible to make causal inferences or conclusions that experiencing bullying increased suicide risks.

Future studies should address these major methodological limitations in order to establish causal relationships between bullying and risks of suicide. Ideally, future studies should be long-term, prospective in large community samples of children and adolescents, as well as in special populations, and with multiple informants to identify predictors and outcomes. The analyses should be planned and conducted carefully to control for confounding effects of other well-established suicidal risk factors. Findings should be replicated by independent researchers in independent study populations.

In the meantime, this systematic review of 37 previous studies that were conducted in various countries suggests that bullying is a serious problem for our youth and communities. Not only does bullying interfere with normal developmental and educational processes, it also places adolescents at an unnecessary and additional risk for suicidal thoughts and actions. It seems clear that these adolescents are at increased risk for suicidal behaviors/ideations and deserve our particular care and attention. Additionally, inclusion of screening and monitoring of suicidal signs and symptoms in victims, perpetrators or victim-perpetrators in the anti-bullying programs may be an effective way to reduce suicidality in the children and adolescents with bullying experience. Finally, careful clinical evaluation for suicidality in children with bullying experience should be a standard practice that is part of routine primary care visits.

While many adolescents may experience bullying, either as participants or observers, the fact that it is common does not imply that it is “normal” and, hence, an acceptable part of “normal development.” Indeed, evidence from this review, suggests that exposure to bullying, especially for participants, is harmful. Therefore, it is imperative that there now be a common goal to actively intervene to reduce bullying in all communities and to seek out both victims and perpetrators to protect them from suicidality and other potential lethal adverse consequences of this serious public health problem.

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Chapter 81

MORBIDITY AMONG BYSTANDERS OF BULLYING BEHAVIOR AT SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

The role of the bystander is not one that is easily understood in the anti-bullying literature. Roles within the unofficial hierarchy of the schoolyard and playground overlap considerably, and each role has its own social dynamic that brings with it a shifting behavioral landscape that affects every student. In this chapter, the mental health correlates of three categories of bystander are explored: the co-victim, the isolate, and the confederate. Each category of bystander has its own characterizations and mental health correlates. Reports of posttraumatic stress, internalised hostility, substance use, and suicide ideation are discussed with reference to studies involving witnesses of family abuse, community and school violence and well as bullying. It is argued that bystanders are the key to challenging bullying in schools, and their mental health and well-being is pivotal to the effectiveness of anti-bullying interventions.

INTRODUCTION

The role of the bystander is much misunderstood. Social psychologists have long focused upon the bystander as an individual who observes but does not invest (through action) in the situation he or she witnesses. Early research on bystanders, and particularly that addressing bystander apathy, omitted to explore whether or not witnesses were affected by what they had observed. Indeed, it seems that much of this research has inferred that bystanders were left, to all intents and purposes, unscathed by the series of events that unfolded before their eyes. In social-psychological terms, this lack of action has been accounted for by situational ambiguity where cues to the appropriate level of response are taken from observing the activities (or lack thereof) among other bystanders (1). Such is the case of Catherine Susan ('Kitty') Genovese

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whose murder in 1964 in the street was supposedly witnessed by no less than 38 neighbours – none of whom were reported to have called the police as they watched this helpless woman being stabbed repeatedly. Popular misreporting of the case and subsequent studies based upon this misreporting suggested that the neighbours' lack of action could be explained in terms of a diffusion of responsibility wherein each observer was only partially responsible for her or his inaction. However, more recent critics of such research have argued that it is necessary to understand the social dynamics at play in instances of bystander apathy, not only taking into account the ambiguities (if indeed there are any), but also the cultural dynamics that underpin the acceptability or justification for certain actions, particularly in cases where men assault women (2,3).

WHAT IS A BYSTANDER?

As noted above, a bystander has traditionally been portrayed as someone who has acted in the role of an observer but has not become involved in that he or she has observed (4). Thus, in violent interactions, such as the Genovese murder, the role of the bystander has not been, unless prompted otherwise, allied to that of the perpetrator or the victim. However this view of the bystander is not one that sits comfortably with those researchers who have observed the violent interactions that occur daily in the yards and playgrounds of our schools. Indeed the school yard view is one more closely allied to that of the critics of those early studies where the social dynamics that underpin the official and unofficial hierarchies in play at any given time determine which students will be subjected to the violent behaviour of others (the '*victims*'), which students will hold the power to enact it (the '*bullies*'), and which students will be, for the present, reprieved to the sidelines (the '*bystanders*'). However, it is the nature of that reprieve which has prompted further research and forms the foundation of this article. How does a student ensure that he or she does not become a future victim? What investment (if any) does he or she make in the social dynamics of the school to ensure his or her personal safety?

Christina Salmivalli and her colleagues in Finland were perhaps the first researchers to explore more closely the social dynamics of the school yard and playground, and to identify four very different types of bystander – *the assistant, reinforcer, defender* and *the outsider* (5). Each of these types of bystander has a very particular role and investment within the unofficial hierarchy. At the top of the schoolyard 'hierarchy' sits the bully with his or her *assistants*, followed by those who reinforce the bully's actions by encouraging him or her, or by laughing at the victim's plight (*the reinforcers*). Next to come are *the outsiders* whose modus operandi is to attempt to keep away from any and all altercations. Following *the outsiders* come *the defenders* - students who support the victim either by trying to stop episodes of bullying or by offering support and friendship to him or her. Although not victims themselves, unless their social status is unassailable within the schoolyard hierarchy, the potential for victimization is an ever present danger for defenders when they intervene. Finally, at the bottom of the hierarchy are the victims whose daily taunts have been the focus of much of bullying literature. By way of contrast, Stuart Twemlow and his colleagues explored the roles of the victim, victimizer, and bystander respectively from a psychodynamic as well as behavioural standpoint (4). They argued that these roles are co-created, defined dialectically and, when individuals occupy these roles, they are 'mentalized' – demonstrating impairment in self-awareness, self-agency, reflexivity, as well as an inability to assess the mental states of others as well as themselves.

They identified seven different types of bystander, each distinguished by the degree to which they act upon the feedback they receive from others and the subjective state associated with the role they take up. The first type of bystander – *the bully bystander* – is excited by the prospect of victimizing others whereas *the puppet-master variant of the bully bystander* manipulates social situations and is committed to violent interactions with peers. *The victim bystander* is fearful, apathetic, and perceives himself or herself to be helpless. *The avoidant bystander*, like *the outsider*, withdraws from bullying episodes and allows them to continue by denying their existence. *The abdicating bystander* refuses to take responsibility for those less able to defend themselves, and considers those victims to be deserving of their lot in life. The *sham bystander* protects himself or herself from victimization by ‘taking on’ the role of victim or victimizer when it is appropriate. Finally *the helpful bystander* is compassionate, horrified by the harm done to others, and develops social skills to resist any potential for victimization for himself or herself as well as for others.

Most recently, Rivers and colleagues have used students’ reports of their own experiences to identify four behavioural categories of bystander – *bully-witness*, *victim-witness*, *witness*, and *bully-victim-witness* (6). Although not as refined as those role descriptors offered by Salmivalli, Twemlow and their colleagues, the measure used (the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire with mirror questions for witnesses) demonstrated that bullying can have an effect upon the whole school population, with the majority of students reporting having witnessed bullying up to a few weeks before they were surveyed.

As table 1 illustrates, comparison between the three studies cited above demonstrates a significant degree of overlap with approximately seven different types of bystander (collapsing Twemlow et al.’s *the bully bystander* and *the puppet master variant of the bully bystander* into one). However, in terms of understanding the potential implications of bystander status for well-being and mental health, it is possible to cluster these roles into three distinct categories: 1) those who are also victims or co-victims (i.e., they experience upset at the sight of others being tormented) – hereafter referred to as *the co-victim*; 2) those who actively avoid bullying situations or deny their existence – *the isolate* and 3) those who actively seek to deflect attention away from themselves by highlighting the inadequacies or failings of others, or by supporting bullies in their endeavours – *the confederate*.

MORBIDITY AMONG BYSTANDERS: ISSUES TO CONSIDER

Given that there are potentially three very different categories of bystander, it also stands to reason that the mental health implications will also vary according to the category or type of bystander a student becomes. Theoretically, it might be expected that those who actively seek to deflect attention onto others and act to support bullies (*the confederate*) may experience remorse or cognitive dissonance much more so than those who, by virtue of their empathy or sensitivity towards the plight of victims and by their abject fear of personal persecution may display many of the psychological symptoms normally found in victims of abuse (*the co-victim*). In the following sections of the article, each of the categories of bystander will be explored further, focusing particularly upon the potential harm to well-being and mental health that may be associated with being a witness to bullying behaviour at school.

Table 1. Bystander roles

No. of bystander types	Individual & behavioural characteristics		
	Salmivalli et al. (1996)	Twemlow et al. (2004)	Rivers et al. (2010)
Type #1	<i>Assistant</i> Passive followers, joined in harassment when started by others.	<i>Bully bystander</i> Sets up opportunities for victimization of others <i>Puppet-master variant of Bully bystander</i> Seeks violent outcomes through manipulation of others.	<i>Bully-witness</i> Sometimes a bully and sometimes an observer.
Type #2	<i>Reinforcer</i> Provide bullies with positive reinforcement of behaviour	<i>Abdicating bystander</i> Scapegoats others	
Type #3	<i>Defender</i> Provides support to victim in or after bullying episodes, actively tries to stop bullying	<i>Helpful bystander</i> Mature use of individual and group psychology to stop bullying episodes, skilled in resisting victimization	
Type #4		<i>Victim bystander</i> Passive, drawn into the victimization process by fear	<i>Victim-witness</i> Sometimes a victim and sometimes an observer
Type #5	<i>Outsider</i> Withdraw from bullying Situations	<i>Avoidant bystander</i> Denial of personal responsibility	<i>Witness</i> Observes bullying but has not been a victim or bully
Type #6		<i>Sham bystander</i> Role of victim or bully is adopted for personal political reasons.	
Type #7			<i>Bully-victim-witness</i> Takes on multiple roles at school; sometimes a bully, sometimes a victim, other times an observer

Table 2. Symptoms responses of students exposed to community/school violence by grade/age (Adapted from Pynoos & Nader, 1988)

Preschool-2 nd Grade (4-8 Years)	3 rd -5 th Grade (8-12 years)	6 th Grade and Up (12 years +)
Helplessness, passivity	Preoccupation with issues of responsibility and guilt	Detachment, shame, guilt
Generalized fear	Fears related to being alone	Self-consciousness about their own fears, vulnerabilities, fear of being labelled different
Cognitive confusion	Traumatic play (retelling and replaying an event)	Post-traumatic 'acting out', drug use, anti-social behaviour, inappropriate sexual behaviour
Difficulty in identifying source of worry	Fear of being overwhelmed by feelings (e.g. crying, anger)	Self-destructive/accident prone behaviour
Selective mutism, nonverbal traumatic play	Impaired concentration/learning	Difficulties in interpersonal relationships
Attributing 'magical' qualities to reminders of trauma	Sleep disturbances	Focus on revenge/retribution
Sleep disturbances	Concerns about safety of self and others	Significant changes in attitudes towards life
Anxious attachment (clingy behaviour, concern at caregiver's absence)	Inconsistent/unusual/out of character behaviour	Leaves school early, marries/embarks upon a relationship early, reluctant to leave home
Regressive behaviour (thumb sucking, bed-wetting, regressive speech patterns)	Somatic complaints	
Anxieties related to failure to understand concepts such as death	Concerns about impact on parents, others	
	Disturbed/ frightened by their own grief	

The observations made are informed by various studies conducted by researchers and clinicians who have worked with individuals and families who have experienced or witnessed various forms of trauma and abuse.

The co-victim

Within psychiatry it is well understood that an individual can be traumatized by the very act of observing someone else losing his or her life, or by the potential threat of personal injury or death in the face of a natural disaster (eg. earthquake or tsunami) or man-made event (eg. road traffic accident or act of terrorism) (7-9). Researchers have also shown that, in instances where an individual - particularly a young person - has taken his or her own life, there is often a need to provide counselling or guidance to those peers who knew or might empathise with the victim in order to reduce the collective distress caused by such a suicide, or to stem the potential for further loss of life (10).

For the *co-victim* who is affected by the bullying he or she witnesses, clinical research has shown that the potential for long-term psychological harm is as real as if he or she had been the subject of the bully's taunts. For example, in one systematic review of 26 studies of the implications of exposure to community violence among urban adolescents, such exposure was found to be correlated with increased reporting of mental health symptoms, posttraumatic stress, and aggression (11). In one study of 349 youth aged between 9 and 15 years resident in one of ten low-income housing communities, witnessing violence was found to be correlated with reports of distress that included intrusive thoughts and feelings (indicative of posttraumatic stress), difficulties in concentration, and constant vigilant/avoidant behaviour (12). Of particular note in this study was the fact that younger participants as well as boys and those young people who showed an aptitude for problem solving were more likely to report experiencing intrusive thoughts when compared to the other youth in the study. Evidence of emotional numbing, distraction, family problems and a lack of belonging were also found.

The significance of symptoms usually associated with posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among witnesses is well documented, especially in cases where children have observed domestic violence. In one study of 84 children (mean age 11 years) who had been referred from shelters for women abused by their partners, 47 children were found to meet the criteria for PTSD (re-experiencing events, avoidance, and hyperarousal) (13). Furthermore, in a study of symptoms of posttraumatic stress among former victims of homophobic bullying, 26% of participants said that they continued to be distressed regularly by recollections of bullying with 21% reporting distressing or intrusive memories of those events (14). While only 4% said they experienced nightmares about being bullied at school, 9% said they had experienced flashbacks (hallucinations or dissociative episodes), or the feeling that they were reliving the events even though they were awake. In their study of witnesses of bullying behaviour, Rivers and colleagues found evidence of an impact upon psychological functioning among students who had only observed bullying at school and did not report either having been victimized themselves or having victimized others (9). In terms of substance abuse, this study also found that witnesses shared some of the abusive characteristics usually found among perpetrators of bullying suggesting that, for some students, alcohol and drugs were used as a coping mechanism either to escape fear or to alleviate cognitive dissonance. Finally, in a related study, members of the same research team found that witnesses of bullying, particularly those who

were also sometimes victims and sometime bullies, were more likely to report thinking about ending their own lives when compared to those students who were primarily identified as bullies or victims (15).

Although the impact of exposure to violence and fears of recurrence have been researched particularly thoroughly at the community level, including among school-aged children, in a review of research and potential 'first aid' interventions for young people exposed to violence at school, it has been suggested that mental health professionals have a particular role to play in supporting school faculty and staff. On visiting such a school they need to be able to help the teachers build a secure and less anxious classroom environment where students are given permission to express feelings, clarify cognitive confusions, and where they are encouraged to seek help or advice (16). In such an environment it has been argued that young people who are vulnerable and require one-to-one consultations can be easily identified by their symptom responses (see table 2).

While the responses identified in table 2 suggest that they relate to victims rather than bystanders, as previously stated, those who witness violence and are themselves fearful of becoming victims, will also display many of the same symptoms (17). Thus, a whole school or community-wide initiative is often needed to combat trauma resulting from violence.

The isolate

In contrast to the co-victim, there is little specific research on the student who opts to remove himself or herself from bullying situations. In some of the studies that have been conducted to date, these students are often represented as reference groups or control groups, because they report little or no interaction in episodes of school bullying. However, there are significant differences between those students who opt to absent themselves from bullying situations and those who have not seen bullying take place. Methodologically, this suggests that there may be a flaw in the approach some researchers have taken in identifying reference or control groups as professionals working with young people in schools have suggested that those who isolate themselves from others as a means of self preservation can themselves experience mental health difficulties as a result of their isolation (18). Indeed, in the case of bullying in schools, it has been argued that regardless of whether a bystander is passive or provocative, he or she promotes an environment that encourages bullying by failing to challenge it or stand up for the victim (19). Indeed the fear of humiliation and abuse actively encourages some young people to isolate themselves in order to ensure their safety, but comparable with the co-victim, such an approach can itself have devastating effects (20). For example, suicide and para-suicidal behaviour have been associated with reports of extreme social isolation among young people (21). Additionally, while social isolation may, in the short-term, reduce cognitive dissonance and personal responsibility for the welfare of victims of bullying, the desire to intervene coupled with a failure to act can result in internalised hostility and self-loathing which, in turn, may be one of the factors that promotes suicidal thoughts (6) (15). Finally, isolation itself may not be a useful long-term strategy to protect oneself from bullying. Social isolation has been linked to unpopularity among peers, and may actually identify the isolate as a potential victim without popular friends to protect him or her in the face of hostile others (22).

Ultimately there is a great deal more research needed on this particular category of bystander to understand fully the implications of withdrawing from bullying situations, not only in terms of its impact upon school-wide anti-bullying interventions, but also in terms of the mental health of those who choose to isolate themselves as a protective measure.

The confederate

The confederate is perhaps the most conflicted of categories of bystander. As noted previously, this not only includes those who might be identified as *assistants* or *reinforcers*, it also includes those who stand on the sidelines watching bullying take place. As Hazler and Denham pointed out, whether bystanders are proactive or passive in terms of their support for the bully, their actions promote an environment that allows bullying to thrive (19). This particular group are perhaps the most likely to experience cognitive dissonance in that while they attempt to protect themselves they are also likely to be aware of the fact that they are promoting the bullying of others. Research conducted both in the United Kingdom and in Canada suggests that experiences of cognitive dissonance may be directly related to symptoms of internalised hostility, and that self-loathing coupled with anger may result in potentially harmful outcomes not only for the bystander, but also for the victim who may become the object of that anger either through a process of transference or through a desire (by the bystander) to maintain his or her own positive self-image (perhaps as a result of academic failure or difficulties at home) (4) (6) (20) (22). Linked to the above, it has also been found that being both a witness and perpetrator of bullying (*the bully-witness*) predicts elevated levels of substance use - alcohol, tobacco, and class 1 or 2 (US) or A (UK) drugs (6). It has already been argued that substance use may be linked to a desire to dull or escape the effects of cognitive dissonance. In terms of suicide ideation and para-suicidal behaviour, researchers have also shown that this particular group are at greater risk of reporting thoughts of ending life (15). Those who identified as having been victims, bullies, and also witnesses were significantly more likely to contemplate ending their lives when compared to students not involved in bullying interactions, those who were both victims and bullies, those who were both victims and witnesses, and those who were bullies and witnesses. While this particular group (*the bully-victim-witness*) exemplify the type of student who deliberately seeks to protect himself or herself from bullying through an alliance with the bully, it should be noted that this student has never been drawn to the attention of mental health professionals working in schools. However, Twemlow and colleagues have characterized the more provocative bystander as one that is not only thrilled and excited by the prospect of violence being perpetrated against others, but also one that revels in the power he or she holds over the well-being of the victim (4). While it has been argued that among bystanders such characterizations or subjective states demonstrate a cognitive and emotional impairment, other researchers have argued that rather than failing to understand the plight of the victim, bullies and their confederates understand all too well the impact their behaviour has (23). The *sham bystander* is a case in point; he or she consciously manipulates social relationships in a calm and deliberate manner for his or her own political ends.

There is substantially less research on bullies and their confederates than there is on victims, and even less of the mental health correlates of perpetrating or encouraging bullying

behaviour at school. It is important that we understand the ramifications of bystander status in all its guises for the well-being and mental health of our student populations.

DISCUSSION

School bullying is a complex phenomenon that cannot be understood in terms of a simple dyadic relationship between the perpetrator and his or her victim. Roles overlap considerably, and each role has its own social dynamic that brings with it a shifting behavioural landscape that affects every member of a school's student community. While a great deal of research attention has been focused on the mental health correlates of victim status it is clear from this review that much more attention should be placed upon the mental health correlates of bystander status. Whether a student is a passive or provocative bystander, and isolate or a co-victim, he or she is also likely to be suffering. It is incumbent upon schools and those who administer schools to find ways of supporting the whole educational community rather than focusing their attention upon victims and perpetrators. Posttraumatic stress, internalized hostility, substance use, and suicide ideation are issues as commonly found among witnesses as they are among victims of assault, abuse, natural disasters, or man-made events. It should not be surprising to clinicians that those symptoms usually reported among adult populations who have suffered abuse or trauma are also to be found among student populations similarly abused or traumatized as a result of adult or peer violence. However, it seems that there has been some reticence on the part of school and educational authorities to recognize the implications bullying has for the mental health of all the students in their care. Indeed most recently anti-bullying campaigns such as *'It Gets Better'*, while highlighting the significant mental health implications of bullying (homophobic bullying in this instance), take the focus away from 'the here and now' and the protection of young people in schools by inferring that the hardships they face today will not affect them in the future. Is it right that we ask young people to wait until they are grown up our school communities are at risk now?

Bystanders have a significant role to play in stopping bullying behaviour. It is important that we find a means of ensuring that bystanders invest in their school environment and make an investment in the welfare of their peers. Twemlow and his colleagues provided a very useful clinical characterization of a pathological and a healthy charisma associated with altruistic helpfulness (this was first developed by Peter Olsson, M.D.). In this characterization the healthy, altruistic individual is one who encourages his or her peers, is empathetic and understanding, is creative, has facilitative skills that support group cohesion, gains reward from helping others, and mentors future leaders in younger classes or grades. It seems likely that if such individuals were to be nurtured through a series of positive programs, it would be difficult for bullies and their confederates to gain power over others at school (4) (24).

This short review provides an outline of the issues that should concern teachers, administrators, school counsellors and psychologists, pediatricians, child and family therapists who work with students involved in bullying. It identifies three categories of bystander, each with its own series of mental health concerns. It is only by understanding the experiences of all of the inhabitants of a school where bullying takes place that it is possible to challenge this pernicious and, alas, still ever present form of abuse.

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Chapter 82

PUBLIC HEALTH, SAFETY AND EDUCATIONAL RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH BULLYING BEHAVIORS IN AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

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ABSTRACT

Based on a national representative sample of middle and high school US students we will in this chapter study the association between different health, safety and educational risk factors and involvement in a variety of bullying behaviors. Based on an analysis of US data of the 1996 World Health Organization Health Behavior in School-aged Children survey with cross-sectional survey information on 9,938 students in grade 6 through 10. Thirty-nine per cent of the students were involved in bullying others and/or were victims of bullies at least three times in the previous twelve months. Bullies, victims, and those who are both, are at a significantly higher risk of suffering from self-inflicted, accidental, and perpetrated injuries, abusing over the counter medications, hurting animals and people on purpose, using a weapon that could seriously hurt someone, and being frequently absent from school, as compared to their peers who are not involved in bullying or rarely participated in it. Those students who are both bullies and victims experience a wide array of associated risk behaviors with odd ratios stretching from 1.54 to 14.17. It was confirmed that participation in bullying behaviors, as a bully or as a victim, is associated with multiple health, safety, and educational hazards. Students who are bullies and/or victims are at a high risk of dying from self-inflicted, accidental, or perpetrated injuries.

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INTRODUCTION

An extensive number of studies, published in the past twelve years, have provided evidence indicating that adolescents, who participate in bullying behaviors, are very vulnerable to health, safety and educational risks (1-37). These reports have shown that both victims and/or perpetrators of bullying are significantly more likely than their peers, who are not involved in bullying, in suffering from an array of physical and emotional problems. This includes psychosomatic symptoms (8,11,15,18,19,28,35-37); sadness and/or depression (1,3,23,25,28,29,33,34); anxiety (3,17,33); difficulties in attention, impulsivity and/or hyperactivity regulation (6,36); delusions and hallucinations(16); overweight (26); bulimia (12); smoking (11,13,22) and alcohol/drug abuse (3,9,11,22,24,27). Victims of bullying have been shown to be at a higher risk for truancy and lower academic grades (1,2), but above all participation in bullying, as a victim and/or as a perpetrator, is significantly linked to potential death, due to suicidal ideation or attempts (10,21,29), injuries (20,31), physical aggression and fighting (5,14,27), as well as carrying and using weapons (24,30).

Only four of these studies (2,3,13,32) have been based on longitudinal assessments, while the vast majority of them were results of cross sectional research, frequently supported by student health surveys, administered by the World Health Organization, and based on national representative samples of adolescents (2,5,7-9,11,15,18,20,22-24,26,27,30,31). Their results document a significant link between bullying and an array of different risk factors which may be covariates.

The purpose of our study was to examine, based on a national representative sample of middle and high school US students, the association between different health, safety, and educational risk factors and involvement in a variety of bullying behaviors, both as bullies and/or victims.

THE DATA WE USED

We utilized the data on US students in grades 6 through 10 that appeared in the WHO's Health Behavior in School-aged Children (HBSC) survey for 1996. The HBSC is a nationally representative, school-based study of health-related attitudes and behaviors of adolescents (38,39). The 1996 HBSC survey contained 209 variables, including items about being bullied and bullying, episodes of depression in the previous year, physical and emotional symptoms in the past six months, self-inflicted injuries, accidental or perpetrated injuries, runaway episodes, alcohol and drug abuse, daily smoking, carrying weapons, school absenteeism and poor academic grades (38). This study was considered exempt from Institutional Review Board approval because the database is available in the public domain (40).

"The collection of the 1996 HBSC data was based on a three-stage sample strategy. The school district was the primary sampling unit, the school was the second stage, and the classroom was the third stage. The targeted means in the age groups were 11.5, 13.5, and 15.5 years. The three selected age groups correspond approximately to grades 6, 8, and 10 in the United States. The total number of valid cases was 9,938. To protect the anonymity of respondents, all variables that could be used to identify individuals have been collapsed or recoded in the public use files" (38).

The demographic characteristics included in the analysis were gender, school grade and race. (See table 1). Parental education was not included due to the large proportion of cases with missing data on that set of variables.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of students involved in bullying behaviors, health behavior in school-aged children, WHO 1996*

	N (unweighted)	None or seldom bullying % **	Bullies only % **	Victims only % **	Both bullies and victims (%) **
Total Sample, N (unweighted)	9574	5830	1372	1164	1208
Sex					
Male	4749	41.3	60.0	45.4	55.9
Female	5178	58.7	40.0	54.6	44.1
Race					
NH White	4451	67.1	69.0	75.1	71.4
NH Black	1262	16.4	14.3	10.9	11.0
Hispanic	2633	11.7	13.4	10.6	12.6
NH Asian-Pacific	813	4.2	2.1	2.4	3.5
NH Native American	142	0.6	1.2	1.0	1.5
Grade					
6th	3173	33.9	24.8	42.1	32.9
8th	3331	31.5	40.1	34.7	37.7
10th	3369	34.6	35.0	23.2	28.8

* All frequencies with a chi-square p-value of less than 0.05 are represented in bold.

** All percentages (%) are column percentage of each bullying behavior category.

Bullying behaviors (see table 2) were defined as being a bully, a victim of a bully, or both a bully and a victim. The students who participated in the 1996 HBSC survey were asked how many times, during the previous 12 months, they were “picked on, ganged up on, or bullied,” “away from school property” and/or “on school property.” They were also asked whether they were involved, in the previous 12 months, in picking on, ganging up on, or bullying other students, outside and/or inside school property (38). Each of these four questions has eight possible answers, ranging from “0 times in 12 months” to “several times a week.”

In our study we defined as participants in bullying behavior those students who were themselves bullied by others (victims) and/or who bullied others, at least three times or more frequently, in school or out of school, during the previous 12 months. The variable “infrequent or no bullying” represents both those students who stated that they were bullied and/or had bullied others only once or twice during the previous year, and also those students who did not participate in any bullying episodes at all.

Table 2. Health, safety and educational risks in relation to bullying behaviors. Health behavior in school-aged children, WHO 1996 *

Health, safety and educational risks	Total N of subjects N= 9574	None or seldom bullying % (SE) N=5830 N=13016	Bullies only % (SE) N=1372	Victims only % (SE) N=1164	Both bullies and victims % (SE) N=1208
Self-inflicted injuries	1212	7.6(0.35)	21.0(1.12)	12.6(0.99)	26.7(1.29)
Accidental or perpetrated injuries	3170	33.1(0.66)	49.8(1.43)	38.1(1.50)	51.9(1.54)
Injury Requiring Hospital Stay	378	8.2(0.63)	18.0(1.54)	7.6(1.32)	16.7(1.58)
Runaway	1215	7.6(0.35)	26.5(1.20)	5.7(0.69)	22.7(1.22)
OTC medication abuse	1068	6.6(0.33)	20.0(1.10)	6.4(0.72)	24.4(1.26)
Alcohol abuse	1662	28.4(0.93)	49.2(1.60)	19.5(1.87)	36.9(1.75)
Daily Smoking	459	11.2(0.75)	15.5(1.25)	8.9(1.50)	13.4(1.33)
Use of drugs	767	3.8(0.25)	16.3(1.00)	3.0(0.50)	14.8(1.03)
Hurt animals	749	4.0(0.26)	11.7(0.88)	5.0(0.65)	9.8(0.87)
Hurt people	2091	13.0(0.45)	44.1(1.36)	18.9(1.16)	41.9(1.45)
Setting fires	364	1.8(0.18)	9.2(0.79)	2.2(0.44)	9.0(0.85)
Carrying a weapon to school	821	3.3(0.23)	14.0(0.94)	3.3(0.53)	20.6(1.17)
Using a weapon	1032	5.7(0.31)	22.5(1.14)	6.9(0.75)	18.8(1.15)
Absenteeism	550	3.3(0.24)	9.0(0.78)	3.8(0.57)	8.4(0.81)
Poor grades	361	2.0(0.19)	7.5(0.72)	2.8(0.49)	5.5(0.66)
Skipping classes	1919	13.4(0.45)	37.5(1.32)	11.4(0.94)	25.8(1.29)

* All frequencies with a chi-square p-value of less than 0.05 are represented in bold.

** All percentages (%) are column percentage of each Bullying Behavior category.

Health and safety risk factors (See table 2)

We analyzed the following endpoints which represent a risk to health and safety of self and others:

- Self-inflicted injuries: Trying to injure one-self, on purpose, in the previous 12 months.
- Accidental or perpetrated injuries: Having been hurt or injured, in the previous 12 months, requiring them to stay home from school, see a doctor or nurse, or cut back on other usual activities.
- Injury Requiring Hospital Stay: Suffered an injury requiring overnight hospital stay.
- Alcohol abuse: Having “five or more drinks of alcohol in a row, that is, within a couple of hours,” on one or more days, during the previous thirty days.
- Daily smoking: Smoked one or more cigarettes daily, over the previous 30 days.
- Use of drugs: Use of cocaine, including crack, LSD, PCP, ecstasy,

- mushrooms, speed, ice, or heroin, in the previous 12 months.
- Over-the-counter medication abuse: Having taken an over-the-counter medicine to get high or just to see what it felt like, one or more times.
- Runaway: Having been away from home without the parent's or guardian's permission for at least one entire night, 6 or more times in the previous 12 months.
- Hurting animals: Physically hurting animals on purpose, in the previous 12 months.
- Hurting people: Physically hurting someone on purpose, in the previous 12 months.
- Fire setting: Has set fires, to damage something of value, in the previous 12 months.
- Carried a weapon to school: Has carried a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club, on school property, one or more times, in the previous 30 days.
- Weapon use: Has used a weapon that could seriously hurt someone, in the previous 12 months.
-
-

Educational risks (See table 2)

The following variables were analyzed to ascertain a risk to the adolescent's academic work and performance:

- Absenteeism: Being absent from school, for any reason, 11 or more days, in the previous 30 days.
- Poor grades: Averaging mostly D's and F's
- Skipping classes: Cutting or skipping classes without permission, in the previous 12 months.

The data were analyzed utilizing the Data Analysis System (DAS) of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan. This is an online analysis system that allows users to run both simple and complex analyses, recode and compute new variables, and subset variables or cases for downloading. The software powering the system, the Survey Documentation and Analysis (SDA) system, was developed and is supported by the Computer-assisted Survey Methods Program (CSM) at the University of California, Berkeley (41, 42).

We analyzed the frequency distributions to determine the demographic characteristics of students participating in bullying behavior and the frequency of the health, safety and educational risks in relation to involvement in bullying behaviors. Logistic regression analysis was conducted using the SDA Logit/Probit Regression Program, to examine associations between bullying behaviors and the health, safety and educational risks. Each multivariate logistic regression included gender, grade, and race. Adjusted odds ratios (OR) and standard errors were calculated.

FINDINGS

Thirty-nine per cent (3,744) of students responding to the 1996 United States Health Behavior in School-aged Children survey reported being involved in bullying, at least twice or more, over the previous 12 months, either as bullies or as victims, or as both bullies and victims (see table 1). There was a significantly higher proportion of males participating in bullying as bullies and bully/victims (both bullies and victims).

Non-Hispanic Whites were more likely than average to be involved as victims, while Non-Hispanic Blacks were less prone to be victims and bully/victims. Students of Non-Hispanic Asian or Pacific Islander ethnicity were less likely to be bullies or victims, while Non-Hispanic Native Americans were more likely to be bully/victims.

Frequency of victimization is gradually reduced from 6th to 10th grade. However, those who are engaged in bullying others seem to be more prevalent in the 8th grade.

Table 2 shows a general tendency for almost all the types of health, safety and educational problems to be increased in those adolescents who participate in bullying whether as bullies, or as both bullies and victims. An exception to this pattern is found in the occurrence of daily smoking among bully/victims.

Table 3. Adjusted OR (SE)* for health, safety and educational risks by bullying behaviors, health behavior in school-aged children, WHO 1996

Health, safety and educational risks	Bullies only ***	Victims only***	Bully/victims***
Self –inflicted Injuries**	3.98(1.09)	2.11(1.11)	7.07(1.11)
Accidental or Perpetrated Injuries**	1.97(1.07)	1.28(1.07)	2.35(1.08)
Injury Requiring Hospital Stay**	2.91(1.16)	1.29(1.23)	2.47(1.19)
Alcohol abuse**	2.76(1.09)	0.72(1.13)	1.77(1.11)
Daily smoking**	1.45(1.14)	0.83(1.22)	1.54(1.18)
Use of drugs in the past year**	5.22(1.11)	0.95(1.20)	6.39(1.15)
Over the counter medication abuse**	3.57(1.10)	1.14(1.14)	8.14(1.12)
Runaway**	4.01(1.09)	0.88(1.14)	4.81(1.11)
Hurting animals on purpose**	2.55(1.12)	1.40(1.16)	2.96(1.15)
Hurting people on purpose**	4.91(1.07)	1.58(1.09)	4.94(1.09)
Setting fires**	5.40(1.16)	1.45(1.25)	11.62(1.26)
Carrying weapon to school	4.79(1.12)	1.37(1.20)	14.17(1.17)
Using a weapon**	4.05(1.10)	1.36(1.14)	4.93(1.13)
Absenteeism**	3.04(1.14)	1.59(1.19)	2.73(1.16)
Poor grades**	3.62(1.16)	1.28(1.23)	2.15(1.19)
Skiping classes**	4.71(1.08)	1.20(1.11)	2.93(1.10)

* Each multivariable logistic regression has, gender, race and grade in the model.

** Row reference group is students who do not exhibit the respective health, safety or educational risk.

*** Column reference group is students who are seldom involved (once or twice per year) or are not involved in bullying, as bullies and/or as victims.

Table 3 shows much the same pattern expressed as the adjusted odds ratios of health, educational and safety problems in the groups participating in bullying to those who are not or almost not involved in this type of behavior. Consistent with the results from Table 2, the odds ratios tend to increase mildly from 0.83 to 2.11 among victims, and moderately from 1.45 to 5.40 among bullies. Those students who are both bullies and victims are affected by a substantial increment in the odds ratios from 1.54 to 14.17.

Bullies, victims, and those who are both, are at higher risk of suffering from self-inflicted, accidental, and perpetrated injuries, abusing over the counter medications, hurting animals and people on purpose, using a weapon that could seriously hurt someone, and being frequently absent from school, as compared to their peers who were not involved in bullying or rarely participated in it.

Students who bully others and those who are both bullies and victims are at significantly higher risk than their cohort not involved in bullying, in experiencing the whole range of health, safety, and educational hazards. Overall, bullies are prone to have their highest risk in use of drugs and setting fires, victims in inflicting self injuries, while those who are both bullies and victims have the maximum degree of peril in carrying weapons to school and setting fires.

DISCUSSION

This is the first study based on a national representative sample of US adolescents to document that students who participate in bullying, whether as bullies, victims, or both, are at a significantly higher risk of suffering from injuries that are self-inflicted, accidental, or perpetrated by others, as compared to their peers who do not participate or who are minimally involved in bullying. This circumstance identifies them as being at peril of dying of any of the three main causes of mortality among young people such as suicide, homicide, or accidents (43). Furthermore, they share a significant risk of abusing over-the-counter medications, hurting animals or people on purpose, using a weapon that could seriously hurt someone, and being frequently absent from school.

Students who bully others, and those who are both bullies and victims, suffer from a higher risk and a broader spectrum of health, safety, and educational risks than those who are only victims of bullying. This range of hazards includes injuries that require overnight hospital stay, alcohol abuse, daily smoking, drug use, runaway episodes, setting fires to damage something of value, carrying weapons to school, having poor grades, and skipping classes. Their mortality risk, due to all type of injuries, could be exacerbated by runaway episodes (44); alcohol abuse (45,46); over-the-counter medication and illicit drug abuse (47,48).

Our study showed similar observations to those made by previous reports (8,21), that among students who are involved in bullying, those who are both bullies and victims suffered from the highest prevalence of morbidity. It also extends the notion supported by Siziya et al. (51) that being bullied is positively associated with truancy, by showing that that same educational risk is linked to bullies and those who are both bullies and victims. Furthermore it sustains previous findings documenting the high risk for bullies and bully/victims of carrying weapons to school (24), smoking (49), and using alcohol and drugs (24,50).

The cross-sectional aspect of the sample utilized, does not allow us to reach any conclusion about the causality in the association between bullying and health, safety, and educational risks.

Nevertheless, it gives us an opportunity to ascertain the degree of association between bullying behaviors and significant public health hazards, as well as a national prevalence estimate of these risks associated with participation in bullying.

We utilized the 1996 USA Health Behavior in School-aged Children (HBSC) as a source for our analysis, because it included questions pertaining to self-inflicted injuries. Unfortunately, this item has not been included in more recent HBSC versions (51,52), or in a similar cross-national research study, namely, the World Health Organization Global School-based Student Health Survey (53,54), which includes questions about bullying, but not about suicide attempts. Furthermore the United States Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (55), designed to ascertain the prevalence of risk behaviors, includes questions about suicide, injuries, and school violence, but not specifically about bullying.

These health risk surveys could contribute to the urgent public health need to ascertain the international prevalence trends of bullying in relation to the main causes of youth mortality, if they were to include the necessary variables.

The recognition, on a national basis, of the significant array of life threatening risks and educational problems associated with bullying behaviors should urgently alert pediatric practitioners and educators to the need for joining efforts in the prevention of this very serious public health issue. Such an initiative would be in accordance with the long tradition of the medical profession to create partnerships with the schools for the preservation of the physical and mental health of young people.

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Chapter 83

IS THERE A SYNDROME OF BULLYING?

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ABSTRACT

In this chapter we investigated the existence of a psychosomatic disorder associated with bullying, by delineating its health and safety and correlates, and defining the demographic characteristics of the US adolescents affected by this condition. We based our study on an analysis of US data from the 1996 World Health Organization Health Behavior in School-aged Children survey. The survey provides nationally representative, cross-sectional survey information on 9938 US students in grades 6 through 10. We examined those students who were involved in bullying as a victim and/or as a bully with or without a self-reported cluster of depression, "bad mood", "feeling low", "feeling nervous", and sleeping difficulties, and one or more physical symptoms (headaches, stomach aches, back aches, dizziness). A cluster of physical and emotional symptoms linked to their participation in bullying as bullies and or victims was reported by nine and half percent of adolescents, with a higher frequency of 8th grade students and a predominance of females. These students were 8.14 times more likely to hurt themselves on purpose and 4.20 times more likely to hurt others purposely, than their peers who were not involved in bullying and did not suffer from a cluster of physical and emotional symptoms. This study may elicit further examination and debate about the existence of a nosological entity linked to bullying. Pending further research, the present results should support the need to ascertain participation in bullying, as a bully and/or as a victim, in all pediatric visits. Furthermore there is a need to inquire about symptoms and risks related to this form of abuse.

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INTRODUCTION

The association of health problems with participation in bullying has been highlighted for the past several years (1-23). The concept of bullying entails a form of maltreatment manifested by the repeated exposure of a person to either physical aggression by one or more people; and/or being hurt with teasing, name calling, mockery, threats, harassment, taunting, social exclusion or rumors (24, 25).

There is growing evidence that adolescents who bully others and/or are being bullied, are at a significantly higher risk of suffering from an array of health, safety and educational hazards, as compared to their peers who are not involved in bullying behaviors. These hazards include psychotic symptoms (1,9); substance abuse (2); suicidal attempts (6,7,10,15); eating disorders (12); runaway episodes (11); significant absenteeism (11); and injuries which can be self-perpetrated, accidental or caused by others (11,22,23). There is also data supporting a link of bullying to the frequent occurrence of one or more frequently occurring symptoms, such as headaches, stomach aches, dizziness, back aches, depression, irritability, anxiety and sleeping difficulties (3-5,8,17,18,20,21). The occurrence of a spectrum of physical and emotional morbidity, affecting adolescents who bully others and/or are victims of bullying has been previously pointed out (17,20) and is increasingly being detected in our clinical practice.

In this chapter we want to investigate the existence of a psychosomatic disorder associated with bullying, by delineating its health and safety correlates, and defining the demographic characteristics of the US adolescents affected by this condition.

DATA WE USED

We utilized the data on United States students in grades 6 through 10 that appeared in the WHO's Health Behavior in School-aged Children (HBSC) survey for 1996. The HBSC is a nationally representative, school-based study of health-related attitudes and behaviors of adolescents (26,27). The 1996 HBSC survey contained 209 variables, including items about being bullied and bullying, episodes of depression in the previous year, physical and emotional symptoms in the past six months, self-inflicted injuries, runaway episodes, alcohol and drug abuse, daily smoking and carrying or using weapons (26). The 1996 US version of HBSC was chosen, because it includes a question about self-inflicted injuries, which was not repeated in later surveys.

This study was considered exempt from Institutional Review Board approval because the database is available in the public domain (28).

According to the survey documentation, "The collection of the 1996 HBSC data was based on a three-stage sample strategy. The school district was the primary sampling unit, the school was the second stage, and the classroom was the third stage. The targeted means in the age groups were 11.5, 13.5, and 15.5 years. The three selected age groups correspond approximately to grades 6, 8, and 10 in the United States. The total number of valid cases was 9,938. To protect the anonymity of respondents, all variables that could be used to identify individuals have been collapsed or recoded in the public use files" (26).

The demographic characteristics included in the analysis were gender, race, and school grade (see table 1). Parental education was not included because of the large proportion of cases with missing data on that set of variables.

Bullying behaviors were defined as being a bully, a victim of a bully, or both a bully and a victim. The students who participated in the 1996 HBSC survey were asked how many times, during the previous 12 months, they were “picked on, ganged up on, or bullied,” “away from school property” and/or “on school property.” They were also asked whether they were involved, in the previous 12 months, in picking on, ganging up on, or bullying other students, outside and/or inside school property (26). Each of these four questions has eight possible answers, ranging from “0 times in 12 months” to “several times a week.”

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of students involved in bullying behaviors who also suffered physical and emotional symptoms

Demographic characteristics	Total N (unweighted)	Students who are bullies and/or victims and have symptoms	Students who have symptoms and are not involved in bullying	Students who are bullies and/or victims and do not have symptoms	Students who are not involved in bullying and do not have symptoms
	N=9574	N=876	N=715	N=2868	N=5115
Male	4263	38.2%	25.2%	62.6%	43.4%
Female	4827	61.8%	74.8%	37.4%	56.6%
NH White	4233	53.0%	42.2%	52.8%	46.8%
NH Afro-American	1114	7.8%	12.9%	13.4%	14.2%
Hispanic	2328	29.0%	32.3%	25.1%	28.0%
NH Asian-Pacific	757	7.9%	10.6%	7.1%	9.7%
NH Native American	120	2.3%	1.9%	1.6%	1.3%
Grade 6	2806	25.0%	15.5%	34.6%	33.0%
Grade 8	3080	40.9%	32.8%	37.4%	31.1%
Grade 10	3156	33.8%	51.7%	27.8%	35.8%

¹All frequencies with a chi-square p-value < .05 are represented in bold.

²All percentages are column percentage of each bullying and symptoms category.

Data: Health Behavior in School-aged Children, WHO 1996.

In our study we defined as participants in bullying behavior those students who were themselves bullied by others (victims) and/or who bullied others, at least three times or more frequently, in school or out of school, during the previous 12 months. The variable “infrequent or no bullying” represents both those students who stated that they were bullied and/or had bullied others only once or twice during the previous year, and also those students who did not participate in any bullying episodes at all.

PARTICIPANTS IN BULLYING WITH CLUSTER OF PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL SYMPTOMS

We identified all those students who were participants in bullying behaviors and who also experienced a cluster of symptoms including: having felt sad, blue, down, or depressed almost every day for two weeks in a row in the previous 12 months; having experienced in the previous 6 months, at least once a week: “bad mood”, “feeling nervous”, “having difficulties going to sleep;” and one or more of the following physical symptoms (headaches, stomach aches, back aches and/or dizziness). They were compared to their peers who: a) participated in bullying but did not experience a cluster of physical and emotional symptoms; b) experienced a cluster of symptoms but did not participate in bullying and c) did not participate in bullying and did not experience a cluster of physical and emotional symptoms.

HEALTH AND SAFETY RISK FACTORS

We analyzed the following endpoints which represent a risk to the health and safety of self and others:

- Self-inflicted injuries: Trying to injure oneself, on purpose, in the previous 12 months.
- Alcohol abuse: Having “five or more drinks of alcohol in a row, that is, within a couple of hours,” on one or more days, during the previous thirty days.
- Daily smoking: Smoked one or more cigarettes daily, over the previous 30 days.
- Use of drugs: Use of cocaine, including crack, LSD, PCP, ecstasy, mushrooms, speed, ice, or heroin, in the previous 12 months.
- Over-the-counter medication abuse: Having taken an over-the-counter medicine to get high or just to see what it felt like, one or more times.
- Runaway: Having been away from home without the parent’s or guardian’s permission for at least one entire night, 6 or more times in the previous 12 months.
- Hurting animals: Physically hurting animals on purpose, in the previous 12 months.
- Hurting people: Physically hurting someone on purpose, in the previous 12 months.
- Fire setting: Has set fires, to damage something of value, in the previous 12 months.
- Carried a weapon to school: Has carried a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club, on school property, one or more times, in the previous 30 days.
- Weapon use: Has used a weapon that could seriously hurt someone, in the previous 12 months.

The data were analyzed utilizing the Data Analysis System (DAS) of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan. This is an online

analysis system that allows users to run both simple and complex analyses, recode and compute new variables, and subset variables or cases for downloading. The software powering the system, the Survey Documentation and Analysis (SDA) system, was developed and is supported by the Computer-assisted Survey Methods Program (CSM) at the University of California, Berkeley (29,30).

We analyzed the frequency distributions to determine the demographic characteristics of students participating in bullying behavior and the frequency of the health, safety and educational risks in relation to involvement in bullying behaviors. Logistic regression analysis was conducted using the SDA Logit/Probit Regression Program, to examine associations between bullying behaviors and the health, safety and educational risks. Each multivariate logistic regression included gender, grade, race, as well as health and safety risks. Adjusted odds ratios (OR) and standard errors (assuming simple random sampling) were calculated.

OUR FINDINGS

Twenty-three percent (876) of the 3,744 (876 + 2,868) students who participated in bullying, as bullies and/or victims in the previous 12 months, experienced a cluster of depression, irritability, anxiety, sleeping difficulties, and one or more physical symptoms -- headaches, stomach aches, back aches, or dizziness (Table 1). They represent nine percent (876/9,574) of US students in grades 6, 8, and 10, with a predominance of females who are attending 8th and 10th grade. A similar demographic pattern was evident among the seven percent of students (715) who suffered from the same cluster of physical and emotional symptoms but did not participate in bullying in the previous 12 months. In contrast, their peers who participated in bullying but did not suffer physical and emotional symptoms were predominantly males.

A considerable segment (35-45%) of students, who suffered from a cluster of symptoms linked to bullying, hurt themselves or other people on purpose, abused alcohol, or abused over the counter medications (see table 2). Furthermore nine to twenty-four per cent of these adolescents were involved in runaway episodes, daily smoking, use of drugs, setting fires, hurting animals on purpose, carrying a weapon to school, or using a weapon to hurt others.

Above all, students who suffered from bullying-related physical and emotional symptoms were reported to have been involved in risk behaviors that occurred, except for alcohol abuse and daily smoking, at rates of prevalence that were two to seven times more frequent than those reported by their peers who were not involved in bullying and did not experience psychosomatic morbidity. Furthermore risk behaviors among students with bullying related symptoms occurred one and a half to three times more frequently than among their peers (a) who participated in bullying without experiencing symptoms or (b) who had such symptoms but did not have a recent history of bullying.

The risk of self-inflicted injuries is strikingly higher among students with bullying related symptoms (OR 8.14) than among those involved in bullying without the associated symptoms (OR 1.63) or among those who suffered from symptoms not associated with recent bullying (OR 3.41) (Table 3). Also, the chance of hurting other people on purpose is significantly higher among adolescents with bullying related symptoms (OR 4.20) than among peers who were

involved in bullying without having those symptoms (OR 3.42), or among those who suffered from symptoms but without recent involvement in bullying (OR 1.76).

Within the group of adolescents who suffered psychosomatic morbidity associated with participation in bullying, we can distinguish between those who are bullies only, victims only, and both bullies and victims (see table 4). Those who are both bullies and victims have the highest risk of self-inflicted injuries (OR 11.21), followed closely by their peers who are only victims of bullying (OR 10.33) and, to a lesser extent, by those who only bully others (OR 7.35) (see table 4).

Table 2. Health and safety risks in relation to bullying behaviors and symptoms

Health, and safety risks	Total N (unweighted) N=9574	Students who are bullies and/or victims and have symptoms N=876	Students who have symptoms and are not involved in bullying N=715	Students who are bullies and/or victims and do not have symptoms N=2868	Students who are not involved in bullying and do not have symptoms N=5115
Self-inflicted injuries	1139	43.4%	22.5%	12.5%	5.6%
Hurt other people	1942	45.7%	20.5%	31.7%	11.9%
OTC medication abuse	968	35.3%	16.7%	10.9%	5.2%
Alcohol abuse	1506	42.1%	34.5%	36.8%	26.9%
Runaway	1103	24.0%	13.6%	16.7%	6.8%
Daily smoking	414	15.2%	15.7%	12.6%	10.1%
Use of drugs	689	19.3%	10.2%	9.0%	2.9%
Hurt animals	674	10.6%	6.3%	8.4%	3.7%
Setting fires	328	8.6%	4.7%	6.2%	1.4%
Carried a weapon to school	749	15.7%	6.7%	11.3%	2.8%
Used a weapon	952	24.3%	7.4%	13.6%	.5%

All frequencies with a chi-square p-value of less than 0.05 are represented in bold.

All percentages (%) are column percentage of each Bullying and symptoms category.

Data: Health Behavior in School-aged Children, WHO 1996.

On the other hand, the risk of hurting other people on purpose is especially high among those who bully others (OR 7.51), followed by those who are both bullies and victims (OR 5.65) and, to a lesser degree, by those who are victims only (OR 3.40) (see table 4).

The risk of abusing over the counter medications is especially high among students who are victims (OR 4.02) and those who are both bullies and victims (OR 3.09). The probability of carrying weapons to school is particularly high among those students who bully others (OR 3.39) (see table 4).

DISCUSSION

This study highlights the occurrence of a constellation of physical and emotional symptoms experienced by adolescents who have been bullied and/or have bullied others, inside and out of

school. These students involved in bullying have reported being depressed every day for at least a two week period, as well as experiencing, at least once a week, a bad mood or irritability, nervousness, or sleeping difficulties; and at least one or more physical symptoms such as headache, stomach ache, dizziness, and/or back aches.

Table 3. Relative health and safety risks: Adjusted odds-ratios (and standard errors)¹

Health and safety risks²	Students who are bullies and/or victims and have symptoms³	Students who have symptoms and are not involved in bullying³	Students who are bullies and/or victims and do not have symptoms³
Self-inflicted injuries	8.14(1.20)	3.41(1.24)	1.63(1.20)
Hurt other people	4.20(1.19)	1.76(1.23)	3.42(1.15)
OTC medication abuse	2.53(1.20)	2.57(1.23)	1.04(1.17)
Alcohol abuse	0.84(1.19)	0.97(1.19)	1.10(1.14)
Runaway	1.31(1.25)	1.42(1.26)	2.61(1.17)
Daily smoking	0.68(1.29)	1.31(1.29)	0.86(1.21)
Use of drugs	1.38(1.24)	0.65(1.29)	1.26(1.19)
Hurt animals	1.07(1.39)	3.37(1.44)	1.47(1.29)
Setting fires	0.93(1.45)	1.18(1.60)	1.87(1.33)
Carried a weapon to school	1.36(1.25)	0.51(1.47)	2.10(1.24)
Used a weapon	1.18(1.30)	0.86(1.36)	0.62(1.20)

¹ Each multivariable logistic regression has gender, race, grade, and all other health and safety risks in the model.

² Row reference group is students who do not exhibit the respective health, safety risk.

³ Column reference group is students who are seldom involved (once or twice per year) or are not involved in bullying as bullies and/or as victims, and do not have symptoms.

All adjusted odds-ratios larger than twice the standard error are represented in bold.

This combination of phenomena raises the question of the existence of a possible nosological entity, affecting almost ten per cent of U.S. adolescents. That group of adolescents runs a substantially higher risk than their peers of inflicting injuries on themselves and of hurting others on purpose, especially if they bullied others or were both bullies and victims.

The methodology utilized here, analysis of non-clinical cross-sectional survey data, has significant limitations. It allows us to establish a link between bullying and morbidity, but it does not let us determine causality. Furthermore, with the present data we are unable to ascertain the occurrence of other forms of victimization, determine family antecedents, or diagnose medical or psychiatric conditions that precede or follow the participation in bullying. Moreover, the database used in this study has not allowed us to investigate the association of bullying with other forms of morbidity previously reported or seen in clinical practice such as injuries, anorexia or bulimia, nightmares, hallucinations, or flashbacks.

Table 4. Relative health and safety risks for different types of involvement in bullying behavior: Adjusted odds-ratios (and standard errors)¹

Health, and safety risks²	Students who are bullies and have symptoms³	Students who are victims and have symptoms³	Students who are bullies and/or victims and have symptoms³
Self-inflicted injuries	7.35(1.31)	10.33(1.35)	11.21(1.27)
Hurt other people	7.51(1.30)	3.40(1.36)	5.65(1.26)
OTC medication abuse	1.49(1.31)	4.02(1.35)	3.09(1.28)
Alcohol abuse	1.72(1.30)	0.30(1.39)	0.91(1.26)
Runaway	1.47(1.36)	0.85(1.57)	1.52(1.34)
Daily smoking	0.61(1.43)	1.37(1.56)	0.87(1.40)
Use of drugs	3.1(1.35)	0.50(1.55)	0.81(1.36)
Hurt animals	1.47(1.59)	0.58(1.89)	1.10(1.50)
Setting fires	1.49(1.70)	0.45(2.35)	1.32(1.55)
Carried a weapon to school	3.39(1.39)	0.35(1.76)	0.60(1.48)
Used a weapon	1.01(1.41)	1.80(1.45)	1.13(1.35)

¹ Each multivariable logistic regression has, gender, race, grade, and all other health and safety risks in the model.

² Row reference group is students who do not exhibit the respective health, safety risk.

³ Column reference group is students who are seldom involved (once or twice per year) or are not involved in bullying as bullies and/or as victims, and do not have symptoms.

All adjusted odds-ratios larger than twice the standard error are represented in bold.

Future longitudinal clinical studies will be able to clarify if (a) students with a history of bullying but without morbidity, (b) those with symptoms associated with bullying and (c) those with symptoms not linked to bullying in the previous year, represent three distinct independent groups or whether they correspond to different stages in the clinical effects of bullying from 6th to 10 grade. Also it will be possible to establish at what age bullying related symptoms begin to manifest themselves in children and whether they persist into adulthood. In addition, forthcoming investigations may explain to what degree the physical and emotional symptoms related to bullying are expressions of a Post-traumatic Stress Disorder and/or other psychiatric entities preceding or resulting from bullying, as well as a possible role for gender in enabling or preventing a link between participation in bullying and morbidity.

CONCLUSION

We hope that this study elicits further examination and debate about the existence of a nosological entity linked to bullying. Pending further research, the present results should support the desirability of ascertaining participation in bullying, as a bully and/or as a victim, in all pediatric visits. Furthermore there is a need to inquire about symptoms and risks related to this form of abuse.

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Chapter 84

DEATHS LINKED TO BULLYING AND HAZING

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this chapter was to determine the extent of news reports of deaths associated with bullying and hazing, among young people, over a period of fifty seven years. This study was based on a survey of death events linked to bullying or hazing, reported in English newspapers from January 1, 1950 through December 31, 2007. The search was based on the review of major US and world publications, written in English, utilizing the terms "bullying, hazing, ragging and death." the last 57 years, there were at least 250 reported cases of deaths, linked to bullying, hazing or ragging, reported in English language newspapers from around the world. In seventy-six per cent of these news stories (n=121), there was an alleged history that the victim was bullied. Twenty-two per cent (n=55) of these reports were associated with suspected hazing or ragging. In only four cases (2%) those who died had a history of bullying others. The majority of the reports of bullying related deaths (62.3%) originated in Europe, and most of them (93%) occurred in the United Kingdom. Sixty-seven percent of bullying-related deaths were reported in the last 10 years. The significant increment in news reports concerning deaths associated with bullying, may be the result of a rise in public awareness about the lethal aspects of this type of maltreatment. There is an urgent global public health need to ascertain regional mortality prevalence related to bullying and hazing, along the lifespan.

INTRODUCTION

There is an evolving research which is documenting, that bullying is significantly linked to the main causes of death among young people, such as suicide, accidents and homicide (1-9). It has been estimated that American adolescents who were involved in bullying others and/or being bullied at least three or more times, in the previous 12 months, were 2.1 to 7.1 times at

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higher risk of suffering from self injuries than their peers, who did not participate in bullying or were very infrequently involved in these behaviors (7). This same study also showed that those adolescents, who were bullies and/or victims were 1.3 to 2.4 times at higher risk, of experiencing injuries that were accidental or perpetrated by others.

To date there are no published studies documenting the prevalence of mortality linked to bullying. Neither has there been any concerted attempt to measure the degree of public awareness about the lethal aspects of bullying. This in spite of cases of death associated with bullying reported worldwide (10-14).

The objective of the present study was to ascertain, over a long period of time, the extent of news reports of deaths among young people associated with bullying and hazing.

DATA USED

This study is based on a survey of death events linked to bullying or hazing, reported in English language, newspapers, from January 1, 1950 through December 31, 2007. The database was created through a search conducted with the use of LexisNexis Academic (15), which was accessed through the Washington Research Library Consortium (WRLC) I, a regional resource-sharing organization established by some of the major universities in the Washington, DC metropolitan area. This study was considered exempt from Institutional Review Board approval because the database is available in the public domain.

The search was based on the review of major US and world English language publications, utilizing the terms 'bullying or hazing or ragging and death'. The concept of hazing was added to this study, as a form of bullying in which young adults are dared to, challenged or urged to do something risky, in order to secure approval and inclusion by the members of a group (16). The term "ragging" is used in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, to indicate hazing of newcomers to an educational institution.

For inclusion in this study, a published story was required to have documented the victim's or victimizer's name, age, gender, date of death, location and information indicating that the death was allegedly linked to bullying, hazing or ragging. This information was necessary to avoid entries of different stories pertaining to the same event.

The victim or the victimizer was required to be between the ages of 10 and 25 years, in order for the reported death to be included in the present report.

FINDINGS

There were at least 250 reported cases of death, linked to bullying, hazing or ragging, reported in English language newspapers from around the world, in the last 57 years. In seventy-six per cent of these news reports (n=121) there was an alleged history that the victim was bullied. Twenty-two per cent (n=55) of these reports were associated with suspected hazing or ragging and in only four cases (2%) did those who died, have a history of bullying others (see table 1).

There was a preponderance of males (65.45%) whose death was linked to bullying. This pattern was even more dramatic among the victims of hazing (92.73%) and those who bullied others (100%).

Table 1 shows a gradual decline in the frequency of deaths associated with bullying, from among the young teenagers (45.55%) to the young adults (18.32%). Most of the fatalities from hazing were late adolescents (10.90%) or young adults (87.27%).

The majority of fatalities connected to a history of bullying (67%), were reported in the last ten years. News of deaths linked to hazing seemed to be almost evenly distributed over the last 2 decades. The majority of the reports of bullying related deaths (62.30%) have originated in Europe, most of them (93%) having occurred in the United Kingdom. There was a significant number of reports of hazing (80%) occurring in the Western Hemisphere, primarily in the United States.

As shown in table 2, among the deaths attributed to bullying, most of the deceased (77%) killed themselves, and/or killed others, while 18% died of homicide and 5.2% died of unintentional causes, including car or train accidents, drowning, overheating, or a non-proximate cause of death, such as anorexia linked to bullying.

Eighty-five per cent of hazing-related deaths were due to accidents, where alcohol intoxication was frequently the cause or a significant factor of the fatality.

**Table 1. Reported stories of death linked to bullying and hazing,
1950-2007
Demographic characteristics***

	N	Victims of bullying%	Victims of Hazing%	Bullies %
Total Sample, N	250	191	55	4
Sex				
Male	180	65.45	92.73	100.00
Female	80	34.55	7.27	0.00
Age				
10-14	89	45.55	1.82	25.00
15-17	77	35.60	10.90	75.00
18-24	84	18.32	87.27	0.00
Year of Occurrence				
1950-1987	27	4.19	30.00	25.00
1988-1997	76	30.89	30.00	50.00
1998-2007	147	64.92	40.00	25.00
Geographical area				
Western Hemisphere	78	17.80	80.00	100.00
Europe	127	62.30	5.45	0.00
Asia	37	15.70	12.73	0.00
Africa	1	0.52	0.00	0.00
Australia/New Zealand	7	3.66	0.00	0.00

* Column percentages.

Table 2. Reported stories of death linked to bullying and hazing, 1950-2007, by type of death*

	N	Victims of bullying %	Victims of Hazing %	Bullies %
Total Sample, N	250	191	55	4
Type of death				
Suicide	151	69.63	0.00	0.00
Suicide/ Committed Homicide	5	2.62	0.00	0.00
Died of Homicide	53	17.80	14.54	75.00
Committed Homicide	10	4.71	0.00	25.00
Accidental deaths	65	5.23	85.45	0.00

* Column percentages.

DISCUSSION

This is the first documented look at the array of cases of deaths attributed to bullying or hazing, reported in the news for a period of over half a century. However these 250 fatalities among young people, do not represent and may underestimate the global mortality prevalence linked to this form of maltreatment. The increased number of reports published in the last 10 years and/or the higher frequency of them originating from the United Kingdom are perhaps, manifestations of increased regional awareness about the toxicity of bullying. This, in turn, may contribute to higher community alertness in every case of youth suicide, homicide and lethal accident, to make inquiries to ascertain whether or not there is a link to a history of bullying, harassment or intimidation. Similarly, in the United States, concerns were raised about the use of hazing, following accidental deaths among university students, especially if there was a history of alcohol intoxication, in the case.

The impressive public health implications of these 250 cases of reported deaths are magnified in those cases where the victims of bullying committed massive killings prior to their own suicide (17-18).

The impact of the Columbine High School massacre in 1999 reverberated across the world (19-24). This and similar tragedies led, to the implementation of anti-bullying laws in different jurisdictions of the United States (25). The text of most of these statutes, did not reflect the public health concern about the lethal links of bullying (26)

Public memory and sensitivity about the association between bullying and death is again rekindled in 2007, with the Virginia Tech shootings (18). Unfortunately, the lessons of these episodes fade away in the collective memory of the public and its policy makers.

Forty-six years ago, Kempe et al. (27) alerted the world medical community about the mortality of child abuse, until then an already known condition (28) yet an ignored phenomenon by the public. The publication by C Henry Kempe (1922–1984) highlighted the dramatic lethal issues associated with child abuse, bringing to the forefront a condition that for the previous sixteen years was only known through its morbidity (28).

Forty-six years later, there is an urgent need to ascertain the regional prevalence of mortality associated with other forms of maltreatment such as bullying and hazing. The present study is being published as an attempt to emphasize this global public health imperative.

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Chapter 85

INTERVENTIONS TO REDUCE BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

Recognising the potential health risk of bullying in schools, numerous anti-bullying interventions have been developed. These have been designed to prevent bullying from happening and/or to stop bullying from continuing once it has occurred. Evaluations of the effectiveness of such interventions indicate some positive effects in reducing the level of bullying in schools and in stopping cases from continuing. Alternative approaches and intervention methods are reviewed and their reported effectiveness examined. Factors considered relevant in the choice of method are discussed, such as the severity of the bullying, the age of the child and the thoroughness of program implementation.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades the steady accumulation of evidence of the prevalence and harmfulness of school bullying has led educators and health professionals to recognize that peer victimization in schools is a serious problem. Throughout the world steps have been taken to address the problem. For example, in Australia, the Commonwealth Government has provided the National Safe Schools Framework, which contains a set of nationally agreed principles for a safe and supportive school environment and includes guidelines to assist schools in addressing issues of school bullying. A growing number of anti-bullying programs have now been developed worldwide and, in some cases, rigorously evaluated and conclusions drawn about their effectiveness. These have provided a basis for an evidence-based approach in selecting

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methods of intervention that can effectively reduce school bullying. The aim of this paper is to examine what is known about anti-bullying interventions and their effectiveness and to suggest how such knowledge can be applied.

BULLYING DEFINED

Bullying has been conceived broadly as the systematic abuse of power (1). It is a form of aggressive behavior perpetrated by a more powerful individual or group that is unfair or unjustified and is typically repeated. Bullying may be classified as direct, as in face-to-face physical and verbal harassment, or indirect, as in unfair exclusion, rumour spreading and the use of electronic means to threaten or harm someone. This latter form is commonly known as cyberbullying and can include the sending of instant or email messages, images, videos, calls, excluding or preventing someone from being part of a group or an online community. The severity of bullying extends along a continuum from acts that are comparatively mild, as in insensitive teasing or taunting, to extremely severe, as in repeated violent physical assaults, death threats or deliberate and unjustifiable total exclusion by peers.

KINDS OF INTERVENTIONS

Interventions may be categorised broadly according to whether their purpose is primarily to prevent bullying from happening or alternatively to deal with cases of bullying if and when they occur. However, a rigid distinction cannot be made; for instance, disciplinary actions taken when a case of bullying is identified may impact not only upon the person being treated but may also make it less likely that others will bully; that is, it may also have a preventative function. Some interventions are not primarily directed towards changing the behaviour of individuals who become involved in bullying, but are concerned rather with establishing an environment or ethos in which bullying is less likely, for instance by developing in members of the school community (including both teachers and parents) a better understanding of the problem and promoting more pro-social attitudes and empathic feelings towards others; or alternatively by reducing the motivation to bully by involving students more deeply in school-related study. These may be described as preventative measures. Many programs include both preventative and interventive elements.

PREVENTATIVE MEASURES

Some preventative measures are educational in nature. For example, a Finnish intervention (2) contains preliminary training sessions with teachers during which facts are presented about bullying and feedback is provided from surveys conducted with the teacher's own classes. Subsequently, teachers conduct discussions with their classes designed to raise awareness of the problem and foster commitment to reducing bullying behaviour. For example, students may be encouraged to assist their peers when they see them being bullied in some way. In some anti-bullying programs (3,4) selected students are provided with special training to help more

effectively as peer supporters. Preventative measures may also include working with parents to mobilise their support (5-7).

As part of curriculum work, some initiatives have sought to develop certain qualities or attitudes in children that are seen as inimical to bullying others. For instance, a program employed with young children focussed on helping them to develop higher levels of empathy and to control angry impulses (8). Another program with elementary school children (9) sought to reduce bullying by involving students in cooperative problem-solving. Here we may note that ‘dosage’ level involved in the application of such interventions may be important. This may be reflected for instance in the required number of classroom discussion meetings with children.

Less directly, efforts have been made to reduce bullying by training teachers to become more effective classroom managers (10). The skills and qualities seen as basic to such management include the modelling of care for students as individuals, clear indications being provided of what students are expected to achieve, careful monitoring of both progress in school work and the children’s social relations, and conducting sensitive intervention when necessary to address behavioural problems. It has been observed that supportive teacher–student relationships provide a protective buffer that mitigates negative effects; that is, teachers can build the resilience capabilities of ‘at risk’ students (11) Teachers, through their actions can create and set expectations for respectful and inclusive behaviour, and provide success-oriented classroom environments and learning experiences. The achievement of a positive classroom climate in which students are well motivated and interested in their work is seen as an important factor in reducing bullying (12).

Preventative methods also include helping vulnerable students to acquire social skills that enable them to cope more effectively with bullying behaviour. To do so requires both the identification of effective and non-effective strategies employed by students and the teaching of appropriate ways of coping (13.)

INTERVENTIONS ADDRESSING CASES OF BULLYING

What to do when cases of bullying occur is controversial, with some favouring firm disciplinary action directed at the perpetrator, and others favouring a more non-punitive or mediational approach. Results from on-line surveys conducted in the United States and Australia indicate that disciplinary means of reducing bullying behaviour are seen as appropriate by most teachers and school counsellors, even in cases of low severity bullying (14,15).

An example of the application of a disciplinary approach utilising ‘rules and consequences’ was implemented and evaluated in Oregon, USA (16), when middle school students were taught appropriate social behaviours. They were commended and reinforced for observing these rules; certain mildly negative consequences were applied when rules were violated. This approach is broadly similar to that adopted in numerous programs, including those evaluated by Olweus in Norway (17) as well as by those who have followed his lead in the USA (18), in Switzerland (19), in Belgium (20) and in Germany (21).

Appropriate consequences for rule violations are generally determined by the staff of a school. However, some schools have elected to involve students in the process of determining

how bullies should be disciplined. This approach has been adopted in a small number of schools in the United Kingdom (22). Student representatives constitute a court at which students accused of bullying are 'tried' by their peers according to a clearly defined procedure with some guidance from school staff. Appropriate penalties or sanctions are recommended by the court and these may be implemented by the school.

Recognising the fact that bullying tends to stop when student observers voice their objection, programs have been developed to train students to play a positive role as bystanders to discourage bullying behaviour when they see it happening (2,4).

Restorative justice practices have been used to address cases of bullying in some countries, including England, Australia and the United States (23). These practices are commonly seen as non-punitive and are directed towards improving the relationships between students who are in conflict. The intention is to help the child who is bullying to recognize the need for the restoration of acceptable relations, for example by making a sincere apology, and subsequently engaging in positive behaviour towards that person. An essential aspect of this approach is get the bully to appreciate the harm he/she has done and to recognize that community acceptance is contingent upon restorative action. In cases of extreme bullying, community conferences may be held involving not only the 'bully', but also the 'victim' and friends, supporters and parents of those involved (24).

Less directive than restorative justice, there are two other methods that seek to achieve the same end, that is the restoration of positive relations that have been damaged by bullying. These are the Support Group Method (25,26) and the Method of Shared Concern or Pikas Method (27,28). In both methods the bully or bullies are informed about the harm that has been done to a person who has been targeted. No accusations are made, but it is clearly communicated that their help is expected in order to improve matters. With the support group method children other than those suspected of having engaged in the bullying are present at a meeting convened by a teacher or counsellor. The Method of Shared Concern is a multi-stage process in which the suspected bullies are first interviewed individually; subsequently group meetings are held which may include the victim to reach a mediated solution (29,30).

WHOLE SCHOOL APPROACHES

Commonly schools employ a range of methods, some of which may be called 'preventative' and others primarily interventive in the sense of addressing actual cases of bullying. When these different elements are put together in a complementary fashion, they are often called a 'whole school approach.' This phrase also has connotations indicating that a collaborative and systematic approach has been adopted. This is made explicit in the school anti-bullying policy. A good example is the approach pioneered by Olweus (5) and adopted widely in many countries. This approach differentiates between the work done at different levels: at the level of the school, as in educating the school community about bullying and developing an appropriate anti-bullying policy; at the level of the classroom, as in conducting discussions with students to develop acceptable rules relating to their behaviour with other students; and at the level of individual children, as in dealing with children who have become involved in bully/victim problems. In some programs, a further dimension has been recognized,

that of engagement with the wider community and especially with families whose children are at risk of involvement in conflicts at school (6).

THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS AND RESEARCHERS IN IMPLEMENTING PROGRAMS

Anti-bullying programs that have been evaluated thus far have been for the most part conducted in accordance with the requirements of a pre-designed program. The degree of direction by researchers has varied. The Olweus anti-bullying program for instance contains clear instructions as to how the program is to be implemented. By contrast, the Sheffield Project in England (31) required participating schools to undertake some specified actions, for example, the development of an agreed anti-bullying policy, but allowed some choice from a range of optional methods about which the schools were provided information and/or training. This 'smorgasbord' approach resulted in some variety in what was done, for example some adopted the Method of Shared Concern, but others did not. Allowing schools to show some initiative in what they did in countering bullying arguably increased their sense of ownership of the project. Some programs have involved the researchers in providing continuous advice and guidance. Comparisons made between outcomes for Flemish schools receiving or not receiving such continual attention suggests that additional external 'support' may not be beneficial (20).

PROGRAM EVALUATION

Over the last ten years there has been a notable increase in reports which have attempted to evaluate interventions to reduce bullying. Many of these have made use of rigorous research procedures involving careful measurement of relevant variables such as rates of bullying, and the employment of research designs that enable one to make reliable estimates of changes in bullying behaviour that can be attributed to specified intervention methods. This has typically involved the use of control groups that enable one to compare changes that occur over a period in intervention or experimental groups with changes that naturally occur, when no intervention takes place, for example due to maturational effects. It is well known that reported bullying declines as children mature (5) and such a decline has sometimes been wrongly attributed to the intervention. An acceptable research design, known as a time-lagged cohort design, has been used in some evaluations of interventions. This requires that comparisons of the outcomes following an intervention with what has been found to be the case for an equivalent non-intervention age group assessed earlier (32). For the most part, the data used in these evaluations have been derived from self-reports of students; in a few studies from teacher assessments, direct observations or peer nominations of children involved in bullying.

Brief summaries of reports concerning 32 interventions that have been evaluated are given in Table 1. They have been categorised as (A) employing a whole school approach (A1- A21) (B) working with students through the school curriculum (B1 – B4) and (C) tackling or treating cases of bullying (C1 to C6) and (D) applying effective classroom management (D1).

Table 1. Summary of initiatives of school to reduce bullying

A. Whole school approaches

Name of study	Nature of programme	Participants	Assessment method(s)	Design	Main outcomes
1. Bernese study in Switzerland (19). Conducted 1997-1998.	Modeled on Norwegian study reported by Olweus (1993) with emphasis on rules in the context of whole school approach	Eight kindergartens (N=152) received the program. Another 8 kindergartens (N=167) acted as controls. Children aged 5-7 years	• Teacher rated children • Children nominated peers as bullies and/or victims	Pre-test, post-test, control group design. Data collected at the start and end of the school year	Teachers indicated decrease in physical bullying and indirect bullying, but increase in verbal. Children indicated increase in victim and bully nominations in control group and a reduction in intervention group
2. The Toronto, Study (64) Conducted 1992-1995	Focused on the school, parents, classroom and individuals, following Olweus' model	4 primary schools (N=898) students aged 8-14 years	• Student questionnaire	One pre and one post intervention (after 18 months)	Small reductions in reported level of being bullied. Increases in bullying others
3. Finland study conducted in Turku and Helsinki (2) Conducted 1999-2000	Teachers trained 1) to develop policy 2) provide curriculum work with classes 3) intervene with individual bullies	48 school classes from 16 schools received program; 24 classes served as controls. Students aged 9 to 12 years	• self-report questionnaire • peer-nominated questionnaire	Pre-test, post-test control group design; retest after 6 months.	Significant reduction (16%) in reporting being bullied; increase (15%) in control group. Decrease greatest among youngest students

Name of study	Nature of programme	Participants	Assessment method(s)	Design	Main outcomes
4. The Texas Study Expect Respect (65) Conducted 1998-2000.	Five components: 1. Classroom education 2. Staff training 3. Policy/ procedure development 4. Parent education 5. Support services	Fifth graders (N=1109) from 6 intervention and 6 comparison schools. Respondents about 11 years of age	• Student questionnaires, answered on 3 occasions. • Focus groups separately for girls, boys and teachers of 5th grade students	Pre-test, post-test control group design (Note that only 60% of participants completed the 3 assessments).	No significant increase in knowledge of bullying. Increased reporting of bullying occurring. Students reported they were more likely to intervene personally
5. The Norwegian Project (5) from May,1983-May 1985 as evaluated in the Bergen sample	Multi-pronged approach, involving preventative work through staff education, policy development, classroom discussions. Cases of bullying addressed by applying rules and appropriate sanctions.	42 primary/secondary schools with 2500 students aged 11-14 years	• Student questionnaires • Teacher ratings	Cross-lagged study with two post intervention assessment (after 8 and 20 months)	Substantial reductions in self-reported bullying (up to 50%) and reduction in other anti-social behaviours
6. The Norwegian Project, as evaluated in the Rogaland sample conducted in 1986 (33)	As reported by Olweus (see above)	37 primary and secondary schools, with approximately 7000 students.	• Student questionnaires • Interviews with teachers on degree of implementation of the program.	Pre-test, post-test design. Re-testing after 3 years.	Increase in bullying over time, both in being bullied and bullying others. More positive outcomes for schools implementing programs fully.
7. New Bergen Project (5) in Norway (1997-98)	Olweus Intervention Program	Grades 5-7 involving 3,2000 students from 14 intervention schools and 16 comparison schools	• Student questionnaires	Pre-test. Post-test control group design, with re-test after 6 months	Reductions in 'bully/victim' problems in the intervention schools on average between 21 and 38%.

Table 1. (Continued)

Name of study	Nature of programme	Participants	Assessment method(s)	Design	Main outcomes
8. Oslo Project Against bullying (5) (1999-2000)	Olweus Intervention Program	Students in grades 5-7 and 9 involving 2,300 students	Student questionnaires	Pre-test post test design	Reductions in Years 5-7 after 1 year in overall being bullied of 42% and reductions in bullying others of 52%
9. The New National Initiative against Bullying, Norway (5) (2002-2002)	Olweus Intervention Program	Students (N = 21,000) from Grades 4-7 from more than 100 schools nationally	Student questionnaires	Pre-test, post-test design with comparison (baseline) group	After 8 months reduction of 34% in reportedly being victimised and 43% in engaging in bullying.
10. The Olweus Bullying Program as evaluated in US public middle schools in Seattle.(34) conducted 2002-2004	Olweus intervention Program	Seven intervention schools and 3 control schools catering for middle school children	Student Questionnaires focussing on relational bullying (eg. Spreading rumours, social exclusion)	Pre and post tests controlling for baseline prevalence. Some in depth interviews with students	No overall effect evident on student victimization; however significant reductions for sub-groups, eg., white (but not black) students
11. The Home Office Study, Liverpool and London, England (66). Conducted 1991-1993	Developed anti-bullying policy, emphasised peer support and assertiveness training	4 intervention schools: 2 primary and 2 secondary in Liverpool and London. Students aged 8-16 years	Self report student questionnaire	Pre intervention and post intervention testing (2 years after start of programme). No control students	

Name of study	Nature of programme	Participants	Assessment method(s)	Design	Main outcomes
12. The Seville Study, Spain (6) conducted 1995-2000	Community approach with components to promote democratic values, cooperative group work, working with families, empathy and concern for others	9 primary and secondary schools. Students aged 8-18 years (N=1171)	Student questionnaires assessing behaviour, attitudes and (at the end) effectiveness of aspects of the program	Some 5 schools used for pre and post intervention testing, compared with 4 control schools (post tested only)	Reported significant reductions overall in pupils involved in bullying (but not for specific kinds of bullying).
13. The Flanders Study, Belgium (20) conducted 1995-1997		18 schools; 1104 students. (Note for main analyses only 12 schools used). Students aged 10-16 years	Student questionnaire	Three conditions each with 6 schools: intervention with support; intervention without support; and control. Tested post intervention after 8 and 20 months	Reduction in bullying in primary schools relative to controls. No change in secondary schools. No difference due to support from researchers
14. Western Australia : Friendly Schools (67) Conducted 2000-2002)	Emphasis upon social skills development especially through classroom curriculum work, promotion of peer support, advice to families and teachers on intervention techniques, such as the Method of shared concern	Primary school children Grades 4 and 5, mean age of 9 years (N = 2,068)	Student questionnaires, including self-reported bullying-related behaviours and attitudes to victims, adapted from Rigby(1998) and Rigby and Slee (1991)	Pre-test, post test, control group design	No overall reduction in frequency of self-reported bullying or bullying others, but significant reductions reported on some specific indices, eg being ignored and being called hurtful names.
15. South Eastern United States (18) Conducted 1995-1997.)	The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program	Two groups of schools with children aged 11-13 years: A, approx 3000; B, approx 2000. Note work with Group	Self- report questionnaires	Pre-test, post test design with baseline comparisons	For Group A schools, significant reductions in reported being bullied among boys (but not girls) after one year. After two

Table 1. (Continued)

Name of study	Nature of programme	Participants	Assessment method(s)	Design	Main outcomes
		A extended over 2 years; for Group 1 for only one year			years, no effect evident. For Group B no significant effects on bullying behaviour reported.
16. O'Moore et al (68) Ireland conducted in 1993-94.	Training of teachers in classroom management and the provision of advice to parents	Students in Donegal, Ireland in years 3 to 5 (approx 500 respondents)	Self-report questionnaires	Pre-test post test, but without a control group. (Hence unclear whether reductions were due to maturation effects)	A reduction of 19.6% in reports of being victimized and 17.3% in bullying others.
17. Prevention of bullying in German schools (21). Conducted 1994-1996.	The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program	Students in 37 schools in Schleswig Holstein in grades 3 to 12. (N= 11,052 in baseline and 10,610 in post test)	Self report questionnaires	Pre-test post test but with no control group (disallowed on ethical grounds)	Significant reductions for respondents engaging in low level bullying, but not high level bullying; nor for indirect bullying; nor for older students.
18. Anti-bullying interventions in Kempele, Finland. (69) Conducted 1990-1998)	Community-based, team approach involving parents, teachers and students	In total 2,729 students participated aged 10-14 years (from 4 th to 7 th grade)	Self-report questionnaires	Pre-test post test with comparisons made with results for equivalent age groups.	Significant reductions in bullying reported after one year, sustained over the next 7 years.
19. Steps to Respect, US, (70) Conducted 1998-2000.	Staff training, use of a classroom curriculum focussing on socio-emotional skills, engagement of parents	Students in Grades 3 - 6 (N= 1,123)	- Self-report questionnaires - Playground observations	Experimental and Control groups tested pre and post.	Self-report data did not indicate reductions in bullying behaviour; unlike playground observations which did.

Name of study	Nature of programme	Participants	Assessment method(s)	Design	Main outcomes
20. The Peace Pack Intervention in South Australia (7).	Teachers advised and guided in the application of the Peace Pack, containing advice on policy development and curriculum work	Students (N approx 950) from 4 primary schools attending Grades 1 to 7.	self-report questionnaire	Pre-test post test, no control group.	After one year there were more children reporting being bullied less than being bullied more and more reported feeling safe at school.
21. The Sheffield Study, England (31) Conducted 1991-1993	Whole school approach including both core and optional components	16 primary and 7 secondary school students aged 9-16 years, total N = 6,500	Self report questionnaires and interviews with teachers.	Pre-test, post test control group	After 18 months victimization rates decreased by 14% in primary and 7% in secondary schools.

B. Working with students through the curriculum

Name of study	Nature of programme	Participants	Assessment method(s)	Design	Main outcomes
1. The Chicago Study, United States (8) Conducted 1998	The Second Step Program. Use of curriculum to develop knowledge and skills related to bullying behaviour	Children in 5 classes in preschools and kindergartens aged 3-7 years (N =109)	- Interviews with children - Teacher ratings of skills and behaviours - Behavioural observations.	Pre-test, post-test design (after 6 months)	Increase in children's knowledge of conflict situations Observed reduction in children's aggressive behaviour.

Table 1. (Continued)

Name of study	Nature of programme	Participants	Assessment method(s)	Design	Main outcomes
2 The Sheffield (England) Cooperative Learning Study (9) Conducted 1991-	Implementation of methods of cooperative group work (CGW)	2 schools and 16 classes; a total of 149 students aged 7-12 years	Children nominated peers as bullies and/or victims from a list provided	Intervention classes doing CGW (N=11) compared over 2 years with control classes (N=5)	No significant effect of intervention on bullying behaviour (increase in both groups). Small decrease in reporting being bullied in intervention classes
3. Promoting positive bystander behavior in Finland (2) Conducted 1999-2000	Teachers trained Students to undertake interventions as bystanders to discourage bullying	Primary school students from 16 schools involving 1,220 children in Grades 4, 5 and 6	- self-report questionnaire - peer-nominated questionnaire	Time lagged comparisons between age equivalent cohorts	Significant reductions in self-reported victimisation, especially in Grade 4 and in schools where procedure more thoroughly implemented.
4. Support Group (befriending) project in Italy (4) Conducted 1998-1999	Selection and training of students as peer supporters to work with other students, focusing on positive bystander behaviour	Middle School students, ages 11- 14, 1998-1999. In total 293.	- Self-report questionnaires - Peer nomination questionnaire to identify participant roles	Experimental and Control groups tested pre and post.	Differences between groups in that bullying significantly increased in the control group, but did not in the experimental group.

C. Interventions to tackle cases of bullying

Name of study	Nature of programme	Participants	Assessment method(s)	Design	Main outcomes
1. New South Wales, Australia (71) conducted 1995-1997	Applying the Method of Shared Concern with student collaboration	One secondary school. Students aged 12-17 years	Student questionnaires to assess behaviour and effectiveness of programme at the end	One pre and one post intervention test (no control group)	Reduction in bullying among the youngest students (Year 7) only. Older students registered an increase
2. The Oregon Study, USA (16). Conducted 1997-1998	The systematic use of positive and mild negative reinforcement to promote pro-social and discourage anti-social behaviour	Students in Grades 6,7 and 9 attending three Middle schools between 1997 and 1999.	Self-report questionnaires	Experimental and Control groups tested pre and post.	Significantly greater increases in safety in experimental group, but no differences in reported reductions in physical and verbal attacks
3. Bully Court Inquiry, England (22) Conducted 2000.	(i) Selection of student representatives to function in a Court to address bullying incidents (ii) Year 12 students to act as mentors for Year 7 students	Students at a large secondary school (> 1000) that had adopted the approach.	- Self-report questionnaires for students - Interviews of participants in the Courts	Evaluations based upon perceptions of the effectiveness of the Intervention	Strong support for the bully court system from both students and staff
4. Support Group Method, England (26) Conducted 1996-7	Application of the Support group Method of Maines and Robinson, whereby in the presence of supporters of the victim	Some 50 cases of bullying in primary schools in which the Support Group Method had been applied.	Interviews with participants in the application of the Method	Evaluations based on interviews relating to cases over a two year period	Some 80% of cases of bullying reported as having been immediately stopped; 14% stopped after a delay;

Table 1. (Continued)

Name of study	Nature of programme	Participants	Assessment method(s)	Design	Main outcomes
	bullies are presented with evidence of the harm experienced by a victim				6% victim reported continued bullying.
5. The Method of Shared Concern (Conducted 1991-1993), England (1)	Application of the Pikas method involving non-punitive interviews with suspected bullies, followed by interviews with all other students involved	Teachers at 14 schools (7 primary and 7 secondary) in Sheffield, England were trained in the use of the method	Interviews with teachers (N= 6) and students in cases in which the method was applied	Post intervention interviews	Five of the teachers reported that the method had reduced the frequency and severity of the bullying. Some 75% of students reported that the bullying had decreased.
6. The Method of Shared Concern (29,30). Australia. Conducted (2008-2009)	Application of the Method of Shared Concern (as above)	Application undertaken in Australia by trained practitioners on 17 occasions in selected schools	Interviews with the practitioners and participating students	Post intervention interviews	Interventions were reported as stopping or reducing the bullying in 15 of the 17 interventions.

D. Teacher training in classroom management

1. Teacher training Program, Norway (10) conducted 1992-94	In service training of teachers over 4 days in positive classroom management skills	Students (approx 1,200) from 9 primary schools, aged 6-8 years	Questions read out to students by teacher and explained when necessary.	The use of comparison groups from the previous year	Reductions in self reported bullying of 15% and being bullied, 18.7%
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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

An examination of results from the different studies indicates that there was in fact a very wide range of outcomes, with some claiming a reduction in bullying of around 50% and others showing little or no significant improvement. Unfortunately, the results obtained from evaluation studies do not enable us to decide which intervention program is the most effective. Notably, variations in outcome are evident for the most widely adopted anti-bullying program, the Olweus anti-bullying program. In successive interventions in Norway, Olweus (5) claimed reductions in reportedly being victimized of approximately 50%, 30%, 42% and 34%. In one evaluation of the program's effectiveness in another part of Norway, an actual increase in bullying was reported by Roland (33). In that study assessments of change were made over a different time period and using different research instruments. Evaluations of programs based upon the Olweus model outside Norway have produced quite small or inconsistent and, in some cases, non-significant outcomes; for example in USA (18), Belgium (20), Germany (21), Oregon, USA (34).

Several attempts have been to enable us to generalise about the likelihood of case interventions to reduce bullying actually working (35-41). The conclusions from such studies suggest that, at best, interventions have been modestly successful. Smith D, et al (36) examined 28 reports evaluating interventions. They concluded that among the most rigorously researched 86% of victimization effects were negligible or negative and the remaining 14% of reported effects were positive, albeit small. For self-reported bullying, 100% of the reported effects were negligible or negative. They added further: "Despite the limited empirical support for the effectiveness of antibullying programs, there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that these programs should be abandoned" (page 557). They opined that "only a cautious recommendation can be made that whole school anti-bullying be continued until they are evaluated further" (page 558). Smith P, et al (37) examined large scale studies conducted in England (two), Canada, Germany, USA, Norway (three), and in Belgium, Spain and Switzerland. They concluded that "the first implementation in Bergen, Norway, reported by Olweus, (5) has been the most successful, with subsequent attempts yielding much more modest outcomes – and at times even negative ones" (page 596). They added: "In our view, schools should continue with anti-bullying interventions" and "more research and evaluation is needed to maximise the effectiveness of such endeavours" (page 599). A further report (38) provided detailed reports from 14 contributors, who had conducted rigorous evaluations of antibullying interventions. A wide range of outcomes was reported - from over 50% reductions in bullying following the intervention to zero. On average, the reductions were modest in size, estimated at around 15%. This suggests that if there are six cases of school bullying occurring in a given year, at the completion of an average anti-bullying program one might expect about five cases of bullying to be still occurring ! Clearly at this level most interventions cannot guarantee substantial reductions.

Two further evaluations provide similar conclusions. In 2007 the Vreeman and Carroll (39) study examined 26 reports. They reported decreases in bullying following half of the interventions. They concluded: "Caution should be exercised in supposing that anti-bullying interventions invariably produce the intended results. Their review revealed that not all programs have proved effective" (page 87). Baldry and Farrington (40) examined sixteen major evaluations of programs to prevent school bullying, conducted in 11 different countries. Of

these, eight produced desirable results, two produced mixed results, four produced small or negligible effects, and two produced undesirable results. They concluded that the effectiveness of anti-bullying programs was not proven.' 'Nevertheless (they add) this pattern of results indicates that the findings of existing evaluations of anti-bullying programs are optimistic rather than pessimistic' (p 200). More recently Farrington and Ttofi (41) have reported a meta-analysis of results from 44 rigorously evaluated studies of the effectiveness of anti-bullying programs. They claimed that 19 of them were effective in reducing bullying and/or victimization (being bullied). On average, they concluded, reductions attributable to interventions were around 20%. These findings are consistent with a claim based on a study of changes in bullying prevalence among children over the last 10 years in 27 countries, indicating that modest reductions have occurred in most places(42).

One program that has recently become prominent in some countries, especially in the United States, is known as Bullying Prevention Positive Behaviour Support (43). It includes instruction provided by teachers on what constitutes unacceptable behaviour and how children who are targeted can best respond and also how cases of bullying can be handled by teachers through the use of positive reinforcement of more acceptable behaviour whenever it is observed. The effectiveness of this program has recently been supported in a large-scale study involving 12,344 students attending 37 elementary schools in Maryland, USA. Students in schools using the the program were subsequently significantly less likely to be involved in bully-victim problems than students in other (control) schools not using the program (44).

COMPARING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF WHOLE SCHOOL APPROACHES WITH CURRICULUM WORK ONLY

It should be noted that whole school approaches and the use of curriculum work are not mutually exclusive. Where curriculum work only is used to address bullying the effects may not be positive. Vreeman et al (39) report that 'of the 10 curriculum studies evaluated only 4 showed a decrease in bullying, and 3 of those 4 also showed no improvements in some populations (p 78). Those indicating no positive changes included class discussions of educational videotapes, cooperative group work and role-playing. Three studies involving the teaching of appropriate social skills, eg, promoting skills of listening, empathy and conflict resolution, showed no clear bullying reduction. In our own review, of the ones involving curriculum work with students (B1 to B4) three of them reported some reductions in bullying in some populations.

Some researchers are nevertheless positive about the potential role of anti-bullying content delivered through the curriculum, at the same time noting that much depends upon the integrity with which the programs are delivered in the 'messy and busy' world of the classroom. According to Durlak and Dupre "the magnitude of mean effect sizes are at least two to three times higher when programs are carefully implemented and free from serious implementation problems than when these circumstances are not present" (45, p.340).

Vreeman et al report favourable results for the employment of the whole school approach. In the ten studies that employed a whole school approach, seven revealed decreased bullying. Similar outcomes were indicated in our review of whole school interventions. Of the 21 listed in Table (Section A), 17 of them reported some significant reductions in bullying, although it

should be noted that of these, 8 achieved such success according to some but not all indices of bullying, or were successful with some but not all populations. In general, it may be concluded that where curriculum work focuses only upon the teaching of appropriate social skills, the outcomes have been less successful than when a whole school approach has been employed, though not all applications of a whole school approach have been successful.

REPORTED OUTCOMES FOR INTERVENTIONS WITH CASES OF SCHOOL BULLYING

Reports obtained from students who have been bullied and have gone to teachers for help suggest that teachers are successful in reducing or stopping bullying in some but not all cases. In England it was reported that among the students who told teachers that they were being bullied (about 40% of victims) approximately 50% reported that the bullying actually stopped or reduced (46). In Australia comparable results were reported and it was noted that the apparent success of teachers intervening so as to reduce the bullying depended largely on the age of the child. Around the age of 8 years most students reported that teacher intervention reduced the bullying. Students around 16 years of age who reported bullying to a teacher indicated that bullying did not usually reduce. Approximately 50% reported 'no change' and 10% that it got worse (47). Similar findings from student surveys conducted in the Netherlands (48) and the USA (49) have provided similar results. Somewhat more positive findings based upon teacher reports of outcomes after they have intervened suggest that interventions in England are successful in stopping or reducing the bullying in two out of three cases (50).

Some attempts have been made to assess the effects of particular kinds of interventions in cases of bullying. These include the use of direct sanctions, restorative practices, the Support Group Method and the Method of Shared Concern. (See full descriptions of these methods (51,52) It should be recognized that the cited studies that follow provide evidence regarding the effects that specified interventions can have *under particular conditions*. Relevant conditions may include (i) the nature of the proactive work that is or has been undertaken in a school, eg., the social skills or training provided for students as part of the curriculum (ii) the nature of the case of bullying to which the intervention method was applied, eg., whether physical or verbal and (ii) the age of the students involved. Hence reports of the effectiveness of interventions in cases need to take into account the conditions or circumstances in which the method was applied.

Reports from 25 schools in England based on cases (N = 274) for which direct sanctions have been applied indicate a success rate of 67%; that is bullying was stopped or reduced (50). A study in the United States in which negative sanctions were used (as well as positive reinforcement for desirable behaviour) suggests that the use of direct sanctions may not always result in overall reductions in bullying in a school (16). In that study although students reported that they felt safer there no reductions were reported by the students in either physical or verbal attacks.

Outcomes following the use of restorative practices or approaches have also been mixed. School reports in England (50) indicated that 73% of cases in which a restorative approach was used led to the bullying stopping or being reduced. However, other results from applications of the approach in England indicate that overall reductions in the prevalence of bullying in schools

commonly did not occur. In one study the effects of restorative practices in reducing bullying in schools were examined in 26 schools and compared with changes in control schools (53). No significant differences were found in 23 of the comparisons. There were 3 comparisons that favoured the restorative justice interventions. These were ones that were carried out over a longer period (3 years) possibly indicating that the method requires a long term commitment to be effective. In reporting their findings the authors pointed out that in about half the schools the staff knew little or nothing about restorative justice and those who did often had significant misconceptions.

By contrast, non-punitive approaches to bullying as reported in studies conducted in England have invariably been supportive of their effectiveness in preventing cases of bullying from continuing. School reports indicated that The Support Group Method successfully reduced bullying in 76% of cases (50). Further support for its effectiveness is evident in other reports (54,55,56). Similarly the Method of Shared Concern has been found to be effective in dealing with cases of bullying in England (1); supportive findings have also been reported in Australia (29,30). Despite these positive findings these methods are not widely employed. It was estimated that approximately 10% of schools in England use the Support Group Method and 5% use the Method of Shared Concern or Pikas Method.

It would appear from the above studies different methods of intervention in cases can be successful under some circumstances. Comparisons regarding their relative effectiveness have not at this stage enabled firm conclusions to be drawn. One difficulty in doing so lies in the likelihood that different methods may be employed by schools according to the nature of the bullying, for example, direct sanctions tend to be employed in more severe, physical or criminal forms of bullying (50). Allocating cases at random to different intervention methods can overcome this problem, as in a study reported in Finland (57) in which no significant differences in effectiveness was reported what were called confrontative and non confrontative methods of intervention. However, given the perceived appropriateness by schools of different methods for different cases, such findings lack ecological validity.

It is possible that reliance upon reinforcing desirable and undesirable social behavior differentially may depend upon how decisions to punish perpetrators of bullying are made. In the study conducted at a large secondary school in England where students accused of bullying were 'tried' by their peers the respondents who had taken part in the process were overwhelmingly positive about the outcomes (22). However, further research is needed to determine whether actual reductions in bullying did occur.

COUNTERING BULLYING THROUGH EFFECTIVE CLASS MANAGEMENT

Practically all interventions to reduce bullying have been direct in the sense that steps were taken to develop in students pro-social attitudes and behaviours that are incompatible with bullying; or alternatively, to tackle cases of bullying when they occur. So far there is one exception: teacher-training that seeks to improve the quality of teaching in order to bring about a positive classroom climate. The rationale for this approach is that when students are constructively engaged in their studies they are less likely to become involved in bullying. A Norwegian study (10) summarised on Table 1 (D), showed that bullying significantly decreased

as a result of teachers being trained in positive classroom management and subsequently teaching primary school students. Further research is needed to evaluate an extension of this work into secondary schools.

CYBERBULLYING

Thus far in this chapter we have not differentiated between programs or interventions that address cyber bullying as distinct from traditional forms of bullying. Based upon analyses of results from large samples of schoolchildren in the United States (N=65,000) and Norway (N = 9,000) it has been claimed that the prevalence of the former has been greatly overrated and in fact about 90% of cases of cyber bullying also involve traditional forms, eg, face to face verbal harassment at school. (58) Moreover, interventions that are effective in reducing traditional bullying also reduce cyberbullying (59). At the same time, there are novel features in cyberbullying that justify special attention. The fact that innovations in cyber technology are constantly occurring and pose new risks to users justifies the repeated updating of information about what difficulties students may encounter. It has been suggested that the use of student discussions and the sharing of information in classrooms using Quality Circles can help to educate children about the risks they may run in using cyber technology(60). However, it should be recognised that traditional and cyber bullying have this in common: they generally derive from tensions experienced in unsatisfactory relationships between people and can be most effectively addressed through the resolution of interpersonal problems, for example through the use of the Method of Shared Concern.

CONSIDERATIONS IN SELECTING A METHOD

Studies of the effectiveness of anti-bullying programs have rarely taken into account factors that almost certainly affect the outcomes of particular kinds of intervention. These include:

The nature of the bullying

Bullying clearly differs considerably in its nature. It is unreasonable to treat cases of extreme violence or repeated acts of bullying despite promises to stop in the same way as milder cases of bullying which have been in part provoked and then repented of. Arguably distinctions should be made between very severe cases that need to be handled in a strong disciplinary manner and those for which a counselling approach is more likely to be effective.

The age and maturity of children

The age and maturity of children involved in bullying. Interventions may have differential consequences for children of different age. Generally, it has been found that reductions in

bullying occur more readily among younger children (1,2,20) In a study of Italian students there were reductions in bullying following workshop presentations with older students on the harmfulness of bullying behaviour but not with younger ones (61). When an intervention requires a mature understanding of the psychological effects of bullying, it would appear to be more appropriately employed with older students. It has been suggested that 'authoritative suggestions' from teachers can be more influential with younger children than with adolescents for whom a process which encourages them to resolve conflicts by reasoning can be more effective (27).

Social and psychological characteristics of the children

There is evidence that programs may work more effectively with some groups than others. Bauer et al (34) reported that the Olweus anti-bullying program significantly reduced victimization among white but not black children. Some children require special treatment. For instance, children with asperger syndrome tend to become more involved in bully/victim problems than others because of a limited capacity to make reliable inferences from behavioral cues about what others are thinking and to interact appropriately. Consequently, interventions directed towards helping Asperger children to overcome relevant cognitive difficulties are desirable (62,63).

The adequacy of the research evidence

The adequacy of the research evidence supporting the efficacy of a program. Potential users of programs should take into account whether (i) the evaluative procedure made appropriate use of control or comparison groups, noting that reported levels of bullying are correlated with age (ii) whether the reported effects are statistically significant, that is, very unlikely to be due to chance factors (iii) whether positive outcomes have been consistently replicated.

The knowledge and interventive skills of teachers and counsellors

Interventions presuppose competence among those administering the process. This is especially true of technically complex methods, for example in conducting community conferences or in using the Method of Shared Concern

The readiness of the school to adopt a particular method or approach

Broad acceptance and understanding of an intervention method by members of a school staff and the school community is necessary for maximum effectiveness. For example, non-punitive methods of dealing with cases of bullying are unlikely to be successful without widespread support by the school.

THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTATION

One of puzzling features of outcomes from anti-bullying programs is the radically different results that have been found for the same or similar intervention methods. One plausible suggestion is that outcomes are closely related to the thoroughness of program implementation. In one important study in Finland, the degree of implementation was positively correlated with actual reductions in reported bullying (2). Suggestions as to how implementation can be enhanced have included (i) raising awareness of school staff of the prevalence and harmfulness of bullying (ii) closely involving every staff member in the development of anti-bullying programs and (iii) school leadership exercising close control over the coordination of actions taken at all levels of the school community to address bullying.

CONCLUSION

We are at an early stage in developing and evaluating methods of reducing school bullying. Evidence is slowly accumulating that at least some interventions have been modestly successful; a few more so. Currently it is not known which is the best method. Generally, however, it is thought that a multidimensional approach is likely to be more effective, that is one combining both preventative and interventive methods in the context of a whole school approach. At the same time, it should be recognized that a range of other factors may be relevant to a program's effectiveness. These include the readiness of the school as a whole to accept and thoroughly implement an agreed policy. In addition, the severity and culpability of acts of bullying undertaken by children or groups of children of different ages may require different treatments. Health professionals and educators need to be aware of the alternative ways in which bullying may be countered and the circumstances in which they can be appropriately employed.

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Chapter 86

PREVENTION OF PUBLIC HEALTH RISKS LINKED TO BULLYING: A NEED FOR A WHOLE COMMUNITY APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is a very toxic psychosocial stressor, associated with serious health problems and death, affecting both the victims and the bullies. This form of abuse or maltreatment occurs around the world and along the lifespan. Health professionals have the unique responsibility of promoting the development of community initiatives for the prevention of bullying and related health problems. This effort needs to include ongoing programs with elements of primary; second and tertiary prevention. These programs should be supported and monitored by a public health policy with a strategy aimed at developing a whole community awareness about bullying and the related health risks; prohibiting bullying and developing emotionally and physically safe environments, in schools and workplace settings. Public health policy needs to mandate the monitoring, detection and reporting of bullying incidents; provide guidance for school intervention and offer guidelines for medical consultation.

INTRODUCTION

For the past thirty years, a body of published research has described the nature, developmental and ecological aspects of bullying behaviors among children and adolescents, as well as adults in the workplace (1-5). Furthermore, there have been an increasing number of reports documenting a significant link between bullying and an array of serious health and safety risks, along the lifespan (6-49).

Adolescents who are involved in bullying incidents, as victims and/or perpetrators, are at a significantly higher risk than their peers, who are not involved in such incidents, in dying because of suicide, accidents or homicide (16,27,37,38,50).

It is therefore our responsibility, as health professionals, not only to intervene against bullying to better improve child health, but also to prevent death linked to bullying. To achieve these critical public health goals, we need to accomplish the following:

- raise the awareness of the entire community about the serious health risks associated with bullying, along the lifespan
- promote a whole community approach for the prevention of health risks linked to bullying

This paper has been prepared as a first step in reaching these objectives.

NATURE OF BULLYING

Dan Olweus (51,52), the pioneer in bullying research, first coined a definition of this problem: “a student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and

over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more students.” Furthermore he distinguished three forms of bullying behaviors: physical aggression (hitting, kicking, pushing); verbal harassment (threatening, teasing, calling names, making faces or dirty gestures) and indirect/relational mistreatment (ignoring or ostracizing somebody, spreading rumors).

The National Center of Education Statistics, for the purpose of collecting and using school crime, violence and incidence data, has defined bullying as “Repeated negative behaviors intended to frighten or cause discomfort. These may include, but are not limited to verbal or written threats or physical harm.” (57) In addition, it has defined hazing as “Committing an act or acts against a student or coercing a student to commit an act that creates risk of harm to a person in order to be initiated into a student organization or class.” (57)

The European Agency for Safety and Health at Work has identified bullying at the workplace as a “repeated, unreasonable behavior directed towards an employee, or group of employees, that creates a risk to health and safety.”(58)

We should include the action of “daring” somebody to perform a dangerous, illegal or inappropriate action, as a form of bullying. In this situation the victim, under the threat of losing approval, among the members of a group, carries out an action that may be inappropriate or dangerous. Therefore hazing could be regarded as a form of bullying.

EPIDEMIOLOGY

In 1998, 30% of US adolescents, reported moderate to frequent involvement in bullying behaviors, as bullies and/or as victims(53). In 2005, 12.5% of US adolescents indicated that they have been bullied, from once or twice a month to almost daily, in the previous 6 months (54). Almost 70% of these students were made fun of, subjected to rumors, made to do things they did not want to and were excluded from activities on purpose, while the rest of them experienced physical aggression such as being pushed, tripped, shoved, spit on, threatened with harm, or have property destroyed on purpose(55). 24% of students who were physically bullied, sustained physical injuries, including bruises or swelling; cuts, scratches, or scrapes; black eye or bloody nose; teeth chipped or knocked out; broken bones or internal injuries; knocked unconscious; or other injuries(56).

The prevalence of bullying gradually decreases in half, from grade 6 through 12 (56). Caucasian and Afro-American students were more likely than Hispanic and Other racial /ethnic groups in reporting bullying, with a ratio of 1.3 to 1. There were no significant differences by gender, in reporting incidents, but males were more likely than their female peers, in reporting injuries linked to bullying (31 vs. 18 percent) (56). This form of peer to peer abuse occurred with a 10 percent higher prevalence among students from rural and suburban schools than those attending urban schools, and 30 percent higher occurrence among students attending public schools than those in private ones.

The implementation of the World Health Organization Health Behavior in School-aged Children Survey(59), and the Global school-based student health survey(60), have provided evidence that bullying occurs among millions of adolescents living in at least 60 countries, around the world(61). Most of the studies of prevalence have focused the attention on adolescents, but it is important to recognize that it occurs along the lifespan, as early as in

kindergarten (62). A European Union survey (63), indicates that that 9% of workers in Europe, or 12 million people, reported being subject to bullying over a 12-month period in 2000.

A national telephone survey of US organizations, conducted by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, showed that “24% of companies reported some degree of bullying occurring during the past year. In the most recent incident, the aggressor was typically an employee and the victim of bullying was also typically an employee” (64). It is evident that bullying occurs globally and along the lifespan.

SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL AND INDIVIDUAL PREDISPOSING FACTORS

The phenomenon of bullying “is encouraged and/or inhibited as a result of the complex relationships between the individual, family, peer group, school community and culture”(5). Ball et al (65) have reported the results of a research intended to demonstrate the influence of genetic and environmental influences in the development of bullies and victims roles. Their study, based on a nationally representative cohort of 1,116 families with 10-year-old twins, documented that “genetic factors accounted for 73% of the variation in victimization and 61% of the variation in bullying, with the remainder explained by environmental factors not shared between the twins.” This result is, however, challenged by the large variations in prevalence between countries, schools and school classes – and changes in prevalence over time. All these variations are unlikely to be explained by difference in genetic influences (24,61,66).

Previous exposure to victimization, at home, has been shown to be associated with participation in bullying at school as a bully, and or as a victim (67-70). Parental communication, social isolation, and classmate relationships were found to be similarly linked to bullying across racial/ethnic groups. (71)

We need to recognize the unique role of the “peer group power” as “powerful moderators of behavior in a school class” (72). Bystanders may reinforce bullies by “passively watching”, “actively modeling bullies” or “intervening on behalf of the victims” (73). Besides peer negative support, bullying behaviors can be significantly related to “normative beliefs approving of bullying” and “negative school climate” (74). The role of the whole community and culture, towards bullying, needs further exploration.

Bullying usually occurs in unsupervised areas, such as locker rooms, cafeteria, hallways, stairways, bathrooms, during recess, on school buses, or walking to and from school. It may also take place outside the school environment: after-school care, among neighborhood peers, summer camps, youth activities, among siblings (75) and more recently electronically, over cellular phones and the Internet (76-81).

Victimization among peers can be predisposed by multiple individual factors including: height (82,83); weight (84,85); abnormal dental features (86); impaired social interaction and non verbal learning disorders (87); cancer (88); cleft lip and palate (89); shyness (90);gender identity (91); wearing glasses 92); sexual orientation (93) ethnicity and religion (4).

DEVELOPMENTAL LINKS

There is a suggested link between “reported roles in school bullying, and victimization in the workplace” (95). The highest risk of workplace victimization was found among “those who

were both bullies and victims at school (bully/victims), followed by those who were only victims” (95). “Teachers who experienced bullying themselves when young are more likely to both bully students and experience bullying by students both in classrooms and outside the classroom” (96). There is a significant positive correlation between being a victim, a bully or a bully/victim, in elementary, high school and college, respectively (97). A link has been documented between development of social phobia, among adults, and their experiences of being teased or bullied during childhood (98)

ASSOCIATION OF BULLYING AND HEALTH RISKS

Bullying is a very serious psychosocial stressor, and as such it should be included in the Axis IV of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (99), or considered as a form of Mistreatment Syndrome (100). Involvement in bullying as a bully or as victim, along the life span, has been linked to a wide range of health problems, including frequent psychosomatic symptoms (13,14), depression (16,23,29,40,42), anxiety (9,23,98), inattention/hyperactivity (12), alcohol abuse (8,30), substance abuse (8), smoking (19), eating disorders (18,32,35), fibromyalgia (44), cardiovascular disease (46), accidental injuries (37,38) and suicide (16,27).

There have been 273 cases of death linked to bullying or hazing, published in English newspapers in the past 50 years (101). The American Medical Association has urged physicians to “be vigilant about signs and symptoms of bullying”, to be aware of its social and mental health correlates, “to screen for psychiatric co-morbidities”; “to counsel affected patients and their families on effective intervention programs and coping strategies”; and” to advocate for family, school, and community programs and services for victims and perpetrators of bullying” (102).

PREVENTION

The first bullying prevention and intervention strategy was developed by Olweus in 1983 (103), as a multilevel, multi-component school-based program. It was designed to prevent or reduce bullying among students age 6 to 15, by “restructuring the school climate”. Olweus reported a 50 percent reduction in the occurrence of bullying, over an eight month period of its implementation. This program became a paradigm for subsequent whole-school-based strategies, which were able to achieve some reduction in the prevalence of bullying, but their outcome was below the 50 percent reduction documented by Olweus (4,104). His program recommended a “zero tolerance” for bullying, that in itself is not effective, unless it is accompanied by a marked improvement in school climate. Such an atmosphere needs to foster peer support, mutual respect, better interaction, and enhanced sense among the victims of “security at school, greater self confidence, and a feeling of being liked and accepted by at least one or two fellow students”. Positive behavioral discipline should help the bullies to “have fewer aggressive reactions to the environment and assert themselves in more socially acceptable ways” (2).

A systematic review of school-based interventions to prevent bullying, including curriculums, “whole school interventions”, social skills groups, mentoring and social work support (105), has determined that “children’s bullying behaviors can be significantly reduced by well planned interventions”. It also observed that “the chance of success is greater if the intervention incorporates a whole-school based approach involving multiple disciplines and the whole school community”.

The costly relationship of bullying and health risks, and its occurrence along the lifespan, and in different community sectors, demands a three-tier response involving all segments of the community, including parents, students, school staff, professional, youth, civic, religious, labor and business organizations as well as government agencies.

WHOLE COMMUNITY THREE-TIER SYSTEM OF BULLYING PREVENTION

Primary Prevention: Includes all efforts to preclude bullying from occurring. At a minimum it should include the following components:

- Promotion of awareness about the nature of bullying, its serious health repercussions, the need to report incidents and ways to deal with them.

The concept of bullying should be clearly defined by providing an inclusive list of physical, verbal and relational types of this type of abuse. Misconceptions and myths need to be clarified. This information can be conveyed to students, starting in kindergarten, through health education curriculums that are adapted to developmental stages. All school personnel and parents should be informed through a series of workshops and/or town meetings. The media, fact sheets and the internet can be used to alert the community at large. Through the power of the pulpit, religious communities can be given details not only about the moral and ethical concerns about bullying, but also about its health and lethal consequences.

- Endorsement of a community rejection of bullying, for the preservation of ethical principles and human rights, as well as for the protection of public health and safety.

This endeavor can be established through a principle of zero tolerance to bullying, to be included in the policies of schools, aftercare activities, summer camps, religious, youth and sport activities, neighborhood playgrounds, prisons and workplace. Bullying between siblings should not be viewed as “normal sibling teasing or rivalry”, but must also be declared unacceptable behavior.

- Foster physical and emotional safe school, workplace and other community environments.

This effort can be achieved through the development of programs that enhance mutual respect, sensitivity and support of others with tolerance to diversity.

Secondary Prevention (Detection/Intervention): Involves the identification of bullying incidents and the intervention to prevent their reoccurrence, or the emergence of health, safety or educational consequences. This should be accomplished by:

- Close monitoring of possible bullying incidents by school personnel, parents or work supervisors.

In addition to the typical inquiries about their academic performance and other school or work activities, young people need to be periodically asked by their parents, school personnel and/or work supervisors whether anybody mistreats them, physically, verbally, or emotionally, and/or if they bully others.

- Medical detection, in every emergency or routine health evaluation or follow up visit.

Health care providers need to convey their concern about students mistreating each other, in school, aftercare programs, neighborhood, home (between siblings), or among people at workplace (in cases of adult patients). The concept of bullying should be explained by giving typical examples of physical, verbal or relational abuse. The patient should be asked if he or she has been bullied or bullied others, in the previous year. If the answer is positive, further inquiry needs to be made about the type of bullying, its frequency, location, and health and work/educational impact (physical symptoms, weight/appetite changes, sleeping or mood difficulties, anxiety, suicidal or homicidal ideas or attempts, injuries, absenteeism, decline of academic or work performance). The patient and parents should be asked whether the incident has been reported and if intervention has stopped it from recurring. If the patient is presenting medical or work/education problems linked to bullying he/she should be referred for treatment.

- Reporting incidents of bullying in school or work organizations should be part of a conscientious community public health attitude.

It should be construed as a pivotal tool to link the detection of bullying incidents with the appropriate interventions to preserve the physical and emotional wellbeing of both the victim and the perpetrator. It should not be regarded as an approach to get the bully in trouble, leading to punishment, because many victimizers suffer from similar health, safety and educational risks as the victim (106). There is a need to modify the cultural belief that reporting an incident of bullying is being a tattletale. There should be community encouragement and support for reports of bullying, for the wellbeing of all society members, with safeguards for those who report against any threat of retaliation or liability. The office of an Ombudsman or a hotline can provide support or guidance in reporting bullying incidents (107,108,109)

- Intervention

Upon receipt of a bullying incident report, school counselors should interview the bully and the victim separately, to ascertain whether they are experiencing associated morbidity, health/ safety or educational risks (physical/emotional symptoms, depressive episodes, psychosomatic symptoms, eating disorders, cigarette smoking, alcohol or other drug use or

abuse, runaway episodes, accidental injuries, suicidal or homicidal ideas or attempts, serious absenteeism or decline in academic performance). If the bully and/or the victim are experiencing morbidity associated with the involvement in bullying they should be referred for medical and/or psychiatric intervention. Otherwise steps can be implemented, at the school level, to prevent the bully from repeating further incidents and for the victim to receive appropriate support and relief.

It would be helpful for the bully to receive individual or group counseling to understand the hurt that was inflicted, and develop respect, empathy, tolerance and sensitivity. Positive reinforcement should be strongly considered, while disciplinary or punitive measures with bullies who may have suffered from previous victimization, may lead to possible side effects like depression, suicide, and/or further physical or verbal aggression. The understanding and acceptance by the bully, of the harm that has been caused, should be followed by a process of “restorative justice”, by apologizing to the victim and establishing a positive future interaction (110).

The role of peer support to the victim should be beneficial to alleviate the sense of isolation, and to minimize the impact of the victimization.

A program was developed to promote the positive role of bystanders in order to discourage bullying behavior when they witness it (111). In this context, we should be cautious of potential side effects of this intervention, either by direct retaliation against the bystander, or indirect effects of bullying on witnesses of these episodes.

Ongoing monitoring must be implemented to ensure that the episodes of further bullying by the same perpetrator do not reoccur, in which case the perpetrator should be referred for tertiary prevention.

Tertiary Prevention: Consists of all medical interventions to prevent the reoccurrence of bullying incidents which failed to be stopped by school/organizational strategies and the treatment of bullying related health, safety and educational problems, affecting the bully and or the victim.

- Completion of full evaluation

A comprehensive psycho biosocial assessment should review the genetic and environmental precursors that may facilitate the development of psychiatric conditions that precede or are triggered by the participation in bullying behaviors (9, 10, 20, 112-114).

- Mental health treatment intervention

There is reported experience documenting the efficacy of Brief Strategic Family Therapy, in the treatment of adolescents who are bullies (115-117), as well as Social Skills Group Intervention to help victims of bullying (118). The role of Brief Cognitive Behavioral Intervention should be explored in the treatment of victims of bullying, following the experience established by this form of treatment with survivors of other forms of victimization (119,120). Psychopharmacological treatment needs to be considered for the stabilization of the regulatory Central Nervous System systems of impulsivity, mood, aggression, alarm system (anxiety), self esteem, thinking, sleeping and appetite that may have been disrupted, prior to or as a consequence of the victimization.

- Monitoring

On going monitoring should be established to rule out suicidal or homicidal ideation or plans, a recurrence in bullying participation, and/or exposure to new types of victimization.

PUBLIC HEALTH POLICY

There is a need for the implementation of local and national legislation that delineates the concept of bullying and its link to public health risks, prohibits bullying, requires implementation of prevention programs and provides the necessary funding (121). It should also required the participation of public health officials to promote community understanding of the association of bullying with health risks, provide community guidelines for detection and intervention and periodically monitor the prevalence of bullying and its health correlates. It is also recommended that all medical examiners' reviews of adolescent deaths due to suicide, homicide or injuries should include an inquiry about history of bullying.

CONCLUSION

There is an urgent public health need for health practitioners to spearhead initiatives for the prevention of bullying and related health risks. These programs should include all segments of the community in supporting the implementation of a three tier anti-bullying prevention strategy model. Its vital objective is to avert bullying related deaths, due to suicide, homicide or injuries.

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Chapter 87

TOWARDS A DETECTION OF BULLYING RELATED MORBIDITY

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ABSTRACT

Physicians are being confronted with the responsibility of detecting bullying related health and safety risks in different clinical settings. Recommendations are being made on the basis of research evidence of a significant link of bullying with a wide array of health and safety problems; the author's clinical routine practice of ascertaining patients' participation in bullying and a recommended role for clinical detection of bullying within a whole-community base strategy for its prevention. Recommendations: There is a need to develop a standardized strategy for detection of bullying related morbidity which could be utilized in all clinical settings with sensitivity to developmental and cultural differences in the understanding of what is meant by bullying. Such an approach should ascertain the exposure of different types of bullying across social settings and its symptomatic repercussions. Its results should be used for clinical decisions to procure intervention and treatment, within a three tier bullying prevention strategy. Conclusions: The present chapter is the result of a work in progress which will contribute to efforts to develop a clinical practice guideline providing a standardized strategy for the detection and intervention of bullying related health and safety problems, within a primary or specialty pediatric setting. Bullying is at the intersection of many health and safety risks and health practitioners are challenged with the critical public health responsibility of their detection, prevention and intervention. It would be expected that the recommendations contained in this article should facilitate the development of strategies to fulfill such a responsibility.

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INTRODUCTION

There is evolving research-based evidence documenting a range of health and safety problems affecting young people who are being bullied and or bully others (1-27). They are particularly at risk of suicidal attempts (11,12,14,15,19) and suffering from frequent sleeping difficulties, depression, anxiety, irritability, and physical symptoms (8,9,21,24,25).

The wide scope of bullying related morbidity poses a significant challenge to health practitioners not only to intervene against bullying to improve child health but also to prevent death link to this serious form of maltreatment. This responsibility can be accomplished within a whole community three system of bullying prevention (28). Such a strategy includes efforts to preclude bullying from occurring (primary prevention), by promoting whole community awareness about the nature and toxicity of bullying and through the implementation of programs to foster physical and emotional safety in schools and other social environments. Bullying behaviors not averted by a first level of prevention can be stop from recurring through a standard system of detection followed by school intervention through a reporting procedure (secondary prevention). Detection is also pivotal for the recognition of bullying related morbidity which may require treatment (tertiary prevention).

The responsibility of health professionals in the prevention, detection of and treatment of bullying related morbidity has been emphasized in policies and position statements of medical organizations (29-32), as well as in editorials (33, 34) and articles (28,35-37).

Recommendations have been made for children and adolescents to be screened for involvement in bullying and associated symptoms, at routine clinical visits or periodical medical examinations (28,35-37) and approaches for this clinical detection have been suggested (36,37).

So far, there is no published clinical practice guideline providing a standardized strategy for the detection and intervention of bullying related health and safety problems, within a primary or specialty pediatric setting. The purpose of this article is to put forward recommendations for objectives, elements and ways to conduct such a clinical inquiry.

METHODS

The recommendations made in this article have been developed on the basis of:

- 1) Evidence about morbidity associated with participation in bullying, based on non clinical population of young people surveyed on cross sectional and longitudinal national studies (1-27).
- 2) The author's clinical routine practice of ascertaining patients' participation in bullying and their experience with associated health or safety problems.
- 3) A recommended role for health practitioners' detection of bullying and related morbidity within a whole-community three-tier prevention strategy (28).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Objectives

- 1) Detect patients ongoing and recent (last two months), exposure to being bullied;
- 2) Ascertain health and safety problems among patients who are exposed to ongoing or recent bullying incidents;
- 3) Inquire about bullying and related health and safety problems among all patients being seen by child and adolescent primary care and specialty health practitioners, in outpatient, emergency and inpatient settings;
- 4) Raise awareness, among all patients and their parents, about the nature and toxicity of bullying, across different social settings, and ways to prevent it within a whole-community effort;
- 5) Help to avert ongoing bullying behaviors by promoting school intervention. It should insure counseling of those who bully others and support to the victim;
- 6) Foster a reporting strategy, that is comfortable to patient and parents, to facilitate school intervention to halt ongoing bullying;
- 8) Facilitate psychiatric treatment of health and safety problems related to bullying.

Elements and ways

- 1) Explain that questions about bullying are being asked on a routine basis to all patients to insure their safety. This explanation should help to insure that the patient does not feel “singled out”. Furthermore it helps to raise awareness about the serious medical concerns linked to this form of mistreatment;
- 2) Provide a developmental and cultural sensitive understanding about the concept and nature of what is being understood as bullying (38);
- 3) Ask whether the patient is currently and or in the previous two months, being bullied;
- 4) Inquire details among those who are being bullied (where does it happen, type of bullying, frequency, people involved as perpetrators or victims);
- 5) Develop a standard questionnaire that could be used to screen all patients (see appendix 1) or utilize such a questionnaire as a framework to conduct a face to face anamnesis (see appendix 2);
- 6) Promote the value of reporting incidents of bullying as a way to insure students’ safety.
- 7) Help to dispel the notion that reporting of bullying is being “a snitch” to get the perpetrator in trouble or punished, but rather to insure school intervention to counsel the perpetrator; protect the victim and stop further victimization;
- 8) Support the student and parent’s reporting of bullying with a medical statement if required (see appendix 3)
- 9) Recommend intervention steps (clinical algorithm) on the basis of information gathered through the questionnaire or clinical anamnesis (Appendix 4). Patients who are being bullied require school intervention to halt further incidents. Consideration of mental health treatment should be considered for those with related morbidity.

DISCUSSION

The present paper is the result of a work in progress which will contribute to efforts to develop a clinical practice guideline for the prevention, detection and treatment of bullying related morbidity,

The screening tools offered in this paper have not yet been applied on an adequate size sample in different clinical settings and therefore we could not draw conclusions about its efficacy.

It can be argued that one of its limitations could be its inability to gather cross-informant agreement from teachers and peers, beyond information obtained from student and parents. Such additional information would be logistically impossible to obtain from a brief clinical screening tool, which is only geared towards a triage strategy to decide the need for intervention and treatment, and not for epidemiological research objectives. The global prevalence of bullying requires that its clinical detection should be sensitive to cultural differences in the understanding of what is being considered as bullying.

The intention of this report is not to offer a final screening tool for detection of bullying related morbidity but rather to contribute with preliminary recommendations for how to conduct such an assessment and guidelines on how to utilize its results for clinical decisions for school intervention and medical treatment.

CONCLUSION

Bullying is at the intersection of many health and safety risks and health practitioners are challenged with the critical public health responsibility of their detection, prevention and intervention. It would be expected that the recommendations contained in this article should facilitate the development of strategies to fulfill such a responsibility.

APPENDIX 1

CHECKING FOR BULLYING (Prototype of a questionnaire)

Dear patients,

Doctors and nurses are concerned about children and adolescents getting physically or emotionally sick when they are being bullied. That is the reason why we will be asking you some questions about bullying and health problems.

First we need to explain that somebody is being bullied if he or she is being hurt, harmed, made fun of, bothered, mistreated, hassled, provoked, insulted, or not accepted by one or more people.

You are being bullied if any one of these things happens to you:

Hit; kicked; pushed, slapped; choked; punched; threatened; made fun of; teased; called names, or have your belongings stolen, hidden, destroyed or tossed around.

You are also being bullied if rumors are being spread about you; if you are being ignored or not accepted as a friend or if you are dared or pushed to do something dangerous or inappropriate, in exchange of being liked or accepted as a friend.

Bullying can happen anywhere: in school, walking to and from school, in the school bus; at home; in the neighborhood; after school care; in summer camp; in dating relationships; over the Internet or cellular phones and at work.

QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU BEING BULLIED

1) Are you being bullied, in the last 2 months?

YES ____

NO ____

If you answered **NO** you have completed this questionnaire and we **thank you!!!**

If you answered **YES**, please also complete the following questions:

2) Where have you been bullied? Please check one or more:

At home

In school

Riding the school bus

In the neighborhood Walking to and from school

After school activities

Extracurricular activities (Music or ballet lessons, organized sports, summer camp, scouting)

Email, Face book, Text message

Dating relations

Workplace

3) How have you been bullied? Please check one or more:

Hit

Kicked

Pushed

Slapped

Choked Punched

Threatened with physical harm

Made fun of

Name calling

Teased

Being ignored or not accepted

Rumors being spread about you

Your belongings being stolen, hidden, destroyed or tossed around

Dared or pushed to do something inappropriate or dangerous in exchange of something

4) How often are you being bullied? Please check one

Less than once a

once a week

Several times

Almost every

week

a week

day

5) By whom are you being bullied? Please circle one or more

Sibling

Student/students in your school

Neighbor

Friend

Teacher

Coach

Counselor

Girlfriend/Boyfriend

Parent

QUESTIONS ABOUT PROBLEMS RELATED TO BEING BULLIED

1) In the last 2 months, have you suffered more than once a week, from any of these physical or emotional problems? Please circle:

HEADACHES	YES	NO
STOMACHACHES	YES	NO
DIZZINESS	YES	NO
BACKACHES	YES	NO
FEELING SAD OR DEPRESSED	YES	NO
FEELING ANGRY OR IRRITABLE	YES	NO
DIFFICULTIES IN SLEEPING	YES	NO
FEELING ANXIOUS, NERVOUS OR WORRIED	YES	NO
2) In the last 2 months have you have any of these problems? Please circle		
THOUGHTS OF HURTING YOURSELF	YES	NO
THOUGHTS OF HURTING SOMEBODY ELSE	YES	NO
TRYING TO HURT OR KILL YOURSELF	YES	NO
TRYING TO HURT OR KILL SOMEBODY ELSE	YES	NO
RUNNING AWAY	YES	NO
FEELING AFRAID OF GOING TO SCHOOL	YES	NO
BEING FREQUENTLY ABSENT FROM SCHOOL	YES	NO
DROP IN YOUR SCHOOL GRADES	YES	NO
GETTING HURT IN PHYSICAL FIGHTS	YES	NO
CARRYING A WEAPON (Knife, gun, rifle, broken bottle. Baseball bat)	YES	NO
SMOKING CIGARETTES DAILY	YES	NO
HAVING SEVERAL DRINKS IN A FEW HOURS	YES	NO
USING DRUGS	YES	NO

APPENDIX 2.

HYPOTHETICAL CLINICAL VIGNETTE WITH PHYSICIAN-PATIENT DIALOGUE ABOUT BULLYING

Jane is 14 year old female being seen by her primary care physician because of “not feeling well, feeling tired and missing school.”

For the past 2 weeks the patient has been absent from school almost every other day, because of tiredness in the morning with intermittent headaches and dizziness. She has not experienced nausea, vomiting, lack of appetite, fever or any other symptoms. Her physical examination and laboratory data were normal.

During the anamnesis the patient and physician entertained the following dialogue:

- Physician: I am very concerned about young people getting hurt by being bullied or mistreated. For this reason, I ask all my patients about their experience with bullying...I am sure that you know about this...
- Patient: (assents)...
- Physician: Can you tell me what the word bullying means to you?
- Patient: Well...it means when somebody pushes you, or they are mean to you by making fun...
- Physician: That's right; there are many different types of bullying. Do you mind if I tell you about all the different forms of bullying, so we are both talking about the same thing?
- Patient: Yeah...go ahead...
- Physician: Well... it could be when somebody hurts you physically by pushing, kicking, hitting, slapping you, or threatening to hurt you. It can also be with words, by making fun of you, teasing you, calling you bad names, spreading rumors about you, telling you that you are not accepted in a group, game, conversation or you cannot be their friends...So, bullying can be one or more of those things...
- Patient: (Looks upset)... Yes, it happens to me...
- Physician: I am sorry to hear about that... how have you been bullied?
- Patient: One classmate keeps calling me dirty names and making fun of my teeth and my tone of voice...She also stole my cell phone.
- Physician: It happens inside the school?
- Patient: Yes, at lunch time, or in the locker room.
- Physician: When did it start?
- Patient: Since school started, about 6 months ago...
- Physician: How does it make you feel?
- Patient: Depressed, angry and feeling that I want to hurt her.
- Physician: Have you told somebody or asked for help?
- Patient: If you report it, they call you a snitch, and they don't do anything. Actually, once I complained to the counselor. She brought both of us into her office so we could “solve the problem.” She blamed me for being angry. Actually there is no

conflict to resolve between this other student and me. I just want her to leave me alone.

- Physician: Does it happen in other places?
- Patient: Yes...the same kid that bothers me started a campaign in Face book and by emails spreading rumors about my morals. She calls me a “fat slut.”
- Physician: How often do you feel depressed and very irritable or angry?
- Patient: Almost every day when I come back from school
- Physician: Have you ever felt that you wanted to die or hurt yourself?
- Patient: Yeah... It happens a lot
- Physician: Have you had these thoughts today or in the last few days?
- Patient: No...
- Physician: Have you ever tried to hurt yourself?
- Patient: Yeah...three months ago I took a bunch of Tylenol
- Physician: Did you tell anybody?
- Patient: No... I just vomited it...
- Physician: If you ever feel like hurting yourself, would you please ask your parents help, and make sure that they consult with the Hospital Emergency Department...
- Patient: OK... I will
- Physician: I need to share this situation with your parents.
- Patient: OK... If you think that they will help me...
- Physician: What time do you fall asleep at night?
- Patient: I cannot fall asleep until two in the morning, and then I have nightmares that wake me up.
- Physician: We need to have the school help you to stop the bullying
- Patient: They do nothing...or they don't know how to stop it...
- Physician: You and your parents can report it and ask for support
- Patient: I don't want to be call a snitch...I am afraid.
- I can help you with a medical note asking the counselor to help the kid that is bullying you understand of the harm that she causing you and stop mistreating you... She should not be punished, but helped...Reporting problems of bullying is not to get people in trouble, but to make sure that everybody is safe....
- Well, let me think and talk with my parents....

APPENDIX 3.

MEDICAL STATEMENT ADVOCATING FOR SCHOOL INTERVENTION

Jane is a 14 year old patient under my medical care. She has a history of frequent depression, easy frustration and anger, frequent headaches, difficulties in sleeping, thoughts of hurting herself, decline in academic grades and frequent absenteeism.

For several months she has been subjected, in school, to frequent mockery about her weight and moral reputation. She has been made fun of her dental features and tone of voice, have her belongings stolen and rumors about her, spread over the Internet.

Bullying is associated with serious health problems and death, affecting those who are victimized and/or those who bully others, as well as those who are bystanders.

Jane's rights to a physical and emotional safe school working environment should be immediately protected. It is strongly recommended that those who bully her should be sensitized/ counseled about the serious health risks linked to bullying and advised to stop this behavior.

If their bullying behavior continues in spite of school intervention, it is advisable that they should be referred to sources of health care to help ascertain and stabilize their biological/psychological and or social difficulties which may be leading to bullying incidents.

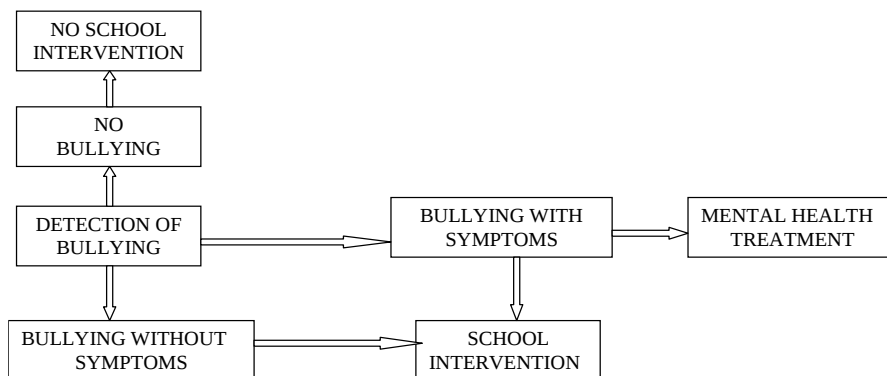
We will provide to Jane the necessary medical care to alleviate her physical and emotional symptoms associated with bullying. In the meantime, it is extremely important for her treatment that the school protects from further bullying incidents.

At present she is not a risk to self or others and should be able to return to regular school activities.

Physician's signature

APPENDIX 4.

ALGORITHM STRATEGY FOR INTERVENTION AND TREATMENT OF BULLYING RELATED MORBIDITY



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Chapter 88

COPING STRATEGIES OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS EXPERIENCING BULLYING: FREQUENCY, TYPE OF BULLYING AND PSYCHOSOCIAL DIFFICULTIES

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ABSTRACT

In this study we examined adolescents' perspectives on what interventions they consider to be effective in order to a) overcome the difficulties of being bullied by peers and b) to stop a student being bullied. Our main aim was to investigate the extent to which students classed as bullies, victims, bully/victims, and not involved would differ in their coping strategies in response to different types of bullying, and the relationship between bullying and psychosocial well-being as measured by the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, 1997). Participants were 502 students aged 12-14 years old attending 4 high schools from different geographical areas. They were asked to fill in a self-report revised version of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire (Olweus, 1993) and in the SDQ self-report version. Results showed that students' psychosocial well-being differed in relation to the bully status type and their coping strategies. The frequency of victimization did not differentiate the strategies of the students, whereas students experiencing more than 3 types of bullying stated that they were significantly more afraid of being bullied again in comparison to those experiencing only one type of bullying. Overall, adolescents' perceptions of effective ways to make bullying stop fit well into the categories that were formed to represent the suggestions made by the majority of researchers.

Keywords: Bullying in secondary school students, coping strategies, psychosocial well being

1. INTRODUCTION

Although little research existed as regards bullying behaviour in schools prior to the 1990s, the knowledge base in the European Union member states concerning the incidence, prevalence and typology of this phenomenon has been considerably expanded (Minton, & O'Moore, 2004). The relatively newly founded research traditions concerning bullying in Europe have been shaped by many factors such as: the operation of the various educational systems, the development of national anti-bullying programs, the enforcement of anti-bullying legislation and other governmental measures to counteract bullying, problems of definition of the phenomenon as well as methodological variations regarding its research. According to the first extensive study on bullying in Greece, 14.7% of a sample of 8-12 year-old students were involved in bullying as victims, 6.2% as bullies and 4.8% as bully/victims at least once a week (Houndoumadi, & Pateraki, 2001). According to the WHO Bullying behavior amongst 13-year-olds (Currie, et al 2004), secondary school students were asked to answer whether or not they were engaged in bullying in the last school term. 76.8% of Greek students answered that they had not; 18.9% stated that they engaged in bullying sometimes, and a small percentage (4.4%) answered that this kind of involvement was once a week or more often. Although, there has been little systematic research on bullying at a national level, the prevalence of bullying involvement among 11- to 15-year-old students was investigated in a relatively recent nationwide survey. A representative sample of 2200 children along with their teachers and parents took part (Deliyianni-Kouimtzi, 2005). In this study the percentage of students attending secondary education who reported being bullied "sometimes" or "more often" was 9.1%, and the proportion who reported bullying others "sometimes" or "more often" was 10%. Overall, 30% of secondary students in the same study stated that they had been bullied at least once.

When the academic and professional debate first started in this field among educationalists, psychologists and social workers, bullied children were conceptualized as "passive victims" who could not react to what had been happening to them. However, recent data show that children who experience bullying have their own coping strategies and their own perspectives on what happens to them (Bibou-Nakou, Tsiantis, Asimopoulos, & Chatzilambou., 2012). This realization led to a conviction that research in this field must involve children directly, as well as the adults who care for and work with them. It also means that as users of services, children require interventions tailored to their level of understanding, their age or stage of development, their particular viewpoint, and their specific circumstances. According to Frisé, & Holmqvist, (2009), there are strong arguments for investigating the students' suggestions for how to stop bullying, as this could be worthwhile for research on anti-bullying interventions. First of all, students are active agents in the social setting of school where bullying occurs. They face daily experiences of various bullying situations, and actively negotiate ways to manage them effectively. Consequently, their views and suggestions should form part of effective anti-bullying strategies. Moreover, in the majority of bullying situations, most students are involved as observers since most bullying occurs when school staff and other adults are not around (Rigby, 1996). Furthermore, the new sociology of childhood (James & Prout, 1997; Qvortrup, 1994) and the children's rights movement (Alderson, 2000; Freeman & Veerman, 1992) have stressed the need for children to be actively involved in the selection, evaluation and decision making of psychological interventions that concern them.

While some countries have made significant efforts towards addressing bullying, related work in Greece is just beginning. Thus, the present paper aims at extending previous findings on the prevalence of bullying in Greek schools and on the bullying experiences of secondary school students. In addition, it focuses on students' own suggestions on how to stop bullying and the association of coping strategies to their psychological well being¹. In other words, the present study attempts to identify the prevalence of bullying among high school students, to evaluate whether involvement in bullying as bullies, victims or bully-victims is associated with psychosocial difficulties and to understand how bullying profile groups differ from one another with respect to the coping strategies adopted.

Children's coping has been discussed in the literature in its immediate and long-term perspective and classified as a) outward-looking (talk, find a safe place, seek help and get adults to take responsibility, be active and involved in finding solutions) *versus* b) inward-looking (cry, fear, secrecy, concealment, dissociating from it as though it's not happening). Other classifications discuss coping in terms of approach versus avoidance strategies or problem-focused versus emotion-focused coping Kristensen, & Smith, 2003. Lazarus, & Folkman, 1984).

Bullying in secondary schools has been less researched in comparison to elementary school (O' Moore, & Minton, 2004; Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000). According to some researchers, the transition from elementary to secondary education is often associated with a decrease in severity during early adolescence (Sweeting, Young, West, & Der, 2006. Sullivan, Cleary, & Sullivan, 2003). On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that adolescent students tend to employ new ways of relating with their peer groups, some of which are recognized as aggressive behaviours (Pellegrini, 2002). Recent studies have examined students' perceptions of how victims should cope with bullying situations (Kanetsuna, Smith, & Motiys, 2006; Smith, et al., 2004).

Bullying has been linked with children's social and psychological difficulties (Alikasifoglu, Erginoz, Ercan, Uysal, & Albayarak-Kaymak, 2007. Snyder, Broker, Patrick, Snyder, Schrepferman, & Stoolmiller, 2003. Sweeting, et al, 2006), some of which can be long-lasting and persist into adulthood (Cowie, Dawn, & Sharp, 2005. Esteves, Musitu, & Herrero, 2005. Finkelhor, Turner, & Ormrod, 2006). For example, bullied students-in comparison to the not involved ones- present significantly more emotional problems (Delfabbro, et al., 2006. Olweus, 1993) such as depression (Sweeting, Young, West, & Der, 2006) or anxiety (Due, et al., 2005). The bullies may also present serious antisocial problems, broader difficulties in social adjustment over time (Rigby, 1996. Smith & Brain, 2000) and increased risk of deviance (Ahmed, & Braithwaite, 2004. Nadeem, & Graham, 2005). Further, bully/victims have been found to experience the worst outcomes in psychosocial assessments such as peer acceptance, positive social functioning, and emotional difficulties (Georgiou & Stavrinides, 2008; Haynie, Nansel, Eitel, et al., 2001).

¹ The present study forms part of a bigger international project under the title "Needs Assessment and Awareness Raising Program for Bullying in Schools. It was funded by the EE (Daphne Initiative Project Grant Agreement: JLS/DAP/2005-1/040/YC30-CE-0062092/00-78, under the scientific leadership of Professor I. Tsiantis, Child Psychiatrist, Association for the Psychosocial health of Children and Adolescents, Athens.

2. METHOD

2.1. Participants and Procedure

A total of 502 students from 3 classes in four different high schools of Thessaloniki, Greece (population circa 1,200,000) took part in the study. The schools were from the various geographical areas being randomly selected from the city's list of public schools. Of the 502 participants, 163 students (32.5%) were in the first year of high school; 150 (29.9%) were in the second year and 180 (35.9%) attended the 3rd year. 52.9% were girls ($n = 257$) and 47.1% were boys ($n = 229$). Reported ethnicity was 88.6% Greeks ($n = 445$), and 11.4% ($n = 57$) from other ethnic communities (mainly from Albania (3.6%), and former Soviet Union countries (3.4%).

Permission to conduct the research was granted by the Ministry of Education. Students took the survey as part of an assessment to measure the level of bullying behaviours in the first three years of high school, which is junior high school (or *Gymnasio*) in the Greek education system. All students who participated provided informed consent and filled out the questionnaires anonymously. The survey was administered during a regular classroom period and students were monitored by the first researcher who administered the questionnaires and responded to students' questions. Data from the four schools were combined for analysis after preliminary testing indicated that participants were reasonably matched on the demographic variables of gender and age and in terms of socio-economic status.

In terms of parental education, the majority of both parents had graduated University studies (fathers, 39.8%; mothers, 43.8%), followed by those who had completed the six years of secondary education (fathers, 22.3%; mothers, 25.9%). A very small percentage had finished the three-years of compulsory secondary education (fathers, 10.2%; mothers, 9.6%).

2.2. Instruments

The most common instruments used in the research on bullying are questionnaires for students or teachers and less often for parents (O'Moore, & Minton, 2004). In general the questionnaires for students can be classified into two categories a) those that identify bullies and victims through self-report and b) those based on peer nomination procedures. The most commonly-used self-report is probably the Olweus student questionnaire (Olweus, 1996). The Olweus instrument presents a wide view of the problem, even though it is difficult to score as well as lacking the social and affective structure of the whole-class group and the teachers' support of the students². Several adaptations have been made in many countries. In Greece, Deliyianni (2005) made the first adaptation for a large study of 2200 students from all levels of schooling (primary, secondary schools, representative samples of both students, & teachers). In the present study, the above mentioned adaptation was used along with the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, 1997) which is a screening questionnaire on students'

² This is the reason that we added extra questionnaires to get information about teacher and classmate support as evaluated by the students themselves. The study contained a number of other psychological, behavioral, and relational measures, as this was part of a larger research project; only the parts of the research that are relevant to the current chapter, however, are reported in the following sections.

psychosocial well-being that has been adapted to the Greek context (Bibou, Stogiannidou, & Kioseoglou, 2000). Specifically, participants completed a self-reported instrument, which included the following sections:

2.2.1. Bullying Information

The Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire, used in a national study (Deliyianni-Kouimtzis, 2005), divides experiences of bullying into: *physical bullying*, being hit, kicked, pushed, shoved around; *attack on property*, having had money or other things taken away from one, or damaged; *verbal bullying*, being called mean and hurtful names or being threatened (further distinguishing between *racist* and *non-racist* forms of verbal bullying; sexual harassment); *indirect bullying*, having other children tell lies, spread rumors, to try to make others dislike one; and *social exclusion*, students purposely not including other children in activities, excluding one from their group of friends, or completely ignoring one. The 16 items included were 8 items about the children as victims and the same 8 items about the children as bullies. The students filled in the questionnaire in a 5 Likert-scale (from 1= "never", 2="1-2 times", 3="2-3 times per month", 4="once a week" and 5="several times a week").

2.2.2. Coping with bullying

The students were asked to answer the following question: "Overall, how do you react when you experience one or more of the above mentioned situations (the different types of bullying, e.g., calling names, hitting, threats, etc)?" The 9 items selected as ways of coping ways in a dichotomous way (though the students being asked to tick more than one options) were grouped as follows: Seeking Social Support, "Get help from a friend", "Talk to the teacher or another adult about it"; Problem-Solving, "I tried to take precautions"; Distancing, "I would ignore it", "I would try to avoid the situation"; Internalizing, "I would burst into tears"; Avoidance, "I would run away, I would hide", and "I would avoid the situation"; Retaliation, "I would take revenge". The scale was addressed only to students being defined as victims.

2.2.3. Disclosure of Bullying

The bullied students were then asked to state on a 2-point form (1=yes and 2=no, being able to tick more than one options) whether or not they have talked about the bullying experience to a number of significant people that form part of their social support. ("Have you told anyone that you have been bullied at school in the past couple of months?"). The options presented were as follows: I have not told anyone; my class (home room) teacher; another adult at school (a different teacher, the principal/ headmaster, etc); my parent(s)/guardian(s); brother(s) or sister(s); friend (s) and somebody else. On the same scale, the students were asked whether or not they receive support from the school staff (either a teacher or somebody else at the school). The question was as follows: "How often do the teachers or other adults at school try to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied at school?" They were asked to pick up one option and fill in a range from "1"=almost never, to 5="almost always". In addition, they were asked to answer the following question: "How often do other students at school try to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied at school?" with the same range of options. Lastly, the students answered the following question "Has any adult at home contacted the school to try to stop your being bullied at school in the last couple of months?" with a range of: "1"= no,

they haven't contacted the school"; "2"= yes, they have contacted the school once and "3"= yes, they have contacted the school several times.

2.2.4. Reactions towards a Bullied Classmate

All the students had to answer the following question: "How do you usually react if you see or understand that a student your age is being bullied by other students?". The answers were: I take part in the bullying; I don't do anything and I think the bullying is Ok; I don't do anything, and I think the bullying is fun; I just watch what goes on; I don't do anything, but I think I ought to help the bullied student; I try to help the bullied student in some way.

A question then addressed to all students was about the fear of being bullied ("How often are you afraid of being bullied by other students at your school?" and the range of answers on a 6-point scale were from "1"=never to "6"= almost always.

Definition of the Bullying Profile (Bully Victim Status Type)

Students who responded that at least one of the eight types of bullying had happened to them "two or three times a month" or more, or that at least three of the five types of bullying had happened to them "only once or twice", were classed as *victims*. Students who replied that they had bullied one or more student(s) "two or three times a month" in at least one way, or that they had bullied one or more student(s) "only once or twice" in at least three different ways, were classed as *bullies*. Students who scored this high on both the victimization and the bullying measures were classed as *bully/victims*. Students who did not score this high on any of the measures were classed as *not involved* (Kristensen, and Smith, 2003). We thus classified students into four bullying profile groups as victims, bullies, bully-victims and not involved. The analyses investigating the variables of the study by the number of ways in which students experienced a bullying behaviour, have adopted the above mentioned criteria of bullying profile group. The rest of the analyses were carried out either in the total sample of the students or as otherwise stated.

2.2.5. Psychosocial Well Being

The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) is a brief self-report behavioural screening questionnaire that exists in several versions (for parents, for teachers, for students aged 11 to 16) to meet the needs of researchers, clinicians and educationalists. The SDQ includes 5 scales with 5 items each: 1) emotional symptoms 2) conduct problems, 3) hyperactivity/inattention, 4) peer relationship problems and 5) prosocial behaviour. The students completed the questionnaire. The SDQ generates a total difficulties score based on the 20 items of the first four scales. It has been widely used as a screening test, for epidemiological and research reasons and for clinical assessment (Goodman, 1997). The version for youths was used in the present study, which was found to have satisfactory psychometric properties in Greek adolescents (Giannakopoulos, Tzavara, Dimitrakaki, Kolaitis, et al. 2009).

Cronbach's alpha coefficients were calculated for the total difficulties scores and for the five subscales using the data in this study and are displayed in Table 1. Cronbach's alphas were sufficient (i.e., $\geq .60$) for the total difficulties score and the emotional symptoms and prosocial behaviour subscales. However, alphas for hyperactivity-inattention (.40), conduct problems (.54) and peer problems (.55) fell below acceptable limits. The low Cronbach's alpha for these subscales is problematic and has been reported in previous studies as well. The reason might

be the limited number of response categories (Van Roy, Veestra, & Clench-Aas et al. 2008) or the fact that reverse items seem to confound the SDQ factors (Riso, Salcuni, & Raudino, 2010).

Table 1. Internal consistency and descriptive statistics of Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire

Areas of psychosocial difficulties	Difficulties (%)	Moderate difficulties (%)	No (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Prosocial behavior	11.8	9.5	78.7	.68
Hyperactivity and attention deficit	13.9	12.1	74.0	.40
Emotional disturbance	7.6	5.0	87.4	.68
Conduct disorder	10.2	9.6	80.2	.54
Peer relation difficulties	18.9	56.8	24.3	.55
Total score difficulties	10.7	22.8	66.5	.70

2.3. Statistical Analysis

Bivariate relationships between categorical variables were examined using the chi-square test with Monte Carlo simulation or Fisher's exact test, where appropriate. Monte Carlo approximations for p -values were obtained using 10,000 permutation tests. Group differences were assessed by one-way ANOVA followed by Scheffé's multiple comparisons test with effect size measured by partial eta squared (η_p^2). Where the distributional assumptions of ANOVA were not met, nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis tests followed by Dunn's multiple comparisons test with effect size measured by eta squared were employed. Effect sizes were interpreted according to Cohen's (1988) guidelines. Statistical significance was set at 0.05 and all analyses were conducted using the IBM Statistics SPSS software (version 19.0).

3. RESULTS

3.1. Bullying Information

According to the definition of the bully-victim status type given previously, the majority of children were not involved in bullying (58.9%, $n = 287$), although a substantial number were victims (16.4%, $n = 112$), and smaller numbers were bully/victims (12.7%, $n = 62$) and bullies (8.2%, $n = 26$). Fifteen children (3.0%) had missing data and were not included in the analysis.

Bully-victim status type differences by gender are also shown in Table 2. More girls than boys tended not to be involved in bullying events (58.9% vs 41.1%), virtually the same number of boys and girls reported being victims (50.9% vs 49.1%), and a larger number of boys than girls tended to report being bullies (61.5% vs 38.5%) or both bullies and victims (62.9% vs 37.1%). An overall chi-square test revealed that the relationship between gender and bully-victim status type differences was significant ($\chi^2(3) = 13.43$, $V = 0.166$, $p < 0.001$)

Table 2. Distribution of children across gender in different bully–victim status types

			Victim	Bully	Bully/Victim	Not Involved	Total
Sex	Girl	<i>n</i>	55	10	23	169	257
		%	49.1%	38.5%	37.1%	58.9%	52.8%
	Boy	<i>n</i>	57	16	39	118	229
		%	50.9%	61.5%	62.9%	41.1%	47.2%
Total		<i>n</i>	112	26	62	287	487
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3 shows bully–victim status type differences by school year. Examining school year differences, on average the younger students tended to be victims more than the older sample (29.6% vs. 18.8%), were bullies slightly less than the older sample (4.3% vs. 6.2%), and tended to be bully/victims less than the older sample (8.6% vs. 17.6%). However, an overall chi-square test showed that the relationship between school year and bully–victim status type was not statistically significant.

Table 3. Distribution of children across school year in different bully–victim status types

			Victim	Bully	Bully/Victim	Not Involved	Total
School year	A	<i>n</i>	48	7	14	93	162
		%	29.6	4.3	8.6	57.4	100.0
	B	<i>n</i>	31	8	17	93	149
		%	20.8	5.4	11.4	62.4	100.0
	C	<i>n</i>	33	11	31	101	176
		%	18.8	6.2	17.6	57.4	100.0
Total		<i>n</i>	112	26	62	287	487
		%	23.0	5.3	12.7	58.9	100.0

3.2. Frequency of Victimization

The frequencies of victims who reported that they had been bullied in one, two and three or more ways are summarized in Table 4. A small proportion (16.1%) reported that they were bullied in three or more ways, while the majority of those bullied (60.7%) reported only one way of being bullied. Chi-squared tests did not show any significant differences across gender and school year.

Table 4. Number of ways students experienced bullying

	<i>n</i>	%
Bullied one-way	68	60.7
Bullied two ways	26	23.2
Bullies three or more ways	18	16.1
Total (of Victims)	112	100.0

3.3. Forms of Bullying across Gender, School Year and Frequency of Victimization

In terms of the most commonly used forms of bullying, the most likely ways of being bullied reported by students who indicated that they had only been bullied in one way was being sexually harassed (32.35%), called names (25.0%) and rumors being spread about them (17.6%) (see Table 5).

Table 5. Forms of bullying experienced by students reporting being bullied in only one way

Called Names	Socially excluded	Hit	Spread rumors	Stolen things	Threatened	Insulted	Sexually harassed	Total
17 (25.0%)	6 (8.8%)	2 (2.9%)	12 (17.6%)	5 (7.35%)	3 (4.4%)	1 (1.5%)	22 (32.35%)	68 (100.0%)

Approximately two in three students (60.7%, $n = 305$) reported that they had been bullied in at least one of the eight ways, 2 or 3 times per month. Of those, 68.2% reported "calling names", 49.2% "sexual harassment" and 48.8% "spreading rumors". Males were more likely to report being called names (Fisher's Exact test $p < 0.001$), being hit (Fisher's Exact test $p = 0.033$), being threatened (Fisher's Exact test $p = 0.001$) and being insulted due to origin (Fisher's Exact test $p < 0.001$) than females (see Table 6)³.

Table 6. Forms of bullying experienced by students across gender

Forms of bullying	Female ($n = 150$)		Male ($n=155$)		Total ($n = 305$)	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Calling names, insulting**	87	58.0	121	78.1	208	68.2
Social exclusion	45	30.0	44	28.4	89	29.2
Hitting*	15	10.0	26	16.8	41	13.4
Spreading rumors	79	52.7	70	45.2	149	48.8
Stealing things	24	16.0	29	18.7	53	17.4
Threatening to cause fear**	18	12.0	39	25.2	57	18.7
Insulting in terms of origin**	10	3.9	31	13.7	41	13.4
Sexual harassment	76	29.6	74	31.7	150	49.2

**Between gender, $p < 0.001$

* Between gender, $p < 0.05$

In terms of the different forms of bullying across the school year, no statistically significant differences were found (see Table 7), despite the fact that the 3rd year students were more likely to report most form of bullying than the 1st and 2nd year students.

³ The sum of percentages from the Table 6 till the Table 14 is greater than 100%; this is due to the fact that the students could tick more than one of the options offered (e.g in Table 16, some students had experienced more than one way of being bullied and they stated it).

Table 7. Forms of bullying experienced by students across school year

Forms of bullying	A (n = 106)		B (n = 84)		C (n = 115)		Total (n = 305)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Calling names, insulting	69	65.1	64	76.2	75	65.2	208	68.2
Social exclusion	30	28.3	23	27.4	36	31.3	89	29.2
Hitting	12	11.3	9	10.7	20	17.4	41	13.4
Spreading rumors	46	43.4	42	50.0	61	53.0	149	48.9
Stealing things	16	15.1	14	16.7	23	20.0	53	17.4
Threatening to cause fear	22	20.8	13	15.5	22	19.1	57	18.7
Insulting in terms of origin	14	13.2	7	8.3	20	17.4	41	13.4
Sexual harassment	48	45.3	38	45.2	64	55.7	150	49.2

3.4. Coping Strategies across Frequency of Victimization, Gender, and School Year

We next investigated whether there were differences in terms of the students' coping and the frequency of victimization (Table 8). Chi square analysis, investigating victims' coping by frequency of bullying did not present any statistically significant differences. The data, however, indicated that those students who had been bullied in 3 ways or more, stated that they would use the strategy of ignoring and taking revenge to a lesser degree (44,4% & 11,1% respectively), but they would use the strategies of informing the teacher and running away/hiding to a higher degree 27.8% & 22,2% respectively). These differences were not statistically significant and include coping strategies of approach, avoidance or distancing and escaping as well.

Table 8. Coping behaviour in the case of being bullied by frequency of victimization

Coping behaviour in the case of being bullied by frequency of victimization	One (n=68)		Two (n=26)		Three or more (n=18)		Total (n=112)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would tell a teacher or some other adult at school	10	14.7	2	7.7	5	27.8	17	15.2
I would ignore it	38	55.9	18	69.2	8	44.4	64	57.1
I tried to take precautions	14	20.6	10	38.5	5	27.8	29	25.9
I would burst into tears	3	4.4	4	15.4	3	16.7	10	8.9
I would run away, I would hide	4	5.9	3	11.5	4	22.2	11	9.8
I would seek help from friends	13	19.1	5	19.2	4	22.2	22	19.6
I would take revenge	10	14.7	5	19.2	2	11.1	17	15.2
I would plead with them to stop	5	7.4	6	23.1	1	5.6	12	10.7
I would avoid getting into the situation	25	36.8	14	53.8	7	38.9	46	41.1

Overall, the most preferred coping strategies were ignoring the fact (56.1%, $n = 171$), avoiding getting into the situation (32.1%, $n = 98$), taking revenge (26.9%, $n = 82$) and taking precautions (21.3%, $n = 65$). The least preferred ways of managing bullying were bursting into tears (6.9%, $n = 21$) and running away (5.9%, $n = 18$).

When coping was examined in relation to gender (Table 9), statistically significantly more girls would seek help from friends than boys (Fisher's exact test, $p < 0.001$). No other differences were found in coping strategies in relation to the students' gender.

Table 9. Coping behaviour in the case of being bullied by gender

Coping behaviour in the case of being bullied by gender	Female (n = 150)		Male (n = 155)		Total (n = 305)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would tell a teacher or some other adult at school	15	10.0	14	9.0	29	9.5
I would ignore it	87	58.0	84	54.2	171	56.1
I was trying to take precautions	34	22.7	31	20.0	65	21.3
I would burst into tears	12	8.0	9	5.8	21	6.9
I would run away, I would hide	6	4.0	12	7.7	18	5.9
I would seek help from friends**	36	24.0	14	9.0	50	16.4
I would take revenge	34	26.7	48	30.9	82	26.9
I would plead them to stop	15	10.0	12	7.7	27	8.8
I would avoid getting into the situation	46	30.1	52	33.5	98	32.1

** $p < 0.001$

On the other hand, no statistically significant differences were found in the bullied students' coping strategies by school year (see Table 10). A more careful analysis of the students' answers reveals a non-significant tendency for the 3rd year students to be resigned to informing the school teachers (6.1%) and to increasing their attempts in taking precautions (25.2%).

Table 10. Coping behaviour in the case of being bullied by school year

Coping behaviour in the case of being bullied by school year	A (n = 106)		B (n = 84)		C (n = 115)		Total (n = 305)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would tell a teacher or some other adult at school	11	10.4	11	13.1	7	6.1	29	9.5
I would ignore it	61	57.5	49	58.3	61	53.0	171	56.1
I tried to take precautions	20	18.9	16	19.0	29	25.2	65	21.3
I would burst into tears	6	5.7	11	13.1	4	3.5	21	6.9
I would run away, I would hide	9	8.5	3	3.6	6	5.2	18	5.9
I would seek help from friends	19	17.9	10	11.9	21	18.3	50	16.4
I would take revenge	28	26.4	25	29.8	29	25.2	82	26.9
I would plead with them to stop	7	6.6	8	9.5	12	10.4	27	8.9
I would avoid getting into the situation	32	30.2	26	31.0	40	34.8	98	32.1

3.5. Disclosure

We then examined disclosure in the case of being bullied by the frequency of victimization (Table 11). No significant differences were found, although students who had been bullied in

3 or more ways tended to talk about their bullying experiences with their teacher more in comparison to the two other groups (33.3%). In addition, they tended to address to the incident with their friends to a lower degree (38.9%), in comparison to students who has been bullied in one or two ways (64.7% and 65.4% respectively).

Table 11. Disclosure among victims by frequency of victimization

Disclosure in the case of being bullied by frequency of victimization	One (n=68)		Two (n=26)		Three or More (n=18)		Total (n=112)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I have not told anyone	12	17.6	5	19.2	3	16.7	20	17.9
My class (home room) teacher	9	13.2	6	23.1	6	33.3	21	18.8
Another adult at school	4	5.9	0	0.0	2	11.1	6	5.4
My parent(s)/guardian(s)	21	30.9	7	26.9	4	22.2	32	28.6
Brother(s) or sister(s)	13	19.1	6	23.1	2	11.1	21	18.8
Friend(s)	44	64.7	17	65.4	7	38.9	68	60.7

Although, overall, the majority of bullied students would disclose their experience to some other person, one in four students-most likely male- would not tell anyone about it. Friends were by far students' first choice (58.4%), followed by no one (24.6%) and parents (24.3%). A small percentage of students who had been bullied stated that they would tell their teacher about their experiences (14.4%) (see Total, Table 12).

As presented in Table 12, in comparison to girls, boys are more likely to not share their experiences with anyone ($p < 0.05$). Girls, on the other hand, in comparison to boys, are more likely to share their experiences with friends.

Table 12. Disclosure in the case of being bullied by gender

Disclosure in the case of being bullied by gender	Female (n=150)		Male (n=155)		Total (n=305)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I have not told anyone*	28	18.7	47	30.3	75	24.6
My class (home room) teacher	16	10.7	28	18.1	44	14.4
Another adult at school	4	2.7	8	5.2	13	4.3
My parent(s)/guardian(s)	40	26.7	34	21.9	74	24.3
Brother(s) or sister(s)	22	14.7	22	14.2	44	14.4
Friend(s)**	102	68.0	76	49.0	178	58.4

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.001$

When disclosure was examined in relation to the school year, it was found that significantly more students attending the 3rd year would tell a friend or a sibling about being bullied (Table 13).

Table 13. Disclosure in the case of being bullied by school year

Disclosure in the case of being bullied by school year	A (n=106)		B (n=84)		C (n=115)		Total (n=305)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I have not told anyone	34	32.1	21	25.0	20	17.4	75	24.6
My class (home room) teacher	15	14.2	15	17.9	14	12.2	44	14.4
Another adult at school	5	4.7	3	3.6	5	4.3	13	4.3
My parent(s)/guardian(s)	33	31.1	17	20.2	24	20.9	74	24.3
Brother(s) or sister(s)*	12	11.3	11	13.1	21	18.3	44	14.4
Friend(s)**	53	50.0	51	60.7	74	64.3	178	58.4

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.001$ **3.5.1. Disclosure across Bullying Profile Group**

Students were asked to respond to the following question: Have you told anyone that you have been bullied at school in the past couple of months? Table 14 shows that 32.3% of bully/victims had not shared their bullying experiences with anyone, in comparison to 17.9% of students who had been bullied. Both groups would disclose the bullying incident to their class teacher almost to the same degree (19.4% and 18.8% respectively). However, whereas 28.6% of the bullied students would trust their parents to disclose their experience to, only 19.4% of the bully/victims would do so.

Table 14. Have you told anyone that you have been bullied or that you have bullied another student (s) at school in the past couple of months?

Coping behaviour	Have you told anyone that you have been bullied (Victim, n = 112)		Have you told anyone that you have been bullied (Bully/Victim, n = 62)	
	n	%	n	%
I have not told anyone	20	17.9	20	32.3
My class (home room) teacher	21	18.8	21	19.4
Another adult at school	6	5.4	6	6.5
My parent(s)/guardian(s)	32	28.6	32	19.4
Brother(s) or sister(s)	21	18.8	21	11.3
Friend(s)	68	60.7	68	59.7

The following tables (Tables 15a,b and 16a,b) present useful data about the bullied students and the bully/victims' views regarding the interventions by teachers, their peer group, or family members. Students who had been bullied stated that 33.6% of teachers and 25.4% of peers attempt to put an end to the bullying often or almost always, whereas the comparative percentages for bully/victims were 26.3% and 19.7% respectively.

Table 15a. Overall, how often do you think the others have tried to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied at school? (Victim)

	Teachers or other adults		Other students	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Almost never	33	31.7	23	21.7
Once in a while	17	16.3	28	26.4
Sometimes	19	18.3	28	26.4
Often	17	16.3	19	17.9
Almost always	18	17.3	8	7.5
Total	104	100.0	106	100.0

Table 15b. Has any adult at home contacted the school to try to stop your being bullied at school? (Victim)

	<i>n</i>	%
No, they haven't contacted the school	79	76.7
Yes, they have contacted the school once	14	13.6
Yes, they have contacted the school several times	10	9.7
Total	103	100.0

Table 16a. Overall, how often do you think that the others have tried to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied at school? (Bully/Victim)

	Teachers or other adults		Other students	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Almost never	24	39.3	21	34.4
Once in a while	11	18.0	12	19.7
Sometimes	10	16.4	16	26.2
Often	9	14.8	7	11.5
Almost always	7	11.5	5	8.2
Total	61	100.0	61	100.0

Table 16b. Has any adult at home contacted the school to try to stop your being bullied at school? (Bully/Victim)

Has any adult at home contacted the school to try to stop your being bullied	<i>n</i>	%
No, they haven't contacted the school	43	72.9
Yes, they have contacted the school once	10	16.9
Yes, they have contacted the school several times	6	10.2
Total	59	100.0

The following tables (Tables 17 and 18) refer to the bullies' views regarding their behaviour at school and how it is recognized by the teacher or a family member. According to the students, it appears that both teachers (78.3%) and parents (60.9%) do not talk with a student who bullies others about this behaviour.

Table 17. Has your class teacher talked with you about your bullying other students at school in the past couple of months? (Bully)

	<i>n</i>	%
No, they haven't talked with me about it	18	78.3
Yes, they have talked with me about it once	5	21.7
Yes, they have talked with me about it several times	0	0.0
Total	23	100.0

Table 18. Has any adult at home talked with you about bullying other students at school in the past couple of months? (Bully)

	<i>n</i>	%
No, they haven't talked with me about it	14	60.9
Yes, they have talked with me about it once	7	30.4
Yes, they have talked with me about it several times	2	8.7
Total	23	100.0

3.6. Fear of Being Bullied

In relation to the fear of being bullied and the bully status type, one-way ANOVA indicated significant differences in fear levels between groups ($F(3,295) = 6.64, p < 0.001$). Bullied students and bully/victims reported significantly higher levels of fear than students who were not involved in a bullying incident (Scheffé's post hoc test $p < 0.05$) (Table 19).

Table 19. Bullying profile group and fear of being bullied

Status type	Mean (SD)
Victim ($n = 104$)	2.16 (1.17)
Bully ($n = 13$)	1.85 (0.80)
Bully/Victim ($n = 60$)	2.43 (1.38)
Not Involved ($n = 119$)	1.71 (0.90)
Total ($n = 296$)	2.02 (1.14)

Table 20. Fear of victimization in relation to the frequency of victimization

Frequency of Victimization	Mean (SD)
One way	1.90 (0.96)
Two ways	2.32 (1.38)
Three ways or more	2.83 (1.29)
Total ($n = 104$)	2.16 (1.17)

Furthermore, there were significant differences between the relationship of the fear of being bullied and the frequency of victimization (One-way ANOVA $F(2,101) = 5.025, p = 0.029$, Scheffé's post hoc test $p < 0.05$). In other words, those students who had been bullied in 3 or more different ways were significantly more afraid of being bullied by other students, in comparison to the bullied students who had experienced only one way (Table 20).

3.7. Reactions towards a Bullied Classmate

No significant differences were found in relation to gender and students' reactions once they realised that a student at their school was being bullied. In addition, no differences were found in the students' reactions and the school year. Overall, the majority of the students stated that they would try to help a classmate who was being bullied (51.9%), or they believed that they ought to do so (24.5%). Only 9% of the students stated that they would just watch and a very small percentage found that bullying is ok (5.7%) or fun (3.7%).

On the other hand, as can be seen in the following Table 21, there were significant differences between students' reactions and their bully status type ($\chi^2(18) = 93.39, p < 0.001$). An inspection of Table 21 reveals that the majority of victims (61.5%) reported that they try to help the bullied student in one way or another, whereas a significant percentage of bullies (20.8%) stated that they take part in the bullying. In comparison to the other status types, bully/victims mostly reported that they just watch what goes on (21.1%), don't do anything and they think bullying is OK (15.8%) or fun (14.0%). Finally, students not involved in bullying stated that they try to help the bullied student (55.1%), and that even though they might not do anything, they think they ought to help the bullied student (28.3%) (Table 21).

Table 21. Reactions towards a bullied classmate by bully status type

Reactions		Victim	Bully	Bully/Victim	Not Involved	Total
1. I take part in bullying	<i>n</i>	3	5	3	5	15
	%	2.9	20.8	5.3	1.5	3.3
2. I am forced in a way to take part in bullying	<i>n</i>	2	0	2	5	9
	%	1.9	0.0	3.5	1.8	2.0
3. I don't do anything, but I think bullying is OK	<i>n</i>	5	3	9	9	26
	%	4.8	12.5	15.8	3.3	5.7
4 I don't do anything, but I think bullying is fun	<i>n</i>	5	1	8	3	17
	%	4.8	4.2	14.0	1.1	3.7
5. I just watch what goes on	<i>n</i>	3	2	12	24	41
	%	2.9	8.3	21.1	8.0	9.0
6. I don't do anything, but I think I ought to help the bullied student	<i>n</i>	22	5	8	77	112
	%	21.2	20.8	14.0	28.3	24.5
7. I try to help the bullied student in one way or another	<i>n</i>	64	8	15	150	237
	%	61.5	33.3	26.3	55.1	51.9
Total	<i>n</i>	104	24	57	272	457
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

3.8. Psychosocial Difficulties

A series of One-Way ANOVA's were conducted with the bully-victim status type as an independent variable and the SDQ subscale scores and the total difficulties score as dependent variables. The differences were significant in all cases (see Table 22). Overall, bully/victims scored significantly higher in the total difficulties score and its subscales than the students not involved in bullying. All effect sizes are small to moderate in size, with conduct problems, peer problems and total difficulties demonstrating the largest effect sizes of all measured.

Table 22. Bully-victim status type by SDQ

	Victim	Bully	Bully/ Victim	Not Involved	Total	ANOVA	Sig. Differences
PROS	7.44 (1.93)	6.52 (2.93)	6.43 (2.12)	7.34 (2.21)	7.21 (2.21)	$F(3, 441) = 3.73$, $p = 0.011$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.025$	1 vs 3, 3 vs 4
HYPER	4.76 (1.70)	4.62 (1.95)	5.15 (1.62)	4.44 (1.58)	4.60 (1.65)	$F(3, 437) = 3.13$, $p = 0.025$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.021$	3 vs 4
EMO	3.07 (2.37)	2.56 (2.44)	3.71 (2.46)	2.39 (2.24)	2.71 (2.34)	$F(3, 445) = 5.76$, $p = 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.038$	3 vs 4
COND	2.05 (1.53)	2.67 (1.46)	3.67 (1.93)	1.89 (1.48)	2.18 (1.65)	$F(3, 439) = 20.63$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.124$	1 vs 3, 3 vs 4
PEER	4.57 (1.51)	3.66 (1.27)	5.11 (1.59)	4.11 (1.26)	4.31 (1.41)	$F(3, 439) = 11.02$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.071$	1 vs 2, 1 vs 4, 2 vs 3, 3 vs 4
TDS	14.17 (4.56)	13.30 (4.00)	17.36 (4.51)	12.81 (4.02)	13.65 (4.43)	$F(3, 402) = 16.06$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.108$	1 vs 3, 2 vs 3, 3 vs 4

Prosocial Behaviour (PROS), Hyperactivity–Inattention (HYPER), Emotional Symptoms (EMO), Conduct Problems (COND), Peer Problems (PEER), Values are Means (SD).

Next, the Kruskal-Wallis test followed by Dunn's multiple comparison test was performed, with the bully-victim status type as an independent variable and the SDQ subscale scores and the total scale score as dependent variables. Significant differences of medium effect size were found in relation to bullied students' reactions and SDQ (see Table 23). Specifically, the more a student stated that she/he would partake in bullying a classmate, the fewer were his/her positive social skills in comparison to students who stated that they believed they ought to help or did try to help a classmate who was being bullied. In addition, students who stated that bullying is a normal experience or that it is a way of having fun had more conduct behavioural difficulties, in comparison to those who stated that they would try to stand up for a bullied student. Nevertheless, students' psychosocial functioning was not associated with feeling fear of being victimized.

4. DISCUSSION

In this study, we aimed to investigate reported coping strategies used by students, in relation to gender, age, and bully–victim status. We also looked for possible differences in coping in response to multiple bullying and for the association of bullying experience and coping strategies with the students' psychological well being.

Table 23. Students' reactions towards a bullied classmate by SDQ

	PROS	HYPER	EMO	COND	PEER	TDS
1 I take part in bullying	4.60 (2.41)	4.13 (1.81)	2.92 (2.29)	3.25 (1.91)	3.92 (2.10)	13.40 (6.20)
2. I am forced in a way to take part in bullying	5.44 (1.51)	5.00 (1.87)	2.11 (1.69)	2.66 (1.87)	4.78 (1.30)	14.55 (5.32)
3. I don't do anything, but I think bullying is OK	6.83 (1.74)	4.52 (1.81)	3.48 (2.50)	3.27 (2.33)	4.36 (1.49)	15.75 (5.73)
4 I don't do anything, but I think bullying is fun	6.53 (2.29)	4.73 (1.49)	3.40 (2.64)	3.53 (2.19)	4.37 (1.31)	15.21 (4.40)
5. I just watch what goes on	6.24 (2.28)	4.33 (1.76)	3.16 (2.30)	2.78 (1.64)	4.22 (1.38)	14.54 (4.95)
6. I don't do anything, but I think I ought to help the bullied student	7.14 (2.04)	4.57 (1.68)	2.66 (2.19)	1.81 (1.43)	4.37 (1.58)	13.10 (4.12)
7. I try to help the bullied student in one way or another	7.86 (1.97)	4.69 (1.59)	2.55 (2.36)	1.96 (1.48)	4.26 (1.31)	13.34 (4.13)
Total	7.27 (2.16)	4.61 (1.64)	2.71 (2.32)	2.17 (1.65)	4.29 (1.42)	13.62 (4.42)
Kruskal-Wallis	$\chi^2(6)=54.82$ $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.124$	ns	ns	$\chi^2(6)=28.26$ $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.064$	ns	ns
Sig. Differences	1 vs 6, 1 vs 7	-	-	3 vs 6, 3 vs 7, 4 vs 6, 4 vs 7	-	-

Prosocial Behavior (PROS), Hyperactivity–Inattention (HYPER), Emotional Symptoms (EMO), Conduct Problems (COND), Peer Problems (PEER), ns = not significant, Values are Means (SD)

In terms of the prevalence of bullying, the present study showed that 16.4% of the students were identified as victims, 12.7% of them as bully/victims and 8.2% as bullies. These percentages are similar to the findings by Alikasifoglou et al., (2007), although higher compared to other national studies. For example, in her study in the same geographical area, Sapouna (2008) found that 6.1% of the students were identified as victims, 1.1% as bully/victims and 5.8% as bullies. The cut-off point of "2-3 times a month" was used as prevalence estimation of bullying in that study. This difference in the prevalence of bullying may be due to the broader identification criterion of involvement in bullying in the present study ("two or three times a month" or more, or at least three of the five types of bullying experienced "only once or twice"). Furthermore, a United Nations international survey found that in Greece the percentage of students (ages 11-15) that stated being bullied within the last two months in Greece was 26% for both females and males. In another study, Kokkinos and Panayiotou (2004) from a sample of 12-15 year old Greek Cypriots found 21.5% to be victims, 15.25% bully/victims and 8.4% bullies. It is quite obvious from the literature that there is a lack of consensus internationally on the frequency of bullying; this might be due to various methodological issues (such as operational definitions of the problem, measurements used, participating informants, quantitative and qualitative data, etc).

39.3% of the bullied students in the present study reported having been bullied in more than one ways, a finding that is similar to the study by Skrzypiek, Slee, Murray-Harvey & Pereira (2011) of 452 students in the same age group.

In line with findings from almost all countries (Junoven, & Graham, 2001; Rigby, 1996), name calling was the most common type of bullying experienced by students, followed by sexual harassment and rumors being spread about them (Sapouna, 2008). Being hit was reported by 3.06% of the bullied students, and attack on property (stealing things) was reported by 8.67%. Skrzypiek et al., (2011) point out the association between "being called names" and feeling unsafe at school and emphasize that this form of victimization should not be overlooked or discounted as insignificant.

Boys are more likely to be physically victimized (Olweus, 1993; Houndoumadi, & Pateraki, 2001), and threatened or insulted in terms of origin than girls. However, there was no difference between boys and girls as to the likelihood of experiencing any of the other types of bullying (Skrzypiek, et al., 2011).

4.1 Frequency of Bullying and Coping

The present study has not shown significant associations between frequency of bullying as measured by students being exposed to one, two or three and more forms of bullying, and ways of coping; this is in line with Hunter, Boyle and Warden's (2004) but contrary to some other studies (Hunter & Boyle, 2004; Houndoumadi & Pateraki, 2001; Naylor, Cowie, & Del Rey, 2001) where, in most of the last studies frequency was measured either as a Likert scale ranging from "everyday" to "never" or as a measurement of the duration of bullying (e.g., more than 6 months). In addition, the data of the present study indicate that while there were some differences between the three bullied groups in the coping strategies used, these were not statistically significant. For example, fewer students being bullied in three ways or more stated that they would use the strategies to ignore and take revenge, while a greater number of students would inform the teacher and run away/hide. Hunter, Boyle, and Warden (2004) found that as the experience of negative emotion from being bullied increases, bullied students are more likely to seek help from an adult.

4.2. Coping and Bullying Profile Group

In the present study, "ignoring the bullying" (56.1%) and "avoiding getting into the situation" (32.1%) were the most used coping strategies among all students, followed by "taking revenge" (26.9%), "taking precautions" (21.3%), and "asking help from a friend" (16.4%). The least preferred coping strategies were "telling a teacher or some other adult at school" (9.5%), "pleading with the bullies to stop" (8.8%), "bursting into tears" (6.9%) and "running away or hiding" (5.9%). Similar findings were reported by Smith et al., (2001) in England investigating coping strategies used by 10- to 14-year-old victims of bullying (more or less the same age group used in our study as well). We would like to point out that 27.4% of the bullied students stated that revenge was their preferred choice. The general evidence is that "fighting back" or "counter-aggression" are not very successful strategies (Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004; Salmivalli, et al., 1996).

Informing the teachers was the third choice of students being bullied in three or more ways (27.8%), whereas it was one of the least preferred strategies among the students experiencing one or two ways of bullying. Among the studies that focus on students' perceptions of how victims should cope with bullying situations (Kanetsuma, Smith, & Morita, 2006; Naylor, Cowie & Rey, 2001) Crothers, Kolbert, & Barker (2006) found, that, overall, teachers' engagement is an effective strategy according to students' perceptions of effectiveness. This is provided that teachers intervene in bullying situations quickly and effectively and help the person being bullied in practical ways.

In the present study, internalizing or passive ways of coping were least used among students. Although there is evidence that internalizing behaviours such as withdrawing and crying are more prevalent in children who have been bullied when compared to those who have not been bullied (Olweus, 1993; Schwartz et al., 1993). this finding was not confirmed in our study. 16.3% of the bullied students chose revenge; retaliation and counter-aggression were associated with psychological maladjustment and the perpetuation of victimization in many studies (Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004; Kochenderfer-Ladd, & Skinner, 2002; Mahady-Wilton, Craig, & Pepler et al., 2000).

4.3. Gender and Age in Relation to Coping

In terms of gender distribution across bully-victim status types, our findings are in line with previous work. The most obvious gender difference is that more boys tend to be involved in acts of bullying than girls (Deliyianni, 2005; Rigby, 1996). In terms of gender differences and coping strategies, girls reported "seeking help from friends" significantly more, and are more likely to share their bullying experience with a friend than boys. A significantly higher number of male students stated that they had not told anyone about it. Similar findings were obtained by Smith et al. (2001). This gender difference may be attributable to a range of factors, including gender role socialization. Boys are socialized to be independent, whereas girls are socialized to seek interpersonal support and help from others (Due et al., 2005; Haynie et al., 2001). On the other hand, as aggression and bullying are considered more normative among boys and can often be encouraged by their peer group (Hunter, et al., 2004), this might lead them to avoid seeking help from friends.

In terms of age and coping, no significant differences emerged in the present study. Age was estimated by which year the students were in at school. The one significant difference found was that there was an increase in disclosing the bullying experience as students increased in age. The present study showed that a high percentage of 3rd year students that had been bullied would talk about it to a friend(71.8%), while only 48.2% of 1st year would do so. Although the present study does not allow for a comparison of the students' responses as the participants belong to very similar stages in their development, the following trends were, however, observed: as the age of the students increases, they are less willing to seek social support at least from a teacher (6.7%). Similarly, older students would be less likely to use internalizing responses such as crying (3.8%), and indeed have probably developed more successful responses than this, such as taking precautions (27.9%). It may be that as children grow older potentially they "learn from experience"(Smith, et al., 2001) to cope with bullying

episodes. Besides, as they approach adolescence, they will need to “stand up for themselves” (Orpinas, & Horne, 2006; Smith, & Shu, 2000).

4.4. Disclosure and Bullying

A common tactic in many anti-bullying programmes is to encourage the student who has been bullied to tell someone about this incidence and to talk about it (Skrzypiec et al., 2011). This strategy has been recommended to bullied students as an effective coping method and has been identified by experts as a preferred strategy (Slee & Murray-Harvey, 2008). There was no significant association as regards disclosure and frequency of bullying (as measured by the one or more forms of bullying experienced). Disclosure to a person has been a coping mechanism adopted by the majority of bullied students, despite the fact that 19.2 % (nearly 1 in 5 students) would not tell about their bullying experience. Friends are the persons to whom the bullied students would talk most to about the incident (64.8%), followed by parents (30.5%). Many studies (e.g., Olweus, 1993; Rigby, 1996) favour anti-bullying strategies that involved peer support: this strategy implies that other students are aware of or are informed about bullying situations at their schools and are asked to support the victim or take action against the bully.

One in five bullied students (20.0%) would disclose their bullying experience to a teacher or to their siblings. We do know that disclosing about bullying improves mental health (Cowie, et al., 2005; Smith, et al., 2004).

The advice most often given by adults, both experts and non-experts, is to “tell some-one” (Unnever, & Cornell, 2004); yet, in the present study, 48% of the students who had been bullied stated that even after having informed a teacher about the bullying incident, 31.7% never or almost never attempted to put an end to it, while 16.3% attempted to do so once in a while. Respectively, bully-victims stated a much higher percentage of teachers who had been informed about the incident and did not try to intervene (57.3%). In addition, both bullied students and bully/victims stated that there was a definite lack of collaboration between home and school in order to stop bullying behaviour (76.5% and 72.9% respectively). Fekkes, Pijpers, & Verloove-Vanhorick, (2005) found that although 53% of 9-11 year-old bullied pupils told their teachers about the incident, only one third of them found the teachers' interventions helpful. It is worrisome that in spite of there being a global trend to enhance disclosure of bullying incidents to teachers or parents, this strategy has not been accompanied by successful interventions from these adults. Further, as students move into adolescence, they are less eager to talk about their problems with adults whom they perceive as members of institutional authority, such as the school. Nevertheless, when reading these results, we need to keep in mind that bullied students and bully-victims tend to make more negative appraisals of teacher capacity to intervene successfully and resolve conflicts (Rigby, & Bagshaw, 2003).

4.5. Reactions to a Student Being Bullied and Bullying Profile

Just over half of the students stated that they would try to help a bullied student (51.9%) and another 24.5% felt that they ought to help him/her even though they would not. A very small percentage of the students claimed that they would take part in the bullying (3.3%) or believed that in some way they had been forced to participate (2.0%). Another (thankfully)

small group of students, responded that they accept bullying as a normal experience (5.7%) or thought that it was fun (3.7%). Interestingly, nearly one in ten students stated that they would just watch a bullying incident take place without feeling the need to intervene by standing up for the bullied student (9.0%).

In the present study, significantly more bully/victims would react with indifference when they saw or understood that another student their age own was being bullied, when compared to students who claimed to not be/have been involved in any bullying incidents either way. What this means is that they are more likely to accept bullying behaviour as a normal process or a few would even perceive it as "just having fun" and would stand by and watch it happen without intervening. In addition, bully/victims, when compared to students not involved in bullying, would to a much lesser extent try to help others who were being bullied, and they do not believe that they need to intervene in support of their bullied classmate. In any case, the finding in the present study that students who fall into the bully/victim category differ in their views from the separate categories of bullies and victims (in turn discussed below), as to standing up for and trying to help a fellow student who was being bullied, suggests that they comprise a distinct group who need to be addressed with great caution. When it comes to anti-bullying interventions, and in this case interventions involving peer support, (Cowie et al., 2005) need to vary depending on the children's bully status type. Other studies have shown (Andreou, 2001; Olafsen & Viemerö, 2000) that bully/victims reported using more "aggressive" strategies compared to victims and not involved children; they also tended to show significantly more anger and had a propensity for revenge (Andreou, 2011; Thornberg, Halldin, Bolmsjö, & Petersson et al., 2011).

Regarding the reactions of bullies toward bullied students of their own age, a significant number claimed that they would definitely take part in the bullying activity observed, while only a few stated that they would intervene to help the student who was being bullied by others. According to many studies (Olweus, 1993; Rigby, 1996) bullies typically have a positive attitude to violence and tend to be aggressive, impulsive and dominant in their interaction with others. On the other hand, as might be expected, the bullied students in the present study significantly more than bullies or bully/victims stated that they would definitely try to help in one way or another another student who was being bullied. Victims, generally, hold a negative attitude toward violence and tend not to be aggressive in general (Olweus, 1993).

4.6. Psychosocial Well Being, Bully Status Type and Students' Coping

In terms of bullied students' psychosocial well-being, the SDQ was used as a proxy of their psychological adjustment. There is evidence to show that bullying is associated with bullied students' mental health overtime. Alikasifoglou, et al., (2007), for example, found that bullied victims still suffer from emotional problems (e.g., anxiety and depression) 2 years after the onset of bullying which finding is confirmed by other studies (Currie, et al., 2004; Junoven, & Graham, 2001).

The present study showed overall that bully/victims scored higher than any other group (bullies, victims, not involved) on all the scales of the SDQ. This category, being involved in the bullying behaviour at times as bullies and at others as victims, as is perhaps expected, tends to be faced with significantly more difficulties in the area of positive social behaviour and peer relations, as well as suffering from hyperactivity/inattention, emotional difficulties, and

conduct behaviour problems in comparison to students who are not/have not been involved in bullying. This group (bully/victims) also scored significantly higher on the total difficulties score in comparison to the categories "not involved" and "bullies". Overall, bully/victims have the highest level of adjustment problems among all types of students involved in bullying. This finding is supported by research that has identified bully/victims as scoring higher than any other group on other characteristics, such as neuroticism and psychoticism and other (including externalizing) behavior problems (Alikasifoglou, et al., 2007). According to some researchers, bully/victims have been found to be both anxious and aggressive, as well as hyperactive in some cases (Olweus, 1993), and they tend to have a low level of self-esteem (Andreou, 2001). Kumpulainen et al., (1998) in Finland, found bully/victims to be the highest at risk group for a variety of behaviour problems. However, the results presented here are cross-sectional and it may also be the case that psychosocial well being contributes towards attributions of victimization and coping practices of bullying.

The bullied students scored higher on the prosocial behaviour scale and lower on the conduct problems scale in comparison to bully/victims; in addition, the victims scored higher in peer relationships in comparison to bullies and not involved students, although they got a lower total difficulties score in comparison to the bully/victims.

The bullies in the present study faced significantly less problems in the area of peer relationships in comparison to victims and the bully/victims. In terms of the total difficulties score, the bully/victims were those who presented most psychosocial problems, followed by the victims and the bullies.

The results of our study, similar to those of previous studies (Craig, & Pepler, 2003; Kumpulainen, Rasanen, & Henttonen, (1999), show that involvement in bullying has an impact on students' mental health and bully/victims seem to suffer most. However, despite the relationship between bullying and psychosocial problems, the cross-sectional nature of the study does not allow a causal relationship.

Regarding psychosocial well being and coping, the present study showed that the areas of positive social behaviour and conduct behaviour problems significantly differentiated students' coping strategies. More specifically, the students who stated that they would partake in the bullying of a classmate, had much fewer positive social skills than those who responded that they ought to try to help or did help their classmate. Similarly, the students who claimed that bullying was a normal experience and that it is a way of having fun, had many more conduct behavioural difficulties than those who would stand up for their bullied classmate. Students' psychosocial functioning did not appear to be associated with feeling fear of being victimized.

Several limitations of the study should be noted. The reliance on single informant self-reports might be inaccurate and there is a need for joint information from parents, teachers, and peers. Another limitation is the small number of students characterized as bullies ($n=26$) and those who had been bullied in three or more ways ($n=18$) which does not allow for a generalization of the findings. Next, the direction of relationships among bullying, coping and psychosocial difficulties cannot be determined due to the cross-sectional nature of the study. Longitudinal studies are needed to establish the relationship of bullying, coping and psychosocial well being.

Overall, the present study showed that disclosing one's experience of bullying is a common practice among students; this practice, though, needs to be accompanied by a supportive relational context that is able to handle bullying incidents and engage systematically in the students' well being. Second, students' reactions to a classmate being bullied are significantly

associated with bully–victim status types and students' psychosocial well being, with the group of bully/victims being severely burdened. Finally, according to the present study, differences between the coping strategies used by bullied students, bullies or bully/victims are likely to rest not on the frequency of bullying but on students' psychosocial well being. These findings point to interventions that acknowledge the different needs of students within their school setting and question simplistic programs that underestimate the complex relation of bullying, coping and well being.

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Chapter 89

PARENTAL VIEWS OF CHILDREN'S BULLYING EXPERIENCE, COPING STRATEGIES AND THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH PARENTING PRACTICES

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ABSTRACT

Although research has identified a number of ways by which bullied students cope with the negative effects of bullying, less research has been carried out in relation to the parents' awareness of bullying and suggested ways of dealing with it. The current study undertakes this challenge by collaborating with parents as agents of information regarding (their) children's bullying experiences and coping strategies. The aims of the present study are 1) to estimate the frequency of bullying according to parental views 2) to investigate the parents' views regarding the coping strategies their bullied children usually adopt 3) to investigate the parental coping in relation to bullying and to 4) to search for the association between coping strategies as perceived by parents and parenting style. 1127 parents whose children were attending 14 primary schools in Northern Greece completed a 12-pages Questionnaire. Overall, our findings contradict the main literature that talks about high parental underestimation of bullying, as only a small percentage of parents-mainly those who had boys-reported not being aware of their children's coping strategies when bullied. Disclosure was not only indicated as the bullied children's favorite coping, but the most recommended one by parents. In terms of parenting styles, authoritative practices were the first choice of parents, followed by authoritarian and permissive practices. The relationship between parenting and coping strategies are discussed within the light of anti-bullying interventions that are also addressed to parents.

Keywords: Parents' views on bullying, parents' and children's coping strategies, parenting practices.

INTRODUCTION

Bullying has a negative impact on both the lives of children and adolescents significantly contributing to their psychological state (Bukowski & Sippola, 2001; Olweus, 1993; Rigby, 2001, 2002). Researchers have reported psychosocial difficulties for bullied students, bullies and bully-victims that appear to restrict them in the areas of their social, psychological and academic functioning overtime (Alikasifoglu, Erginoz, Ercan, Uysal, & Albayarak-Kaymak, 2007; Crothers, Kolbert, & Barker, 2006; Fitzpatrick & Bussey, 2011; Thornberg, 2011; Thornberg, Halldin, Bolmsjö, & Petersson, 2011).

Although the incidence of bullying is overall worrisome, parents are mainly uninformed of their children's bullying experiences (Bauman & DelRio, 2005; Crothers et al., 2006; Naylor, Cowie, Cossin, De Bettencourt, & Lemme, 2006). Nearly half of the bullied students do not tell their family about the bullying situation they are going through (Sawyer, Mishna, Pepler, & Wiener, 2011). Even when the parents are told, they do not seem to know the best ways to help their child overcome the situation (Deliyianni-Kouimtzis, 2005; Houndoumadi & Pateraki, 2001; Sawyer et al., 2011; Tsiantis et al., 2007). Moreover, according to some studies, the methods parents suggest to cope with bullying seem both unrealistic and ineffective (Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004; Sawyer et al., 2011).

Despite the fact that families play a significant role in the prevention and the intervention of bullying, the majority of researchers have focused on the views and perceptions of students and teachers, which arguably confines bullying to the school context (e.g., Bibou-Nakou, Tsiantis, Assimopoulos, & Chatzilambou, 2012; Boulton, Karellou, Laniti, Manousou, & Lemoni, 2001; Deliyianni-Kouimtzis, 2005; Holt & Keyes, 2008).

Parenting is significantly associated with aggression and bullying in children and adolescents (Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004, 2004a; Duong, Schwartz, Chang, Brynn, & Shelley, 2009; Georgiou, 2008a, 2008b; Olweus, 1994; Orpinas & Horne, 2006; Pontzer, 2010). Specifically, there is evidence to suggest that poor parenting, measured in terms of parenting styles such as a permissive or authoritarian style, has been significantly correlated with aggression in general and bullying in particular (Baldry & Farrington, 2005; Bibou-Nakou et al., 2012; Rigby, 1996). Although many studies have stressed out the link between family environment and bullying, the focus has mainly been on the family factors that lead to bullying such as marital discords, parental styles, family conflicts etc (Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1994; Olweus, 1993). Only recently, researchers have attempted to investigate the relation of family upbringing and children's coping strategies (see Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Smith, 2004).

To our knowledge the international literature lacks studies that investigate the parents' views regarding bullying and the suggested parental coping strategies for dealing with it. The present study aims to contribute towards this line of argumentation.

Resilience, that is, the process of overcoming stressful events is mainly based on successful coping strategies. These adequate strategies are enhanced, among other factors, by good-enough parenting. By researching parents' views regarding bullying, the present study hopes to contribute to a wider understanding of the phenomenon; moreover, parental perspectives can enrich anti-bullying prevention and intervention efforts and lead to significant protective factors for the reduction of bullying (Eslea & Smith, 2000). Including parents as informants might also lead to the deconstruction of family misunderstandings and negative stereotypes

(Andreou, 2011) and could help parents act as models for effective coping strategies (Craig, Pepler & Blais, 2007).

REVIEW OF COPING THEORIES

Although coping as the way we attempt or manage to solve our daily problems is extremely important for the well being of us all, there are many classifications and typologies that produce difficulties for a simple or straightforward way of dealing with stressful situations. The conceptualization and measurement of coping strategies in general form a complex area that is even less researched in children and adolescents. Several theories have been developed that attempt to classify coping behaviors, mainly in terms of their outcome (positive or negative) or their functions (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Though quite general, problem-focused and emotion-focused coping has been the most widespread form of classification. Avoidance versus approach coping is another means of typology that equates approach with problem-focused coping, while avoidance equates with emotion-focused strategies. The importance of positive coping lies mainly in the fact that there is a strong correlation between coping strategies and psychological well-being.

From the literature review regarding coping strategies and bullying, the majority of the studies focused on the coping of bullied students and they associate problem-focused and approach coping strategies with the cessation of bullying, developing successful peer relationships and better psychosocial development (Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002). In addition, coping has been researched in relation to the appraisal of the situation by the victimized students: for example, it has been found (Hunter & Boyle, 2004) that victims' positive appraisal is associated with help or support-seeking and lowered stress (Hunter, Mora-Merchàn, & Ortega, 2004).

Coping has also been discussed in terms of coping efficacy (Bandura, 1997; Benight & Bandura, 2004), which is one's ability to deal successfully with stressful or negative events by appraising these as keeping them under control. Bandura (1997) showed that coping self-efficacy results in adequate coping behavior and lessens the possibility of subsequent or chronic stressors. Many researchers have focused on effective ways of coping with peer aggression and bullying where they found that coping self-efficacy is associated with a lower risk of psychological maladjustment of the bullied student (Hall, 2006; Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002; Mahady Wilton, Craig, & Pepler, 2000; Morrison, 2003; Sandstrom, 2004). Singh and Bussey (2009)'s study is quite interesting as by using six areas as measure of coping self-efficacy on bullying, they attempt to thoroughly investigate the concept of coping self-efficacy. These areas focused on both behavioral (such as help seeking and problem solving) as well as cognitive coping strategies (such as beliefs of self-blame or loss of control).

According to Connors-Burrow, Johnson, Whiteside-Mansell, McKelvey, & Gargus (2009), in theory, there are two ways to discuss the relationship between coping such as searching for social support and children's functioning. The first way refers to the main effect model and coping is regarded as a protective factor for all children irrespective of whether or not they are involved in bullying or not. The second way is based on the stress buffer model and

acknowledges coping strategies as protecting mainly children at risk, and in our case, bullied children.

Another way of discussing coping with bullying can be to adopt Rigby's et al.(2010) distinction between two general ways of anti-bullying policy: the first of these is known as a rules-sanctions strategy, and sets clear rules against bullying followed by consequences for those who break them; the second one is a problem solving approach that deals with bullying in a non punitive way and is based on a care moral orientation to understand relationships (Ellis & Shute, 2007).

BULLIED STUDENTS' COPING STRATEGIES

The chronic nature of bullying along with its negative psychosocial consequences is associated with the ineffective or unsuccessful coping strategies of the bullied students (Hunter & Borg, 2006). Lately, there has been research on bullying that focuses on the coping strategies used mainly by the bullied student (Salmivalli, Karhunen, & Lagerspetz, 1996; Smith, Shu & Madsen, 2001). Overall, the studies on coping with bullying suggest that it varies by gender, age, bully-victim status type and type of bullying (direct versus indirect).

For example, Olafsen & Viemerö (2000) and Andreou (2001) found that bully/victims reported using more "aggressive" strategies compared with victims and children who were not involved. Moreover, there are studies that have looked at coping strategies in relation to different types of victimization such as social isolation, rumors, name calling etc. Bijttebier & Vertommen (1998), Kristensen & Smith (2003) and Olafsen & Viemerö (2000) found that children tend to seek social support and ask help in overt bullying situations such as stealing, breaking belongings etc. The researchers suggest that this kind of bullying is both easier to observe and prove. In addition, some studies have found significant associations between frequency of bullying and coping strategies (Andreou, 2001; Bijttebier & Vertommen, 1998; Hunter & Boyle, 2004) and children's appraisals and attributions regarding bullying (Lazarus, 1999). More specifically, intent and power imbalance have been found to have a strong relation to coping since there is evidence to suggest that the children who believe that they are seriously threatened and feel helpless at the same time, prefer emotion-focused strategies (Bowker, Bukowski, Hymel, & Sippola, 2000; Hoffner, 1993). Hunter, Boyle, & Warden (2004) also found that the bullied children's negative appraisals such as low control have been associated with emotion-focused strategies like wishful thinking.

Overall, victims' support-seeking leads to better ways of coping with bullying and enhancement of children's well being (Giannotta, Settanni, Kliever, & Ciairano, 2009; Matsunaga, 2011; Smith, Talamelli, Cowie, Naylor, & Chauhan, 2004). Among the successful ways of coping, help seeking has been acknowledged as one of the most effective ways in terms of students' better psychological adjustment (Hunter & Borg, 2006) in comparison to coping with bullying on their own, without disclosing one's bullying experience (Smith, 2000, 2004). On the other hand, receiving inadequate support could exacerbate the mental health of bullied adolescents, according to Rigby (2000). That is why emotional support provided by those whom the children trust (families, teachers, friends) has been found to be a significant factor in encouraging children to disclose their bullying experience (Matsunaga, 2010). Reducing stress

and bringing bullying to an end might be achieved by the family's support toward children who have experienced bullying practices.

Problem-focused coping includes strategies of help and support seeking, and active ways of problem solving; on the other hand, emotion-focused strategies are mainly ways that liaise with the negative emotions of the bullied children such as anger, crying, self-blame and self-pity, avoidance strategies, or pretending that nothing really happened (Hunter & Boyle, 2004; Skrzypiec, Slee, Murray-Harvey, & Pereira, 2011; Tenenbaum, Varjas, Meyers, & Parris, 2011).

According to the literature, 43-73% of bullied students tend to ignore the fact, 70% cope by ignoring the person who bullies them, while 26-32% express anger, self-pity, a sense of helplessness and a tendency for revenge (Houndoumadi & Pateraki, 2001; Sharp, 1995, in Hunter & Boyle, 2004). Girls have been found to pity themselves significantly more in comparison to boys, whereas older students and bully-victims show significantly more anger and a tendency for revenge (Andreou, 2011; Thornberg et al., 2011). Coping has been found to also depend on the frequency of bullying (Athanasziades & Deliyanni-Kouimtzis, 2010; Houndoumadi & Pateraki, 2001; Naylor, Cowie, & Del Rey, 2001; Skrzypiec et al., 2011).

As already mentioned, the assessment of effective and successful coping is a complex issue, since it is defined by both individual and environmental factors and poses the question of who is to define what is effective for whom. Some of the researchers for instance claim that the distinction of strategies as passive and active/assertive is rather crude or too simplistic and have found that ignoring the bullying experience, or avoidance of the bully might be classified as active ways of dealing with the problem, provided that these ways result in an end to bullying (Cowie, 2004; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002; Rigby, 2002). On the other hand, there are studies that show that the above mentioned strategies are definitely passive and do not work effectively to deal with the bullying experience (e.g., Mahady-Wilton et al., 2000). Besides, there are researchers that argue for the enhancement of peer relations as one of the most effective ways of coping with bullying and securing children's psychological well being (Bukowski & Sippola, 2001; Card & Hodges, 2008; Cowie, 2004; Nishina, 2004; Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004).

The majority of the studies argue that disclosing the bullying experience is the first step to putting an end to it (Cowie, 2004; Deliyanni-Kouimtzis, 2005; Mahady-Wilton et al., 2000; Rigby, 2002), as a lack of disclosure does not help in recognizing the problem (Matsunaga, 2009; O'Moore & Minton, 2004). Generally speaking, self-disclosure has been acknowledged as a support network (Matsunaga, 2010) that helps victims to escape from bullying and to improve their mental health (Hunter & Borg, 2006; Smith et al., 2004), though it seems that with age, the disclosure of the bullying situation fades (Naylor et al., 2001). However, despite the importance of disclosure, it is likely that many victims are unwilling to disclose their experience: they are afraid of the bullies retaliating (Sawyer et al., 2011; Skrzypiec et al., 2011; Unnever & Cornell, 2004); they fear that their experience will become known by undesired people and will eventually result in their feeling ashamed about their peer relations; and lastly, they believe that those they choose to disclose their experience of having been bullied often misunderstand the situation and thus cannot provide adequate coping support (Mishna & Alaggia, 2005; Smith, 2000). For example, there is evidence to suggest that advice given by the parents as a form of coping can be appreciated by the children as intrusive, critical, and/or face threatening (Feng, 2009; Goldsmith, 2004). Since bullying is stigmatizing and bullied children are afraid that others might criticize or blame them, they generally prefer not to share

this information (Rigby & Barnes, 2002; Smith, 2000). Besides, bullied children are often viewed as possessing some undesirable characteristics such as the inability to stand up for themselves or lack of social skills and low levels of popularity among peers (Stockdale, Hangaduambo, Duys, Larson, & Sarvela, 2002).

In addition, disclosing one's experience of bullying is dependent on the given relational context (see, e.g., Greene, 2009) and the parents' disposition, practices and relational ways. Parents unable to handle the bullying experience, showing no interest at all, or reacting in a negative way, affect children's disclosure decision making (Mishna, 2004).

Rigby (2002) has also pointed out that students do not disclose their bullying experiences, since they believe that it is something that also happens to adults and they have to put up with it. Skrzypiec et al. (2011) arguably note that disclosing one's experience and help seeking is a typical way of dealing with bullying among girls, whereas this does not seem to work quite effectively for the male students.

Students' coping is significantly associated with parenting practices as well. In their study of adolescent students, Unnever & Cornell (2004) found that those who, among other factors, described their parents as using coercive discipline were less likely to report being bullied. Further, Conners-Burrow et al. (2009) found that support from parents acted as a buffer against depression for all children, irrespective of their bully status. Moreover, in the cases of high parental support, teacher support did not have a significant impact on children's well being when having been bullied. By providing parental care and emotional support the family can help in providing better coping strategies and act as an enhancement of children's resilience. In addition, children are able to terminate their victimization earlier than those whose family has not been informed of the bullying (Bowers et al., 1994; Hunter & Borg, 2006; Hunter et al., 2004). Naylor et al.'s (2001) study has demonstrated that seeking social support from families and peers helped victims cope with bullying and maintain resiliency. In other words, children's trust in their parents leads to disclosing bullying experiences and better ways of coping (Matsunaga, 2009; Smetana, Metzger, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2006).

PARENTAL VIEWS AND STRATEGIES REGARDING BULLYING

As already stated, many parents tend not to be fully aware of the nature of bullying (Bauman & Del Rio, 2005; Crothers et al., 2006; Naylor et al., 2006). Specifically, Horne, Orpinas, Newman-Carlson and Bartolomucci (2008) argue that most adults share a number of misleading views regarding bullying; these views potentially block their awareness of the severity of the problem and their active engagement in dealing with it. Some of the misleading views are the following: many adults believe that bullying forms part of a normal developmental process among peer groups (Eslea & Smith 2000; Sawyer et al., 2011), that fades away naturally overtime; others believe that some children are born to be violent, and there is no use in intervening in the process of upbringing. Another myth about bullying refers to gender differences, allowing males to exert violence. Moreover, some adults consider only the overt aggressive acts, both physical and verbal, as bullying thus underestimating covert aggressive behaviors such as social exclusion or rumors spreading (Holt & Keyes, 2008; Naylor et al., 2006; Smith & Sharp, 2003). While another group of adults think that bullied students deserve what they get, having provoked with their practices. As Eslea and Smith, (2000) point

out, these kinds of perceptions have been proved to be strongly ineffective for seriously dealing with bullying.

Specifically, in the study by Eslea and Smith (2000), it was shown that the majority of parents whose children were between 6-11 years old view bullying negatively and show positive feelings of concern and support towards the bullied students; on the other hand, however, it seems that the parents did not fully understand bullies' behaviour. In a national Greek study, Deliyianni-Kouimtzis, Gonida, Kioseoglou, and Zafeiropoulos (2008) found that over 40% of parents were concerned about their children experiencing bullying with whom they seemed to empathize. On the other hand, the findings of the same study showed that the parents of bullies held a much less positive attitude towards the bullied students, in a way blaming them for their involvement as victims. Eslea and Smith (2000) found that although most parents seem to be sympathetic towards bullied students, there was little association between parental attitudes and those of their children. Harper (2011) showed that both children and parents attribute bullying to individual factors related to the bullies themselves, such as innate characteristics.

WHY PARENTAL VIEWS ARE IMPORTANT?

Many anti-bullying interventions that are often advocated by researchers are aimed at improving both the victims' and bullies' coping strategies (Cowie & Sharp, 1994; Olweus, 1993; Smith et al., 2001). Our study attempts to explore the role of the parents' views regarding bullying and possible ways for providing support to their children who have been victims of such behaviour.

There are several reasons why an examination of the parents' suggestions on how to stop bullying can provide rewarding insight into anti-bullying interventions research. To begin with, even though the important role of the family in helping the victim's coping process has been well documented (Naylor, et al., 2001), the fact that generally the family lacks necessary information on the child's bullying experience is of great concern. There are several reasons as to why this discrepancy between the children's bullying situations and their parents' knowledge of it exists: the children may not disclose their experiences due to reasons mentioned earlier in the previous section. This gap in the parent- child relationship poses a considerable risk factor: bullying places severe stress on the victim and the family could act as a buffer and become the protective factor in the child's coping (Matsunaga, 2009). Although the family can provide a valuable coping resource for victims of bullying (Naylor et al., 2001), it appears that many families are never given the opportunity to offer their support, since they remain uninformed of their children's bullying experiences. Fekkes et al. (2005) found that about half of the parents of bullied children were unaware of their children's being bullied, a finding that confirms earlier studies (Rigby & Barnes, 2002; Smith, 2000).

Second, according to Matsunaga (2009), the children's lack of well being might be exacerbated if they do not get support from their families, along with the already mentioned negative influence of bullying on victims' well-being. The same researcher (Matsunaga, 2009) in an attempt to identify what distinguishes informed families who provide care and support from those that are uninformed, showed that family communication could act as a significant protective factor in relation to their children's disclosure of bullying. More precisely, Open-

Affectionate families, whose members opt for information sharing e.g., high openness, emotional/ instrumental support, regular routine interaction, and low avoidance are more instrumental in bestowing the needed care and support than detached families, whose members have relatively low openness and high avoidance orientations. Further, Baldry, & Farrington, (2005) showed that highly supportive parenting is related to lower levels of victimization. Crothers et al. (2006) from their study on middle school students' preferences for anti-bullying interventions showed that the participants proposed parental involvement of both bullied and bullies as one of the most effective ways to stop the phenomenon. These findings were confirmed by Frisé & Holmqvist, (2009) in their study of the same age group of adolescents. Parental involvement was the third common category to be included by 13-year old students; however this was not the case for 16-year olds. From their study, Connors et al. (2009) found that parental support acted as a buffer against depression for all children, irrespective of their bully status. Moreover, where there was high parental support, it appears that teacher support did not have a significant impact on children's well being. Asking the parents themselves about ways to stop bullying is likewise of great importance, because it directly involves them in the selection and evaluation of psychological interventions that their children adopt.

Third, there is strong evidence to suggest that many victims prefer to talk about their bullying experiences with a family member in their own home than discuss it with a teacher (Eslea & Smith, 2000). Further, teacher consultation with parents has been found a successful way to reduce bullying at schools (Smith & Sharp, 1994).

COPING STRATEGIES SUGGESTED BY PARENTS

As mentioned earlier, there have been many recent studies that have examined students' perceptions of how victims should cope with bullying situations (Kanetsuna, Smith, & Morita, 2006; Kristensen & Smith, 2003; Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, Fisher, Russell, & Tippet, 2008; Smith et al., 2004); however, parents' perceptions of the effectiveness of different bullying interventions (with victims' coping strategies being just one of them) have not been widely examined (Harper, 2011). According to Sawyer et al. (2011), most parents stress out the significance of informing the teachers, a suggestion confirmed by other studies as well (Giannakopoulou et al., 2010; Harper, 2011). Other coping suggestions include retaliation, ignoring the bully, and enhancement of positive social behaviour acting as a buffer for the stressful impact of bullying (Harper, 2011; Sawyer et al., 2011). According to the data by Eslea & Smith (2000), 61% of the parents supports the view that "one has to defend oneself", whereas 50% of them argue that "children should act on their own and not ask for others' support". In her study, Harper (2011) has shown that parents mostly prefer strategies favoring social support in comparison to strategies of retaliation or isolation.

Mahady-Wilton et al. (2000) found that parental suggestions oriented to ignoring bullying are significantly associated with chronic bullying and more internalizing problems (Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004). It is as if they do not seem to realize the stress caused by bullying and the situation their children are involved in. In addition, according to Rigby (2002), there are parents who would prefer their children to be in the bully rather than the victim status.

Given that effective coping strategies such as problem solving and help-seeking are related to reduced bullying (Craig et al., 2007; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Pelletier, 2008), parents need to

realize that many of their suggestions are not realistic, do not take into consideration the power imbalance among peer group relationships and could lead to their children being even more at risk (Craig et al., 2007; Harper, 2011; Sawyer et al., 2011).

It is worth noting that parents' response when asked to participate in studies about bullying is most often positive, a fact that indicates the family's recognition of the problem (Rigby (2002). A study analyzing telephone calls through a parentline (Donnellan, 2006), demonstrates the willingness of families to collaborate with their children's schools, as well as illustrating their disappointment from their experiences so far. Parents according to Donnellan (2006) and Rigby (2002) would like to be informed and included in anti-bullying programs.

From a national Greek study (Deliyianni-Kouimtzis et al., 2008) the participating parents stress the need for a positive school-home collaboration (46.9%), for the planning of intervention programs (19.9%), for specific help from experts (19.4%), for maintaining punishment (17.9%) and for the involvement of teachers in bullying events (16.3%).

The development of positive social skills and the emotional support along with children's involvement in extra-curriculum group activities have been also suggested as effective coping strategies by a group of parents in the study of Sawyer et al. (2011).

Bully-victims or bullies also need to be helped: not being rejected by parents, firm boundaries and emotional support contribute to successful results (Lam & Liu, 2007).

PARENTING PRACTICES

According to Baumrind (1991), there are 3 main styles that differentiate the way parents bring up their children: the permissive, the authoritarian and the authoritative. These styles differ in the way parental control is exerted along with other factors, such as family communication, emotional support and decision making. Authoritative parents for example, favor, among other things, negotiation and a clear two-way communication and mutual understanding (Estevez, Musitu, & Herrero, 2005).

The authoritative model has been negatively associated with bullying (Baldry & Farrington, 2005; Georgiou, 2008a) measured in terms of family communication (Estevez et al., 2005; Spriggs, Iannotti, Nansel, & Haynie, 2007; Stevens, De Bourdeaudhuij, & Van Oost, 2002), parental involvement (Barry, Dunlap, Lochman, & Wells, 2009; Georgiou, 2008a; Mizell, 2003), warmth and positive emotions (Giovazolias, Kourkoutas & Mitsopoulou, 2009; Idsoe, Solli, Cosmovici, 2008; Lam & Liu, 2007; Ybarra & Kimberly, 2004) setting limits (Barry et al., 2009; Idsoe et al., 2008; Ybarra & Kimberly, 2004), autonomy (Curtner-Smith et al., 2006; Idsoe et al., 2008) and parental support (Ang, 2008; Baldry & Farrington, 2005; Dimakos, 2005).

The authoritarian model, on the other hand, has been positively associated with bullying (Curtner-Smith et al., 2006; Georgiou, 2008a). The following factors have been researched, among other variables: overprotection and parental anxiety (Ang, 2008; Barry et al., 2009; Georgiou, 2008a, 2008b) severe discipline (Barry et al., 2009; Curtner-Smith et al., 2006; Duong et al., 2009; Stevens et al., 2002; Ybarra & Kimberly, 2004), abuse-neglect (Shields & Cicchetti, 2001), and parents' stigmatizing their children (Pontzer, 2010). Parental involvement and excessive parental control have been related to children's victimization (Stevens et al., 2002).

The above reported studies focus on the significance of parenting styles on bullying, although in no way should they be regarded as single causal factors for the occurrence of the behaviour (Stevens et al., 2002; Mitsuru, 2010). Respective attributions tend to blame the parents and absolve other contextual factors for the appearance of bullying. Parental blaming appears to be well maintained by some school staff, which only hinders school-parent collaboration in eliminating or reducing the phenomenon.

THE PRESENT STUDY

Little research has been done in the area of parents' perceptions of bullying, although there is evidence to suggest that family factors such as parental discipline, family communication, parenting styles, are significantly correlated with aggression in general and bullying in particular (Bibou et al., 2012; Bowers et al., 1994; Olweus, 1978).

The way parents perceive and define bullying is strongly associated with their ways of acting or intervening in order to put an end on it (Sawyer et al., 2011). When informed about their children's victimization, the majority of parents feel anger, disappointment and worry about what their children are going through; They are particularly concerned about the negative consequences of bullying on their children's academic functioning.

The ways parents intervene to prevent or deal with bullying in association with their parenting practices are acknowledged as significant factors for the children's decision to disclose their bullying experiences (Matsunaga, 2009; Sawyer et al., 2011).

It has been documented that parents' views regarding their children's bullying or bullying in general are essential components in planning and implementing anti-bullying programs (Eslea & Smith, 2000; Farrington & Trofi, 2009; Olweus, 1993; McNeely, Whitlock, & Libbey, 2010). Besides it is parents who should be informed first about their children's bullying, since ideally, they know them better than anyone else (Braaten, 2004) and can support them in numerous ways (O'Moore & Minton, 2004).

The present study sought to investigate parents' views regarding their children's bullying experience, how the children deal with bullying in order to cope, parents' coping and their suggestions to children to cope in hypothetical cases of their child being either a bullied or a bully student. This is in light of the fact that parental coping strategies have not been researched/examined thoroughly and in view of the literature that shows that most parents rate the frequency of bullying to be much lesser than what their children do actually experience (Fekkes et al., 2005; Stockdale et al., 2002).

More specifically, the aims of the present study are 1) to estimate the frequency of bullying according to parental views 2) to investigate the parents' views regarding the coping strategies their bullied children usually adopt 3) to investigate the parental coping proposed to a child when being bullied 4) to search for the parents' coping strategies in the hypothetical case of living with a bullied child or a bully and to 4) to search for the association between coping strategies as perceived by parents and parenting style.

METHOD

Participants

There were 1127 parents whose children were attending 14 primary schools in Northern Greece who participated in the study. The majority of the participants were women (81.2%), aged from 31-40 years (54.5 %), who were native (85.4%) and living in Thessaloniki (68.8%). Most were married (89.9%), with two children (51.9%) and had secondary (36.3%) or tertiary school education (25.8%).

Procedures

The questionnaires used were constructed on the basis of a) 3 pilot focus groups with parents with whom the first researcher discussed their views regarding bullying and their suggested ways of coping with it, b) the Olweus Questionnaire, (1996), "Bullying and Victimization Questionnaire", nationally adapted by Deliyianni-Kouimtzis, Athanassiadou, Konstandinou, Papathanassiou, & Psalti (2005) and c) the «Teachers' Knowledge and Attitudes about School Bullying Questionnaire» by Nicolaides, Toda, & Smith (2002). The final questionnaire on the children's involvement in bullying and coping strategies was translated into Albanian and Russian by two native speakers living in Greece, and translated back into Greek by two other people. The questionnaire was administered to individual classes by the first author, in order for each student to take it home to their parents, with the class teacher present. The researcher explained that the questionnaire was about bullying in school and about finding out the ways parents could help in different bullying situations. A definition of bullying and examples of how to fill in the questionnaire were included in order to ensure that the parents understood what was required. It was expressly stated (both orally to teachers and students, as well as in written form) that parents should not put their names on the questionnaire and that their responses would be read by none other than the research team. It was also stressed that for some whatever reason if any of the parents did not wish to partake in the study were in no way obliged to do so, or if they did take part but came across one or more questions that they preferred not to answer, they could leave these blank and go on with the next question. The first researcher distributed 1670 questionnaires to parents whose children attended 8 public primary schools in Thessaloniki and 6 in other rural areas, in the province of Macedonia. The schools were chosen on the basis of the willingness of the school staff to collaborate with the researchers who then applied the snowball method. This phase of the research started in November 2009 and ended in April 2010. 1127 parents (67.5%) completed the 12-pages questionnaire that was returned to the first researcher.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical package SPSS v. 18 (SPSS Inc., Chicago) was used. Principal Component Analysis with Varimax rotation was used to group various questionnaire statements into meaningful scales; the number of factors was selected using Kaiser's criterion (eigenvalue > 1). The reliability of the scales produced was measured by Cronbach's α . Parents' answers to the questionnaires were ordinal or dichotomous variables and were analysed with non-parametric

methods, such as Pearson's X^2 , Mann-Whitney's U test and Spearman's correlation coefficient ρ . Scales created by the summation of answers were treated as quantitative variables and were analyzed with parametric methods, such as Student's t test. The significance level was set to 0.05

Measurements

The study contained a number of psychological, behavioral, and relational measures, as this was part of a larger research project; however only those parts of the research that are relevant to the current chapter are reported in the following sections. Specifically, we present the 5 scales:

1) Questionnaire on the Experience of Bullying According to Parents' Views

As background information, participants' experience of their children's bullying was assessed. In the study questionnaire, the researchers adapted Olweus' (1993) definitions of bullying and assessed several different forms of bullying. With slight revisions, these have been incorporated into an adapted version of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire, used in a national study (Deliyianni-Kouimtzis et al., 2005). The questionnaire divides experiences of bullying into: *physical bullying*, being hit, kicked, pushed, shoved around; *attack on property*, having had money or other things taken away from one, or damaged; *verbal bullying*, being called mean and hurtful names or being threatened (further distinguishing between *racist* and *non-racist* forms of verbal bullying); *indirect bullying*, having other children tell lies, spread rumors, to try to make others dislike one; and *social exclusion*, students purposely not including some children in activities, excluding one from their group of friends, or completely ignoring one. The 14 items of the questionnaire were in regards to, on the one hand the children as victims and on the other the children as bullies. A 4 Likert-scale (never-seldom-often-very often) was used to complete the questionnaire.

2) Questionnaire on the Coping Strategies of the Bullied Children According to Parents' Views

A Self-Report Coping Measure was used to investigate the coping strategies of the bullied children, according to their parents' views. The questionnaire included 13 statements-coping strategies that would cover a wide range of coping practices such as: informing the teacher, or the family, help seeking from friends, not telling anything, crying, avoidance, ignoring the bullying, retaliation, refusal to go to school. Parents had to indicate, on a dichotomous scale (0="no", 1="yes") their views about whether or not their bullied children use each of the coping responses to deal with bullying. A Principal Components Analysis (Varimax rotation) confirmed a three factor structure of the scale. These three factors explained 39, 22% of the total variance (14.35%, 12.65 % and 12.22 % for each of the three factors respectively). The first factor consisted of 4 items and measures *approach or problem-focused coping* strategies. The second factor consisted of 3 items and measures *avoidance* while the third factor consisted of 4 items and measures *disclosure*. Two of the items were excluded from the scale because they had low loadings on the factors. Items on each scale were added together and their values were standardized as a score from 0 to 1, where 0 indicates no adoption and 1 indicates full adoption of the strategy (see Table 1).

Table 1. Factor Analysis of coping of bullied children, according to parents

	Factors		
	I	II	III
Approach/ problem-focused coping ($\alpha = .48$, $M = .14$, $SD = .20$)			
Takes precautions.	.71		
Help seeking from friends.	.64		
Asks from the bully to stop it.	.52		
Avoids the bullying situation.	.44		
Asks for revenge.	.39		
Avoidance/passive ($\alpha = .43$, $M = .12$, $SD = .21$)			
Refuses to attend school.		.75	
Bursts into tears.		.74	
Runs away/ is hiding.		.44	
Disclosure ($\alpha = .36$, $M = .66$, $SD = .22$)			
Tells about it to me/or the other spouse.			.71
Won't say anything.			-.66
Tells about it to a school staff.			.53
Tells about it to sibs.			.42
Eigen value	1.72	1.51	1.47
% of the total variance	14.35	12.65	12.22

3) Questionnaire on Parental Coping Strategies Recommended for a Bullied Child

A Self-Report Coping Measure was used to investigate the coping strategies the parents would recommend to a child being bullied, based on the following question: "What would you as a parent recommend to a child who was being bullied?". The questionnaire included 9 statements-coping strategies that would cover a wide range of coping practices such as: retaliation, revenge, ignoring, avoidance, help seeking from friends or adults. Parents had to indicate, on a 4-point scale (from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree") the ways of coping that they would recommend to a child being bullied. In this questionnaire, the emphasis was given to what a parent would recommend to a child in order to manage the bullying experience and includes strategies mainly based on the literature of children's coping. A Principal Components Analysis (Varimax rotation) confirmed a three factor structure of the scale. These three factors explained 56.85 % of the total variance (20.60 %, 18.99 % and 17.26 % for each of the three factors respectively). The first factor consisted of 3 items and measures *disclosure*. The second factor consisted also of 3 items and measures *retaliation*, whereas the third factor consisted of 2 items and measures *avoidance*. One item was excluded from the scale because it had low loadings on the factors. Items on each scale were added together and their values were standardized as a score from 0 to 1, where 0 indicates no adoption and 1 indicates full adoption of the strategy (see Table 2).

Table 2. Factor analysis of recommended coping strategies for a bullied child

	Factors		
	I	II	III
Disclosure ($\alpha = .41$, $M = .93$, $SD = .11$)			
To tell about it to a teacher.	.80		
To tell about it to his/her parents.	.75		
To ask from the bullies to stop it.	.57		
Retaliation ($\alpha = .42$, $M = .36$, $SD = .21$)			
Counter-aggression.		.80	
To do what bullies are doing to him/her.		.76	
To seek help from friends.		.43	
Avoidance ($\alpha = .49$, $M = .58$, $SD = .29$)			
To walk away.			.81
To ignore bullying.			.79
Eigen value	1.65	1.52	1.38
% of the total variance	20.60	18.99	17.26

4) Questionnaire on the Parental Coping Strategies for Bullied Children and Bullies

A Self-Report Coping Measure was used to investigate the parental coping strategies the participants would hypothetically use in the case of their child being involved in bullying as a victim (the leading question was: “As a parent what would you do in the case of your child being bullied?”) or as a bully (the leading question was: “As a parent what would you do in the case of your child being a bully”). The questionnaire included 14 statements, seven of which were about the status of the child as a victim and the other seven about the status of the child as a bully. In this questionnaire, emphasis was given to the type of coping a parent would choose in order to help their child overcome bullying. The two subscales (child as victim and child as bully) were identical except for the two following items: The items of the first subscale (hypothetical victimized child) “I would listen carefully to what he/she said, and I would try to support her/him” and “I would blame him/her for provoking such a behavior” were replaced by the items “I would talk with her/him and I would try to explain to him what is wrong with bullying other children, without any blaming” and “I would punish her/him” in the second subscale (hypothetical bully). Parents had to indicate, their coping ways on a 2-point scale (0 = “no”, 1 = “yes”).

A Principal Components Analysis (Varimax rotation) confirmed a two factor structure of the first subscale (see Table 3). The first factor consisted of 3 items and measures *inwards-oriented* coping (e.g., I would listen to her/him carefully and I would try to support her/him), whereas the second factor consisted of 2 items and measures *outwards-oriented* coping (e.g., I would talk about it with the bully’s parents). That is, parents would make a distinction between inwards oriented or private practices addressed to the family and close friends and outwards oriented or public practices addressed to others, the bully’s parents or the school. Two items of the scale were excluded because they had low loadings on the factors. Items on each scale were added together and their values were standardized as a score from 0 to 1, where 0 indicates no adoption and 1 indicates full adoption of the strategy (see Table 3). In this subscale, parents would focus on outward strategies rather than on private, inwards-oriented coping.

Table 3. Factor analysis of parental coping strategies (hypothetical case of the child as a victim)

	Factors	
	I	II
Inwards-oriented coping ($\alpha = .35$, $M = .53$, $SD = .29$)		
I would listen to him/her carefully and I would try to support him/her.	.69	
I would try to solve any family problems that might have an impact on my child's behavior.	.68	
I would talk with his/her friends without blaming them.	.58	
Outwards-oriented coping ($\alpha = .16$, $M = .79$, $SD = .28$)		
I would talk and I would inform the bully's parents.		.81
I would inform the school and I would talk with them about it.		.57
Eigen value	1.23	1.12
% of the total variance	25.77	22.44

A Principal Components Analysis (Varimax rotation) confirmed a three factor structure of the second subscale (parental coping in the hypothetical case of the child being bully, see Table 4). The first factor consisted of 3 items and measures outwards-oriented coping. The second factor consisted of 2 items and measures child oriented coping (in terms of exerting or not punishment and self-blame) and the third factor (2 items) measures inwards-oriented coping. In this subscale, parents adopt different strategies in the hypothetical case of their child being a bully, since they tend to focus on inwards oriented and child oriented coping.

Table 4. Factor analysis of parental coping (hypothetical case of the child as a bully)

	Factors		
	I	II	III
Outwards-oriented coping ($\alpha = .52$, $M = .46$, $SD = .33$) I would talk with the bully's parents and I would inform them about the bullying incident.	.79		
I would talk with the bully's friends without blaming them.	.70		
I would talk with the school staff and I would inform them about the bullying incident.	.59		
Child-oriented coping ($\alpha = .36$, $M = .80$, $SD = .31$)			
I would punish him/her.		-.79	
I would talk with him/her trying to explain what is wrong, without blaming him/her		.76	
Inwards-oriented coping ($\alpha = .03$, $M = .83$, $SD = .25$)			
I do not like bullying, but it is none of my business to deal with it.			-.80
I would try to solve any family problems that might have an impact on my child's behavior.			.57
Eigen value	1.70	1.23	1.05
% of the total variance	22.79	17.54	15.5

5) Questionnaire on Parenting Practices

The parenting practices were measured with a 20-item self-report scale comprising of three factor-analytically derived subscales, according to the theoretical model by Baumrind (1991): authoritative, permissive and authoritarian practices. The parents answered these items on a four-point Likert scale, ranging from “does not apply at all” to “it applies always” (See table 5). One item of the scale was excluded because it had low loadings on the factors.

Table 5. Parenting practices

	Factors		
	I	II	III
Authoritative practices ($\alpha = .75$, $M = .93$, $SD = .14$)	.74		
I am interested in my child's school behavior.			
I am interested in my child's school achievement.	.72		
I respect my child's views and I encourage him/her to express them freely.	.72		
When my child misbehaves, we have a nice talk about it.	.65		
I believe in the children's rights.	.60		
I get a lot of satisfaction from my child.	.57		
I try to help my child, when teased by his/her friends.	.54		
I usually take into consideration my child's wishes and choices when planning for the family.	.54		
We share warm, intimate moments with my child.	.47		
I believe that children have a right to make decisions about their future.	.43		
Permissive practices ($\alpha = .43$, $M = .13$, $SD = .20$)			
Most of the people I know would say that I am very tolerant when my child misbehaves.		.68	
I punish my child when he/she misbehaves less than other parents.		.65	
I tend to spoil my child.		.49	
There is a lot of tension between me and my child.		.33	
Authoritarian practices ($\alpha = .41$, $M = .53$, $SD = .26$)			
I would not allow my child to question any of my decisions.			.73
I believe that children are immature and are not capable of making decisions for themselves.			.52
I believe that nowadays, parents recognize a lot of children's rights, and this spoils them.			.44
I apply strict rules to discipline my child.			.41
I am really worried if everything is okay, when my child is away.			.36
Eigen Value	3.83	1.66	1.57
% of the total variance	20.14	8.72	8.25

RESULTS

The data are presented in two sections. The first section presents the descriptive characteristics of the participating parents in relation to a) their views regarding bullying frequency b) their views as regards the coping strategies their children adopt, c) the coping strategies they recommend to a child who is being bullied d) their coping strategies in both hypothetical cases (child as a victim and child as a bully) as well as descriptive characteristics of parenting practices. The second section presents the correlations between parenting practices and parenting coping strategies, namely (a) children's coping according to parents' views, b) coping strategies that parents recommend to a child being bullied and c) parents' coping in the hypothetical case of their child being a victim or bully.

1. Descriptive Characteristics of Parental Views Regarding Bullying Frequency, Coping, and Parenting Practices

Experience of Bullying According to the Parents' Views

15.3% (n= 172) of the participating parents stated that their children had been bullied at school, 20.9% (n=236) stated their children were bullies, 16.7% (n=188) stated their children were bully-victims, while 47.1% (n=531) responded that their children had not been involved in any bullying experience either way (Table 6).

Table 6. Frequency of bullying experience according to parents' views

		Child as a bully		
		Never	Seldom-often	Total
Child as a victim	Never-seldom ¹	Group 3 531 (47.1%)	Group 2 236 (20.9%)	767 (68.1%)
	Often-very often	Group 1 172 (15.3%)	Group 4 188 (16.7%)	360 (31.9%)
	Total	703 (62.4%)	424 (37.6%)	1127 (100%)

Parents reported verbal bullying as being most frequent (66%), followed by social exclusion (49.7%), *physical bullying*, (47.5%), spreading rumors (34%), *attack on property* (28.1%), threats (10.8%) and *racist* forms of verbal bullying (9.8%) (See Table 7).

Coping Strategies of Bullied Children According to Parents' Views

According to parents, the strategies their bullied child use are mainly disclosure ($M = .66$, $SD = .22$), followed by approach-problem-focused coping ($M = .14$, $SD = .20$), and avoidance ($M = .12$, $SD = .21$). Although the sex of the bullied children did not differentiate the three factors of the scale, girls have been found to adopt the following strategies significantly more, in

¹The group of bullied children according to their parents was separated in a) being bullied often or very often versus seldom or never being bullied. This has been adopted since there were small numbers in the categories: never, versus seldom, often and very often. On the other hand, the group of bullies was separated in a) never being involved in bullying versus b) bullying seldom, often and very often.

comparison to boys, according to their parents' views: "Tells about it to siblings" ($X^2(1)=6.271$, $p=.008$), "Bursts into tears" ($X^2(1)=3.162$, $p=.047$) and "Avoids the bullying situation" ($X^2(1)=10.456$, $p=.001$). A small percentage of parents (6.6%) stated that they were not aware of their bullied child's coping, which was significantly higher for the parents of bullied boys, in comparison to those of bullied girls ($X^2(1)=5.358$, $p=.015$).

Table 7. Frequency of bullying experience according to parental views (children as victims and bullies)

		Children as victims					Children as bullies			
		Never	Seldom	Often	Very Often		Never	Seldom	Often	Very often
Verbal bullying	<i>n</i>	383	517	183	44		907	194	22	4
	%	34.0	45.9	16.2	3.9		80.5	17.2	2.0	0.4
Social exclusion	<i>n</i>	567	402	129	29		905	202	17	3
	%	50.3	35.7	11.4	2.6		80.3	17.9	1.5	0.3
Physical bullying	<i>n</i>	595	400	107	25		965	140	20	2
	%	52.8	35.5	9.5	2.2		85.6	12.4	1.8	0.2
Spreading rumors	<i>n</i>	744	298	74	11		1031	86	9	1
	%	66.0	26.4	6.6	1.0		91.5	7.6	0.8	0.1
Attack on property	<i>n</i>	810	257	57	3.0		1082	41	3	1
	%	71.9	22.8	5.1	0.3		96.0	3.6	0.3	0.1
Threats	<i>n</i>	1005	103	16	3		1102	21	3	1
	%	89.2	9.1	1.4	0.3		97.8	1.9	0.3	0.1
Racist verbal bullying	<i>n</i>	1016	88	16	77		1046	72	9	0.0
	%	90.2	7.8	1.4	0.6		92.8	6.4	0.8	0.0

Recommended Parental Coping Strategies for a Child Being Bullied

The parents stated that when a child is being bullied, the first coping strategy she/he should choose is disclosure ($M=.93$, $SD=.11$), followed by avoidance ($M=.58$, $SD=.29$), and retaliation ($M=.36$, $SD=.21$).

Parental Coping Strategies for Bullied Children and Bullies

As previously stated, parents tended to focus on strategies oriented toward the inward, private family life when given the hypothetical situation of their child being a bully ($M=.83$, $SD=.25$). This was followed by strategies directed at a child ($M=.80$, $SD=.31$) and the last choice were strategies directed outwards, making the bullying situation public ($M=.46$, $SD=.33$). This was in stark contrast to the hypothetical case of their child being bullied: then parents tended to adopt strategies directed mainly outside the family ($M=.79$, $SD=.28$), in comparison to the inward strategies ($M=.53$, and $SD=.29$).

Parenting Practices

Overall, the majority of parents stated that they would mainly use authoritative practices, ($M=.93$, $SD=.14$), followed by authoritarian ($M=.53$, $SD=.26$) and lastly permissive ($M=.13$,

$SD=.20$). Significantly more mothers than fathers stated that they exert authoritative practices (Mann-Whitney $z = -2.862$, $p < .05$).

2. Associations between Parenting Practices and Coping

Parenting Practices and Bullying Experience

Authoritative practices were negatively associated with threats ($\rho = -.077$, $p < 0.01$) and racism as forms of verbal bullying ($\rho = -.091$, $p < 0.01$). Authoritarian parenting practices significantly correlated to verbal bullying ($\rho = .075$, $p < 0.05$), spreading rumors ($\rho = .080$, $p < 0.01$) and threats ($\rho = .086$, $p < 0.01$). Lastly, permissive practices were significantly associated with all forms of bullying, except damaging objects (Table 8).

Correlations between Parenting Practices, Bullied Children's Coping according to their Parents and Recommended Coping when a Child Is Being Bullied

In accordance with parental views, avoidance as a coping strategy adopted by the bullied children correlated significantly to permissive practices ($\rho = .069$, $p < 0.05$), whereas disclosure correlated significantly to authoritative practices ($\rho = .106$, $p < 0.01$) (see Table 8).

Table 8. Correlations between parenting practices, bullied children's coping according to their parents and recommended parental coping when a child is being bullied or bullies.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Authoritative (<i>M</i> =.93, <i>SD</i> =.14)	Authoritarian (<i>M</i> =.53, <i>SD</i> =.26)	Permissive (<i>M</i> =13, <i>SD</i> =.20)
Victims' experiences (parental views)					
Verbal bullying				.075*	.098**
Social exclusion					.068*
Physical bullying					.106**
Spreading rumors				.080**	.128**
Attack on property					
Threats			-.077**	.086**	.079**
Racism			-.091**		.075*
Bullies' experiences (parental views)					
Verbal bullying					.148**
Social exclusion					.086**
Physical bullying					.147**
Spreading rumors					
Attack on property			-.061*		
Threats			-.085**		.087**
Racism			-.100**		
Coping of bullied children (parental views)					
Disclosure	.66	.22	.106**		
Approach- problem focused	.14	.20			
Avoidance	.12	.21			.069*

Table 8. (Continued)

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Authoritative (<i>M</i> =.93, <i>SD</i> =.14)	Authoritarian (<i>M</i> =.53, <i>SD</i> =.26)	Permissive (<i>M</i> =13, <i>SD</i> =.20)
Coping that parents recommend to bullied children					
Disclosure	.93	.11	.133**		
Avoidance	.58	.29			.079**
Retaliation	.36	.21			.121**
Parental coping in a hypothetical case of child as victim					
Outwards-oriented	.79	.28			
Inwards-oriented	.53	.29			
Parental coping in a hypothetical case of child as bully					
Inwards-oriented	.83	.25	.134**	-.111**	
Child -oriented	.80	.31	.087**		
Outwards- oriented	.46	.33			

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Retaliation and avoidance as coping strategies that the parents recommend to a child being bullied were significantly associated with permissive practices ($\rho = .121$, $p < 0.01$ and $\rho = .079$, $p < 0.01$ correspondingly). Disclosure as a coping that the parents recommend to a child being bullied was associated with authoritative practices ($\rho = .133$, $p < 0.01$) (see Table 8).

Parents whose Children Are Bullied vs Children who Are not Involved

Following these analyses, we wanted to look at the parents whose children had been bullied and to compare their coping strategies to those parents who stated that their children were not involved in bullying. The results showed that the former recommended significantly more retaliation and avoidance as coping practices than the latter (see Table 9)

Table 9. Coping and child as victim: Means (SD) and statistical significance

	Child as victim	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig</i> (2-tailed)
Retaliation	Never/seldom	732	.34 (.21)	3.257	1080	.001
	Often	350	.38 (.21)			
Avoidance	Never/seldom	733	.56 (.29)	2.224	1083	.026
	Often	352	.60 (.29)			
Disclosure	Never/seldom	761	.93 (.11)	-.790	1117	.430
	Often	358	.93(.12)			
Inwards- oriented coping	Never/seldom	763	.51 (.29)	1.757	1121	.079
	Often	360	.55 (.27)			
Outwards oriented coping	Never/seldom	763	.78 (.28)	.792	1121	.429
	Often	360	.80 (.28)			

Parents Whose Children Are Bullies vs. Children who Are not Involved

The type of coping strategies that the parents of bullies (whether often or seldom) would choose to adopt in comparison to those adopted by parents who claimed that their children were not involved in any bullying are presented below (Table 10).

Table 10. Coping and child as a bully: Means (SD) and statistical significance

	Child as bully	N	M (SD)	t	df	Sig (2-tailed)
Outwards - oriented coping	Often/	418	.46(.34)	.062	1101	.950
	Never	685	.46 (.33)			
Child-oriented coping	Often/	419	.76 (.31)	-2.919	1102	.004
	never	685	.82 (.31)			
Inwards – oriented coping	Often/	418	.83 (.25)	.018	1101	.985
	Never	685	.83 (.24)			

DISCUSSION

A number of studies have pointed to the link between family relationships and bullying in terms of both its inception and duration (e.g., Bowers et al., 1994; Olweus, 1993). Notwithstanding, researchers have only recently started to pay attention to the role of family in the bullied victims' coping process (see Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Smith, 2004). The main focus of our research was to examine coping strategies parents propose to their children in order for the latter to deal with being bullied. These results cannot be compared directly with the coping strategy ratings obtained in other studies (e.g., Smith *et al.*, 2001), due to the fact that not only did the researchers of the present study use different coping strategies, but also because in the majority of other studies children rather than parents have been used as the main informants. However, with some caution, some comparisons can be discussed.

Experience of Bullying According to Parents' Views

Although the frequency and distribution of bully-victim status types was not the major objective of our study, we feel however that they are important and deserve at least a brief comment. According to the parents' views, bullying is perceived as being an extensive problem in Greek schools, since in the study, a high percentage of children were stated as being or having been involved as victims, bullies and bully/ victims. These data replicate the results of other international studies and call for for effective anti-bullying interventions, that also include the role of parents (Due et al., 2005). An interesting finding of the present study is that just over a fifth of the students were stated by the parents as being bullies (20.9%), compared to 15.3% who were claimed to be victims. It could be that when students participate as informants they are less willing to disclose their status as a bully, as they may be afraid of the negative consequences that this could have (Alsaker & Valkanover, 2001). Another explanation for the high percentage of bullies as stated by the parents, might be due to methodological factors; in our study children were defined as bullies when they were both seldom and often

involved in a bullying incident as opposed to those not involved at all. While the victims were classified as being or having been bullied often or very often as opposed to the not involved who had seldom or never been bullied.

In addition, in the present study only a small percentage of parents—mainly those who had boys—reported not being aware of their children's coping strategies when bullied. Overall, our findings contradict the main literature that talks about high parental underestimation of bullying. For example, Fekkes et al. (2005) found that nearly half of the parents of victims did not know that their children were bullied. Research suggests that this parental unawareness is the rule, rather than an exception (Rigby & Barnes, 2002; Smith, 2000). This lack of parents' being informed of their children's experiencing bullying is discussed in the literature as a significant risk factor: obviously if a parent does not know about his/her child being involved in bullying, he/she cannot support them. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that even when they know that their children are being bullied, parents often fail to support and protect them (Sawyer et al., 2011). It is granted that theoretically at least, parents can either overestimate or underestimate bullying. The present study based only on parental self-reports is quite unlikely to answer this binary tendency, though it does provide some evidence that parents are in fact informed about bullying incidence by reporting its frequency to a comparable degree to that usually reported by children (e.g., Forero, McLellan, Rissel, & Bauman, 1999). Studies that seek information dynamics related to bullying, such as child-parent discrepancy need to investigate data from both parents and children.

Verbal bullying was the most common form, a finding that is confirmed by many studies (Skrzypiec et al., 2011). Verbal bullying is usually underestimated in terms of its impact on children's well being and needs to be addressed in a more systematic way.

Bullied Children's Coping Strategies (Parental Views)

According to the parents who participated in the present study, when their child was bullied, she/he tended to cope with the situation by disclosing the incident to them (Mean .66), followed by the approach/problem-focused approach (Mean .14), whereas the findings show that avoidance was the least chosen option (Mean .12).

We would like to note that from the factor analysis, Approach as a coping strategy included practices like "Avoids the bullying situation" or "asks for revenge". In other words, parents seem to consider these ways as belonging to the same line of practices such as taking precautions, or asking the bully to stop their behaviour. Furthermore, the parents' conceptualization of their bullied children's avoidance strategy, is mainly seen as them adopting internalizing ways of coping, such as crying and hiding away, along with the child's refusal to attend school.

Although there is rich literature regarding children's coping strategies, most of the studies use the children as the main informants. For example, Smith *et al.* (2001) in England investigated coping strategies used by 10- to 14-year-old victims of bullying (similar age group to that used in our study). According to their study the most common coping strategies used by the students were "ignored the bullies", followed by "told them to stop", "asked an adult for help" and "fought back"; the least used coping strategies were "ran away", "asked friends for help", and "cried".

Consistent with the literature researching children's coping (Causey & Dubow, 1992), in the present study, children typically prefer "disclosure" strategies as a way to their dealing with bullying. Avoidance was the strategy least preferred by the children. The items "bursts into tears", "runs away" and "refuses to attend school" used in the present study, are also classified as *internalizing strategies* and have been associated with anxiety and peer victimization (Causey & Dubow, 1992; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002). According to the international literature, passive strategies, overall, have been linked with repeated victimization and negative psychological consequences. Still, it is important to note that these behaviors are often antecedents as well as consequences of victimization and thus children become involved in a vicious cycle of repeated victimization (Singh, & Bussey, 2009).

Recommended Parental Coping Strategies to a Child Being Bullied

Looking first at the overall preference for the different coping strategies, Disclosure emerged as the most recommended or preferred coping strategy, followed by Avoidance; least preferred was Retaliation. There are studies that indicate disclosure as an effective coping mechanism. For example, Smith and Shu (2000) found that 55% of pupils bullied who disclosed it to adults (teachers or parents) reported that things improved or were cleared. Generally, researchers and school staff encourage pupils to tell someone if they are being bullied and are unable to deal with the situation on their own (Smith, et al., 2001; Tsiantis, et al., 2007). This is also the prominent theme in national anti-bullying campaigns in Greece, encouraging the students who have or are suffering bullying, to seek social support by disclosing their experiences (Tsiantis et al., 2007). On the other hand, "telling" can have negative connotations-mainly for older children- and hence may hinder them from seeking social support when in fact they greatly need it (Rigby & Bauman, 2010).

In other words, the participating parents would recommend to a child being bullied, first disclosure (Mean .93), followed by avoidance (Mean .58) and retaliation last (Mean .36). That is, disclosure was not only indicated as the bullied children's favorite coping, but the most recommended one by parents.

Interestingly, in the factor retaliation, "help seeking from friends" is also included. In the literature about coping and bullying, help seeking is a form of social support that is usually classified as a positive way of managing the bullying situation. However, according to the parents' understanding in the present study, help from friends as part of the broader factor of retaliation might be seen as a way that the bullied child can take revenge on those who are bullying her/him by calling on the strength of numbers of friends.

In general, in the present study, the parents would noticeably recommend more network support such as disclosure than the coping of avoidance and retaliation. However, Matsunaga (2010) points out that disclosure as a kind of support might be considered by bullied victims as undesirable, since bullied children strongly fear that their status as victims will eventually be known by others (Fekkes et al., 2005; Rigby & Barnes, 2002).

The majority of the parents in the present study have avoided retaliation as a recommended parental coping. This is very encouraging since retaliation has been found inadequate for solving bullying overtime. For example, Salmivalli et al. (1996) in Finland found that "counter-aggression" in bullied children was a behavior associated with initiation or continuation of

bullying. Children need to avoid strategies associated with increased victimization and psychological maladjustment. In addition, retaliation is classified as an externalizing way of coping (Singh & Bussey, 2009) which involves students in negative peer interactions and potentially can lead them to employ aggressive strategies as a way of avenging the victimization they have experienced. This seems to be recognized by the parents in the present study, since the retaliation has been least recommended.

Parental Coping Strategies in Relation to the Bully Status: Victim vs. Bully

In the hypothetical case of their child being either bullied or a bully, the parental coping strategies were similar to a degree in the way that in both cases, they tended to favor an approach or problem- focused way of coping, based mainly on talking about the bullying and seeking help. At the same time, however, the strategies were quite distinct: in the case of a bullied child, the parents seem to opt for a solution outside the family and/or the close circle of the child's friends. They feel the problem lies with the bullies or the school setting where the bullying behaviour takes place. Consequently, the parents state that they would rather inform the school or the bully's parents in order to solve the problem and put an end to their children's distress (outwards-directed coping, *Mean* .79 versus inwards-directed coping, *Mean* .53). It is as if parental attributions are in a way liaised with an external focus of control.

On the other hand, things seem to change radically in the hypothetical case of their child being a bully. In this situation, the first choice for parents is to search for solutions within the family (*Mean* .83) and, second, they favor an individual-tailored approach toward the bully (*Mean* .80); they would definitely, avoid asking for help from the schools or the other parents (*Mean* .46) (e.g., the bullied children's parents). Many reasons may be attributed to this kind of parental attitude: many parents feel ashamed or embarrassed of their child's behaviour; they may be apprehensive the school staff will blame them for their child's bullying behaviour (Bibou, et al., 2012); or they may believe that it is the child's or the family's role and responsibility to change and put an end to the bullying (Dowling & Osborne, 2004). Besides, there is evidence to suggest that schools have difficulty in collaborating with the families of the bullies (Tsiantis et al., 2007).

Furthermore, a promising outcome that arises in the present study in regards to parental coping is that they are least likely to blame either the bully themselves or the bullied child's friends for the bullying incident. The various attributions that students make as to the reasons for their victimization are well known and self blame is one of them. For example, Graham & Junoven (2001) found that bullied children who attribute their experience as a personal attack and who feel they themselves are to blame, are more likely to suffer from psychological difficulties. In addition, Singh & Bussey (2009) found that students with greater self-efficacy for avoiding self-blame are less likely to suffer psychological maladjustment than those whose self-efficacy beliefs were lower. The findings on bully-victim status differences in parental coping strategies contribute to a growing literature on variations in coping strategies in response to bullying. More evidence is still needed on the effectiveness of different coping strategies. In addition, more studies are required to examine how parental coping varies with person and context variables. We believe that observational and longitudinal studies will contribute most to this.

Following on from the main analyses, we make a comparison of parents whose children fall in either of the following two groups: children who according to their parents have been bullied (even if seldom) as opposed to those who, again according to their parents, have never been involved in bullying. It is cause for concern that significantly more parents whose children had suffered bullying incidents, recommended retaliation and avoidance as coping practices, in comparison to the other group of parents whose children had not experienced bullying episodes. This finding is in to an extent consistent with research which has shown that passive coping is more prominent in children who have been bullied when compared to those who have not (Olweus, 1993; Schwartz, Dodge, & Coie, 1993). Nevertheless, the fact that the previous studies are based on students' self-reports needs to be kept in mind when relating the data to the present research. Although the parents in our study, might have recommended these particular strategies as a way to put an end to their children being bullied, it cannot be ignored that these same strategies have been associated with an increase in psychosocial difficulties and the perpetuation of the bullying behaviour (Mahady-Wilton et al., 2000; Cowie, 2004).

A comparison was also made of the parental coping strategies where according to the parents: a) the children have been bullies (whether often or seldom), b) the children have never been involved in bullying. It is promising to note that the parents who described their children as being bullies stated that the coping strategy they would propose is more child oriented than the other group of parents, whose children were not involved in bullying behavior. In other words, the parents of bullies would choose to talk to their children in order to find out and understand what the problem was rather than use punishment as reprimand for wrong-doing.

Parenting Practices, Experience of Bullying and Coping

In the present study, authoritative practices were the first choice of parents, followed by authoritarian and permissive practices. Our findings appear to be consistent with the literature on the association of parenting and aggression in general (Barry et al., 2009; Idsoe et al., 2008; Ybarra & Kimberly, 2004) which more specifically states that the more the parents use permissive practices, the more they report that their child is being bullied at school. In other words, when parents use permissive practices, there is a higher incidence of the children being bullied at school. In fact, this has been also validated by the association between the authoritarian parenting and some forms of bullying (verbal bullying, spreading rumors, and being threatened) in our study. Authoritative practices, on the other hand, have been related with the absence or a significant reduction in some forms of bullying such as threats and racism.

Regarding the relationship between parenting and coping strategies, it appears that the more permissive the parents were in their children's upbringing, the more their bullied children tended to use avoidance as a way of coping with bullying. Furthermore, permissive practices were associated with retaliation and avoidance as parental coping strategies recommended to a child being or having been bullied. Lastly, in the hypothetical case where the child was a bully, there was a negative relationship between parental authoritarian practices and inwards-directed coping, in the hypothetical case of the parents' child being a bully. That is, the stricter the parents, the less they would use inwards-directed coping. Authoritative practices, on the other hand, were highly related to disclosure as a way the bullied child attempts to deal with bullying and as a way the parents recommend to a child being bullied. That is, the more democratic the parents, the more they would choose or would recommend to a bullied child to talk about the

incident and try to come to a solution together. This is explained by the fact that authoritative parents believe in the communicative and relational dynamics of disclosure interactions. A family context that promotes emotional support, setting rules and interactional communication predisposes the disclosure of one's bullying experience of bullying (see, e.g., Greene, 2009). Bullied victims –according to research review- could make disclosure decisions based not only on their own inclination, but also with regard to the willingness of the given interactional partner to listen to them. Naturally, victims would be discouraged to talk about their bullying experiences if their parents were incapable of managing what the child was going through; or even in the more negative reactions of punishing, blaming or even showing disengaged attitudes to the bullied child (Mishna, 2004).

In the hypothetical case of their child being a bully, the parents who use authoritative practices tended to choose strategies that were inwards-directed coping and coping oriented to the child. That is the more authoritative were the parental practices for their children's upbringing, the more they would opt for helping their child who was a bully avoid both blaming the child and by reflecting on the family's functioning.

In considering the results of the study, certain methodological issues need to be taken into account. First, the questions asking parents what ways they would react in response to different types of bullying are hypothetical. Presumably, parents who had the experience of a bullied child responded to these questions with the coping strategies they had in fact used at the time. Alternatively, one could support the view that these parents may have responded to these questions by using totally different coping strategies from the ones they had actually used should their original coping strategies have failed to reduce or eliminate their children's being bullied at the time. As a result, the coping strategy responses given by the parents are merely considered representations of what a) their bullied children would do in the various bullying situations, and b) their own coping strategies whether these were recommended or had been chosen at an earlier time.

Second, in terms of the data collection, the results are based on parental self-reports only. There is a need to correlate these findings with the children's responses and the teachers' views regarding parental coping strategies (Taber, 2010). On the other hand, many researchers (for example, Mizell, 2003), have found the parental views reliable since they closely related to the views of other informants such as teachers.

Third, parenting practices are also based on self-reports only and should be expanded by the children's views on parenting practices. According to Stevens et al. (2002), children usually evaluate parenting practices more negatively in comparison to the parents themselves. However, the particularly permissive or authoritarian parenting practices are very likely to be a contributory factor in the predicament of these children, who generally fare worse on measures of psychosocial adjustment (Baldry & Farrington, 2005).

Fourth, It should be noted that some of our results should be interpreted with caution, since some measures of parental coping fell below the generally accepted level for internal reliability of scale items (Henson, 2001). More specifically these were: in the case when the child was being bullied, the choice for outwards-directed parental coping strategies; and in the case were the child was described as a bully, the choice for inwards-directed parental coping strategies. Future research should endeavor to develop or use psychometrically stronger scales to assess these constructs.

Implications of the Study

When it comes to researchers' suggestions as to how we can counteract the issue of bullying, there does not seem to be simply one way to approach the problem. Indeed, when researchers introduce their ideas on how to eliminate bullying, they commonly propose a combined set of anti-bullying interventions, many of which often aimed at improving the victims' coping strategies (Cowie & Sharp, 1994; Smith et al., 2001). The idea is that victims who have more effective ways of dealing with bullying situations, for example by ignoring the bully, assertively asking the bully to stop, or seeking help from a friend or adult, may be able to put a stop to the bullying at an early stage (Salmivalli et al., 1996; Smith & Shu, 2000). The present study investigated parental views regarding coping with bullying, since parents are significant models for teaching their children how to cope with stressful situations. We believe that these findings provide evidence on the necessity of parents being willing to help and emotionally support their bullied children and in doing so play an active part in anti-bullying practices.

Taking parental views into consideration could lead to effective promotion and intervention of anti-bullying programs. In addition, teachers' awareness of parental views might enhance home-school collaboration for better managing bullying (Eslea & Smith, 2000; O'Moore & Minton, 2004; Orpinas & Horne, 2006). The closer the parental communication with the school staff, the more effective are anti-bullying plans and programs (Sheridan et al., 2004).

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Chapter 90

BULLYING IN CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE: MODIFYING FACTORS, IMPACT ON PSYCHOSOCIAL WELL-BEING, AND INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

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ABSTRACT

Bullying among children and adolescents is a common, detrimental behavior that can impact an individual and community at multiple levels. Researchers define bullying as repetitive, intentional attacks (physical or psychological) that cause harm to a victim, in the context of a power imbalance. Numerous factors modify the likelihood of becoming a bully, a victim or a combination bully/victim. These include risk factors present in youths themselves, in their families, schools, and communities. Similarly, protective factors have been identified and preventative interventions based on identifying and strengthening these factors have been developed. Bullying experiences may negatively impact the psychosocial well-being of both bullies and victims. Moreover, bullying has been associated with academic difficulties and negative consequences for physical and mental health. The consequences of bullying may be long term and even fatal, given that bullies and victims are at a higher risk for suicide. Numerous treatment strategies to diminish the negative impact of bullying have been implemented. Most evidenced-based interventions are preventative programs through the school system; however, individual interventions can include mental health evaluations as well as family interventions. In schools, the most beneficial interventions to decrease victimization include parent/teacher meetings, disciplinary methods, and increasing the duration and intensity of the program for both children and teachers. In this chapter, we review risk and protective factors, explore how bullying may impact psychosocial and physical well-being, and discuss up-to-date

treatment strategies to help clinicians recognize and decrease the impact of bullying in childhood and adolescence.

INTRODUCTION

Research into bullying began in the early 1970s in Scandinavia and expanded throughout the world in the 1980s and 1990s. Over the last decade, there has been tremendous growth of American research on the topic of bullying. Bullying is the most common form of school violence. In their landmark study of the prevalence of bullying behaviors in the United States, in 2001 Nansel et al. found that up to 29.9% of students in grades 6 through 10 reported being involved in moderate or frequent bullying: 13% were identified as a bully, 10.6% as a victim, and 6.3% as a bully-victim, which is an individual who has experienced bullying victimization and perpetration. (Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Marto, & Scheidt, 2001) A smaller study more recently found that about 22% of students reported being involved in bullying: 6% as bullies, 14% as victims, and 2% as bully-victims. (Glew, Fan, Katon, Rivara, & Kernic, 2005)

Studies from around the world demonstrate a high prevalence of bullying experiences among school-aged youth. Kumpulainen et al. (1998) found that 8.1% of Finnish children were identified as bullies, 7.6% as victims, and 11.3% as bully victims. In an Australian study 57.8% of students reported involvement in bullying: 23.7% identified as bullies, 12.7% as victims, and 21.5% as bully-victims. (Forero, McLellan, Rissel, & Bauman, 1999) Among South Korean middle school students, 40% reported involvement in bullying with 17% identified as bullies, 14% as victims, and 9% as bully-victims. (Y. Kim, Koh, & Leventhal, 2005) Interviews of students and parents in India found that 31.4% of children were involved in bullying. (Kshirsagar, Agarwal, & Bavdekar, 2007) In South Africa, 36.3% of students reported involvement in bullying: 8.2% as bullies, 19.3% as victims, and 8.7% as bully-victims. (Liang, Flisher, & Lombard, 2007)

As the significance of bullying has been recognized, research in bullying continues to expand and examines many different factors related to bullying, including predictors or risk factors, consequences and sequelae of involvement with bullying, as well as development and evaluation of bullying prevention programs. While there are variations in the definition of bullying behavior, researchers and clinicians have generally agreed on the definition created by Dan Olweus, an early and preeminent researcher in the field, who noted, "A student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students." Another key factor is that an imbalance in strength or asymmetric power relationship is present. (Olweus, 1994) Accordingly, bullying may be defined as repetitive, intentional attacks (physical or psychological) that cause harm to a victim and occur in the context of a power imbalance. Direct bullying includes physical aggression (e.g., hitting, pushing, kicking, locking in a room, being forced to do things, having money/things taken away or damaged) and verbal aggression (e.g., name calling, teasing in a hurtful way, threats of violence). Manipulative behaviors in relationships, such as spreading rumors, social exclusion, manipulation of relationships, and friendship betrayals, may be considered forms of indirect bullying.

Changes in use of communication technology have allowed for the growth of a new type of bullying behavior that is has been termed "cyberbullying". Cyberbullying is understood as

“willful and repeated harm inflicted through the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices”. (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010) Cyberbullying may be a significant contributor to overall bullying experiences in the US, with at least one study finding rates of perpetration between 9.1% and 23.1% and victimization between 5.7% and 18.3%. (Hinduja et al., 2010) Three distinct status groups differentiate youth involved in bullying: individuals who are victims only (victims), individuals who are bullies only (bullies), and victimized individuals who also bully (bully-victims). This chapter will provide an overview of risk and protective factors, explore how bullying may impact psychosocial and physical well-being, and discuss up-to-date prevention strategies.

PREDICTORS OF INVOLVEMENT IN BULLYING

Many studies have examined not only the risk factors for becoming a victim, but also the risk factors for becoming a bully or a bully-victim. Overall younger age is one risk factor for involvement in bullying, especially status as a victim. (Liang et al., 2007; Olweus, 1994) Olweus noted that the percentage of students being bullied decreased with higher grades. (Olweus, 1994) He also found that as children progressed in age, there was a trend towards decreased use of physical means of bullying. (Olweus, 1994) Male gender has been found to be another risk factor for involvement in bullying. (Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, & Sadek, 2010; Liang et al, 2007; Olweus, 1994) Boys were found to be exposed to bullying more often than girls, especially in regards to direct bullying. (Olweus, 1994) Similar findings were noted in other studies with more males involved in bullying than females. (Y. Kim et al., 2005; Nansel et al., 2001) However in India it was noted that there was no significant differences in bullying between males and females at co-ed schools, but the rate at all girl schools was significantly low. (Kshirsagar et al., 2007) In Australia, males were more often found to be bullies or bully-victims, whereas slightly more females identified as victims than males. (Forero, McLellan, Rissel, & Bauman, 1999) Olweus did find girls and boys to be equally exposed to indirect forms. (Olweus, 1994) There is also some evidence that when girls are involved as bullies they are more impaired. (Y. Kim et al., 2006; Klomek, Marrocco, Kleinman, Schonfeld, & Gould, 2007; Klomek, Sourander, & Gould, 2010) For instance, Kim et al. (2006) found that when compared to male students, female students who became bullies were at greater risk of developing externalizing problems and females who developed externalizing problems were at greater risk for becoming bullies. Sexual orientation has also been associated with risks of involvement in bullying. While gay males were less likely to be identified as a bully than heterosexual males, mostly heterosexual and bisexual females were found to have an increased risk of being identified as a bully when compared to heterosexual females. (Berlan, Corliss, Field, Goodman, & Austin, 2010) When it comes to victim status, mostly heterosexual males and females, gay males, lesbian females, and bisexual females were all more likely to be victims than their heterosexual counterparts. (Berlan et al., 2010)

Overall, status as a **victim** has been associated with many qualities such as physical weakness, depression, and anxiety. (Fekkes, Pijpers, & Verloove-Vanhorick, 2004; Fekkes, Pijpers, Fredriks, Vogels, & Pauline, 2006; Olweus, 1994; Schwartz, 2000; Veenstra, Lindenberg, Oldehinkel, DeWinter, Verhulst, & Ormel, 2005) Victims also have less assertive-prosocial behaviors and are more withdrawn-submissive than uninvolved children. (Fekkes et

al., 2004; Olweus, 1994; Schwartz, 2000; Veenstra et al., 2005) They have also been found to have less social acceptance. (Schwartz, 2000) One study, however, found the association between social problems at baseline and victim status disappeared when baseline bullying status was adjusted for. (Y. Kim et al., 2006) In the United States, there is some evidence that status as an immigrant lead to an increased risk of being a victim. (Hepburn, Azrael, Molnar, & Miller, 2012) *Bullies* (nonvictimized) have been found to have high levels of aggressive and impulsive behaviors. (Kumpulainen & Rasanen, 2000; Perren & Alsaker, 2006; Schwartz, 2000; Veenstra et al., 2005) Social and environmental factors have also been found to be related to status as a bully, including exposure to domestic violence, problems with neighbors, parental conflict, and family dissolution. (Bowes, Arsenaault, Maughan, Taylor, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2009; Jablonska & Lindberg, 2007; Spriggs, Iannotti, Nansel, & Haynie, 2007) *Bully-victims* carry some of the risk factors of both bullies and victims. While they have been found to have high levels of aggression, they have also been found to have high levels of depression. (Perren & Alsaker, 2006; Schwartz, 2000; Veenstra et al., 2005) They also have been found to score low on measures of academic competence, prosocial behavior, and self-esteem. (Perren et al., 2006; Schwartz, 2000; Veenstra et al., 2005) The early history of these children also included abuse, harsh restrictive discipline, and exposure to domestic violence and parental hostility. (Schwartz, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1997) Victims, bullies, and bully-victims have all been found to have increased amounts of early emotional and behavioral problems. (Ball, Arsenaault, Taylor, Maughan, Caspi, & Moffit, 2008; Schwartz, McFadyen-Ketchum, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1999; Sourander, Helstela, Helenius, & Piha, 2000)

<i>Risk Factors for Bullying</i>
• High levels of aggressive and impulsive behavior towards peers. (Kumpulainen et al., 2000; Perren et al., 2006; Veenstra et al., 2005)
• Early emotional and behavioral problems. (Ball et al., 2008; Schwartz et al, 1999; Sourander et al., 2000)
• Socio-environmental factors such as domestic violence and problems with neighbors are associated with children' risk for becoming involved in bullying. (Bowes et al., 2009)
• Negative family factors like interparental conflict and family break up are positively associated with bullying involvement. (Jablonska & Lindberg, 2007; Spriggs, Iannotti, Nansel, & Haynie, 2007)
<i>Risk Factors for being a Victim</i>
• Tend to be physically weaker, more withdrawn, depressed, anxious, and also less prosocial than uninvolved children. (Fekkes et al., 2004; Veenstra et al., 2005)
• Early emotional and behavioral problems. (Ball et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 1999; Sourander et al., 2000)
<i>Risk Factors for being a Bully-Victim</i>
• High levels of both aggression and depression, and they score low on measures of academic competence, prosocial behavior, and self-esteem. (Perren et al., 2006; Veenstra et al., 2005)
• Early emotional and behavioral problems. (Ball et al., 2008; Schwartz et al, 1999; Sourander et al., 2000)

Figure 1.

Given that bullying takes place in a social context, it is important to consider how contextual factors such as home environment and school culture impact bullying. A recently published meta-analysis assessed the strengths of individual and contextual factors in

predicting bully status (bully, victim, or bully-victim) across 153 studies that met criteria for inclusion. (Cook et al., 2010) The individual factors included: age, internalizing behavior, externalizing behavior, social competence, self-related cognitions (children's thoughts, beliefs, or attitudes about themselves), other-related cognitions (children's thoughts, beliefs, feelings, or attitudes), and academic performance. Contextual factors included: family/home environment, school climate, community factors, peer status (defined as the quality of relationships children and adolescents have with their peers), and peer influence. Strong individual level predictors of bully status included externalizing behavior ($r = .34$) and other-related cognitions ($r = -.34$). Victims had low peer status ($r = -.35$) and poor social competence ($r = -.30$). The strongest individual level predictors for bully-victim status were social competence ($r = -.36$) and self-related cognitions ($r = -.40$). Contextual factors were important predictors of involvement with bullying. For bullies, peer influence and community factors ($r = -.34$, $r = -.22$ respectively) were most important. For victims, peer influence ($r = -.35$), school climate ($r = -.16$), and community factors ($r = -.15$) had the largest influence. Peer influence was the most important contextual predictor for bully-victim status, with the remaining contextual factors except community factors being predictive.

Table 1. Predictor profiles of typical bully, victim, and bully-victim (Cook et al., 2010)

	Bully	Victim	Bully-victim
Individual predictors	Externalizing behaviors Internalizing symptoms Poor social competence Poor academic performance Negative beliefs about others Negative self-related cognitions Poor social problem solving	Externalizing behaviors Internalizing symptoms Poor social competence Negative self-related cognitions Poor social problem solving	Externalizing behaviors Internalizing symptoms Poor social competence Poor academic performance Negative beliefs about others Negative self-related cognitions Poor social problem solving
Contextual predictors	Poor family/home environment Negative school climate Negative community influence Negative peer influence	Poor family/home environment Negative school climate Negative community influence Rejected/isolated by peers	Poor family/home environment Negative school climate Negative peer influence Rejected/isolated by peers

In conclusion, individual and contextual risk factors for involvement bullying have been identified. These are largely related to the presence of affective problems, behavioral issues, and poor social skills. Much less is understood about contextual factors, given the relative paucity of research in this area compared to individual factors. Future efforts should focus on differentiating between the predictors of aggression and bullying and understanding how contextual factors interact with individual factors to predict bully status. Efforts should also be made to identify factors that lead to resilient youth or youth that “demonstrate the ability to

overcome and survive exposure to stress-related and adversarial conditions to lead normal and productive lives into adulthood.” (Donnon & Hammond, 2007) Donnan et al. noted 31 developmental strengths broken down into resiliency factors. These factors were parental support and expectations, peer relationships, community cohesiveness, commitment to learning at school, school culture, cultural sensitivity, self-control, empowerment, self-concept, and social sensitivity. (Donnon et al., 2007) Those with higher numbers of developmental strengths were less likely to be victims or bullies and those with the least amount of developmental strengths were the most likely to be either a victim or a bully. (Donnon et al., 2007)

CONSEQUENCES OF INVOLVEMENT IN BULLYING

Involvement in bullying is associated with a variety of health and social problems. Status as victim, bully, or bully-victim has been found to be associated with an increased risk of developing a variety of psychiatric difficulties such as internalizing and externalizing problems. It has also been associated with an increase in medical complaints, academic difficulties, and a variety other problems. While many of the initial studies were cross-sectional studies, emerging longitudinal studies support the association of bullying with multiple health and social difficulties. Studies have also begun to suggest that these difficulties can persist beyond the initial involvement as bully, victim, or bully-victim.

Internalizing Symptoms

Many cross sectional studies have shown an association between involvement in bullying and internalizing symptoms such as anxiety or depression. The evidence seems to be stronger for the association between depression and loneliness with victimization than anxiety. (Hawker & Boulton, 2000) However, increased rates of anxiety symptoms have also been associated with being a victim of bullying. (Bond, Carlin, Thomas, Rubin, & Patton, 2001; Hawker et al., 2000) Victims often have been found to have a higher risk of depressive symptoms than bullies or others not involved in bullying. (Bond et al., 2001; Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpela, Marttunen, Rimpela, & Rantanen, 1999; Kumpulainen et al., 1998; van der Wal, de Wit, & Hirasing, 2003) Evidence supports that bully status increases risk of depressive symptoms, although this is not consistent across studies. (Klomek et al., 2007; van der Wal et al., 2003) Bully-victims have been found to be the most disturbed and have the highest rates of depressive symptoms compared to bullies and victims. (Kumpulainen et al., 1998; Weiss, Mouttapa, Cen, Johnson, & Unger, 2011)

Many factors influence the strength of the association between involvement in bullying and elevated internalizing problems, including gender, frequency of bullying involvement, and type of bullying. (Bond et al., 2001; Klomek et al., 2007; van der Wal et al., 2003) Gender may moderate the risk of developing internalizing symptoms; Klomek et al. (2007) found that females with any frequency of bullying were at higher risk of internalizing symptoms but only males who frequently bullied were at higher risk. Similar findings have been noted for victims of bullying. Both boys and girls who were bullied indirectly were found to have a higher risk of depression and suicidal ideation. (van der Wal et al., 2003) However, when direct bullying

was examined, only girls who were sometimes and frequently bullied were found to be at elevated risk for depression and suicidal ideation. (van der Wal et al., 2003)

Longitudinal studies have demonstrated an increased risk of developing internalizing among victims of bullying. (Arsenault, Walsh, Trzeniewski, Newcombe, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2006; Fekkes et al., 2006) One study also found that the risk of internalizing symptoms is increased in bully-victims. (Arsenault et al., 2006) Other studies have attempted to discover the directionality of the relationship between bullying and internalizing symptoms, i.e., if bullying experiences lead to internalizing symptoms or if internalizing symptoms predisposed a person to be a victim of bullying. One study found evidence to support both theories. Individuals with anxiety and depression symptoms at baseline had an increased risk of being bullied over a one year period and victims of bullying had an increased risk of developing internalizing symptoms. (Fekkes et al., 2006) A meta-analysis of 18 studies also drew similar conclusion; the strongest evidence was that being a bully victim significantly predicted internalizing problems over time, but there was also evidence that internalizing problems could lead to being a bully victim. (Reijntjes, Kamphuis, Prinzie, & Telch, 2010)

There is growing evidence that there may be a long-term association between depression and bullying. Early studies found that students identified as victims in grades 6 to 9 had lower self-esteem and were more likely to be depressed at age 23 than control students. (Olweus, 1994) Sourander et al. found that frequent victimization among females predicted use of antidepressants and psychiatric hospital treatment. There was a similar pattern for victimized males when investigating medication use. Frequent bully-victim and bully status at baseline predicted any psychiatric medication, antidepressants, or anxiolytics and bully-victims status also predicted antipsychotic use. However, when adjusted for baseline psychopathology score, the status no longer predicted medication use. (Sourander et al., 2009) This study also found an increased rate of hospitalization for frequent male victims and frequent male bully-victims. However, the increased risk did not remain significant when adjusted for psychopathology score at age 8. (Sourander et al., 2009)

Suicidal Ideation and Suicide Attempts

Suicide is the third leading cause of death for young people in the United States. In addition to the increased risk of internalizing symptoms such as depression, there is evidence that involvement in bullying is associated with an increased risk for suicidal ideation and attempts. Cross sectional studies have shown an increased risk (odds ratio) of suicidal ideation or attempts related to bullying ranging from 1.4 to 10. (Klomek et al., 2010) The suicide risk has been found to be elevated for both bullies and victims. (Kumpulainen et al., 2000) Gender, frequency of bullying, and status have been found to influence the wide range of increase risk. (Kaltiala-Heino et al., 1999) Klomek et al. (2007) found that females with any involvement in bullying were at higher risk for suicide attempts and ideation. However, frequently bullied males demonstrated higher risk of attempts and ideation, infrequently bullied males had increased risk of attempts but not ideation, and males that frequently bullied others at higher risk of ideation but not attempts. (Klomek et al., 2007) The influence of gender on suicide risk is not consistent across studies. Some studies have shown increased risk for females, others for males, and still others have found no overall difference when gender is considered. (Klomek et al., 2010) A recent study with urban high school students showed that suicidal ideation and

attempts did not vary by immigrant status or gender. (Hepburn et al., 2012) In that study elevated risk of seriously considering suicide was found for bullies, victims, and bully-victims, but increased risk of suicide attempts was only noted for victims and bully-victims. (Hepburn et al., 2012) Many studies have found that the highest level of risk is associated with bully-victims, although at least one seemed to show that when depressive symptoms were taken into account, bullies had the highest odds ratio followed by bully-victims, then victims. (Kaltiala-Heino et al., 1999)

Increased risk of suicidality has also been found to be associated with bullying in longitudinal studies. In these studies the odd ratios have ranged from 1.7 to 11.8. (Klomek et al., 2010) The evidence is mixed, however, with some of the studies showing the association in males became non-significant after controlling for baseline depression. (Klomek et al., 2010)

Involvement in cyberbullying appears to increase risk of suicidal ideation and attempts. Hinduja et al. (2010) found that cyberbullying and cybervictimization increase risk for suicidal ideation and suicide attempt.

Externalizing Problems

Involvement with bullying has also been associated with an increase in externalizing problems, including difficulties in areas such as aggression, behavior problems like truancy and delinquency, and attention. A recent meta-analysis examined fourteen prospective studies on linkages between peer victimization and externalizing problems and found that peer victimization led to a significant increase in externalizing problems. In this study, externalizing problems at baseline also predicted increased peer victimization. (Reijntjes et al., 2011) Individual studies also show some interesting results. Elevated rates of externalizing problems such as aggression have been found in children identified as bullies, although at least one study suggested that this may not be consistent among all types of bullies. (Y. Kim et al., 2006; Kumpulainen et al., 1998; van der Wal et al., 2003) These authors found that while delinquent behavior was associated with participants that bullied others directly, it was not associated with children that bullied other peers indirectly. (van der Wal et al., 2003) Bully-victims also demonstrate elevated rates of externalizing behaviors and may have a higher risk compared to bullies and victims. (Y. Kim et al., 2006; Kumpulainen et al., 1998) Rates of externalizing symptoms have been found to be increased in bully-victims as young as 7 years old. (Arsenault et al., 2006) There is even evidence to suggest that at least in young children, female victims had higher rates of externalizing symptoms than control children. (Arsenault et al., 2006) Kim et al (2006) found that those youth identified as victims at baseline had increased risk of developing externalizing problems over a 10 month period.

There is also evidence that the association between externalizing behaviors and involvement in bullying may be persistent. One study found that children identified as bully-victims at 8 had increased rates of externalizing behaviors at 15 years old. (Kumpulainen et al., 2000) The same study noted that those who were bully-victims at 12 also had elevated rates of hyperactivity and other externalizing problems at 15. (Kumpulainen et al., 2000) While the rates were higher for bully-victims, bullies also continued to have elevated rates of externalizing symptoms at 15.

Health Problems

Psychiatric complications are not the only complications associated with bullying. Cross sectional and longitudinal studies demonstrate that bullying experiences are associated with health problems like headaches, abdominal pain, backache, sleeping problems, feeling tense, and bedwetting. (Fekkes et al., 2006; Gini & Pozzoli, 2009) A recent meta-analysis of cross sectional and prospective studies found increased risk for psychosomatic problems (i.e., headache, stomachache, backache, abdominal pain, dizziness, sleeping problems, poor appetite, bedwetting, skin problems, vomiting, feeling tired, feeling tense) in bullies, victims, and bully-victims. (Gini et al., 2009) In this analysis, bully-victims were at the highest risk for somatic symptoms, followed by victims then bullies. There is also some evidence that both bully and victim status is associated with use of medications for symptoms such as headache and difficulty getting to sleep. (Due, Hansen, Merlo, Andersen, & Holstein, 2007) The association of bullying and medical complaints may be long lasting, with at least one study finding that those who were bullied at twelve years old still had increased rates of psychosomatic symptoms at fifteen years of age. (Kumpulainen et al., 2000)

Other problems

Bullying experiences are associated with a variety of risk behaviors, social problems, and difficulties at school. Status as a bully-victim was found to be a risk factor that predicted smoking initiation. (Weiss, Mouttapa, Cen, Johnson, & Unger, 2011) Being a bully or a bully-victim has also been found to be associated with current smoking. (Forero et al., 1999) Alcohol use was found to be associated with status as a bully. (Nansel et al., 2001) Earlier studies found that 60% of those classified as a bully in grades 6-9 had been convicted of a crime by age 24 with an overall 4-fold increase in the level of recidivist criminal activity. (Olweus, 1994) Kumpulainen et al. found increased rates of school absenteeism in bully-victims and victims. (Kumpulainen et al., 1998) A more recent study demonstrated that while those involved in bullying were more likely to be suspended or expelled or to feel unsafe or as if they did not belong at school, they did not have a lower attendance than the control group. (Glew, Fan, Katon, Rivara, & Kernic, 2005) Poorer academic achievement has been associated with status as bully or bully-victim. (Nansel et al., 2001) Younger children identified as bully-victims have also been found to have lower academic performance and lower scores on reading tests. (Arsenault et al., 2006) Kim et al. (2006) found that children identified as victims at baseline only and persistent at baseline and at 10-month follow up were at increased risk for developing social problems.

Limitations

While the above-mentioned studies illustrate the growing body of evidence supporting associations between bullying and a wide variety of conditions, it is important to consider limitations in those studies. The preponderance of studies in bullying are cross-sectional and are designed to assess associations between variables. They, however, are descriptive and cannot answer questions about causation. The longitudinal studies attempt to clarify the

directionality of the relationship between bullying and problems, however “they do not allow for strong conclusions regarding causal relationships.” (Reijntjes et al., 2011) Another concern is that many of the studies used different informants to assess involvement in bullying. Some use peer nomination, some gathered information from teachers and parents, and others used self-identification. There is considerable heterogeneity in measures used to assess symptoms, and in terms and definitions. (Reijntjes et al., 2011) Finally, not all studies classify bullying experiences similarly; some use victim and bully status, whereas others categorize into victims, bullies, and bully-victims. Despite these limitations, the evidence supports that the potential consequences to involvement in bullying are serious and worthy of continued scientific enquiry.

INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

As discussed above, bullying is a widespread problem that affects elementary age-children up through young adults and beyond. Addressing bullying necessarily involves individual-level efforts, as well as broader interventions to impact social mores and behaviors in special populations, such as a schools or communities. In order to illustrate this fact, here is fictional case of bullying that represents a common scenario. John is a 13 year old boy who attends public middle school and is being harassed and teased by peers from school on his walk home. As the weeks go by, the harassment continues during school hours and escalates physically. The bullies start shoving John up against his locker and their threats increase in frequency and severity. John has a few friends in school who tell him to “deal with it” because they have been the target of these bullies in the past as well. John does his best to ignore the insults and physical attacks, but soon the bullies are sending him private messages that he should kill himself because no one likes him. Peers start defriending him on social media sites. Soon, John feels as though there is no reprieve from his torment. The harassment continues at home via his computer, on his walk to and from school, and continuously during school hours. How can this get better for John? Should the bullies be punished? If so, then how? Should John learn new coping mechanisms? Should John have individual counseling? Should John’s parents, his teachers, his neighbors, his community be included? The answer is yes to all of these questions. The treatment of bullying is no simple matter. Intervention strategies need to be intensive and focused on multiple aspects of a child’s life.

Before discussing intervention strategies, it is important to discuss appropriate expectations. The complete elimination of bullying is not feasible, and some aspects of bullying behaviors may be conceived of as developmentally normal. According to American Academy for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (2011), it is expected that during the middle school to high school years a teenager’s developmental “job” is to individuate, find a group of peers, and separate emotionally from their parents. Therefore, separation of peer groups is necessary to help with a teenager’s self-identification. Some have argued that this separation and individualization is emphasized by pushing other peers out of a previous group, and this has been done with name calling, rumor starting, and other bullying-type behaviors. Although teens must develop their own identity during this time, it should be expected that this individualization can happen with mutual respect and without demeaning or putting down others.

Research into bullying prevention started in the early 1970s with Dr. Dan Olweus from Sweden. (Olweus, 2004) Over the past several decades, Dr. Olweus has continued his research and has compiled an extensive portfolio of evidenced-based treatments. He has also developed the most comprehensive anti-bullying program that is currently available for schools to adopt. The *Olweus Bullying Prevention Program* is designed for elementary through junior high schools (children aged 5-15 years old). It includes interventions at the individual, classroom, school, and community levels. Individual components include improved student monitoring, interventions at the time bullying occurs, holding meetings with students involved, and making individual interventions for those affected. Classroom components include involving the entire classroom in meetings, following a school wide set of rules, and involving parents when necessary. School wide components include establishing a Bullying Prevention Coordination Committee, administering a questionnaire annually to track improvements, and launching of the program in a school-wide event.

Since the *Olweus Program's* inception, over 40,000 students have participated and evaluated its efficacy. There have been reductions in bullying and victimization in the range of 20 to 70% in both peer and teacher ratings, overall disruptive behaviors in students have been reduced, and the culture in the school has been improved, as seen through more positive peer relationships, improved order and discipline, and better attitudes regarding schoolwork. Improvements are time-related based on age, the younger the students, the quicker the improvements occur. For instance, in grades 4-7 improvements can be seen within 8 months, however for students in grades 8-10, improvements may occur as late as two years after the program's adoption. The program, including an on-site coordinator, questionnaire, computer program, and teacher training can be purchased at www.clemson.com/olweus.

Since Dr. Olweus' conception of his program, research in intervention strategies has expanded, especially in the last 5-10 years. In an earlier meta-analysis, results were limited and there was concern that no programs caused meaningful change, positive or negative. (Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, & Isava, 2008) The analysis determined that anti-bullying campaigns were more likely to change attitudes, knowledge or awareness of bullying rather than actual bullying behaviors. Limitations of this analysis included strict inclusion criteria, leading to a small sample of sixteen studies. In a more recent meta-analysis, Farrington and Ttofi (2009) evaluated 622 reports of varying forms of bullying prevention. Of these numerous articles, 44 met their strict criteria of sample size (greater than or equal to 200) and controlled methodological criteria. The authors evaluated individual anti-bullying plans as well as looked at all of the plans as a whole to determine which specific elements were the most effective, or ineffective. Discussed below are individual programs deemed effective by the meta-analysis with a significant odds ratio of over 1.4.

School Psychiatric Consultation (SPC) and Creating A Peaceful School Learning Environment (CAPSLE) (Fonagy, Twemlow, Vernberg, Nelson, Dill, Little, & Sargent, 2009)

This experiment involved third to fifth graders in three different elementary schools over three years (two treatment years, one maintenance year). There were three arms in this study, treatment as usual (TAU), SPC and CAPSLE program. The TAU group was the control. The SPC arm included child psychiatric residents assessing high risk students due to their aggressive behavior, internalizing or poor academic performance. The residents would assess and refer children to appropriate treatment. The CAPSLE program involved a manualized program based in psychodynamics that addressed bullies, victims and bystanders. This program included teacher education, students receiving self-defense classes and continued consultations with

counselors and teachers. Part of the CAPSLE program included positive reinforces for the children, notifications to parents for poor behavior, and anti-bullying videos. Results showed that the CAPSLE program significantly reduced aggression, off-task, and disruptive behaviors, aggressive bystanding and overall victimization compared to TAU and SPC.

Kiusaamista Vastaa (KiVa) (Salmivalli & Poskiparta, 2012)

The term *Kiusaamista Vastaa* means “against bullying” and KiVa means “nice”. The extensive program is now present in about 82% of Finnish schools and includes teacher training, student peer groups, communication with parents and an anti-bullying computer game. The game includes lessons and virtual bullying incidents. Teacher training included lessons, improved visibility during recess and lunchtime. Lastly, the student peer groups included peer positive role models and utilized both punitive and non-blame approaches. After nine months of implementation, data showed that bullying and victimization was significantly decreased in grades 1 to 6, but results were mixed in grades 7 to 9. The results also showed that KiVa increased students’ school liking, academic motivation and academic performance when compared to control schools.

The Bernese Program (Be-Prox) (Alsaker & Valkanover, 2012)

In Switzerland, Be-Prox was initiated in preschools to take advantage of the benefits in a preschool classroom, including a student’s respect for their teachers, higher teacher to child ratio and greater flexibility to teaching. The program involved extensive lessons and consultations for teachers to improve their response to bullying situations in six modules designed to take place over four months. Results showed that teacher’s confidence improved and reduced victimization in the young students.

Transtheoretical-based Tailored Anti-bullying Program (Evers, Paiva, Johnson, Cummins, Prochaska, & Gokbayrak, 2012)

This program studied middle and high school students and included three 30 minute multimedia videos to be completed at the student’s leisure as well as a 10-page supplementary guide for teachers and parents with optional additional activities. Analysis showed a decrease in victimization in this age group.

South Carolina Program (Melton, Limber, Flerx, Nation, Osgood, Chombers, & Olweus, 1998)

This intervention included targeting needs at many levels of a student’s life, including the classroom, individual and community levels. Prior to implementation, multiple meetings were done to target “hot spots” of bullying and determine each school’s needs. The results were

presented to schools in order to improve awareness in students. In classrooms, teachers adhered to strict behavioral rules, including positive reinforcement of pro-social behavior and punishment of bullying behaviors. There were also videos, computer games, and newsletters at teacher's disposal. Prominent members of the community were also engaged to improve the overall culture regarding bullying. This included anti-bullying programs in church and during extracurricular activities. Also, parents of bullies were required to meet with school officials and safety plans were made for chronic victims. Lastly, mental health professionals were involved when deemed necessary in chronic bullies and victims.

Bully-Proofing Your School (BPYS) (Menard, Grottpeter, Gianola, & O'Neal, 2007)

Another comprehensive program is BPYS that focused on elementary and middle school students. Components of BPYS included evaluating the extent of bullying in each individual school with questionnaires, teaching students assertiveness skills to protect themselves from bullying and creating a more positive school environment to decrease students being negative peer bystanders. Over three years BPYS implemented once weekly classroom meetings, seven sessions of classroom interventions and individual consultation with parents of children who were chronic bullies or victims. Results showed more strongly in elementary schools compared to middle schools. However, the program showed decreased bullying behavior and school violence, as well as improved attitudes in students regarding bullying.

Toronto Anti-bullying Program (Pepler, Craig, Ziegler, & Charach, 1994)

The aim of this program was preventing bullying at several levels, including individual, classroom and with parents. Three critical elements included staff training, firm limit setting and improved playground supervision. Information about this program was sent home, and parents were invited to participate in information nights. Individual intervention took place between specific bullies and victims, with close follow up.

Norwegian Anti-Bullying Program (Galloway & Roland, 2004)

The main principle of this program revolves around investing in teachers' abilities to improve students' quality of life and coping skills. Teacher training was intense and included nine months of four days per week trainings with handouts as well as two-hour peer supervisions.

SAVE (Ortega, Del Ray, & Mora-Merchan, 2004)

In Spain, this program looked to improve cooperation, problem solving, and a desire for mutual understanding by peer conflict resolution. Specifically, the program gave students the

opportunity to participate in decision making and proposing solutions. Some options included quality circles, peer support, assertiveness, and empathy training. Teachers and families were encouraged to participate in training sessions, however the extent this occurred varied among schools.

Kia Kaha (Raskauskas, 2007)

In the Maori language in New Zealand, the words Kia Kaha means “be strong”. This holistic program looks to incorporate social sciences and health/physical well-being. The program was initially implemented by Police Education Officers (PEOs) who are trained educators who work with youths. The PEOs went to schools and encouraged principles to adopt this program. If accepted, the PEOs trained teachers, hosted parents’ night and taught several areas of the curriculum.

Respect Program (Ertesvag & Vaaland, 2007)

The four principles behind the Respect program in Norway were common sense-based and important to all anti-bullying programs. First, adults are authority figures and should act as such. Next, all individuals in a school should be involved in the program. Also, adults should act consistently to impact student behavior. Lastly, there should be a long-term commitment that is continuous for all students. Based on these principles, there were multiple training sessions for all adults involved in school education and planning. Designed as a cohort longitudinal study, the effects were moderate and showed some improvement in problem behavior, which varied among grade levels.

Finnish Anti-Bullying Program (Salmivalli, Kaukiainen, & Voeten, 2005)

The basis of this program is teacher education to raise awareness of bullying, encourage student’s self-reflection on their own behavior, and improve an overall commitment to anti-bullying behaviors. Over a one year period of training, teachers were given active feedback on situations from their classrooms, and were given educational materials to use in classroom teachings. Schools that adhered closely to the regimen had stronger effects, but overall improvements were noted in decreased frequency of observed and experienced bullying, improved attitudes and beliefs.

There are overlaps and similarities in many of these programs. The meta-analysis looked at the most important elements present in a program that would lead to greater successes. (Farrington et al., 2009) These elements include parent/teacher meetings, disciplinary methods, the duration and intensity of the program for both children and teachers. The more elements a program had, the higher likelihood the program will decrease victimization and bullying.

Unexpectedly, some programs appear to worsen bullying behaviors and victimization. (Farrington et al., 2009) The Expect Respect Program, developed initially for students who have experienced sexual harassment or dating violence, was found to have a detrimental effect on victimization, which was attributed to intense work with peers. (Meraviglia, Becker,

Rosenbluth, Sanchez, & Robertson, 2003) This program consists of support groups for middle school and high school aged girls. Although the meta-analysis does not provide a hypothesis for why this program worsened bullying behavior, there has been increasing concern that peer conflict resolution and mediation does not improve the situation, and may worsen the harassment. One of the definitive aspects of bullying is a power imbalance between bully and victim. In a private mediation or peer support model, the power the bully has over their victim may be abused and the victim may not be fully able to participate or discuss the problems. (Theberge & Karan, 2004) Elizabeth Englander uses the analogy of spousal abuse, where we cannot expect a victim to be completely honest with their abuser sitting in the same room as them. (Englander, 2012) Also, the bullies, especially those with stable aggressive tendencies, do not take mediation seriously, and can attempt to charm the mediators or lie to them in order to avoid punishment. (Englander, 2004)

One limitation to implementing beneficial programs on a larger scale is the lack of federal laws and policies. Each state is left to itself to define and address bullying. Most states include both laws and policies discussing bullying and peer harassment, however the state of Montana only has policies on the issue. Arizona, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas Minnesota, North Dakota, and Texas only have laws on the issue, not policies. Further information can be found at www.stopbullying.gov.

Beyond school involvement, individual-level interventions may be appropriate when internalizing and externalizing symptoms or other signs of physical or psychological distress are present. Whether the client is a bully, a victim, or a bully-victim, if s/he presents with signs and symptoms of distress, it is important to seek care from a trained mental health professional or health care provider for therapy and/or medication management. Internalizing symptoms typically include depression and anxiety. Symptoms of depression include sleep and appetite changes, anhedonia (loss of interest in previously pleasurable activities), poor energy and concentration and suicidal ideation. Symptoms of anxiety include perseverative worry leading to poor concentration or sleep, panic attacks, and obsessions/compulsions. Externalizing symptoms can include anger, aggression, stealing, harming animals, setting fires for pleasure and threatening to kill others. If any of the above symptoms are present, it is important to seek individual mental health treatment for the child, whether they are a bully/victim or combination.

One last area to focus on is cyberbullying, which is defined as “an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a target who cannot easily defend him or herself.” (Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, Fisher, Russell, & Tippett, 2008) Cyberbullying includes receiving threatening messages, spreading rumors, having private emails sent to others, or having an embarrassing picture posted without consent. (Englander, 2012) The increase in cyberbullying experiences are attributed to increased use of the Internet among children and adolescents. In a recent study, 39% of children in grade 5 and 83% in middle school report using computers and mobile devices regularly. (Englander, 2012) In a study of Internet users 12 to 17 years old, approximately one third of Internet users report being targeted for cyberbullying and 20% admitted to being a cyberbully themselves. (Pew Internet and American Life Project, 2007) However other studies assess the prevalence of cyberbullying closer to 10%. (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009) The prevalence of cyberbullying may depend on the way the children were asked, with lower percentages responding yes to direct questions of cyberbullying and higher percentages endorsing specific harmful Internet behaviors (i.e., sending anonymous

emails, posting a picture without permission, hacking into someone's webpage). (Hinduja et al., 2010)

When cyberbullying is identified in a community, there are multiple areas of intervention. These include informing all relevant adults, informing and educating cyberbullies about the consequences of their behavior, and ensuring that a victim has a safe adult they trust with whom to speak. (Englander, 2012) Most often, the adults utilized in this plan are parents or guardians at home and the school is less often involved. Therefore, education and interventions must be taught to this group of adults, as the programs discussed above will not reach the adults at home. Close adult monitoring of the child or teen's usage of the Internet is cited as an important behavior for parents and guardians. (Englander & Schank, 2010)

Overall, there are multiple strategies to address bullying. The most extensive area of research is focused on prevention of bullying in school, but there is growing interest in bullying out of school and cyberbullying. The most successful programs include communication between students, teachers, and parents, are of higher intensity and length, and utilize strict behavioral modification, with rewards and punishment. Each program can be tailored to a specific school or community's needs. With the increased risk of multiple psychiatric complications, one other aspect that must be considered is the possibility of referral for psychiatric assessment. Kumpulainen et al. (1998) found that while more children involved in bullying were referred for assessment when compared to those not involved, "only a minority of disturbed children were actually referred." There is hope for a child that is being bullied or victimized, but it will take changes at many levels of that child's life.

CONCLUSION

Childhood involvement in bullying as victim, bully, or bully-victim is prevalent and associated with increased risks for internalizing problems, suicidal ideation, externalizing problems, somatic concerns, academic difficulties and social consequences. Although evidence is emerging to identify factors that put a child at increased risk of becoming involved in bullying, more research is still needed for reliable identification. While reliable identification of children at risk of being bullied or becoming bullies will help improve preventive measures, it would also help target those that would benefit from early psychiatric referral and interventions. Robust evaluation of prevention and intervention programs should continue. Intervention strategies vary and have been utilized for several decades. As described by one of the leading bullying researchers, Dr. Dan Olweus, treatment for bullying must be comprehensive and address individual, school and community-wide problems, and the most successful programs utilize these principles. It is important to continue to reassess the avenues for new forms of bullying such as bullying that occurs online, as this is a growing area of concern for today's generation.

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Chapter 91

**SCHOOL BULLYING AND HEALTH PROBLEMS:
A DEVELOPMENTAL EXAMINATION OF PREDICTIVE
AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS
AND COPING STRATEGIES**

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ABSTRACT

There is a plethora of research demonstrating that youth who are involved in bullying as victims, bullies, and bully-victims experience mental and physical health problems (e.g., Crick et al., 1999; Miller & Vaillancourt, 2007; Owens, Slee, & Shute, 2000; Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010). We will begin this chapter by reviewing literature demonstrating the link between bullying and physical and mental health problems. First, we review literature showing that the negative health outcomes associated with bullying exist both concurrently and longitudinally. Second, we examine predictors of bullying involvement as well as risk factors for developing health problems due to bullying (e.g., personality, previous bullying involvement). In addition, we will consider variables that moderate the link between bullying involvement and having health problems (e.g., social support, genetics). Third, we consider the various effective and ineffective coping strategies used by school-aged children to deal with both bullying and health problems (e.g., aggressive behaviors, defense mechanisms). Fourth, we examine whether the predictive factors and coping strategies associated with bullying and health problems differ at various stages of school (i.e., preschool, elementary, middle, high school). Finally, we consider the health outcomes in children who are considered bullies, bully-victims, and bystanders, and discuss the implications of our review and suggest avenues for future research. Given the complex interactions between bullying involvement and mental and physical health problems, we demonstrate the need for a multidimensional approach to bullying intervention and children's health promotion.

INTRODUCTION

Bullying occurs when a person intentionally uses repeated aggression to target a peer who has less power (Olweus, 1993). The intentional use of repeated aggression can take different forms including physical, verbal, relational/social, or cyber bullying and can be either direct/overt (e.g., physical attacks) or indirect/covert (e.g., spreading rumors) in nature. Both bullying and being bullied (i.e., peer victimization) have been robustly linked with poor mental and physical health outcomes (e.g., Crick et al., 1999; Miller & Vaillancourt, 2007; Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010). The negative mental and physical health outcomes associated with bullying involvement are concerning given that an estimated 10% of school-age children are frequently bullied and approximately 30% of children are occasionally bullied (e.g., Limber & Small, 2003). Fekkes, Pijpers, and Verloove-Vanhorick (2005) reported that 5.5% of school-age children regularly bullied others and approximately 32% of children occasionally bullied others. Wolke et al. (2000) examined involvement in direct and relational bullying among 6 – 9 year old children; they found that of the students involved in bullying, 39.8% and 37.9% were victims, 4.3% and 1.1% were bullies, and 1.4% and 5.9% were bully-victims (i.e., both bullies and victims) of direct and relational bullying, respectively.

In this chapter, we start by reviewing literature demonstrating a link between school-aged children involved in bullying (i.e., bullies, victims, bully-victims, bystanders) and health problems. We then examine predictors of who is involved in bullying and at risk for developing health problems. Next, we consider coping strategies to deal with bullying and health problems. We focus our chapter on bullying/peer victimization occurring among school-age children. Where possible, we also examine the various bullying roles (i.e., bully, victim, bully-victim, bystander).

BULLYING AND HEALTH PROBLEMS

Mental Health Problems

The relationship between mental health problems and bullying involvement is well established (e.g., Rigby, 2000; Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010). Kochenderfer-Ladd and Wardrop (2001) examined loneliness and social satisfaction as a function of victimization status in children from kindergarten to 3rd grade. They found that children who moved from non-victim to victim status showed increasing levels of loneliness and decreasing social satisfaction. However, children who moved from victim to non-victim status did not necessarily have improvements in loneliness or social satisfaction. Moreover, Hawker and Boulton (2000) reported meta-analytic findings suggesting that peer victimization was strongly related with depression. In Finnish 8th and 9th graders, Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpelä, Rantanen, and Rimpelä (2000) found that bully-victims were most likely to have symptoms of depression and anxiety when compared with bullies and victims. Given that school-age children who experience peer victimization have higher levels of depression and anxiety than non-victimized children, it is not surprising that children and adolescents who are victimized are also more likely to have suicidal thoughts and suicidal attempts than non-victims (Heilbron & Prinstein, 2010). Moreover, Bonanno and Hymel (2010) found that the association between

peer victimization and suicide ideation in adolescents in 8th to 10th grade was partially mediated by feelings of social hopelessness. However, Bonanno and Hymel did not find mediation effects for feelings of general hopelessness. Their results suggest the importance of positive peer relationships for mental health.

It is important to note that the relationship between mental health problems and bullying involvement is bidirectional. For example, Egan and Perry (1998) found that among children in 3rd to 7th grade low self-regard (assessed as self-perceived social competence and assertiveness) in the fall predicted more peer victimization over the school year (controlling for fall victimization, sex, age, and behavioral risk factors); likewise, peer victimization in the fall predicted reduced self-regard (i.e., perceived social competence) in the spring.

Involvement in bullying has been linked to a number of mental health problems beyond internalizing difficulties. Arseneault et al. (2006) found that children who were peer victimized had more internalizing problems than control children; girls who were victimized also had more externalizing problems than control girls (a significant effect for externalizing problems was not found for boys). Interestingly, children who were identified as bully-victims had more internalizing and externalizing problems than both victimized and control children. Both victims and bully-victims had more behavioral and school adjustment problems than control children. Second grade children classified as bullies and bully-victims were also more likely to have attention deficit disorder and oppositional/conduct disorder than victims and control children (Kumpulainen, Räsänen, & Puura, 2001). Furthermore, there is evidence that peer victimization is associated with psychotic symptoms. Arseneault et al. (2011) found that 12 year olds who were either peer victimized or maltreated by adults had higher reports of delusions and hallucinations than children who did not experience victimization by peers or adults. Schreier et al. (2009) also found that 12-year-old children who were peer victimized were twice as likely to have psychotic symptoms than children who were not victimized. The above findings collectively demonstrate the negative mental health effects for school-age children involved in bullying/peer victimization.

Physical Health Problems

There is a robust relationship between reports of peer victimization and poor physical health; people who report experiencing peer victimization also report more physical health problems than people who do not report peer victimization (e.g., Greco et al., 2007; Rigby, 2003). Longitudinal evidence suggests that peer victimization predicts health problems rather than health problems predicting peer victimization. Children between 9 – 11 years of age who were peer victimized at time one were more likely to have developed new somatic problems (e.g., headaches, bedwetting, stomach pain) and psychosocial problems (e.g., depression, anxiety) six months later compared to non-victimized children (Fekkes et al., 2006). Somatic problems at time one did not predict peer victimization at time two; in contrast, having symptoms of either depression or anxiety at time one did predict time two peer victimization. Knack, Iyer, and Jensen-Campbell (2012) found a similar pattern with college-age students in which peer victimization in the fall semester predicted physical health in the spring semester even after controlling for initial health differences. Biebl et al. (2011) also conducted a longitudinal study assessing the relationship between chronicity of peer victimization and

health in which participants were assessed at age 5, between ages 10 – 18, and again between ages 12 – 20. They found that chronic victims (i.e., victimization at all three assessments) had more physical health problems than non-victims; no physical health differences were found between chronic victims and desisters (i.e., victimization at an early time point but not at time three). Biebl and colleagues also examined the specific types of health problems experienced and found that chronic victims experienced more headaches than both non-victims and desisters; late-onset victims (i.e., victimization at a later time point but not at time one) experienced more headaches than non-victims.

Wolke, Woods, Bloomfield, and Karstadt (2001) examined whether physical health symptoms (e.g., headache, stomach aches, sore throat, skin problems) and psychosomatic health problems (e.g., bed wetting, sleep problems, worried about school) differed for 6 – 9 year old children who were classified as either a bully, bully-victim, or victim. They found that for direct bullying, victimized children had more physical and psychosomatic health problems than non-victims; victimized children did not differ from bully-victims. No differences in health were found for relational bullying. Less empirical research has examined the physical health status of children identified as bullies or bully-victims.

The above research collectively demonstrates that being involved in bullying/peer victimization is associated with both mental and physical health problems. Given the increased likelihood of experiencing mental and physical health problems, researchers have examined factors that predict who is likely to be involved in bullying/peer victimization as well as factors that protect children from the negative health effects associated with bullying. In the next section we review the different risk and protective factors.

RISK AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS

Previous Bullying Involvement

Early involvement in bullying predicts later involvement in bullying (Arseneault, Bowes, & Shakoor, 2010). Even in early elementary school, children's involvement in bullying is fairly stable. Children who were bully-victims in 1st grade were still bully-victims in 3rd and 5th grade (Burk et al., 2011). Children who were bully-victims in 1st grade who did not remain bully-victims were likely to be classified as bullies or victims rather than as socially adjusted (i.e., low bullying and low peer victimization). Burk et al. also found that bullies in 1st grade were likely to either remain bullies or move to the socially adjusted group. Scholte et al. (2007) found that 43% of children who were peer victimized and 46% of children who bullied others at 11 years of age were still experiencing peer victimization and engaged in bullying, respectively, four years later.

Early involvement in bullying also predicts later health outcomes. For example, long-term victimization is associated with mental health problems. Italian students ranging from 13 to 20 years of age ($M = 15.12$ years) who retrospectively reported stable peer victimization (both as a victim and as a bully-victim) reported more internalizing problems than students who experienced a later-onset of peer victimization; no significant differences were found for externalizing problems (Menesini, Modena, & Tani, 2009). Students who experienced stable peer victimization were more anxious and depressed than their peers who experienced later

onset of victimization; stable compared to late-onset bully-victims reported more symptoms of withdrawal. These results suggest students with stable long-term experiences of peer victimization during school are at higher risk for mental health problems than students who are short-term targets of peer victimization.

Personality and Individual Differences

Several personality and individual difference variables are associated with bullying involvement and health. We do not intend our review of personality and individual differences to be exhaustive. Instead, we present several examples of personality and individual differences that may be influential in advancing our understanding the relationship between bullying involvement and health. Although Knack, Iyer, and Jensen-Campbell (2012) found that self-reported peer victimization predicted physical health even after controlling for individual differences related to both social relationships and health, we nevertheless believe it is important to consider individual differences in bullying involvement and in susceptibility to poor health and poor health behaviors. This consideration of individual differences and personality may provide a more nuanced understanding of the association between bullying involvement and health.

One individual difference is the need to belong. Although researchers have noted that humans have a fundamental need to belong to social groups and to have interpersonal relationships that are significant and long-lasting (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), individuals vary on the intensity of their need to belong. Levels of the need to belong influence the amount of socially-relevant information remembered during social interactions (Gardner, Pickett, & Brewer, 2000). For examples, Gardner and colleagues found that rejected individuals (whose need to belong was experimentally threatened) recalled more socially-relevant information than accepted individuals. Pickett, Gardner, and Knowles (2004) found that college-age students with a high need to belong were more attentive to and accurate in decoding verbal and non-verbal social cues (i.e., vocal tone, facial emotion, empathic accuracy) than students with a low need to belong. It is likely that being more attentive and accurate in decoding social cues allows students to more effectively navigate social groups. There is also a relationship between belongingness and physical health. For example, Begen and Turner-Cobb (2011) found that early adolescents between 11 – 14 years of age who self-reported high levels of feeling like they belonged also reported fewer physical health symptoms.

Rejection sensitivity is characterized by a tendency to anxiously expect, readily perceive, and overreact to rejection (Downey & Feldman, 1996). In ambiguous situations, individuals who are high on rejection sensitivity are more likely to perceive that they have been intentionally rejected than individuals who are low on rejection sensitivity. Downey and Feldman also demonstrated that individuals high on rejection sensitivity are less satisfied with their interpersonal relationships than those who are low on rejection sensitivity. Rejection sensitivity has been theorized to be a personality dimension that can be learned after repeated social rejection or inability to satisfy the need to belong to a social group (Levy et al., 2001). Rejection sensitivity predicts mental health problems such as loneliness, social withdrawal, social anxiety, and distress (Downey, Lebolt, Rincón, & Freitas, 1998; London, Downey, Bonica, & Paltin, 2007; Watson & Nesdale, 2012). Downey, Lebolt, Rincón, and Freitas found that children high on rejection sensitivity were more distressed following an ambiguous

rejection experience than children low on rejection sensitivity. Children high on rejection sensitivity also had more difficulties with peers and teachers and were more likely to engage in disruptive/oppositional behavior than children low on rejection sensitivity. In college-age students, Watson and Nesdale found that the relationship between rejection sensitivity and loneliness was mediated by social withdrawal as a way to cope with possible rejection.

A plethora of research has shown that the Big Five personality characteristics (i.e., agreeableness, extroversion, conscientiousness, neuroticism, openness to experience) are associated with social relationships. Among 5th to 8th grade students (Jensen-Campbell & Malcolm, 2007) and 10 to 13 year old children (Bollmer, Harris, & Milich, 2006) high peer victimization was correlated with low conscientiousness. Jensen-Campbell et al. (2002) found that peer victimization was also correlated with low agreeableness in middle school children. Bollmer, Harris, and Milich also found that bullying was correlated with lower levels of conscientiousness and lower levels of agreeableness. Tani, Greenman, Schneider, and Fregoso (2003) examined Big Five personality characteristics in 8 to 10 year old Italian children in respect to their bully involvement. They found that children who were victims scored lower than outsiders and children who defended the victim on agreeableness and conscientiousness but higher on emotional instability. Children who were bullies (either the actual bully or supported the bully) were lower on agreeableness than children who defended the victim; bullies were also higher on extroversion than outsiders. Defenders scored highest on agreeableness but were lower on emotional instability than both bullies and victims. Perhaps more importantly, researchers are examining why these relationships exist. For example, Bollmer et al. (2006) found that the association between conscientiousness and peer victimization was mediated by negative affect; low conscientiousness predicted more negative affect (higher anger, distress, and blame; lower forgiveness) which in turn predicted peer victimization. They also found that more agreeable children felt more guilt when bullying others and in turn were less likely to bully other children; low conscientious children had higher skin conductance levels while describing a time they bullied others which in turn predicted higher levels of bullying. Jensen-Campbell and colleagues (2002) found that agreeableness moderated the relationship between behavioral vulnerabilities and peer victimization suggesting that being agreeable may help buffer children with behavioral vulnerabilities from being victimized by their peers. Some research suggests that extroversion and neuroticism are associated with bullying involvement (e.g., Connolly & O'Moore, 2003); however, these associations are less established.

Although researchers have also found robust associations between the Big Five personality characteristics and health, these relationships are typically examined in college students (e.g., Raynor & Levine, 2009) and adults (e.g., Chapman et al., 2006; Goodwin & Engstrom, 2002). The adult research primarily links Big Five personality characteristics with health behaviors such as smoking, healthy eating, exercise, adherence to medical treatment plans, and visits to the doctor. Similar associations between Big Five personality characteristics and health behaviors have been found for school-age children. For example, de Bruijn et al. (2005) found that agreeableness and openness to experience was correlated with vegetable consumption in adolescents 12 to 18 years of age; in addition, openness to experience was correlated with fruit consumption. They also found that extroversion was correlated with physical activity related to sports. Moreover, Big Five personality characteristics in childhood, especially agreeableness and conscientiousness, predict health in adulthood (e.g., Friedman et al., 1993; Hampson et al., 2007). Given the empirical evidence linking Big Five personality characteristics with both

bullying involvement and with health and health behaviors, we encourage researchers to continue to consider whether these characteristics influence the association between bullying involvement and health.

Social Support

Children's social support systems also modulate involvement in bullying as well as mental and physical health outcomes associated with peer victimization. Social support refers to the degree to which one (actually or perceivably) receives care, assistance, or support from other individuals such as parents/caregivers, teachers, or peers (Knack, Waldrup, & Jensen-Campbell, 2007). Social support is a broad, multifaceted construct which consists of emotional support (i.e., someone to listen sympathetically, to show care or empathy), instrumental support (i.e., providing practical help), informational support (i.e., provision of knowledge relevant to solving problems), companionship support (i.e., participating in leisure activities), and validation (i.e., providing information about normative or appropriate social behavior) (see Wills, 1985; Wills & Shinar, 2000 for review).

Social support relates to both the perpetration and victimization of bullying behaviors among youth. In a large nationally representative sample of 6th to 10th graders, Wang, Iannotti, and Nansel (2009) examined the relationships between social support and frequency of bullying and peer victimization. Results showed that students who received more parental support were less likely to be involved in aggressive behavior as bullies, victims, or bully-victims. Stadler et al. (2010) found that parental support buffered the relationship between peer victimization and maladjustment, especially for girls.

Beyond parental support, peer support helps to create a positive and caring social climate for youth (Naylor & Cowie, 1999). Wang et al. (2009) showed that peer support (assessed as number of friends) was associated with less physical, verbal, and relational (but not cyber) victimization. The insignificant relationship between number of friends and cyber victimization may be rooted in the anonymity and ease of cyber-bullying, wherewith perpetrators become disinhibited as they can harm the victim anonymously without fear of reprisal from the victims' social group (e.g., Li, 2006). Interestingly, students' number of friends was related to perpetrating more physical, relational, and verbal bullying behavior (Wang et al., 2009). Researchers have long suggested that peer aggression may be a tactic for achieving power, affiliation, and status from the peer group (e.g., Arnocky & Vaillancourt, 2012; Espelage & Holt, 2001). Although peer support may help to curtail victimization, it might also empower or motivate some youth to engage in aggressive behavior (see also Salmivalli, Huttunen, & Lagerspetz, 1997).

Receiving social support also relates to more effective coping and higher levels of well-being (e.g., Cowie, 2000; Cowie & Hutson, 2005). Cohen and Wills (1985) suggested that meaningful social support helps to ease or buffer distress and social pain (e.g., Finch, Okun, Pool, & Ruehlman, 1999) as well as physical pain (e.g., Lidderdale & Walsh, 1998; Phillips & Gatchel, 2000; Chalmers, Wolman, Nikodem, Gulmezoglu, & Hofmeyer, 1995). Researchers have since noted that perceived support (versus actual or received support) is particularly important to buffering the stress-health relationship (Wills & Shinar, 2000). For instance, Rigby (2000) found that both peer victimization status and level of perceived social support (from teachers, peers, and parents) independently predicted unfavorable scores on the General Health

Questionnaire (Goldberg & Williams, 1991) which is a measure of somatic, anxious, social dysfunction, and depressive symptoms. Holt and Espelage (2007) found that youth involved in bullying either as victims, bullies, or bully-victims who had moderate social support also experienced less depression and anxiety compared to less supported children. The combination of being a bully-victim and having low perceived social support also related to more suicidal ideation (Rigby & Slee, 1999).

Given the importance of social support to issues of bullying and health, it is particularly disconcerting that boys are less likely to act as peer supporters (e.g., Cowie, 2000) and tend to receive less prosocial behavior from peers compared to girls (Crick & Grotpeter, 1996). Even if boys have a sufficient social support system in place, they may be less motivated than girls to utilize it. Furthermore, boys often refrain from reporting peer victimization (Cowie, 2000). As social support is provided in times of need, a boy whose victimization goes unidentified will be unlikely to receive the necessary support, even if it is available.

Of further concern is the relationship between peer victimization, peer support, and psychological health outcomes among youth who are in the sexual minority (gay, lesbian, bisexual, and questioning). Williams, Connolly, Pepler, and Craig (2005) found that both peer victimization and peer support mediated the relationship between sexual orientation and psychological symptoms, where victims had more depression and externalizing symptoms and socially supported youth had less depression and externalizing symptoms. Unfortunately, Williams et al. also found that, on the whole, sexual minority youth are also less likely to receive peer support than were sexual majority youth.

Family-level Factors

Family-level variables are also associated with bullying involvement. Among preschool children from predominantly low-income families, maternal empathy, age-appropriate expectations, and power over children were correlated with preschool children's level of bullying such that low empathy, inappropriate age expectations, and valuing power (over children's independence) predicted higher levels of overt and relational bullying (Curtner-Smith et al., 2006). Similarly, kindergarten children with parents high on intrusive demandingness (i.e., providing children with little control on social decisions) were more likely to experience peer victimization than kindergarten children with parents low on intrusive demandingness; children with responsive parents were less likely to be peer victimized than children with less responsive parents (Ladd & Ladd, 1998). Barker et al. (2008) examined the relationship between trajectories of peer victimization in elementary school children and family-level variables. Children in the high/chronic peer victimization trajectory group were more likely to have experienced harsh reactive parenting, insufficient family income, and be more physically aggressive than children in the low/increasing peer victimization trajectory group. Children with a moderate/increasing peer victimization trajectory were more likely to be physically aggressive and come from a family with insufficient family income than children with a low/increasing trajectory of peer victimization. The only variable Barker et al. found to distinguish children with a high/chronic trajectory of peer victimization from those with a moderate/increasing trajectory was harsh reactive parenting. Similarly, Bowes et al. (2010) found that a positive home environment (e.g., maternal and sibling warmth, positive atmosphere) buffered children who experienced peer victimization from emotional and

behavioral adjustment problems. Collectively the above research suggests that poor parenting is associated with increased likelihood of bullying involvement among school children.

However, Harris (2000) cautioned against drawing causal conclusions from correlational data. Harris (1995, 2000) argued that parents' influence on children's behavior outside of the home was minimal and indirect (e.g., parents influence children's peer relationship through the neighborhood children are raised in) rather than direct; she postulated that peer groups were stronger socialization agents than parents. Fitting this postulation, researchers have suggested that bullying involvement predicts parenting practices (rather than vice versa). Kokkinos and Panayiotou (2007) found that parenting styles did not predict elementary school children's bullying involvement; rather, children's bullying involvement significantly predicted parenting practices such as rule setting. It is feasible that parenting practices are elicited as a response to children's bullying involvement (e.g., evocative parenting; Scarr & McCartney, 1983). For example, Narusyte et al. (2011) found that mothers' harsh criticism was evoked by adolescents' externalizing problems (but fathers' criticism predicted adolescents' externalizing behaviors).

Physiological Factors

It is also important to consider physiological processes when examining the relationship between bullying involvement and health. Although little work has examined the brain activity in people involved in bullying (see Knack, Gomez, & Jensen-Campbell, 2009), researchers have examined how people respond to social exclusion. Eisenberger, Lieberman, and Williams (2003) found that the dorsal anterior cingulate cortex (dACC) was more active when college students were socially excluded from a ball tossing game than when they were socially included. The dACC was also positively correlated with self-reported distress; that is, higher levels of self-reported distress were associated with more activity in the dACC. Eisenberger, Lieberman, and Williams also found that the right ventral prefrontal cortex was more active during social exclusion than social inclusion and was negatively correlated with self-reported distress; higher levels of self-reported distress were associated with less activity in the right ventral prefrontal cortex.

Similar results were found among adolescents who played a ball-tossing game (Masten et al., 2009, 2011); adolescents' right ventrolateral prefrontal cortex was more active during social exclusion than during social inclusion and was associated with higher self-reported distress levels. There was also more activation in the ventral striatum when adolescents were socially excluded compared to when they were included. Masten and colleagues (2009) theorized that the activation in the ventral striatum seen among adolescents may be indicative of attempts to engage in affective regulation. Masten et al. (2011) conducted a longitudinal study with adolescents examining whether neural activation during social exclusion predicted depressive symptoms one year later. They found that although subgenual anterior cingulate cortex (subACC) activity during exclusion was not associated with concurrent symptoms of depression, higher levels of subACC activity predicted depressive symptoms one year later. Activity in the frontal cortex, cingulate cortex, and precuneus was also associated with current and subsequent symptoms of depression. Masten and colleagues suggested that higher subACC activity during social exclusion may be an indication of sensitivity to rejection and who is at higher risk of subsequently showing symptoms of depression. Sebastian et al. (2010) conducted a study comparing how young adolescents ($M_{age} = 12.8$ years), middle adolescents ($M_{age} = 15.0$

years), and adults ($M_{\text{age}} = 27.4$ years) responded to social exclusion compared to social inclusion. Although they did not find significant differences in threats to psychological needs, they did find that both young and middle adolescents had lower overall moods following social exclusion compared to social inclusion and that young adolescents felt more anxious when socially excluded compared to being included. No significant differences for mood or state anxiety were found among adults. These results suggest that although adolescents and adults feel similarly threatened by social exclusion, early adolescents respond more emotionally than adults do to social exclusion.

There is also evidence linking brain activity with individual differences and interpersonal relationships. Masten and colleagues (2009) found that adolescents high on rejection sensitivity had more activity in the dACC, precuneus, and anterolateral prefrontal cortex during social exclusion than adolescents low on rejection sensitivity. Burkland, Eisenberger, and Lieberman (2007) also found that college students who were high on rejection sensitivity had more dACC activity than those low on rejection sensitivity when viewing disapproving faces (no differences were found when viewing faces depicting anger or disgust). Kross et al. (2007) showed college students pictures that had either a rejection or acceptance theme as well as control pictures. They found that all participants showed activation in neural regions associated with processing affective stimuli and cognitive control. However, participants who were low on rejection sensitivity had more activity in regions of the frontal cortex while viewing rejection compared to acceptance themed pictures than participants high on rejection sensitivity; this frontal cortex activity was associated with lower self-reported distress. These findings suggest that people respond differently to rejection (e.g., social exclusion, disapproving faces, rejection-themed pictures) depending on their level of rejection sensitivity. Although much of this research has been conducted with college-age students, the results suggest the importance of considering neural responses among students involved in bullying and whether differences in neural activation are associated with bullying status and health outcomes.

Bullying involvement is also associated with differences in hormone levels. For example, children who experience peer victimization have lower morning cortisol levels than those who are not peer victimized (Hansen et al., 2006; Kliewer, 2006; Knack, Jensen-Campbell, & Baum, 2011; Vaillancourt et al., 2008). Moreover, Knack, Jensen-Campbell, and Baum (2011) found that lower morning cortisol levels mediated the relationship between peer victimization and health problems; adolescents who experienced peer victimization had a flatter cortisol awakening response which in turn predicted more health problems.

During an acute social stressor in which children (Ouellet-Morin et al., 2011) and adolescents (Knack, Jensen-Campbell, & Baum, 2011) prepared and delivered a speech, youth who were victimized by their peers had *lower* cortisol levels after the social stressor compared to non-victimized youth. This finding is interesting given that Blackhart, Eckel, and Tice (2007) and Stroud, Salovey, and Epel (2002) found that participants who were rejected had *higher* cortisol levels than non-rejected participants. The difference between cortisol levels following an acute social stressor could be due to the use of different social stress tasks (speech delivery versus rejection/acceptance manipulation) or to the consideration of individual differences in participants' daily experiences with peer victimization. Moreover, Knack and colleagues found a mediation effect such that peer victimization predicted lower cortisol levels 30 minutes after adolescents delivered their speech which in turn predicted more visits to the doctor/nurse. This finding is not surprising considering Slavich et al. (2010) found that the social evaluative stress of delivering a speech led to increased inflammatory activity in college students. Interestingly,

the inflammatory reaction was associated with neural activity in the dACC and insula. Future research should continue examining how the body responds to the social stress of bullying involvement and whether the physiological response is associated with health outcomes.

Genetics

Researchers have begun to explore the biological factors which may influence aggressive behavior among youth. At present, specific genetic factors affecting aggressive behavior among youth are poorly understood. However, a body of evidence from a variety of animal species suggests that aggression is, to a degree, heritable. This heritability is most readily observable in the selective breeding within some animal species for the purposes of enhancing aggression (e.g., Nelson, 2006). Among humans, adoption studies have shown concordance between both parents and their children (Cadoret & Stewart, 1991) as well as among twins (e.g., dizygotic v. monozygotic) on aggressive personality characteristics (see Rhee & Waldman, 2002). However, some studies have simultaneously highlighted the confounding factors of measurement methodology (i.e., observational versus self- or parent-reports) and familial environment influences which also influence family concordance rates (Miles & Carey, 1997).

In a landmark study on the role of genotype affecting children's violent behavior, Caspi et al. (2002) found that a functional polymorphism in the gene encoding for monoamine oxidase A (MAOA), a neurotransmitter-metabolizing enzyme, played a role in the onset of aggression among maltreated children. Specifically, Caspi and colleagues found that among maltreated children, those who also had a short variant of the gene (which resulted in less MAOA) were more likely to behave aggressively than were maltreated children with the long variant. MAOA is known to metabolize dopamine, norepinephrine, and 5-HT which are neurotransmitters that may play a role in aggressive behavior (Buckholtz & Meyer-Lindenberg, 2008; McEllistrem, 2004).

Among early adolescents, Benjet, Thompson, and Gotlib (2010) found a significant interaction between relational peer victimization and 5-HTTLPR (a genetic polymorphism in the promoter region of the serotonin transporter gene) predicting depression symptoms in girls. They found that relational victimization predicted depression symptoms for girls with the short-short allele but that this relationship did not hold for girls who had the long-long allele or a heterozygous allele (e.g., short-long). Sugden et al. (2010) also found that 5-HTTLPR moderated the relationship between peer victimization and the development of emotional problems such that the relationship between peer victimization and emotional problems was strongest for children with the short-short allele of 5-HTTLPR.

We should note that the research examining the relationship between bullying involvement and genetics is *not* suggesting that all individuals with a particular genetic make-up will be involved in bullying or will experience the negative outcomes (e.g., poor mental or physical health) associated with bullying involvement. Rather, this research is highlighting a risk factor that may put some individuals at higher risk for bullying involvement or for experiencing negative health outcomes if they are involved in bullying.

COPING STRATEGIES

As discussed above, involvement in bullying (especially as a victim of bullying) is typically considered to be a stressful experience. Coping is defined as the cognitive and behavioral attempts to reduce or manage demands elicited by a stressor (e.g., Folkman, 1984). It is worth noting that these attempts at managing demands are considered coping even if such attempts are unsuccessful in reducing or managing demands. When youth perceive their bullying involvement as stressful, they are likely to employ coping strategies; when youth do not perceive their involvement in bullying as stressful, they are not likely to utilize coping strategies. Coping occurs in several stages. First, individuals make primary appraisals in which they evaluate the stakes of the stressful encounter. For example, children may evaluate whether a particular case of bullying is occurring in front of the larger peer group (a high stake encounter) or in a dyad or small group (a lower stake encounter). Second, individuals make secondary appraisals in which they consider their options for coping (e.g., walk away, ignore bully, problem-solve). Finally, individuals implement a coping strategy. Coping strategies are selected based on primary and secondary appraisals as well as the expected outcome.

Coping has been classified as emotion-focused (i.e., regulating emotions and reducing feelings of distress) versus problem-focused (i.e., altering the environment or situation) as well as approach/active versus avoidance/passive coping. There is evidence that the type of coping utilized by children who are peer victimized predicts children's mental health and adjustment. For example, 4th grade boys who actively coped with peer victimization by trying to resolve the problem on their own were more likely to be rejected by their peers than non-victimized boys using the same coping strategy (Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002). This finding suggests that problem-solving may not always be the optimal coping strategy for children who experience peer victimization. Interestingly, seeking social support acted as a buffer from social problems for girls who were peer victimized but put boys who were peer victimized at risk for social problems (compared with non-victimized children). Ignoring problems or distancing oneself from the problem were also not effective coping strategies for children who were peer victimized; these strategies predicted higher levels of loneliness and anxiety. Interestingly, peer victimized boys who used distancing were buffered from social problems (e.g., peer regard). These findings suggest that the effectiveness of coping strategies may vary for girls and boys. Moreover, coping strategies that buffer peer victimized children from social problems may not reduce the risk for mental health and adjustment problems.

Kanetsuna, Smith, and Morita (2006) asked high school students (grades 8, 9, and 10) in England and Japan open-ended questions about what they should do if they encountered bullying. In general, students suggested that victims of bullying should seek help or directly challenge the bully. However, Kanetsuna and colleagues noted that different coping strategies were suggested for different types of peer victimization experiences. For example, students suggested avoiding bullies who used physical aggression but ignoring bullies who used verbal aggression.

Although youth are often advised to tell someone if they are being bullied, Fekkes, Pijpers, and Verloove-Vanhorick (2005) found that approximately 25% of children who were regularly peer victimized did not tell an adult. According to Kanetsuna, Smith, and Morita (2006), high school students believed that victims did not tell adults because (1) they are afraid the bullying will get worse, (2) there is no one who they trust, (3) they are not confident or assertive enough,

or (4) they believe there is nothing that can be done about the bullying. Youth may be justified in their doubt that adults are able to effectively reduce the bullying. The majority of teacher candidates viewed bullying as an important problem and would recommend that victims of bullying tell teachers and parents about their bullying experience (Nicolaidis, Toda, & Smith, 2002). However, although most teachers felt confident about interacting with victims of bullying, they felt less confident about addressing the bully and helping reduce bullying. Students reported that teachers effectively stopped bullying in only 50% of cases they knew about (Fekkes, Pijpers, & Verloove-Vanhorick). Children classified as bullies reported that only approximately 52% of teachers and 33% of parents talked to them about their bullying behaviors.

The above research indicates agreement among teachers and school-aged children that victims of bullying should report the bullying to a teacher or parent. However, the research also indicates that both new teachers and school-aged youth question the ability of teachers to effectively address and stop bullying. It is not surprising that new teachers are unsure how to address bullying given their low confidence in talking directly to the bully. Moreover, the literature on coping indicates that some coping strategies may buffer against some negative outcomes (e.g., social problems) without reducing other negative outcomes (e.g., mental health, adjustment).

CONCLUSION

It is well accepted that bullying involvement as either a bully, victim, or bully-victim is associated with both mental and physical health problems. The literature reviewed suggests that bully-victims and victims are at highest risk for mental health problems. The current literature also suggests that victims of bullying are at highest risk for physical health problems. However, little research has examined the physical health problems associated with bully-victims. We encourage researchers to include students classified as bully-victims when examining the relationship between bullying involvement and physical health.

There is a large body of literature examining protective and risk factors of bullying involvement. In this chapter, we reviewed several protective and risk factors that we considered especially important when examining the association between bullying involvement and health problems. Children who have positive social relationships, both with their peers and with their parents, seem to be buffered from the negative health outcomes of bullying involvement. There is mixed evidence on whether personality and individual differences influence the relationship between bullying involvement and health outcomes, but it is clear that personality and individual differences predict both social relationships and mental/physical health separately. Physiological functioning (e.g., brain activity, hormones) and genetics may also influence the relationship between peer victimization and health outcomes by placing individuals at higher risk for poor health outcomes if exposed to bullying.

Finally, we considered how youth may respond to peer victimization through various coping strategies. From the current literature, it is not yet clear what the optimal or most effective coping strategies are to use when peer victimized. Although some coping strategies help reduce social problems, these same strategies do not seem to protect youth from mental health problems. It is worthwhile to examine whether supplementing such coping strategies

with therapy may help reduce mental health problems and alleviate feelings of loneliness and anxiety in victims of bullying. In addition, more empirical evidence is needed to inform teachers and other adults how to respond when youth report experiencing peer victimization. Although both youth and teachers agree that “telling someone” is one of the most widely suggested and used coping strategies, many teachers do not feel equipped to directly address the bully.

We assert that bullying in schools is a complex phenomenon. Reducing school bullying requires a multidimensional, multidisciplinary approach. Indeed, it is necessary to consider (1) the personality of involved students, (2) previous bullying involvement (e.g., length of involvement), (3) amount and quality of social support from peers, teachers, and parents, and (4) home environment (e.g., parenting style). In addition, understanding genetic predispositions and physiological functioning may provide additional information regarding who is at higher risk of experiencing mental and physical health problems when involved in bullying.

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Chapter 92

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A STATEWIDE BULLYING PREVENTION PROGRAM AND ITS IMPACT ON SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: To reduce bullying by producing a quantifiable change in school climate by the end of the three-year implementation period using an established measurement tool. **Design:** An age-cohorts design was used. Data from two equivalent age cohorts of students are compared at two or more points in time. Seven school buildings with delayed program implementation were used as a control. **Setting:** Public school districts in 49 counties across Pennsylvania. **Subjects:** 56,137 students and over 2,400 teachers from 107 schools. **Measures:** The Olweus Bullying Questionnaire was administered to students in HALT! and PA CARES The Teacher Questionnaire was administered to teachers in selected HALT! schools. **Analysis:** Data from two equivalent age cohorts of students are compared at two or more points in time. **Results:** Across cohorts, there were reductions in student self-reports of bullying others; and improvements in student perceptions of adults' responsiveness, students' attitudes about bullying, and teachers' attitudes about bullying. **Conclusions:** This study is the largest bullying prevention initiative to date in the US. By bringing together several stakeholders, it reaffirms the efficacy of the OBPP, as well as highlighting several new outcomes.

INTRODUCTION

The health and social issues related to bullying are significant, costly, and have long term effects. Bullying is defined as a person being repeatedly exposed to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons and has difficulty defending him or herself (Olweus, 1993).

Bullying is also described as a “systematic abuse of power” (Smith, 2004). Though the high-level school violence associated with the use of weapons and death captures the attention of the public, it is bullying or low-level violence defined as peer aggression in the form of teasing, rumors, intimidation, and physical confrontation that affects approximately 20-30 percent of students on a daily basis (Meyer-Adams, 2008). Depression, suicidal thoughts, substance abuse, and an increased predilection to crime are negative consequences associated with bullying (Olweus.org, 2008; AMA, 2002; Limber, 2006; Gini & Pozzoli, 2009). Without intervention, bullies in middle school are three times as likely to have at least one criminal conviction by the age of 24 (Olweus, 2005). In the classroom setting, students involved with chronic bullying feel unsafe, lack a sense of personal and academic satisfaction, and become fearful and apathetic (Blueprints, 2002.; Olweus.org, 2008). Over time, the student observers of bullying have a decreased sense of empathy for other students (Blueprints, 2002). These bystanders may feel unsafe and have difficulty learning (Olweus.org, 2008). Lower academic achievement, higher drop-out rates and school absenteeism are additional burdens placed upon students, schools, parents, and society (Limber, 2006). Studies by the U.S. Secret Service and Department of Education revealed that nearly 75 percent of the attackers in school shootings indicated that they were bullied or otherwise hurt by their peers prior to the shootings (Crawford, 2002). One of the largest U.S. studies on bullying was conducted in 1998 when approximately 15,000 students were surveyed. It defined bullying in the United States of America from the perspective of school grade occurrence, gender specific bullying traits, and social strata prevalence. This report, along with European studies, provided a basis for future USA-based program activity and research (Espelage, 2004).

The health consequences of bullying are well documented. Researchers found that there was an association between children who were bullied and incidences of not sleeping well, bed wetting, feeling sad, headaches, and “tummy” aches (Williams, 1996); this same study found that there was an increased risk of symptoms with increased frequency of bullying. A meta-analysis of peer victimization studies found that victimization is significantly positively associated with depression (Hawker, 2000). These psychosocial difficulties further increase the risk of victimization and are found across sex and ethnic groups (Nishina, 2005). Interestingly, psychosomatic problems are not just limited to victims of bullying. Indeed, children who bully showed higher risk of externalizing problems, poor school adjustment, and frequent drug and alcohol use, while children who were both bullies and victims were at high risk for being poorly social adjusted, isolated, anxious, hyperactive, and having altered personalities (Gini, 2009). Additionally, bullies and bully/victims are at increased risk for both smoking and drinking when compared to uninvolved peers (Vieno, 2011).

All these health impacts take a toll on the immediate and long term health of bullies, victims, and bully/victims. They also end up costing society as a whole. A cost-benefit analysis based on published data found that the cost of bullying-related health conditions (e.g., mental health disorders, headaches, abdominal pain, alcohol abuse, etc) per student ranged from \$609 to \$3,567 (Zema, unpublished).

With the consequences of bullying fairly evident, the next question becomes what to do about it. The World Health Organization’s Violence Prevention Alliance (VPA) uses the principles of public health as a framework for understanding and preventing violence. By definition, public health aims to provide the maximum benefit for the largest number of people. A public health approach to bullying prevention consists of systematic collection of information about the problem; using research to determine the causes and effects of the problems; finding

out what works to address the problem through designing, implementing, and evaluating intervention; and implementing effective interventions in a wide range of settings while monitoring and evaluating the outcomes' impact and cost-effectiveness (WHO.int, 2012).

Since the 1970's, the bullying prevention work of Dan Olweus has been the only program to systematically examine the prevalence and social issues surrounding bullying (Smith, 2004). The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program is the most widely accepted, internationally recognized, evidenced-based health promotion program developed to address the most common form of violence in society: school-based bullying. The Olweus model is reported to reduce school-based bullying by 30-50 percent in schools that implement the program with fidelity. Supporting wide-scale adoption of the program by schools is a strategic component in bullying reduction efforts. The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP) uses four areas of concentration to enable schools to address bullying systemically:

1. School-wide measures that focus on the training of the entire school staff, including a coordinating committee whose work drives the program in each building. School rules against bullying are posted throughout the school and students are surveyed yearly using the Olweus Bullying Questionnaire (OBQ).
2. Classroom measures that include discussion, class meetings, role-playing and enforcement of school rules against bullying.
3. Individual components of OBPP to help guide a school's response and cover on-the-spot interventions, follow-up meetings with the student who is bullied and the student who is bullying along with increased parental engagement.
4. Community participation, which involves the involvement of local government, law enforcement, community agencies, media and other community partners who may provide valuable time, resources and information toward the success of the program. Spreading the anti-bullying message outside the walls of the school is an essential OBPP component.

In 2007, the Highmark Foundation, based in Pittsburgh, introduced to Pennsylvania schools two bullying prevention programs based on the Olweus program, HALT! and PA CARES (Creating an Atmosphere of Respect and Environment for Success), and established the Highmark Healthy High 5 Bullying Prevention Institute (BPI). The objectives of these programs are to bring effective and evidence-based bullying prevention strategies to schools and communities without current intervention, and to monitor and evaluate the results of these programmatic implementations (Schroeder, 2012).

METHODS

The Center for Safe Schools in Camp Hill, Pennsylvania manages PA CARES. HALT! is managed by the Center for Health Promotion and Disease Prevention (CHPDP) at Windber Research Institute (WRI), Windber, Pennsylvania. The Highmark Bullying Prevention Institute is managed by the CHPDP.

Since its inception in 2007, PA CARES has worked to build local school readiness and capacity for implementing successful intervention strategies within schools in Highmark

service areas and across the Commonwealth. PA CARES supports schools in their efforts to create safe learning environments, using a school building-level, mini-grant approach to deliver the OBPP. This program integrates traditional training and communication tools, web-based technologies, and other activities designed to support research-informed practice. PA CARES expands the number of certified OBPP trainers and coaches who provide professional development training to schools. Trainers also track model implementation to support evaluation of bullying prevention efforts. This comprehensive approach puts timely, accessible bullying prevention information and research into the hands of certified trainers, school personnel and community practitioners. The PA CARES initiative builds capacity for ongoing bullying prevention through web-based and face-to face activities. There are data for three cohorts of schools supported by PA CARES.

HALT! focused on implementing the OBPP on a district wide basis. The overall mission of HALT! is to bring effective, evidence-based bullying prevention strategies to schools and communities without current intervention; educate students, parents and faculty about the issues surrounding bullying; enhance the school climate toward a more pro-social model for all children; enhance the effectiveness of teacher and parent bullying behavior intervention; and create targeted regional “centers of excellence” in bullying prevention to provide best practice examples and resources for all schools. There are data for three cohorts of schools supported by HALT!

Interested school districts notified WRI of an intention to participate in HALT! OBPP trainers then met with the districts’ administrators and teachers to determine feasibility and readiness. If the district was ready to implement, school administrators signed a memorandum of understanding that outlined a three-year commitment to fully implement OBPP and fulfill evaluation requirements. Districts that participated in HALT! received OBPP materials, including the OBQ and other survey tools that assess bullying prevalence and school climate. OBPP Coordinating Committee and staff trainings and weekly on-site consultation with a certified Olweus trainer are also a part of first-year assessment. Up to 20 districts which were located in within the Foundation’s service area are invited to participate. The regions include Allegheny County area, Erie area, Southwestern PA, and York/Harrisburg.

HALT! provided certified Olweus trainers to offer intensive, ongoing support to participating districts throughout the first year of implementation. To help elicit high rates of fidelity and sustainability, technical assistance and program materials were provided throughout a three-year implementation period.

PA CARES selected individual school buildings within school districts in which to implement its program; The HALT! program provided support to public school districts that comprise many school buildings rather than individual buildings. Only public school districts that had not previously implemented the Olweus model were eligible to participate in HALT! Approximately 100,000 students across Pennsylvania participated in either HALT! or PA CARES.

The initial goal of the Highmark Bullying Prevention effort was to produce a positive change in school climate by the end of the three-year implementation period. Examples of impact on school climate include the student’s perceptions of their teacher’s effectiveness in preventing and intervening in bullying situations, the rate at which students actively intervene in support of their peers, the rate that students express fear of being bullied, and the students’ perceptions as to how much they enjoy school. The shift in the school climate is demonstrated in the primary work of Dan Olweus, Ph.D.

For purposes of this study, a measure of relative change (Olweus & Limber, in press) was used, which is calculated as the difference in percentages between the baseline (initial) assessment prior to program implementation, and subsequent assessments. As an example, if the percentage of bullied students in elementary school is 20% at Time 1 (baseline) and 15% at Time 2 (after 3+ months of implementation), the relative change score will be 25% $[(15-20)*100/20 = -25\%]$. An age-cohorts design (Olweus & Limber, 2010) was used to analyze program effects. Data from two equivalent age cohorts of students are compared at two or more points in time (pre-implementation and post-implementation). Measures used included the Olweus Bullying Questionnaire (OBQ, 2007), which was administered to students in the HALT! and PA CARES cohorts and the Teacher Questionnaire (2008) to teachers in selected HALT! and PA CARES schools. The OBQ measures bullying problems, student attitudes regarding bullying, how other students react to bullying, and students' general feelings about school.

The OBQ consists of 42 multi-part questions that collects data on bullying problems, attitudes regarding bullying, bystander perceptions of bullying, and general satisfaction with school. Some of the key hallmarks included student reports of being bullied, student reports of engaging in bullying behavior, students' perception of adult attitudes, students' attitudes about bullying, and students' perception of teachers' responsiveness to bullying.

RESULTS

Overall, student self-reports of bullying others were reduced among nearly all cohorts and age groups. Results appeared to be particularly positive among high school students, where reductions were observed in bullying others of 15 to 39 percent, depending upon the specific cohort. However, mixed findings were seen in students' self-reports of being bullied, with some age groups and cohorts showing decreases and others showing no positive program effects.

Almost universally across age groups and cohorts, positive changes were observed in students' perceptions that adults in the school were actively working to address bullying. When students were asked how much their teacher had done to address bullying, there was an 11 – 53% reduction in the numbers of students who responded that their teacher had done little to address bullying.

Across most groups, increases were observed in the percentage of students who indicated they would try to help a bullied student, and decreases in the percentage who felt they would passively observe or join in bullying. For example, after two years of implementation, 27 percent more elementary students (from HALT! schools) said they would try to help a bullied student.

Very positive findings were observed regarding elementary, middle, and high school teachers' perceptions of bullying and activities to address bullying at school after one year of OBPP implementation. For example, there were marked and statistically significant increases (ranging from 14-131 percent) among elementary, middle, and high school teachers in the likelihood that they regularly (2 or more times per month) talked with their classes about bullying.

Consistently positive and significant increases were observed in elementary, middle, and high school teachers' perceptions that their schools' rules and policies about bullying had been

clearly communicated to students (ranging from 17-69 percent), parents (ranging from 14-81 percent), teachers (ranging from 19-30 percent), and other staff (19-34 percent).

In high schools, there were positive intervention results for student reports of being bullied, bullying others, perceptions of adult responses to bullying, and attitudes about bullying.

Data from the HALT! Cohort 1 schools reveal that many program effects are stronger after two years of implementation than one. These findings are consistent with those of other studies that have observed the implementation of OBPP as an ongoing process (Olweus, 1993; Olweus & Limber, 2010).

At the end of 12 or more months of implementation of the OBPP in Cohort 1 HALT!, elementary and high schools, positive findings observed included significantly decreased reports of students bullying others and the perception that teachers were doing “little or nothing” to prevent bullying in both elementary and high schools. In addition, high schools had significantly decreased reports of students being bullied (Fig 1). There was a reduction in reports of bullying others among elementary students, although this decrease was not statistically significant. Significant decreases were observed in most specific forms of bullying.

After three or more months of implementation of the OBPP in Cohort 2 HALT!, elementary, middle, and high schools showed positive findings. Elementary, middle, and high schools had significantly decreased reports of bullying others and the perception that teachers were doing “little or nothing” to prevent bullying. Middle and high schools had significantly decreased reports of students who believed they could join in bullying, and elementary and middle schools had significantly increased reports of students who would try to help a bullying victim (Fig 2).

After three or more months of implementation of the OBPP in PA CARES, elementary, middle, and high schools showed positive results as well. Elementary schools reported an increase in students being bullied however, elementary, middle, and high schools all showed decreases in reports of bullying others and perceptions that teachers were doing “little or nothing” to prevent bullying. There were also increased reports of students who would try to help a bullying victim in elementary, middle, and high schools (Fig 3).

CONCLUSION

For both HALT! and PA CARES, there were positive intervention results for student reports of being bullied, bullying others, perceptions of adult responses to bullying, and attitudes about bullying. Data from the HALT! Cohort 1 schools reveal that many program effects are stronger after two years of implementation than one. These findings are consistent with those of other studies that have observed the implementation of OBPP as an ongoing process (Olweus, 1993; Olweus & Limber, 2010). It is not only important to see decreases in students’ reports of being bullied and bullying others, but it is also to observe changes in students’ perceptions of adults’ responsiveness to the implementation of the OBPP elements. In addition, a more positive school climate is created by decreasing the percentage of students who are “bystanders” when they see bullying occur and by increasing the percentage of students who actively try to help the bullied students (Limber 2006).

Across the nation, this Pennsylvania-based bullying prevention initiative serves as the largest and most comprehensive effort to date to systematically and strategically address this public health issue. This Pennsylvania group is the largest cohort of children in the world who have been evaluated in order to determine the effects of a bullying prevention initiative. As a result of the efforts of the Highmark Foundation and its partners, this study offers the largest coordinated implementation and evaluation of the OBPP in the United States. Data represents

the first pilot of the OBPP in high school settings in the United States. With the scale and scope of Highmark's investment, several new outcomes were realized. Highmark's Healthy High 5 bullying prevention effort will impact approximately 210,000 students, or 13 percent of all public and private school students within Highmark's service area.

Results from this project indicate that the OBPP can be implemented particularly successfully in large populations when strategic community partners are identified and established. Schools, if left unsupported, may be unable to sustain these efforts on their own over time. Highmark's state- and district-wide approach has enhanced partnerships between schools, districts, and institutional coordinators (Windber Research Institute and the Center for Safe Schools). By providing a high level of technical support to schools, partnerships have helped to facilitate successful implementation of the OBPP.

Particularly promising are initial results from students in participating high schools. These findings underscore the need to further understand the current application of the OBPP in high school settings and to develop ways to tailor and improve this implementation. This study's preliminary results indicate an area of further investigation regarding differences between teacher and student perceptions of bullying behavior and the need for bullying prevention in high schools.

To the extent that a high level of fidelity to OBPP implementation is linked to positive program outcomes, a continued focus on assessing OBPP fidelity is needed. Understanding the link between fidelity of implementation and program outcomes in elementary, middle, and high schools is necessary. Thus, a system is needed to certify the varying degrees of fidelity with which OBPP schools implement the program.

Continuing education which has been available to trainers, parents, teachers and administrators, has likely had an important impact on fidelity of the program. Collective experiences gained from the project have a direct relationship to long-term sustainability.

As a result of Highmark Foundation's Bullying Prevention effort, a recertification process was developed for Olweus Trainers in Pennsylvania. The standardization of training offered to schools insures that the most recent and up-to-date research and resources in the field are shared. Sharing results in more consistent outcomes. The recertification process developed with Highmark funding will serve as a model program for other states.

PA CARES and HALT! demonstrated that undertaking pre-implementation assessment is related to consistent implementation of the program. It is necessary for schools to assess their readiness to implement a bullying prevention program. This pre-implementation assessment involves securing administration and faculty support prior to beginning a project. Highmark Foundation supported initiatives have gone beyond standard pre-implementation assessments of similar studies.

Year two data from HALT! Cohort 1 supports the need and importance of implementing OBPP over two or more years, permitting analysts to observe continued improvement in bullying prevention outcomes. The role of the teacher in bullying prevention cannot be understated. Although it is the responsibility of teachers to communicate rules to their students, the onus typically is on administrators and/or members of schools' coordinating committees to communicate rules to teachers, other staff, and parents. From an outcomes perspective, it is highly encouraging that teachers feel that their leaders have done an exceptional job in this regard. The increased dialogue between teachers and students about bullying is consistent with previous studies. This finding is encouraging, as holding regular class meetings about bullying is a core component of the OBPP. Class meetings are the venue through which much

information about the program and the schools' expectations are delivered to students and a time where community-building occurs. Seeing positive change in middle and high schools is particularly encouraging, as schools at these levels frequently have difficulty finding time for these important discussions.

One of the keys to the success of this project was identifying key partners and forging successful collaborations. A bullying prevention coalition was established, including the Highmark Foundation, the Pennsylvania Center for Safe Schools, Clemson University, the Pennsylvania Department of Education, Windber Research Institute, and the University of Bergen. This coalition provided expertise, funding, support, and "best-practices" sharing for this initiative. By collaborating among this diverse group of partners, it was possible to have a positive impact on the behavior and physical health outcomes of a large population of children and adolescents (Schroeder, 2012).

The impact data from this school and community-based prevention initiative, in response to the well-documented negative health and social effects of bullying, has clearly demonstrated the importance of adherence to prevention science and to identifying key partnerships.

Through the Highmark Foundation's comprehensive and strategic approach to program implementation, partnerships, and evaluation, a cultural change has come about in participating schools. Bullying is now an understood behavior that no longer will be tolerated. Bullying can no longer disrupt an educational environment. Through efforts like that of the Highmark Foundation, bullying prevention initiative is working.

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Chapter 93

PERSONAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL PREDICTORS OF SCHOOL BULLYING AND ITS EMOTIONAL CONSEQUENCES

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is a multifaceted phenomenon and is connected to a variety of individual, relational, familial, schooling, and cultural variables.

This chapter aims to explore the relationship of school bullying with personal values, exposure to interparental and community violence, and emotional states. We explored four main hypotheses: i) exposure to community and interparental violence predict the involvement in school bullying both as a victim and bully; ii) personal values of self-transcendence and self-enhancement predict the involvement in bullying behaviour (negatively and positively respectively); iii) involvement in school bullying, both as a victims and bully, predict emotional experiences of fear, anger, sadness, and serenity; iv) school bullying mediates the relationship between values, family and community violence and emotions, increasing the amount of negative feelings. A unitary pattern of these relationships was tested through a structural equation model.

The study was performed in five cities of south of Italy.

The sample was made up of 3426 subjects, (mean age= 15.24; ds= 2.60; range 11-19), attending 7th, 10th and 13th grade classes, distributed in 34 schools and 206 classrooms.

Participants filled out a questionnaire containing measures concerning self-transcendence and self-enhancement values, exposure to community violence, exposure to interparental violence, emotional states of anger, fear, sadness and serenity, and involvement in school bullying as a bully or victim.

To test the hypotheses regarding the relationships among values, exposure to interparental violence, exposure to community violence, bullying and emotions, we used

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gender and age multi-group Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) analyses. Findings show good indexes of fit for the hypothesized model.

More specifically, without distinction for gender or age, bullying and victimization are predicted by exposure to community and interparental violence, bullying others is predicted by self-transcendence (negatively) and self-enhancement (positively) values, in turn bullying others predicts (positively) emotional states of anger, while victimization predicts (positively) emotional states of anger, fear, sadness, and (negatively) of serenity.

The results of the study provide useful indications for programmed intervention, suggesting the need to prevent school bullying through school programs.

Keywords: school bullying, personal values, exposure to community violence, interparental violence, emotional states

OVERVIEW

A large number of studies carried out during the last three decades have produced strong evidence that school bullying is a pervasive phenomenon that involves students of all ages, genders, and socio-cultural backgrounds. The social alarm generated by studies on school bullying has increased the interest of scholars and professionals very impressively (Berger, 2007), developing a wide range of research aiming to understand the most significant correlates of school bullying - antecedents and consequences - and the factors that can promote effective school interventions.

There is wide agreement that, within an ecological and multi-factorial perspective, school bullying has to be considered a multifaceted phenomenon which is connected to a variety of individual, relational, familial, schooling, and cultural variables.

Nevertheless, few studies have simultaneously considered these different levels of explanation (Hong & Espelage, 2012), and these studies have not analyzed the predictors of school bullying and the consequences of bullying on the emotional well-being of the subjects involved simultaneously.

The research we present in this chapter has the purpose of furthering the research on school bullying, considering two classes of antecedents that have rarely been examined in previous research: personal values and the exposure to interparental and community violence. At the same time, this research aims to analyze the effects of bullying others or having been bullied by peers on the resulting emotional experience. The interconnections between personal values, exposure to violence, school bullying, and emotional experience, will be analyzed within a more complex model that includes direct and indirect influences.

PERSONAL VALUES AND BULLYING

Values are desirable, abstract goals that apply across situations; they serve as guiding principles in people's lives and as criteria to select and justify actions and to evaluate people and events (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Yet, although values play an important role in understanding and predicting beliefs, attitudes and behaviors, their popularity as a research topic has varied over time. In the last twenty years, the most accredited model has been

Schwarz's theory of the structure of values (Schwartz, 1992; 1994), which has been the object of more than 200 studies in over 75 countries.

Although some studies have shown a direct association between values and aggressive behaviors, few studies have been carried out to analyze the role of personal values on bullying behavior.

A starting point from which to investigate this relationship is the debate on the nature of bullying that took place at the end of nineties, with the opposition of Crick and Dodge (1999), who saw the bully as lacking in social skills, and Sutton, Smith and Swettenham (1999a; 1999b), who argued that bullies were highly socially skilled and used their social knowledge to attain their goals. Through this debate, the contribution by Arsenio and Lemerise (2001) is of fundamental importance because these authors introduced the need to study the values of bullies to understand the phenomenon of bullying. They claimed that social competence cannot be defined in a value-free way because it can be used in either a prosocial or an antisocial way, depending on the values held by the individual. In this way, bullying can be considered a socially competent behavior because it allows the individual to attain his goals, and a critical issue in understanding bullying will be to consider the values of bullies; in other words, the way in which they evaluate the costs and benefits of aggression (Arsenio&Lemerise, 2001).

In any case, few studies have empirically evaluated the goals or values of bullies.

Some studies (e.g., Unnever& Cornell, 2003) indirectly examined the relationship between bullying and values taking into account attitudes toward bullying that could be considered an indirect expression of personal values. If positive attitudes, convictions, and beliefs about bullying are widely shared inside a school, then the presence of a "culture of bullying" can be discussed. In other words, a culture of bullying is a multidimensional phenomenon that is characterized by a normative set of shared beliefs that support or encourage bullying behaviors (Smith & Brain, 2000).

As for the goals associated with bullying – a concept very close to that of values – Sijtsema, Veenstra, Lindenberg and Salmivalli (2009) measured the status goals of bullies. They found that bullies attribute great importance to these goals because they use aggression to reach dominance and prestige inside the social group.

As regards the values of bullies, some studies have linked bullying behavior and values as conceptualized in the "theory of the universal structure of human values" (Schwartz, 1992, 1994); this theory is also the conceptual framework used in the present study and postulates the existence of ten universal values that can be grouped into four broader dimensions: self-enhancement (power and achievement), self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence), openness to change (self-direction and stimulation) and conservation (tradition, conformity and security); the value of hedonism shares elements of both self-enhancement and openness to change.

One of the few studies that linked values and bullying (Knafo, 2003) showed that teenage boys who adopt bullying behaviors with high frequency attach higher priority to the value of "power", which in Schwartz's theory is defined as attempting to attain "social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources" (Schwartz, 2006).

Another study based on Schwartz's theory, which compared traditional bullying and cyberbullying (Menesini, Nocentini&Camodeca, 2011), showed that self-transcendence had a negative direct impact on traditional bullying whereas self-enhancement and openness to change had a positive impact on this type of aggression even if these effects were indirect and acted through the mediation of immoral behavior. Therefore, values oriented towards the

welfare of others, such as those that are classed as self-transcendent, appear to act as protective factors against bullying; on the contrary, self-oriented values, such as those of the self-enhancement class, and values that promote the search for exciting sensations and strong emotions, such as those that are classed among openness to change, appear to favor the implementation of bullying behaviors (Menesini et al., 2011).

Gender differences in the relationship between values and bullying exist; Ojanen, Aunola, and Salmivalli (2007) found that male bullies attributed higher importance than females to status goals, which can be considered part of self-enhancement in Schwartz's classification. This difference, however, has not been found in the study by Sijtsema et al. (2009). Menesini et al. (2011) also found no gender differences.

Some authors argue that the relationship between values and bullying becomes stronger in adolescence; in childhood, bullying would be less strategic and more immature (Sijtsema et al., 2009).

Although the literature regarding the relationship between bullying and values - or life goals - is small, the number of studies evaluating the values of victims is even smaller. Among these very few studies, Sijtsema et al. (2009) also measured the goals of victims and found that victims attribute low importance to status goals.

Regarding the emotional experience (the other topic of our study), which is considered a proximal indicator of psychological well-being and mental health, few studies have examined the links between values and well-being. Bilsky and Schwartz (1994) found that well-being was positively associated with benevolence, universalism, achievement and stimulation (as these promote the personal growth of the individual) and negatively associated with power, conformity and security. Moreover, Kasser and Ahuvia (2002) found a positive association between well-being and "intrinsic" values (such as benevolence, universalism and self-direction) and a negative association with "extrinsic" values, such as power. According to this field of research, the existence of absolute "beneficial" values (which are "healthy" independently of the social context to which the individual belongs) is hypothesized. On the contrary, Sagiv and Schwartz (2000) suggest also considering the role of congruence between the values of the individual and those of the social environment in which he lives in determining subjective satisfaction. In conclusion, the relationship that exists between values and mental health remains unclear.

EXPOSURE TO INTERPARENTAL VIOLENCE AND BULLYING

In recent decades, researchers, clinicians, and policymakers have expressed increasing concern that children who are exposed to interparental violence may suffer negative consequences even when the targets of violence are not themselves (Osofsky, 1995). Child exposure to domestic violence is associated with a wide range of mental health symptoms (e.g., Fantuzzo & Lindquist, 1989; Kolbo, Blakely, & Engleman, 1996; Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998). More specifically, children exposed to domestic violence report more depressive symptoms, anxiety, and worry than those who have never been exposed to such violence (e.g., Graham-Bermann, 1996; Spaccarelli, Sandler, & Roosa, 1994; Sternberg, Lamb, Greenbaum, Cicchetti, Dawud, Cortes et al., 1993). These children also appear to be more prone to physical aggression

and have higher levels of general behavior problems, when rated by parents and teachers (Sternberg, Lamb, Guterman, & Abbott, 2006).

Although many studies have been carried out that analyze the relationship between familiar variables and involvement in school bullying, few of these have investigated the association between bullying and exposure to family violence. As CorvoanddeLara (2010) affirm, “In the academic literature and in the arenas of practice (schools, clinics, shelters, etc.), bullying and domestic violence have been considered as largely unconnected phenomena” (p.182). Specifically Baldry (2003), in a study conducted with an Italian sample of elementary and middle school students that used the Conflict Tactic Scales (Straus, 1979), found that family violence was a significant predictor for both bullying and victimization. Violence by the father against the child and violence by the mother against the father were two independent predictors of bullying and victimization after controlling for other variables of violent behavior within the family. Models for bullying and victimization both showed that exposure to parental violence (especially that by the mother against the father) significantly predicted bullying and victimization, over and beyond age, gender, and parental harming of the child. However, the two models predicted a higher proportion of variance for bullying than victimization, and the effects of interparental violence were higher for females than for males.

Bauer et al. (2006) also examined the relationship between childhood behaviors and exposure to intimate-partner violence at home using a community-based sample of 112 children aged 6–13. The authors found only a moderate relationship between interparental violence and bullying involvement, and this association disappeared after controlling for a series of confounding variables; however, intimate partner violence-exposed children were at increased risk for problematic levels of externalizing behaviors, physical aggression and internalizing behaviors.

Another study, which was conducted on a sample of underage psychiatric inpatients, found that witnessing interparental violence increased the risk of being a victim of bullying among boys; for girls, being a victim of a violent crime was a risk factor for being a bully-victim (Mustanoja, Luukkonen, Hakko, Räsänen, Säävälä, & Riala, 2011).

EXPOSURE TO COMMUNITY VIOLENCE AND BULLYING

A large body of research has shown that high levels of exposure to violence during development promote maladaptive psycho-social behaviors and a wide range of mental health outcomes.

Specifically, youths who have been exposed to community violence report higher symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder and internalizing disorders (Bacchini, Miranda, & Affuso, 2011; Gorman-Smith, Henry, & Tolan, 2004; Ho, 2008; Kliwer, Lepore, Oskin, & Johnson, 1998), academic failure (Henrich, Schwab-Stone, Fanti, Kones & Ruchkin, 2004), socio-cognitive biases in processing social information (Shahinfar, Kupersmindt, & Matza, 2001) and, above all, aggressive behaviors and externalizing symptoms (Barkin, Kreitetr, & DuRant, 2001; Scarpa, 2001; Su, Mrug, & Windle, 2010).

The mechanisms through which exposure to community violence affects child adjustment are varied. Exposure to violence can act as a proximal factor of risk; individuals who live in a high-crime neighborhood tend to adopt an aggressive stance (McIntyre, 2000). In most cases,

however, exposure to violence does not influence externalizing behaviors directly but indirectly through mediating and moderating variables such as social cognitions (Shahinfar et al., 2001), attitudes to violence (Su et al., 2010), parental nurturance (Gorman-Smith, Henry & Tolan, 2004; Proctor, 2006).

Despite the interest of developmental researchers in this subject, relatively few studies have investigated the relationship between school bullying and exposure to neighborhood violence (Andershed, Kerr, & Stattin, 2001; Bacchini, Esposito, & Affuso, 2009; Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000; Khoury-Kassabri, Benbenishty, Astor, & Zeira, 2004; Nansel, Overpeck, Haynie, Ruan, & Scheidt, 2003; Schwartz & Proctor, 2000; Swearer & Doll, 2001; WienkeTotura, MacKinnon-Lewis, Gesten, Gadd, Divine, Dunham, & Kamboukos, 2009)

The studies mentioned above found a positive association between neighborhood violence and bullying behaviors. Neighborhood safety concern and access to a gun were found to positively correlate with bullying behavior (Espelage et al., 2000), whereas residing in an unsafe and low-income neighborhood improved the probability of experiencing peer victimization (Khoury-Kassabri et al., 2004). In the Italian context, Bacchini et al. (2009) found that bullies and bully-victims reported having more dangerous experiences outside the school than victims or youths not involved in bullying, despite the fact that this involvement did not influence their perception of the safety of the neighborhood as they were adapted to the violent context and extended the way of life learned outside the school to the school context. By contrast, Nansel et al. (2003) found that bullying others and being bullied by others were consistently related to various forms of violent behavior outside the school (e.g., carrying a weapon, frequent fighting or being injured in a fight) for both boys and girls, even though bullying others carried greater odds of involvement than being bullied. However, an important limitation of this literature is the lack of distinction – regarding the exposure to community violence - between being a victim of and a witness to violence. Research has shown that the two experiences are strongly related, but it is important to consider both to obtain a complete picture of the behavioral, cognitive and emotional consequences. Whereas witnessing violence involves social learning processes that lead individuals to display positive attitudes toward aggressive and antisocial behaviors (Farrell & Bruce, 1997; Gorman-Smith & Tolan, 1998), being a victim of violence mainly involves affective processes that affect the capability for emotional regulation, thereby determining negative feelings toward the community.

Regarding the relationship between exposure to violence in the community and bullying in schools, Andershed et al. (2001) conducted a study in Sweden to test two alternative hypotheses: i) that bullying and victimization in school are largely restricted to the school context and not linked to violence on the streets and ii) that bullying behavior is a reflection of a more general aggressive behavior pattern, and hence, bullying in school and violence on the streets involve the same individuals.

The results of the study clearly showed that, without any distinction between males and females, bullying others in schools was strongly linked to violent behavior, weapon-carrying on the streets, and loitering on the streets and that bullying others in school was related to being violently victimized on the streets. At the same time, the authors found that bully-victims were more at risk than pure bullies. A limitation of this study is that the authors did not consider the victimization as a dependent variable, but only as a variable associated with the bullying of others.

In line with previous results, a large survey conducted in 1,000 Colombian schools (Chaux, Molano, & Podlesky, 2009) demonstrated that exposure to violence in the neighborhood

remained a unique predictor of school bullying, even after controlling for the effects using other indicators of social problems.

BULLYING AND EMOTIONAL STATES

Emotions are specific reactions to particular events that comprise several components, such as an experiential feeling, cognitions and physiological reactions, which may have important behavioral implications (Stanley & Burrows, 2001). Emotions may be seen as critical and vital signs that provide essential information regarding an individual's health and well-being (Spielberger & Reheiser, 2009) and how he perceives and reacts to his environment. Surprisingly, few studies have examined the relationship between bullying and emotional experience (Løkke, Lars, & Ståle, 2012). This is possibly because, in the past, bullying was considered by previous generations as a normal pattern of interaction among youths and thus harmless. Contrarily, current research has demonstrated that bullying and being bullied can affect various mental health problems (Arseneault, Walsh, Trzesniewski, Newcombe, Caspi, & Moffit, 2006; Juvonen, Graham, & Schuster, 2003; Nansell, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simmons-Morton, & Schmidt 2001; Veenstra, Lindenberg, Oldehinkel, De Winter, Verhulst, & Ormel, 2005). Bullies and bullied children show signs of psychological problems that can persist throughout life.

Previous research has typically focused on only one or a few affective states, thus potentially ignoring other emotions while overemphasizing those investigated. In the present study, we will therefore measure several types of potentially felt emotions adapting a well-known instrument with good psychometric qualities (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), thereby allowing for a more differentiated and nuanced understanding of the bullying phenomenon.

Specifically, the present study will focus on four emotional states: anger, fear, sadness and serenity.

The affective state of *anger* is the most investigated among studies of bullying.

The emotion of anger is frequently shared by bullies and victims for three different reasons: i) many subjects experience bullying and victimization simultaneously, and some studies have shown that these subjects are more likely to experience feelings of anger (e.g., Olweus, 1993, talked about a provocative victim); ii) victims tend to experience anger in reaction to being bullied but, at the same time, appear to have an inadequate way of showing and managing anger, resulting in exposure to subsequent retaliation; and iii) bullies appear, conversely, able to manage anger in a functional way; good management of anger permits them to communicate dominance over another person (Frijda, 1986; Izard, 1993).

Among the studies about bullying and anger, Champion (2009) found that both victimization and bullying were moderately but significantly correlated with the experience of anger and also observed that low anger predicted good coping strategies, like ignoring or distraction.

The role of anger as a direct consequence of victimization was investigated by Sigfusdottir et al. (2010), who tested the hypotheses that the experience of both bullying and victimization affected nonviolent delinquent behavior and that this relationship was mediated by the emotion of anger. The results demonstrated that the relationship between anger and delinquent behavior

was stronger for bullies than for victims and that the mediating role of anger was stronger for bully-victims than for pure bullies.

As regards the affective state of *fear*, it is plausible to hypothesize that fear can be associated with victimization because this is an abusive condition that occurs repeatedly over time; in victims that are not able to defend themselves from bully attacks, fear tends to rise in the presence of the bully. Conversely, bullies, who intentionally get involved in situations of conflict with other peers, tend to experience low levels of fear; in fact, the literature shows that low levels of fear reactivity put the youth at risk for aggression and related problem behaviors because they disrupt the normal development of conscience and empathy, and the internalization of social norms. In other words, youth with low fear reactivity are not distressed enough by the potential negative consequences (e.g., punishment, retaliation, or harm) or by the inappropriateness of aggression to motivate the avoidance of its use (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1992; Frick & Morris, 2004; Pulkkinen, 1996; Terranova, Morris, & Boxer, 2008). Moreover, fear reactivity appears to be a significant predictor of overt bullying after one year, controlling the involvement in bullying during the previous year (Terranova et al., 2008).

Another affective state that we will examine is *sadness*. Some researchers have examined the relationship between victimization and depression. Roland (2002) found that children who were victimized at school had higher scores of depression than those who were not involved in bullying; Mills et al. (2004) and Yabko, Hokoda, and Ulloa (2008) also found a significant association between peer-bullying victimization and depression, both for males and females. However, it remains unclear whether depression is a predictor or an outcome of peer-bullying victimization; in other words, it is unclear whether the children were being victimized because they were exhibiting depressive symptoms or the victimization caused the depression.

In this study, we do not intend to use psychiatric categories; therefore, we will refer to sadness rather than depression. Few studies have investigated the relationship between bullying and the specific aspect of sadness. However, these few studies demonstrate that being bullied is significantly associated with feelings of sadness, loneliness and suicidal ideation. In a large survey, which was conducted in 19 low- and middle-income countries, Fleming and Jacobsen (2009) found in all countries that subjects who experienced victimization reported higher scores of sadness than non-victimized subjects, after controlling for the effects of gender and age.

Few studies have considered two or more emotions simultaneously. Investigating the relationships among sadness, anger, bullying and victimization with Dutch students, Camodeca & Gossens (2005) found that both bullies and victims scored higher on anger and attributed more feelings of anger toward the protagonists of hypothetical stories of bullying compared to other children, even though only victims tended to attribute sadness to the protagonists; these results support the hypothesis that anger is an affective state common to bullying and victimization, whereas sadness is specific for victimization.

Although the relationship between bullying and negative emotions has been widely studied, few studies have evaluated the relationships between bullying and quality of life or positive affects (Flaspohler, Elfstrom, Vanderzee, Sink, & Birchmeier, 2009; Glasø, Vie, Holmdal, & Einarsen, 2011; Lokke et al., 2012) such as the affective state of *serenity*, which we will examine in the present study. These studies suggest that students who bully and/or are bullied experience reduced life satisfaction and support from peers and teachers compared to “bystanders” (children who are neither victims nor perpetrators of bullying) and found that positive affect was a partial mediator between exposure to work bullying and job satisfaction or musculoskeletal complaints. These results are consistent with the literature regarding stress

and emotions (Lazarus, 1999) and emotions and health (Folkman&Moskowitz, 2000) and suggest that negative emotions play an important role in the development of a variety of physiological diseases; these studies also suggest that reduced levels of positive emotions also influence victims' health.

Aims and Hypotheses

On the basis of the findings reported in the literature, it is plausible to hypothesize that personal values and exposure to community and interparental violence affect involvement in school bullying and the nature of emotional experience in adolescence. It is also plausible to hypothesize that bullying and being bullied should be associated with positive or negative emotional states. Moreover, we hypothesize that bullying and being bullied have roles in mediating the relationship between values and emotional states and between exposure to violence and emotional states. The hypothesized pattern of relationships is depicted in fig.1.

In line with the theory, the following hypotheses will be tested:

- i) self-transcendence values negatively predict bullying because people who give priority to these values attribute importance to the well-being of others and so tend to not harm them. Moreover, we hypothesize that self-transcendence values, being “healthy” values (Bilsky& Schwartz, 1994), are negatively associated with fear, anger and sadness, and positively associated with serenity;
- ii) self-enhancement values positively affect bullying because youth who attribute importance to these values attempt to obtain power over people and resources. We also hypothesize that self-enhancement values negatively contribute to being a victim of bullying, consistent with the study by Sijtsema et al. (2009). Moreover, we hypothesize that self-enhancement values have a negative impact on emotional well-being (Bilsky& Schwartz, 1994) and therefore, they are positively associated with fear, sadness and anger, and negatively associated with serenity;
- iii) exposure to interparental violence is positively associated with involvement in school bullying, both as a victim and as a bully, and with negative emotional experiences; it is also negatively associated with serenity because children exposed to domestic violence experience higher levels of personal distress, lower levels of social competence and, as a consequence, they are at greater risk for externalizing and emotional problems;
- iv) exposure to community violence predicts involvement in school bullying both as a victim and as a bully, and is positively associated with negative emotional experiences and negatively associated with serenity, through the same mechanisms that we have hypothesized regarding the role of exposure to interparental violence on bullying and affective states;
- v) bullying others is hypothesized to have a direct and positive influence on the affective state of anger (because aggressive behavior is generally linked to feelings of anger), a negative influence on fear (because low levels of fear reactivity put youth at risk for aggression), and a negative influence on serenity (because bullying experience reduces life satisfaction and support from peers and teachers);

- vi) being bullied is hypothesized to have a direct association with emotional states; victims will experience anger in reaction to being bullied, fear because they are not able to defend themselves against the bully attacks, and sadness because they are frustrated at not able to modify their status. Moreover, being bullied reduces life satisfaction and, consequently, feelings of serenity;
- vii) involvement in school bullying is associated to different affective states, mediating the relations between values, family context, community context and emotions, and increasing, in this way, the risk of mental health problems.

In the study, we will control the pattern of hypothesized influences for gender and age.

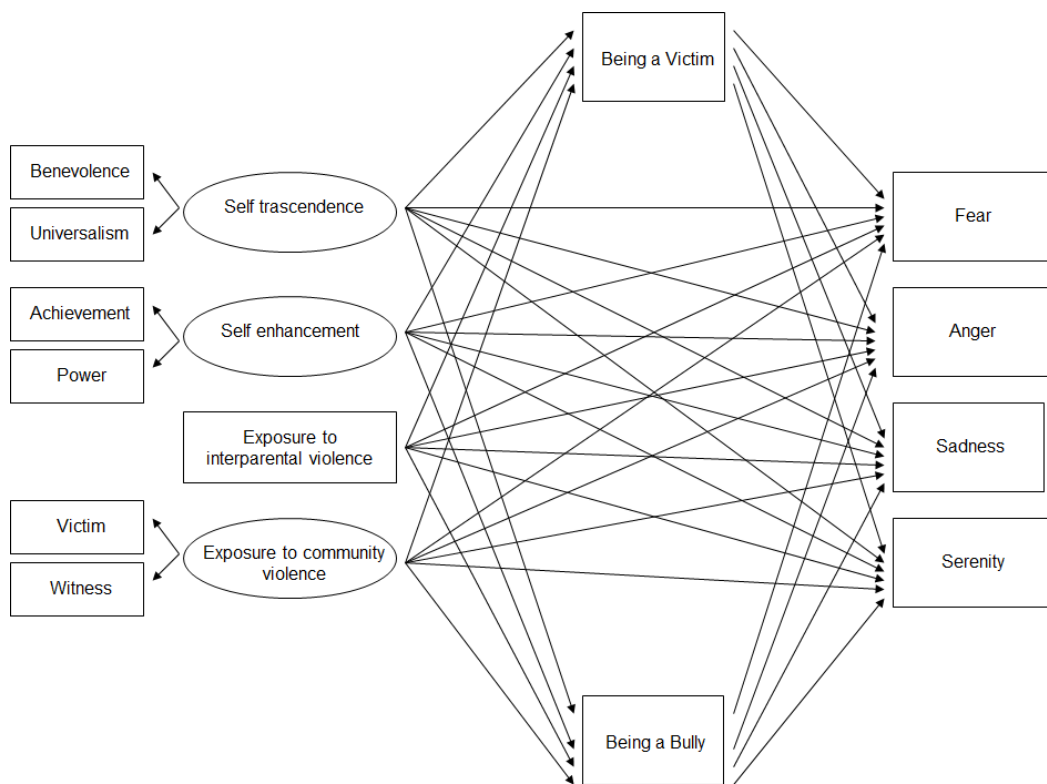


Figure 1. Conceptual Path Model for the Relationship between Personal values, Exposure to interparental violence, Exposure to community violence, Bullying and Emotions.

METHOD

Participants

This study was carried out in Campania Region, a large and populated area in the south of Italy, the most important city of which is Naples. The research was commissioned by the Regional Department of Education and conducted by the Regional Observatory on Bullying and the Department of Psychology of the Second University of Naples to investigate the

phenomenon of bullying within schools. The funding agencies had no influence over the choice of research tools and procedures used.

The study was performed in the main five cities of the region (Naples, Avellino, Caserta, Benevento, and Salerno). The different population sizes (higher in Naples than in the other cities) were taken into account. Regarding the socio-economic composition of the studied population, ISTAT (National Institute for Statistics) 2008 indices were used, considering the average level of education and income of the population in relation to the area of residence. The sample comprised 3,546 subjects (1,685 males and 1,861 females) aged between 11 and 18 years, who were middle and high school students from 34 schools and 206 classrooms. In each school, all 7th, 10th and 13th grade classes were selected for inclusion in the study. Ninety-two adolescents refused to participate, and 57 questionnaires were incomplete. The final sample thus consisted of 3,397 adolescents (1,591 males and 1,806 females), of whom 1,275 were enrolled in the second year of middle school (equivalent to 7th grade; mean age=12.39, sd=.74), 1,021 were enrolled in the second year of high school (equivalent to 10th grade; mean age=15.58, sd=.78) and 1,101 were enrolled in the fifth year of high school (equivalent to 13th grade; mean age=18.27, sd=.99). The sample was relatively well distributed in terms of socio-economic status, though somewhat skewed toward lower levels. Approximately 40% of the fathers and mothers had a low level of education (middle school diploma or less), 37% had a high school diploma and approximately 23% had a university degree.

Measures

Values. To measure values, adolescents completed four sub-dimensions of a reduced version of the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ; Schwartz, Melech, Lehmann, Burgess, Harris, & Owens, 2001), a self-reporting scale based on Shalom Schwarz's theory and validated in Italy by Capanna, Vecchione, and Schwartz (2005); these sub-dimensions are benevolence, universalism, achievement and power. The four values have been further categorized into two higher-order dimensions: self-transcendence (benevolence and universalism) and self-enhancement (achievement and power). The PVQ includes verbal portraits of different people who describe a person's goals, aspirations or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of a value. For each portrait, respondents answer the question "How much like you is this person?" Typical items include the following: "It is very important to him to help people around him. He wants to care for their well-being" (self-transcendence); "He likes to be in charge and tell others what to do. He wants people to do what he says" (self-enhancement). All items were scored on a six-point Likert scale from 1 = *not at all like me* to 6 = *very much like me*. The instrument demonstrated adequate reliability [benevolence (2 items): Cronbach's alpha = .68; universalism (3 items): Cronbach's alpha = .67; achievement (2 items): Cronbach's alpha = .70; power (2 items): Cronbach's alpha = .68].

Exposure to interparental violence. Youths' exposure to interparental violence was measured with a modified version of the Conflict Tactic Scales (CTS; Straus, 1979) adapted for Italian youngsters by Baldry (2003). The used scale consists of 4 items that measure various levels of violence between parents. The types of violence that we measured are: verbal (name calling), physical (hitting and throwing objects at the partner), and emotional (threatening), plus a general question measuring "harm doing" (e.g.: "Has your father/mother ever hit your mother/father in some ways?"; "Has your father/mother ever threatened your

mother/father?"; Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$). We asked subjects to indicate the frequency with which they had been exposed to the situations in question over the last year using a 5-point scale (1 = *never*; 5 = *very often*).

Exposure to community violence. Exposure to violence was measured by a questionnaire (Bacchini et al., 2011) on "exposure to violence in the community". The questionnaire was derived from Schwartz and Proctor's Community Experience Questionnaire (Schwartz & Proctor, 2000) and adapted to local conditions. The questionnaire contains two subscales. The first subscale includes 5 items assessing exposure to community violence as a victim (Cronbach's $\alpha = .65$) including, for example the following questions: "How many times have you been the victim of theft (robbery, bag-snatching)?" "How many times have you been attacked or threatened?". The second subscale includes 5 items assessing exposure to community violence as a witness (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$) including, for example, the following questions: "How many times have you witnessed thefts (robbery, bag-snatching)?" "How many times have you seen attacks on or threats against other people?". For each item, we used a 5-point scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *very often*) to elicit information on the frequency with which the participant had been exposed to the situation in question over the last year. Participants were reminded to report only serious, real-life events from their neighborhoods and communities rather than events that they had read about or had seen on television or in movies.

Bully-victim questionnaire. To measure the frequency of bullying, we adapted the classical bully-victim questionnaire, originally proposed by Olweus (1986, 1996), modified by Whitney and Smith (1993) and adapted for Italy by Genta, Menesini, Fonzi, Costabile, and Smith (1996). Before administering the questionnaire, we provided students with a definition of bullying. The definition was centered on three key concepts: the imbalance of power between the victim and the perpetrator, the intention to harm the victim and the different forms that bullying can take. Subsequently, a series of 8 questions on bullying were given. Bullying questions included questions regarding insults, blows, threats, isolation inside school, isolation outside school, defamation, theft, and teasing. For each question, subjects indicated the frequency with which they had experienced being bullied or had bullied others from the beginning of the school year on a 5-point scale (*never involved, only once or twice, 2 or 3 times a month, about once a week, several times a week*). Lastly, two scales including all items were constructed for being a victim (Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$) and being a bully (Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$).

Emotions. Emotional experiences were measured using a modified version of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson et al., 1988). For this study, we used negative affect scales (fear, anger, and sadness) and a positive affective state, serenity. The respondents were asked to what extent they generally felt those emotions during the previous 2 weeks. The response categories were: *not at all/very slightly, a little, moderately, quite a bit, and extremely*.

Procedure

The study was realized in the spring of 2010. The questionnaires were administered in the classroom by previously trained psychologists who had not previously met the students. During the administration of the questionnaires, which took place over a period of 1 month, teachers were not present in the classroom. All questionnaires were anonymous. All the parents of the students involved signed an informed consent form that specified the goals of the study. At the

end of the study, the local government received a copy of the research report. The main findings were presented to 15 meetings of students, parents and teachers.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows means and standard deviations of personal values, exposure to interparental violence, exposure to community violence, bullying and emotions. Hypothesized effects of gender and grade class level were evaluated using a 2 x 3 (gender [males, females] x grade class [7th grade, 10th grade, 13th grade]) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). In the analysis, gender and grade level were considered as design variables, and all other variables were considered dependent variables. The results revealed a significant effect of gender (Wilks' λ = .82; F = 55.04; df = 13,3379; p < .0001; η^2 = .17), grade class (Wilks' λ = .85; F = 22.14; df = 26,6758; p < .0001; η^2 = .08), and interaction gender*grade class (Wilks' λ = .98; F = 2.32; df = 26,6758; p < .0001; η^2 = .01).

In particular, the post hoc analyses showed that males had higher scores for achievement, power, being a witness and a victim of community violence and being a bully at school, whereas females had higher scores for benevolence, universalism, exposure to interparental violence, fear, anger and sadness. With increasing age (grade class), personal values, exposure to community violence, fear, anger and sadness increased, while being a victim and serenity decreased. The interaction between gender and grade class showed that, with increasing age, exposure to community violence as a witness increased in males but not in females (F = 9.44; p < .001; η^2 = .01) and that serenity decreased in females but not in males (F = 7.19; p < .001; η^2 = .01).

Means, standard deviations and linear correlation coefficients among variables are listed in Table 2. The analysis revealed many significant relationships. In particular, values were significantly correlated with being a bully but not with being a victim, and exposure to interparental violence and exposure to community violence were significantly and positively correlated with being a victim and being a bully. Furthermore, being a victim was significantly correlated with all emotions, whereas being a bully was significantly correlated with anger, sadness and serenity but not with fear.

To test the hypotheses regarding the relationships among values, exposure to interparental violence, exposure to community violence, bullying and emotions, we used gender and age multi-group Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) analyses (LISREL 8, Joreskog & Sorbom, 1996).

The model included one observed exogenous variable (exposure to interparental violence), three latent exogenous variables (self-transcendence, self-enhancement, exposure to community violence), and six observed endogenous variables (being a victim, being a bully, fear, anger, sadness and serenity). Self-transcendence was measured in terms of benevolence and universalism, self-enhancement was measured in terms of achievement and power, and exposure to community violence was measured in terms of exposure to violence as a victim and/or as a witness. Indices of fit and path coefficients were examined using maximum-likelihood estimates.

Table 1. Mean and Standard Deviations for Measures of Personal values, Exposure to interparental violence, Exposure to community violence, Bullying and Emotions by gender and grade class

	Males (1591)		Females (1806)				7th Grade (1275)		10th Grade (1021)		13th Grade (1101)			
	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	F (1.3397)	η^2	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	Mean	sd	F (2.3397)	η^2
Benevolence	4.06	1.20	4.52	1.06	121.05 **	.03	4.16 ^a	1.24	4.27 ^a	1.15	4.51 ^b	1.00	21.88 **	.01
Universalism	3.81	1.12	4.19	1.04	96.80 **	.03	3.88 ^a	1.16	3.95 ^a	1.09	4.21 ^b	.99	22.35 **	.01
Achievement	3.60	1.28	3.43	1.29	21.79 **	.01	3.29 ^a	1.36	3.56 ^b	1.25	3.73 ^c	1.20	39.95 **	.02
Power	2.67	1.16	2.37	1.11	75.37 **	.02	2.30 ^a	1.12	2.61 ^b	1.14	2.66 ^b	1.13	44.06 **	.03
Exposure to interparental violence	2.28	1.13	2.56	1.19	47.49 **	.01	2.39	1.21	2.42	1.13	2.50	1.15	1.64	.00
Victim of community violence	1.38	.51	1.29	.39	46.18 **	.01	1.30 ^a	.44	1.34 ^b	.48	1.36 ^b	.44	9.33 **	.01
Witness of community violence	1.61	.78	1.37	.55	136.38 **	.04	1.37 ^a	.60	1.55 ^b	.73	1.54 ^b	.69	36.31 **	.02
Being a victim	1.32	.49	1.27	.39	3.59	.00	1.42 ^a	.51	1.21 ^b	.35	1.23 ^b	.39	84.76 **	.05
Being a bully	1.38	.54	1.23	.38	85.97 **	.02	1.31	.43	1.30	.49	1.30	.48	.18	.00
Fear	1.84	.99	2.35	1.16	165.90 **	.05	1.99 ^a	1.07	2.09 ^a	1.13	2.27 ^b	1.12	10.89 **	.01
Anger	2.85	1.22	3.05	1.19	15.42 **	.00	2.73 ^a	1.25	3.00 ^b	1.17	3.19 ^c	1.14	38.73 **	.02
Sadness	2.13	1.08	2.71	1.19	195.22 **	.05	2.21 ^a	1.16	2.47 ^b	1.19	2.67 ^c	1.14	35.02 **	.02
Serenity	3.55	1.15	3.57	1.10	.45	.00	3.64 ^a	1.18	3.58 ^a	1.10	3.43 ^b	1.07	9.24 **	.01

Note: Univariate Post-hoc Analyses. ** $p < .001$. The F test was from a MANOVA. Comparisons based on estimated marginal means; the mean difference is significant at the .05 level; adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni - $a < b < c$.

Table 2. Correlations Among the Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1.Benevolence	1														
2.Universalism	.60 **	1													
3.Achievement	.23 **	.25 **	1												
4.Power	.00	.01	.54 **	1											
5. Exposure to interparental violence	.00	.02	.08 **	.07 **	1										
6.Victim of community violence	-.04	.01	.08 **	.12 **	.16 **	1									
7.Witness of community violence	-.02	-.04	.13 **	.17 **	.10 **	.45 **	1								
8.Being a victim	-.03	.01	.01	.02	.17 **	.28 **	.08 **	1							
9.Being a bully	-.11 **	-.14 **	.15 **	.21 **	.18 **	.26 **	.28 **	.31 **	1						
10.Fear	.14 **	.13 **	.07 **	.02	.15 **	.12 **	-.01	.14 **	.03	1					
11.Anger	.09 **	.08 **	.15 **	.13 **	.21 **	.18 **	.14 **	.16 **	.19 **	.27 **	1				
12.Sadness	.15 **	.16 **	.07 **	.02	.23 **	.17 **	.04	.19 **	.06 *	.38 **	.43 **	1			
13.Serenity	.19 **	.15 **	.09 **	.00	-.15 **	-.10 **	-.07 **	-.10 **	-.07 **	-.08 **	-.10 **	-.11 **	1		
14.Gender	.20 **	.18 **	-.06 **	-.13 **	.12 **	-.11 **	-.18 **	-.05 *	-.15 **	.23 **	.08 **	.24 **	.01	1	
15.Grade class	.13 **	.12 **	.14 **	.13 **	.04	.06 **	.10 **	-.19 **	-.01	.11 **	.16 **	.17 **	-.08 **	.11 **	1
Mean	4.30	4.01	3.51	2.51	2.43	1.33	1.48	1.29	1.30	2.11	2.96	2.44	3.56		
SD	1.15	1.10	1.29	1.14	1.17	.45	.68	.44	.47	1.11	1.21	1.18	1.12		

Note: * p<.01; ** p<.001.

We used a number of different indicators to assess the fit of the model. A χ^2 analysis was used to test the fit between the matrix of observations and the matrix generated by the model. However, in large samples, this statistic is strongly influenced by small differences between distributions, which may bias statistical conclusions regarding the fit of the model (Bollen, 1989). To avoid this difficulty, we used other indices, such as the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and the Non-Normed Fit Index (NNFI). The possible values of these indices vary between 0 and 1 and, in general, values higher than .90 represent a satisfactory fit (Bentler, 1990). We also used the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), which measures the difference between estimated and observed parameter values. For this measure, values between 0 and .05 indicate an excellent fit, and values between .05 and .08 indicate an acceptable fit (Brown & Cudeck, 1993). To investigate whether we should use identical models for males and females and for different age groups, we applied the multi-sample procedure suggested by Joreskog and Sorbom (1996).

In the first model, the relationships between the variables were examined simultaneously for male and female subjects. With configural invariance (the model is similar for both groups, but all paths are allowed to vary), the fit for this model was: $\chi^2(54)$ 405.91, $p < .05$; NNFI=.88; CFI=.96; RMSEA=.06 (.06-.07). Next, we set identical structural paths for males and females and, with scalar invariance (all paths are constrained to be the same for both groups), the fit for this model was: $\chi^2(86)$ 482.28, $p < .05$; NNFI=.92; CFI=.95; RMSEA=.05 (.05-.06). An examination of the modification indices suggested that we could improve the fit of the model by estimating five structural paths separately for males and females (see table 4). After this refinement, the model fitted the data well: $\chi^2(81)$ 443.46, $p < .05$; NNFI=.92; CFI=.96; RMSEA=.05(.05-.06). The χ^2 analysis for the model with scalar invariance was significantly poorer than that for the baseline model (configural invariance). Therefore, we chose the final model (partial scalar invariance) because it shows better fit, a non-significant χ^2 statistic and is more parsimonious. The standardized path coefficients for the final model are presented in table 4. Table 3 shows indices of fit and the $\Delta\chi^2$ statistic.

The results showed that, in both genders, self-transcendence was negatively associated with being a bully but not with being a victim, self-enhancement was positively associated with being a bully but not with being a victim, exposure to interparental violence and exposure to community violence were positively associated with being a bully and being a victim.

Additionally, being a victim was positively associated with fear, anger, and sadness, and negatively associated with serenity, whereas being a bully was positively associated only with anger. Furthermore, self-transcendence, exposure to interparental violence and exposure to community violence were directly associated with all emotions, whereas self-enhancement was directly associated only with anger.

Analyses of indirect effects indicated statistically significant mediation between exposure to interparental violence and fear (males and females: $\beta = .01$, $z = 4.88$, $p < .001$), anger (males and females: $\beta = .01$, $z = 3.55$, $p < .001$), and sadness (males: $\beta = .01$, $z = 4.30$, $p < .001$; females: $\beta = .02$, $z = 4.85$, $p < .001$), and between exposure to community violence and fear (males: $\beta = .04$, $z = 5.50$, $p < .001$; females: $\beta = .02$, $z = 4.97$, $p < .001$), anger (males: $\beta = .02$, $z = 3.74$, $p < .001$; females: $\beta = .02$, $z = 3.54$, $p < .001$), and sadness (males: $\beta = .04$, $z = 4.71$, $p < .001$; females: $\beta = .04$, $z = 5.38$, $p < .001$) via being a victim, and between self-transcendence and anger (males and females: $\beta = -.02$, $z = -4.99$, $p < .001$), self-enhancement and anger (males and females: $\beta = .01$, $z = 4.84$, $p < .001$), exposure to interparental violence and anger (males: $\beta = .02$, $z = 4.61$, $p < .001$; females: $\beta = .01$,

$z=4.03$, $p<.001$) and exposure to community violence and anger (males and females: $\beta=.03$, $z=5.71$, $p<.001$) via being a bully.

Overall, the model explains a reasonable percentage of the variance for being a victim (10% for males and 9% for females), being a bully (11% for males and 19% for females), fear (8% for males and 5% for females), anger (11% for males and 11% for females), sadness (12% for males and 12% for females), and serenity (10% for males and 9% for females).

In the second model, the relationships between the variables were examined simultaneously for 7th grade, 10th grade, and 13th grade subjects. With configural invariance, the fit for this model was: $\chi^2(81)$ 477.09, $p<.05$; NNFI=.87; CFI=.95; RMSEA=.07 (.06-.07). Next, we set identical structural paths for 7th grade, 10th grade, and 13th grade subjects, and with scalar invariance, the fit for this model was: $\chi^2(145)$ 652.24, $p<.05$; NNFI=.91; CFI=.94; RMSEA=.05 (.05-.06). An examination of the modification indices suggested that we could improve the fit of the model by estimating eight structural paths separately for 7th grade, 10th grade, and 13th grade subjects (see table 6). After this refinement, the model fitted the data well: $\chi^2(136)$ 544.70, $p<.05$; NNFI=.92; CFI=.95; RMSEA=.05(.05-.06). The χ^2 analysis for the model with scalar invariance was significantly poorer than that for the baseline model (configural invariance). Therefore, we chose the final model (partial scalar invariance) because it shows better fit, a non-significant χ^2 statistic and is more parsimonious. The standardized path coefficients for the final model are presented in table 6. Table 5 lists indices of fit and the $\Delta\chi^2$ statistic.

Table 3. Gender multi-group models fit indices

	χ^2	df	p	NNFI	CFI	RMSEA	90%CI	$\Delta\chi^2$	df	p
Configural invariance	405.91	54	<.05	.88	.96	.06	.06-.07			
Metric invariance	482.28	86	<.05	.92	.95	.05	.05-.06	76.37	32	<.001
Partial metric invariance	443.46	81	<.05	.92	.96	.05	.05-.06	37.55	27	>.05

Note: NNFI, Non-Normed Fit Index; CFI, Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA, root mean square error of approximation; 90%CI, confidence interval.

The results showed that, in the three age groups, self-transcendence was negatively associated with being a bully and not with being a victim, self-enhancement was positively associated with being a bully and not with being a victim, exposure to interparental violence and exposure to community violence were positively associated with being a bully and being a victim.

Additionally, being a victim was positively associated with fear, anger, and sadness, and negatively associated with serenity, whereas being a bully was positively associated only with anger. Furthermore, self-transcendence and exposure to interparental violence were directly associated with all emotions, whereas self-enhancement was directly associated only with serenity, and exposure to community violence was directly associated only with anger, sadness and serenity.

Table 4. Relations between Personal values, Exposure to interparental violence, Exposure to community violence, Bullying and Emotions. Standardized path coefficients. First values refer to males group, second values refer to females group

	Benevolence	Universalism	Achievement	Power	Victim	Witness	Being a victim	Being a Bully	Fear	Anger	Sadness	Serenity
Self Transcendence	.81** .70**	.74** .81**	-	-	-	-	.01 .01	-.13** -.18**	.13** .11**	.09** .09**	.15** .14**	.26** .16**†
Self Enhancement	-	-	.99** .97**	.42** .57**	-	-	-.02 -.03	.11** .15**	.04 .03	.07** .07**	.01 .01	.04 .04
Exposure to Interparental violence	-	-	-	-	-	-	.11** .14**	.15** .12**†	.09** .08**	.13** .14**	.15** .15**	-.11** -.12**
Exposure to Community Violence	-	-	-	-	.98** .71**	.47** .58**	.29** .24**†	.22** .32**	.13** .11**	.13** .14**	.17** .16**	-.05 -.17**†
Being a Victim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.14** .09**	.08** .06**	.13** .16**†	-.06* -.05*
Being a Bully	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.01 -.01	.13** .10**	-.01 -.01	.03 .02

Note: † Indicates a significant difference with regard to gender. Self transcendence was associated with serenity more strongly in males; Exposure to interparental violence was associated with being a bully more strongly in males; Exposure to community violence was associated with being a victim more strongly in males and significantly with serenity only in females; Being a victim was associated with sadness more strongly in females. *p<.01 **p<.001

Analyses of indirect effects indicated statistically significant mediation between exposure to interparental violence and fear (7th and 13th grade: $\beta=.02$, $z=5.21$, $p<001$; 10th grade: $\beta=.01$, $z=2.62$, $p<01$), anger (7th and 13th grade: $\beta=.01$, $z=4.32$, $p<001$; 10th grade: $\beta=.01$, $z=2.46$, $p<05$), sadness (7th and 13th grade: $\beta=.02$, $z=5.88$, $p<001$; 10th grade: $\beta=.01$, $z=2.69$, $p<01$), and serenity (7th and 13th grade: $\beta=-.01$, $z=-3.12$, $p<01$; 10th grade: $\beta=.01$, $z=-2.37$, $p<05$), and between exposure to community violence and fear (7th grade: $\beta=.07$, $z=6.59$, $p<001$; 10th grade: $\beta=.03$, $z=5.24$, $p<001$; 13th grade: $\beta=.02$, $z=4.15$, $p<001$), anger (7th grade: $\beta=.06$, $z=5.01$, $p<001$; 10th grade: $\beta=.02$, $z=4.38$, $p<001$; 13th grade: $\beta=.02$, $z=3.62$, $p<001$), sadness (7th grade: $\beta=.10$, $z=8.02$, $p<001$; 10th grade: $\beta=.05$, $z=5.91$, $p<001$; 13th grade: $\beta=.03$, $z=4.41$, $p<001$) and serenity (7th grade: $\beta=-.04$, $z=-3.34$, $p<001$; 10th grade: $\beta=-.04$, $z=-3.66$, $p<001$; 13th grade: $\beta=-.01$, $z=-2.84$, $p<01$), via being a victim, and between self transcendence and anger (7th grade: $\beta=-.04$, $z=-5$, $p<001$; 9th and 10th grade: $\beta=-.01$, $z=-.3.04$, $p<01$), self enhancement and anger (7th grade: $\beta=.02$, $z=4.57$, $p<001$; 9th and 10th grade: $\beta=.01$, $z=2.91$, $p<01$), exposure to interparental violence and anger (7th grade: $\beta=.01$, $z=2.81$, $p<01$; 9th and 10th grade: $\beta=.01$, $z=2.90$, $p<01$), and exposure to community violence and anger (7th grade: $\beta=.05$, $z=5.01$, $p<001$; 9th and 10th grade: $\beta=.03$, $z=3.12$, $p<01$), via being a bully.

Overall, the model explains a reasonable percentage of the variance for being a victim (20% for 7th grade, 9% for 10th grade, and 7% for 13th grade), being a bully (15% for 7th grade, 20% for 10th grade, and 22% for 13th grade), fear (9% for 7th grade, 5% for 10th grade, and 6% for 13th grade), anger (13% for 7th grade, 9% for 10th grade, and 10% for 13th grade), sadness (16% for 7th grade, 10% for 10th grade, and 12% for 13th grade), and serenity (13% for 7th grade, 8% for 10th grade, and 7% for 13th grade).

Table 5. Grade class multi-group models fit indices

	χ^2	df	p	NNFI	CFI	RMSEA	90%CI	$\Delta \chi^2$	df	p
Configural invariance	477.09	81	<.05	.87	.95	.07	.06-.07			
Metric invariance	652.24	145	<.05	.91	.94	.05	.05-.06	175.15	64	<.001
Partial metric invariance	544.70	136	<.05	.92	.95	.05	.05-.06	67.61	55	>.05

Note: NNFI, Non-Normed Fit Index; CFI, Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA, root mean square error of approximation; 90%CI, confidence interval.

DISCUSSION

The goal of this study was to analyze the relationship between exposure to violence, personal values, emotional experience and involvement in school bullying, while comparing gender and age within adolescence. Our hypotheses were that personal values and exposure to interparental and community violence affected involvement in school bullying and emotional experience and that school bullying directly affected emotional experience and indirectly affected the relationship between personal values, exposure to violence and emotional experience. This pattern of relationships was tested using a system of structural equations that partially confirmed the plausibility of the model.

Gender and age also play a significant role when compared with the mean values of each variable in the model, but they have a very modest effect when we analyzed the model of the relationships among the variables.

Table 6. Relations between Personal values, Exposure to interparental violence, Exposure to community violence, Bullying and Emotions. Standardized path coefficients. First values refer to 7th Grade class group, second values refer to 10th Grade class group, third values refer to 13th Grade class group

	Benevolence	Universalism	Achievement	Power	Victim	Witness	Being a victim	Being a Bully	Fear	Anger	Sadness	Serenity
Self Transcendence	.74** .79** .76**	.81** .77** .72**	-	-	-	-	.07† -.01 -.01	-.19** -.17** -.17**	.16** .15** .15**	.10** .10** .11**	.18** .18** .18**	.30**† .17** .18**
Self Enhancement	-	-	.98** .97** .97**	.41** .46** .49**	-	-	-.01 -.02 -.01	.13** .11** .11**	.0 .0 .0	.04 .04 .04	-.02 -.02 -.02	.04* .05* .05*
Exposure to Interparental violence	-	-	-	-	-	-	.13** .08*† .16**	.08*† .13** .14**	.12** .11** .11**	.14** .14** .15**	.19** .17** .18**	-.13** -.13** -.13**
Exposure to Community Violence	-	-	-	-	.86** .79** .66**	.63** .52** .60**	.41**† .28**† .19**†	.28**† .35** .36**	.06 .06 .06	.12** .12** .13**	.09** .09** .09**	-.07* -.07* -.08*
Being a Victim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.17** .11** .12**	.11** .08** .09**	.21** .15** .17**	-.08** -.13**† -.07**
Being a Bully	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.03 -.03 -.03	.16**† .07* .07*	-.03 -.03 -.03	.03 .04 .04

Note: † Indicates a significant difference with regard to age group. Self transcendence was associated with being a victim and with serenity more strongly in 7th Grade group; Exposure to interparental violence was associated with being a victim more strongly in 7th and 13th Grade group, and with being a bully more strongly in 10th and 13th Grade group; Exposure to community violence was associated with being a victim more strongly in 7th Grade group and with being a bully more strongly in 10th and 13th Grade group; Being a victim was associated with serenity more strongly in 10th Grade group; Being a bully was associated with anger more strongly in 7th Grade group. *p<.01 **p<.001

The main advantage of our model is that it makes possible to simultaneously consider a range of different variables that previous studies have generally considered only in a pairwise manner.

Gender and Age Differences

Regarding specific results, the first issue we discuss is the role of gender and age.

Gender differences are significant for all the variables considered, except for being a victim and serenity. Regarding values, females attached a higher priority to self-transcendence whereas males attributed greater importance to self-enhancement. These findings confirm the results of cross-cultural studies (Schwartz & Rubel, 2005) showing that women attribute more importance to benevolence and universalism whereas men attach higher priority to power and achievement.

Female scores for interparental violence were higher than male scores. This finding could be because daughters spend more time at home or, more probably, as females are more sensitive to familial violence and are more involved in family dynamics.

Conversely, males were more exposed than females to community violence both as a witness and as a victim. There is some evidence that boys, who spend more time away from their familiar context, are more likely to be victims and witnesses of community violence than girls, excluding incidents involving sexual violence (Bell & Jenkins, 1993).

We also found that males reported higher rates of bullying than did females (Espelage et al., 2000; Olweus, 1993). However, it is possible that the rates of bullying of females are slightly underestimated. Many studies have confirmed differences between boys and girls in their respective forms of aggression. Although physical and verbal aggression appears more common among boys, aggression through exclusion, gossip or other relational and indirect forms seems to be the preferred form among girls (Björkqvist, Lagerspetz, & Kaukiainen, 1992; Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Galen & Underwood, 1997; Salmivalli & Kaukiainen, 2004).

Finally, we found gender differences for negative emotional experiences. Our findings are consistent with a large body of literature according to which women are more emotionally vulnerable than men during adolescence, and more inclined to experience negative and dysphoric feelings (Fleming & Offord, 1990).

As regard the role of *age*, the results revealed that the rates of values, exposure to community violence, fear, anger and sadness were higher for the older age groups, whereas the rates of being a victim and serenity were higher for the younger age groups.

Regarding personal values, both the mean ratings for self-enhancement and self-transcendence were higher for the older groups. It is possible to hypothesize that value priorities become more defined, clear and crystallized as the individual matures; in this way, the mean rates of all values become higher in the transition from early to late adolescence because the commitment to a specific set of value priorities increases during this developmental period (Knafo & Schwartz, 2004).

Additionally, we found that older youths reported higher rates of exposure to community violence than younger youths, most likely because the time spent out of home and in the neighborhood increases during this age; therefore, these youths become more likely to be a witness or victim of community violence (Dodge, Coie, & Linam, 2006).

Moreover, our results showed that, in accordance with the literature (Olweus, 1993), being a victim at school decreased with time. This result could be due to various causes. Some victims can leave school because they fail to integrate into their peer group or they can acquire a new social competence and become able to respond to the prevarications with appropriate strategies.

Finally, our findings show that the negative emotional states (anger, fear and sadness) increase while the positive emotional state (serenity) decreases. These findings are consistent with a vision of adolescence as an age characterized by emotional instability (Cooper, Wood, Orcutt, & Albino, 2003).

However, it is necessary to specify that the gender and age differences found in our study are limited to the differences among variable means and do not affect the relationships among the variables in the structural equation model.

Personal Values, School Bullying and Emotional States

The findings are consistent with the hypothesis that self-transcendence values negatively predict bullying but not victimization. This result is consistent with the literature, according to which values oriented toward the welfare of others appear to act as protective factors against bullying (Menesini et al., 2011) and violent behavior (Knafo, Daniel, & Khouri-Kassabri, 2008).

People who prioritize universalism and benevolence values attribute importance to equality among all human beings, promote respect and tolerance towards others, have high levels of empathy (Balliet, Joireman, Daniels, & George-Falvy, 2008) and tend to act in a prosocial way (Caprara & Steca, 2007).

Findings concerning the relationship between self-transcendence values and emotions are contrasting. Self-transcendence had a negative indirect effect on anger via being a bully and a positive direct effect on serenity. On the basis of these findings, it is possible to hypothesize that these types of personal values could have a protective role with respect to emotional well-being under certain conditions. However, it is necessary to specify that the direct effects of self-transcendence values on anger, sadness and fear are significant and positive, different from our hypotheses. This result could be due to many different causes. One hypothesis is that people who attach importance to self-transcendence values – being very empathic (Balliet et al., 2008) and characterized by high feelings of concern for others (Nelissen, Dijkers & de Vries, 2007) – tend to respond to external events with a strong emotional reaction.

Regarding self-enhancement, the results are partially in accordance with our hypothesis, showing that power and achievement are positively associated with being a bully but not associated with being a victim. The role of self-enhancement as a risk factor for externalizing behavior is supported by the literature (Knafo, 2003; Sijtsema et al., 2009). People who attach importance to self-enhancement want to gain power over people and resources and to reach high social status inside the group, even at the expense of others; they tend to focus on their own personal interests without considering the needs of others.

Regarding self-enhancement, the results showed an indirect effect on anger via being a bully, even if, in this case, the association is positive. A positive association between the power value and anger was also found by Nelissen, Dijkers and De Vries (2007). It therefore appears that attributing importance to power and achievement could represent a risk factor also for the emotional well-being of individuals. It is possible to hypothesize that people who focus on their

personal interests react with high levels of anger when someone or something obstructs the attainment of their goals.

Interparental Violence, School Bullying and Emotional States

Regarding the role of interparental violence, the results are in accordance with our hypothesis. We found that interparental violence was positively associated with both being a bully and being a victim at school (Baldry, 2003; Bauer et al., 2006).

It is plausible to hypothesize that children learn appropriate and inappropriate interactions by observing significant others in their environments. They learn to bully others through observation and, conversely, less bullying behavior is associated with observing positive adult role-modeling (Espelage et al., 2000). Moreover, by observing violence in the family, children may learn to accept bullying and aggression as legitimate ways to interact with their peers.

Meanwhile, interparental violence is linked to victimization. Perhaps the different reactions (becoming a victim or a bully) are linked to personal variables such as emotional regulation abilities or coping skills.

Moreover, the results showed that exposure to interparental violence had a positive direct effect on all emotions, a positive indirect effect on all emotions via being a victim, and a positive indirect effect on anger via being a bully. It therefore appears that, in families where there are higher levels of violence, the parents are most likely unable to take care of their children; therefore, the children internalize an unsupportive model, are consequently at greater risk for emotional problems and their well-being level decreases (Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 2002).

Community Violence, School Bullying and Emotional States

Regarding the role of exposure to community violence, the results are consistent with the literature and with our hypothesis. Specifically, we found that exposure to community violence was positively associated with being a bully and being a victim (Andershed et al., 2001; Bacchini et al., 2009; Espelage et al., 2000; Khoury-Kassabri et al., 2004; Nansel, et al. 2003; Schwartz & Proctor, 2000; Swearer & Doll, 2001; WienkeTotura et al., 2009). As schools are established in neighborhoods, it is undeniable that the schools share beliefs, personal values, attitudes to violence, and power hierarchies with the neighborhood and that an unsafe neighborhood environment can influence bullying behaviors in many ways. Where abuse is common in the environment, violent behavior becomes a normal feature of school life (Phillips, 2003), and bullying is seen – by bullies and victims alike – as a normal part of everyday living (Batchelor, Burman & Brown, 2001; Percy-Smith & Matthews, 2001). Regarding the effect of exposure to violence on being a bully, it is possible to hypothesize that youths who frequently observe aggressive models in their living context adopt these types of behaviors as their own and develop beliefs that aggression is an effective way of solving social issues and reaching their goals (Bandura, 1986). As for victims, one hypothesis is that exposure to community violence can reduce emotional regulation abilities and, in turn, this impaired emotional regulation puts them at greater risk for becoming a victim of bullying in the school context (Schwartz & Proctor, 2000).

Moreover, the results showed that exposure to community violence had a positive direct effect on all emotions, an indirect positive effect on all emotions via being a victim, and an indirect positive effect on anger via being a bully. It therefore appears, in accordance to the literature, that exposure to community violence is also a risk factor for the emotional well-being of individuals. In fact, youths exposed to community violence had higher levels of personal distress and (most likely as a consequence) are at greater risk for emotional problems (Bacchini et al., 2011; Gorman-Smith et al., 2004; Ho, 2008).

School Bullying and Emotional States

The last issue we wish to discuss is the direct link between bullying and emotional experience. The results are partially in accordance with the literature and with our hypothesis. Specifically, we found that being a bully was positively associated with the affective state of anger but not with other negative emotional states (as fear and sadness); being a victim was positively associated with all the negative affective states that we explored and negatively associated with serenity (Champion, 2009; Flaspohler et al., 2009; Glaso et al., 2011; Lokke et al., 2012; Roland, 2002; Sigfusdottir et al., 2010; Terranova et al., 2008; Yabko et al., 2008). According to the SIP model (Crick & Dodge, 1994), youths who show high levels of externalizing problems develop more hostile attributions in ambiguous situations; similarly bullies can attack others because they feel threatened and perceive others as unsupportive or hostile, thereby increasing their anger levels. Regarding the victims, we observed a decrease in well-being and an increase in negative emotions in our data; this finding might be due to the condition of social isolation that victims experience in the school context. The literature supports the evidence that victims are frequently rejected by other peers (Bacchini, Affuso, & Trotta, 2008; Cerezo & Ato, 2005), and most likely the lack of emotional and social support, and the impossibility to share the experiences with others can reduce personal well-being and amplify negative affective states, especially at this age (Dunn, 2004; Sullivan, 1953).

Limits and Implications of the Study

The findings and conclusions of our study should be interpreted with caution because several factors limit the explanatory power of our data. One limitation of this study is the cross-sectional nature of the data, which provide no insight into the duration of the relationships we observed or their stability over time. Regarding the approach taken in the present research, our aim was to consider emotional experience as an indicator of mental health, even if it is not possible to define the temporal relationship between bullying and emotional experience without longitudinal data. However, because both bullying and emotional experience are almost stable conditions, we can draw some inferences regarding the temporal sequence between them.

A second limitation is our reliance on a single source of information, adolescent self-reporting, which may have led us to overestimate the coherence of our data.

Despite these limitations, we believe that our study makes a useful contribution to the understanding of factors that predict bullying and the effects that bullying have on the emotional lives of adolescents. In particular, we have shown that it is possible to consider

simultaneous relationships among multiple variables in a pre-existent theoretical framework. Future studies will examine the longitudinal stability of these relationships.

The complexity of the links described here implies the need for multilevel interventions in the home, neighborhood, and at school. The aim of such interventions should be to help adolescents to manage and regulate their emotional experiences. To achieve this, the first requirement is to intervene in group dynamics that favor bullying. Bullying is not an intrinsic corollary of the life of groups. Rather, it is the outcome of group processes that can be controlled and modified through appropriate interventions.

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Chapter 94

BULLYING/VICTIMIZATION IN PRESCHOOL CHILDREN: INTRAPERSONAL AND CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

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ABSTRACT

Studies addressing the issue of bullying during the preschool period are still extremely rare. The main aim of the present chapter is to shed some light on the emergence of bullying in preschool children as a social and contextual phenomenon. In relation to this, we carried out an inquiry in order to study verbal, physical and relational bullying, prevalence rates, participant roles undertaken, social status as well as the contextual background of bullying episodes. We also tried to figure out strategies implemented in order to deal with bullying incidences. Psychological correlates associated with bullying such as hostile attribution bias and strategies, empathy and theory of mind were also examined.

167 preschool children (ages 4-6) participated in our research. Research tools were: observation checklists, social status reports, tasks measuring empathy, theory of mind and hostile attribution bias and strategies. According to our findings, bullying in preschool children is a social phenomenon where the whole group of peers in the class is involved. Victimization processes are more closely related to social contextual factors such as peer relations rather than intra-personal factors such as empathy, theory of mind and social information processing. Educational implications and future research directions are highlighted.

INTRODUCTION

Bullying in schools has been identified as a serious and complex worldwide problem associated with negative short- and long-term effects on children's psychosocial adjustment (Ttofi & Farrington, 2008). Most of the research undertaken for studying bullying in schools

has emphasized on middle childhood and adolescence, while there is scarce empirical evidence concerning the manifestation and development of the problem in early childhood years (Alsaker & Valkanover 2001; Monks, Ruiz & Val, 2002; Hanish, Martin, Fabes, Leonard, & Herzog, 2005; Perren & Alsaker 2006). However, the evidence emanating from the limited number of studies available supports the existence of this problem even in such an early developmental phase and addresses its adverse effects on many aspects of children's later life including school avoidance, peer rejection, emotional difficulties, etc. (Kochenderfer & Ladd 1996).

Entering formal preschool education is a crucial developmental step in many children's lives mainly because it is within this context where they participate, for the first time, as members in a stable peer group and well-organized team activities. Consequently, preschool may be the first context beyond the home environment where children's difficulties in social interactions with peers can be primarily detected and assessed by adults and professionals. The early identification and elimination, therefore, of these problems at this young age prevent their escalation in later years and minimize their negative impact on children's social and emotional development while foster their successful adaptation in school. Despite the growing interest in bully/victim problems in school, studies that have addressed this issue in the preschool years are extremely rare. This may be due to methodological constraints posed upon researchers when examining preschool populations (Vlachou, Andreou, Botsoglou & Didaskalou, 2011).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Bullying in Preschool Children – Prevalence Rates

Bullying is defined as an aggressive behavior of intentional 'harmdoing', which is carried out repeatedly and over time within a personal relationship characterized by an imbalance of power (Olweus, 2010). Bullying may take a variety of forms including physical and verbal abuse, social isolation, and/or exclusion. Previous research has shown that children take on central as well as peripheral participant roles. The central roles include: a) bullying others without being victimized, b) bullying others and also being victimized by classmates and c) become the target of others' aggression without being aggressive towards others. Peripheral roles refer to indirect participation in a bullying event. Thus, children may be involved in bullying by assisting the bully (assistants), providing the bully with positive feedback (reinforcers), taking sides with the victim (defenders), or remaining uninvolved and thus silently approving of the bullying (outsiders).

Prior data showed that bullying is a serious problem even in the preschool. In a study conducted with preschool children in Switzerland, results demonstrated that 6% of children were classified as victims, 10% as bully-victims, 11% as bullies, and 47% were not involved in bullying. A 17% of the remaining children could not be categorized according to the researchers' restrictive criteria (Perren & Alsaker, 2006). Using peer nominations, Monks, Smith and Swettenham (2005) found that preschool participants nominated peers for taking the roles of aggressor, victim or defender. Although almost 30% were not assigned to any clear role, a quarter were assigned to the role of aggressor, 22% to the role of victim and 16% to the role of defender.

Preschool Children's Perception of "Bullying/Victimization"

Victimisation refers generally to being the recipient of aggressive acts. Children aged 4 years appear to understand the term "victim". However, they have a different understanding of the term "bullying" from older children, defining it as being aggression in general (Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefhoghe, 2002) rather than as being a repeated act by a more powerful aggressor. First, it is clear that younger children do not pay so much attention to the limiting characteristics of repetition, imbalance of power and intention as do older children. Madsen (1996) examined age trends in the perception and understanding of bullying, asking participants aged 5 years to adulthood, 'What do you think bullying means?' Very young children used adjectives and direct examples more than older children, but rarely mentioned repetition or the actions being unprovoked. Many pupils felt that the behaviour did not have to be repeated, depending upon the severity of the behaviour and the effect on the victim. Pupils also deemed the adverse effect on the victim to be the essential feature in defining bullying. In this case, a situation could be perceived as bullying by others even if it was not the intention of the perpetrator to bully.

Smith et al. (2002), using a cartoon methodology, reported that younger children (aged 8 years) were more likely to simply distinguish between aggressive and non-aggressive scenarios, whereas older children (aged 14 years) were able to make finer grained distinctions between types of aggression: physical, verbal and social exclusion. Finally, younger children often nominate peers for the roles of aggressor, victim, and defender, they do not so often nominate peers for the more peripheral roles of assistant, reinforcer, or outsider in aggression (Monks et al., 2002).

According to the research conducted by Monks and Smith (2006), most preschool children were able to identify verbal, physical and indirect or relational aggression as bullying when presented with them in cartoon form. Power differences and repetition of actions were not taken account of in this way. Also, in the same study, preschool participants were not reliable to recognize the role of the victim.

In a more recent research, Alsaker and Nagele (2008) interviewed preschool children individually so that the interviewers explained the term bullying by means of four drawings, each depicting a different form of bullying (physical, verbal, property-related, or exclusion). Using photographs of all children in the class, they asked each child to nominate children who bullied others and to indicate the targets of these aggressive behaviors. According to the findings, children knew very well who were the targets of the bullying, when asked in this manner.

Measuring Bullying in Preschool Children

The most common methods for measuring bully/victim problems or related concepts are relevant anonymous questionnaires, and more specifically: 1. self-reports, 2. peer nominations, and 3. teacher reports. In order to complete the questionnaires, the respondents are invited to recall past events and identify central participant roles to themselves or the others undertaken frequently (e.g., once a week) (Olweus, 2010). Sometimes those questionnaires are pitted against one another and some authors have expressed a clear preference for one of the questionnaires, while others have claimed that those questionnaires provide valuable but

incomplete information and that the best thing may be to combine information from both data sources (Berger, 2007). It goes without saying that completing questionnaires requires literacy skills from the part of the respondents. Therefore, using self-reports and peer nominations in preschool populations are not indicated. Researchers have proposed an alternative method of collecting data in early childhood studies. Structured interviews using visualized materials (cartoons, photographs) and age-appropriate questions replace traditional completion of questionnaires (Monks & Smith, 2006).

There are a number of significant drawbacks when using peer nominations and self-reports in young children. First, it is difficult for young children to reliably recall information about bullying episodes (Alsaker & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2010). Responding to questions depends largely on the way participants perceive their content, and on their ability to recall painful events. Finally, responses to those questionnaires may be prejudiced by a child's reputation, could be characterized by gender stereotypes, and significant information might be omitted according to respondents judgment (Ladd & Profilet, 1996). For example, respondents may exaggerate their experiences or may refuse involvement in bullying episodes (Cook, Williams, Guerra, & Kim, 2010). Bearing all the above in mind there are substantial reasons for being skeptical about using peer-nominations and self reports in preschool populations (Cornell, 2006).

Regarding teacher reports, it has been attested that this is a more reliable method than peer and self-reports when conducting studies with preschool children (Crick, Casas, & Ku, 1999). It has been argued that preschool children are more impulsive and less inhibited than school age children, and therefore engage in victimization procedures even when adult supervisors are not present (Coie, Dodge, & Kupersmidt, 1990; Vlachou, 2011). Preschool teachers are reliable when reporting the victims of bullying episodes but seem to be reluctant when asked to identify the aggressors of the episodes and have difficulties in distinguishing bullying from conflicts (Alsaker, 2003). In relation to peer nominations, self and teacher reports used to measure school bullying there are insufficient data concerning their psychometric properties (Cornell, 2006).

Naturalistic observation constitutes a suitable method for data collection with preschool populations (Craig & Pepler, 1995). Direct observations of playground behaviors tend also to be more objective than peer, teacher, or parent reports (Leff & Lakin, 2005). Observational methods enable researchers to identify behavioral patterns within the naturalistic contexts at the time during which they actually occur, and, thus, the social validity of these systems is often a strength (Hintze, Volpe, & Shapiro, 2002) that adds to external validity (Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000). Despite the time, cost, and potential for observer biases, the focal child approach proposed by Ostrov, Crick, and Keating (2005) constitutes according to its authors an ecologically valid method, has acceptable psychometric properties and therefore consists a more objective source (Ostrov, Crick, & Stauffacher, 2006). Also, during naturalistic observations scholars have the opportunity to record and note down in details data that describe not only central and peripheral roles but also the social and physical context of those episodes (Vlachou, 2011). Although observations are valuable research means, there is little relevant data in relation to victimization processes in preschool children (Ostrov & Keating, 2004).

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND BULLYING

Children's safety and security at school has become a high priority for institutions and teachers. Emphasis has recently been placed on the impact school physical environment is likely to exercise upon students' behavior, i.e., teacher's supervision and proximity, open versus closed spaces.

Bullying Episodes on the Playground

Many studies have shown that playground areas are typically more conducive to aggressive behavior than the classroom setting (Craig & Pepler 1997). Craig et al. (2000) have, for example, found that aggressive behaviors occurred nearly twice as frequently on the playground as in the classroom while aggressive acts on the playground were longer in duration than that within classrooms. The review of the relevant literature points to some important aspects of playground settings that are likely to affect children's behavior and should be taken into consideration by educators and professionals for promoting children's safety and well-being in schools. These include (a) playground activities available to children for example cooperative versus competitive activities (Pellegrini, Blatchford, Kato, & Baines, 2004), (b) the ratio of playground supervisors to children (Ladd & Price 1993), (c) active supervision (Leff, Power, Costigan & Manz, 2003; Nabors, Leff & Power, 2004), and (d) establishing playground rules (Leff et al. 2003). Despite the availability of the above-mentioned strategies, teachers still encounter difficulties in supervising playgrounds and eliminating children's aggressive interactions effectively within these areas mainly because they cannot always be aware of bullying incidents that occur privately between peers (Cairns & Cairns 2000). Given the distance and noise present on the playground, adults are often unaware of verbal playground aggression that has occurred (Craig & Pepler 1997). Furthermore, because most children know that aggression is prohibited, they may make a point of restricting physical aggression toward peers to the hidden corners of the playground, out of the sight of adult supervisors (Pellegrini, 1990).

Bullying Episodes in the Classroom

Recently, Maxwell (2007) assessed physical environment's impact on and role in children's cognitive and social development and concluded that it is related to measures of competency. Legendre (2003) searching for the environmental features of day-care centers likely to affect toddlers' emotional and stress reactions in group settings found out that the physical and social attributes of preschool settings intervene in the regulation of children's bioemotional reactions. The findings of a recent study investigating the correlation between the physical environment and aggression in the preschool context reveal that certain play areas within classrooms are also associated with physically aggressive behaviour (Adams 2008). Consideration of open versus closed centers also provides some explanation of aggression in children. Open centers include blocks, art, dramatic play, language, cubbies, and the table tops. Closed centers include sand/water table, nature/science, music, language, and the bathroom. A

third type of location within the classroom is the undefined spaces, simply known as other areas. These locations provide some suggestion of anticipated aggression, since the open centers allow for greater creativity and expression of self between children. Undefined and unspecified spaces providing no organization for social skill expectations for children may foster aggressive behavior. On the other hand, closed centers encourage children to explore either independently or enjoy with a peer a more quiet or passive activity (Adams 2008). Locations within the classroom must receive consideration in designing intervention strategies for the reduction or elimination of particular aggressive acts of preschool children. Especially important are the consideration of the overall classroom arrangement and the organization of those areas where their use by children has not been specified, for instance, teacher areas, large open spaces, and walk through pathways leading to other classrooms. Planning and arranging the layout of each common area is essential in ensuring positive social interactions among children (Harms, Clifford & Cryer, 1998).

SOCIO-COGNITIVE CORRELATES

Apart from environmental factors, intra-personal factors, such as socio-cognitive skills, may influence bullying interactions. Social development in children includes the management of several competences that allow people to create and maintain satisfying relationships in their own social context. This relates to a person's ability to comprehend intentions, states of mind, and emotions.

Theory of Mind

Theory of mind was first introduced by Premack and Woodruff (1978) who defined theory of mind as: *"An individual has a theory of mind if he imputes mental states to himself and others. A system of inferences of this kind is properly viewed as a theory because such states are not directly observable, and the system can be used to make predictions about the behavior of others"*(p. 515). Theory of mind skills can be reliably assessed in children 4 years and above (Liu, Wellman, Tardif, & Sabbagh, 2008).

Prior research examining the role of false-belief and perspective taking during preschoolers' socialisation procedures have shown that they correlate with social skills and social competence (Capage & Watson, 2001). Nonetheless, theory of mind functions have not received much attention in regards to school bullying. Sutton, Smith and Swettenham (1999a) brought evidence according to which, in middle school children, bullies received greater scores in theory of mind skills in comparison to same-age schoolmates. In preschool children, data collected through naturalistic observations have indicated that perspective taking and false-belief skills contribute to a significant decrease of physical aggression in boys presenting low language abilities (Werner, Cassidy, & Juliano, 2006). In the same study, however, no link was found in relation to relational aggression. Monks, Smith and Swettenham (2005) showed that preschool children presenting physical and social aggression did not score higher, than their classmates, on tasks measuring false-belief and perspective taking.

Empathy

Empathy has been defined as “*the ability to understand and share another’s emotional state or context*” (Cohen & Strayer, 1996, p. 988). Empathy is a complex construct in which cognitive and affective aspects can be distinguished (Davis, Luce, & Kraus, 1994). The cognitive component refers to skills of recognizing others’ emotions and taking others’ perspectives, whereas the affective component involves sharing others’ feelings (Feshbach & Feshbach, 1982). In the present study, only the cognitive component of empathy was measured. Empathy was chosen as the individual-level variable to be studied because emotional aspects possibly promoting either pro-bullying or anti-bullying behaviors, such as empathic feelings, have received little attention in this field until very recently (Gini, Albiero, Benelli, & Altoè, 2007; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006). Empathy can be hypothesized to be related to bullying (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006).

Researchers have indicated a growing link between pre-school children’s understanding of emotions and verbal and physical aggression. Deficits in emotion knowledge have been linked with behavior problems in preschoolers. Investigators also indicate that children who can effectively and accurately interpret and recognize emotions are more successful at avoiding particular forms of peer-related aggression (Gini, 2006). In a study examining the prosocial roles of defender, consoler and mediator it was found that they are positively correlated with emotion understanding in pre-school children. However, the hostile roles of bully, reinforcer and assistant were not significantly correlated with emotion understanding. Preschool children who were attributed either the victim or the outsider roles were less able to understand emotions than other children (Belacchi & Farina, 2010). In a more recent study, the same researchers (Belacchi & Farina, 2012) investigated the affective and cognitive components of empathy in relation to both emotion comprehension and prosocial/hostile behaviors in preschoolers. Regarding the relations of children’s emotion comprehension with both empathy measures and their prosocial/hostile attitudes, the researches found a robust negative relationship of both affective and cognitive empathy with hostile roles and with outsider role, contrary to a positive correlation of only affective empathy with prosocial roles. No relationships emerged between empathy measures and victim role.

Social Information Processing

The social information processing model of children’s social behaviour has been used to describe a number of processes that are involved in children’s interactions and to explain how aggressive children may exhibit deficits in those processing steps. A reformulation of this model by Crick and Dodge (1994) includes six steps: 1. encoding of cues, 2. interpretation of cues, 3. clarification of goals, 4. response access of construction, 5. response decision, and 6. behavioural enactment. Limited work has been done examining social information processing in preschool children and its relation to victimization. Prior data have provided some evidence that social information processing can be assessed in this age group and that the findings from school-age children also apply in preschoolers (Mize & Ladd, 1988; Werner et al., 2006). Specifically, preschool children who display hostile intent attributions, generate higher levels of aggressive responses, and evaluate aggressive responses positively tend to show higher rates of aggression. Mize and Ladd (1988) conducted a study according to which preschool children

displaying physical aggression reported more hostile strategies than the rest of the group. Also, results from a recent study showed that physical aggression is positively correlated with hostile attribution bias (step 2) as well as with hostile strategies including physical violence (step 5). The same finding was not confirmed as regards to relational aggression (O'Neil, 2008).

SOCIAL STATUS

A well-supported research finding is that some bullies show well developed social competencies, and therefore do not match the traditional view of the aggressive child as socially incompetent (Andreou, 2006; Sutton et al., 1999a). These bullies, among other things, are sociable, assertive, good leaders, popular, and well integrated into the peer group (Perren & Alsaker, 2006). They even show intact or superior theory-of mind skills (Gini, 2006; Monks et al., 2005; Sutton et al., 1999a). These competencies may allow them to anticipate others' thoughts and actions and therefore to efficaciously manipulate the group processes underlying the dynamics of bullying. Certainly, not all bullies are considered to be socially competent.

A distinction relevant for separating socially competent bullies from incompetent bullies is that between bullies and bully-victims (or aggressive victims) (Solberg, Olweus, & Endresen, 2007). Even though aggressive behavior and bullying have been found to be connected with rejection by peers (Boulton & Smith, 1994), some bullies are also well-liked or have a controversial status (Sentse, Scholte, Salmivalli, & Voeten, 2007). Recent data confirms the hypothesis that a number of bullies are popular among their peers, belong to wide social networks, are apt at affiliating, have high social status and emotional competence (Roseth & Pellegrini, 2010).

SCOPE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The main scope of our study is to investigate contextual and intra-personal factors that would account for victimization processes. Both quantitative and qualitative data will be collected, regarding the background of victimization interactions taking place among preschool children. Using naturalistic observations, we will record interactions of peers into the classroom and on the playground, and will investigate the role of three socio-cognitive correlates, namely empathy, theory of mind and hostile attribution bias and strategies in preschool children.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 167 children (88 girls and 79 boys) recruited from eight preschools classes in Greece. Schools were randomly selected and were located at middle income urban areas. Of the 167 participants, 115 children were 5 to 6 years old and 52 were 4 to 5 years. Participants came from families of Greek, Albanian and/or East Balkan background. Some participants had a mixed nationality background. All participants had already attended school

for at least two years. Some classes of the same school units, and not whole schools, took part in the present research. Children presenting learning difficulties, disabilities or sensory impairments did not participate in the present research. Teachers and children's parents were contacted directly by the researchers and were thoroughly informed on the content of the present investigation. Parents' written consent was obtained before children were asked for their voluntary participation in the research.

Procedure

Naturalistic Observations

A series of naturalistic observations were carried out in order to record bullying episodes. Participants were observed during regularly scheduled free play periods into the classroom, and outdoors on the playground. The work of Ostrov and Keating (2004) revealed that recording observations on paper as they occurred was less disruptive in preschool settings than videotaping interactions. Thus, we developed an observational checklist and relied on written records of live observations for data collection.

In order to carry out naturalistic observations two trained and experienced observers took notes independently one from the other. In the beginning, the observers were introduced to the children and teachers, spending a few days in the classroom to let others adjust to their presence and to memorize the names of study participants. The observers did not generally interact with the children or with teachers. Their presence into the classroom and on the playground became a routine and was largely ignored. Observations were collected during the middle of the school year, so that the children were well acquainted with each other (Laursen and Hartup, 1989). Also, during the second semester, children would have got to know each other well, and have shared many experiences. In all cases, participant's anonymity was ensured. Each participant (focal child) was observed for a total period of forty minutes, 20 minutes into the classroom and 20 minutes on the playground. Those 40 minutes of observations were divided into 4 periods of 10-minute observations. Therefore, each child was observed at 4 different times interacting with his/her peers over the course of a week. The observers remained within earshot of the focal child and did their best to remain unobtrusive. Interactions with children were avoided by appearing to study information on the clipboards the observers carried. The researchers used an observational form that contained the list of categories as follows: central participant roles (victim, bully, bully-victim), forms of bullying (verbal, physical, relational), forms of play (group, joint, solitary play), group bullying, peripheral roles, the reaction of the victim, the bully and the teacher, active adult supervision and location of the episode. For each bullying episode corresponding categories on the observational checklist were checked. We defined an episode as an incidence (occurrence) during which a victimization interaction took place. Coding for all variables except from participants' reactions was made *a priori*. Based on field notes, data concerning the reactions of victims, bullies and teachers were coded and classified into sub-categories (see Appendix for scoring and coding procedure).

Assessment of Socio-Cognitive Correlates

In order to assess socio-cognitive skills, children were informed that they were going to listen to some stories and respond to relevant questions. The researchers reassured the children that their participation was voluntary and anonymous. They were also told that they could quit

anytime they desired. Interview sessions were carried out in a separate, quiet room adjacent to children's classroom and the whole procedure was held in a friendly and pedagogical climate. For the assessment of the socio-cognitive correlates, structured tasks were adapted into Greek and tested for their reliability. More specifically: For the theory of mind skills, 4 tasks were adapted from those used in previous studies. Those tasks examined the ability for perspective taking, and false belief for content, location and appearance reality (as described in Sabbagh, Bowman, Evraire, & Ito, 2009). For the assessment of emotion understanding we used developmentally appropriate means (puppet matched for participant's gender and colourful pictures) in order to elicit common emotions such as happiness, sadness, fear and anger. After a warm-up session, participants were told stories using both puppets and pictures by the researchers. In the end of each story, children were invited to identify the emotion they thought that the hero would feel. The stories were common to children such as feeling happy for winning a contest, or sad for losing a favourite pet. After mentioning the emotion, the participants were invited to point to the corresponding picture depicting the emotion mentioned (Werner et al., 2006). Finally, hostile attribution bias and hostile strategies were assessed by means of narrating short and familiar stories for children (as described in O'Neil, 2008). Using the methodology of Crick, Grotpeter and Bigbee (2002) participants were told 4 stories about physical aggression and 4 stories about relational aggression. Relevant vignettes were also shown for each story. In the end, children were invited to say whether the heroes intended to do harm or not. Also, they were invited to say how they would react in similar situations.

Social Preference

The respondents were asked to nominate the three classmates they liked the most, and the three they liked the least. The peer-nomination sum score of each item was standardized by class in order to examine *social preference* (calculated by subtracting the standardized like-least nomination score from the standardized likemost nomination score) (Caravita, DiBlasio, & Salmivalli, 2009).

RESULTS

A series of data analyses was carried out. First, the frequencies of central participant roles were calculated in relation to the three forms of bullying. Also, we elaborated data in relation to theory of mind, empathy, hostile bias and strategies and social status. Then, we were interested to analyze the background of bullying episodes. In order to get a more detailed insight on bullying episodes background, we were interested to examine the interaction between some of our research variables.

Prevalence of Central Participant Roles

Based on field notes, children were assigned to the role for which they were observed to undertake twice or more. If they were observed to assume more than one role they were assigned to a dual role (bully-victim). Table 1 illustrates the frequencies for the central

participant roles as noted down by the two researchers separately. Also, agreement between the two raters (Cohen's kappa) was calculated for each form of bullying.

Prevalence rates for the central participant roles were calculated. Our results show that of the 167 participants a 12.6% of the children observed were involved in verbal bullying episodes as perpetrator, victim or bully-victim, a 42.6% in physical bullying, and a 28.1% in relational bullying. In addition, Cohen's Kappa outcomes show that agreement between the two raters for the three forms of bullying is significant.

Table1. Central participant roles in preschool children

		Rater 1 N %	Rater 2 N %	Inter-rater Agreement
Verbal bullying	No central role	146 87.4%	146 87.4%	
	Victim	6 3.6%	4 2.4%	
	Bully	11 6.6%	10 6.2%	
	Bully-victim	4 2.4%	7 4.2%	
				K=.87 Sig=.000**
Physical bullying	No central role	96 57.4%	96 57.4%	
	Victim	31 18.6%	32 19.2%	
	Bully	31 18.6%	28 16.8%	
	Bully-victim	9 5.4%	11 6.6%	
				K=.88 Sig=.000**
Relational bullying	No central role	120 71.9%	120 71.9%	
	Victim	18 10.7%	19 11.3%	
	Bully	24 14.4%	20 12%	
	Bully-victim	5 3%	8 4.8%	
				K=.88 Sig=.000**

*p<.05 **p<.001.

Socio-Cognitive Abilities

In order to examine possible differences between participant roles and socio-cognitive abilities, One-way ANOVAs were administrated. Independent factor was each one of the three forms of bullying and dependent factors were the socio-cognitive abilities of empathy, theory of mind, hostile attributions and hostile strategies. One-way ANOVAs failed to demonstrate significant differences between participant roles and theory of mind in verbal ($F=.57$, $\text{sig}=.63$), relational ($F=.25$, $\text{sig}=.85$) and physical bullying ($F=.32$, $\text{sig}=.80$). However, analyses showed significant differences between participant roles and empathy for verbal bullying ($F=2.65$, $\text{sig}=.05$) but not for physical bullying ($F=1.51$, $\text{sig}=.21$) nor for social exclusion ($F=1.67$, $\text{sig}=.174$). Post-hoc analyses indicated that children not assuming central roles in verbal bullying episodes had higher empathy scores in comparison to bullies and victims. Moreover, statistical elaboration showed significant differences between participant roles and hostile attribution bias for relational bullying ($F=2.94$, $\text{sig}=.03$) but not for verbal ($F=1.33$, $\text{sig}=.24$) nor for physical bullying ($F=1.29$, $\text{sig}=.27$). Scheffe post-hoc test indicated that children not

assuming central roles scored higher in hostile attribution bias than the victims of relational bullying. Finally, statistically significant differences were revealed between participant roles and hostile strategies for relational ($F=3.00$, $\text{sig}=.03$) and physical bullying ($F=8.66$, $\text{sig}=.000$) but not for verbal bullying ($F=.49$, $\text{sig}=.68$). Post-hoc analyses showed that perpetrators of relational bullying reported more hostile strategies than children not assuming central roles. Also, perpetrators of physical bullying episodes reported more hostile strategies than both the victims and the children not assuming central roles.

Social Status

In order to examine the interaction between social status and participant roles, χ^2 test was administrated. Results showed that there is no significant relation between social status and verbal ($\chi^2=7.74$, $\text{sig}=.25$) or relational bullying ($\chi^2=4.53$, $\text{sig}=.60$), but that there is a significant relationship for physical bullying ($\chi^2=17.13$, $\text{sig}=.009$). More specifically, children not assuming central roles in physical bullying episodes belonged to the average peer group whereas perpetrators came from the rejected group. As regards to group bullying, χ^2 revealed that ring-leader bullies are more probable to come from the group of popular peers ($\chi^2=6.64$, $\text{sig}=.03$).

Analyses of Bullying Episodes' Background

At a third phase, data collected through field note-taking were elaborated. Table 2 illustrates the frequencies for aspects related to social features and physical environment of a total of 158 victimization episodes recorded by the two researchers separately. Also, agreement between the two raters (Cohen's kappa) was computed for each category separately.

According to our analyses bullying episodes were more frequently observed during joint play activities (58.2%) rather than group or solitary play. Group bullying was observed in preschool children at a rate of approximately 27%. In addition, we analyzed peripheral roles children undertook during bullying attacks. Our results showed that, almost, eight out of ten episodes observed occurred in the presence of classmates.

Classmates were present at a percentage of approximately 79% of the episodes observed; the majority were passive observers whereas an almost 27% were bully's supporters. Only, 8.9% of the children observed acted as the victim's defender. Outcomes concerning victim's reactions revealed that they behaved in a passive way and at a lower frequency sought help from the teacher. In relation to perpetrators, our analyses showed that either they reacted aggressively or stopped any interaction once their attack came to a successful end. Although in half of the incidences recorded the teacher was physically absent, the times he/she was present, he/she intervened in an active and effective way. According to our analyses, the bullying episodes took place more frequently when adult supervision was not active. In regards to space, results showed that the bullying episodes were more frequent into the preschool classroom (53.8%) rather than on the playground (46.2%).

Table 2. Categories for bullying episodes

Category		Rater 1 N %	Rater 2 N %	Inter-rater Agreement
Play	Group play	64 40.5%	64 40.5%	
	Joint activities	92 58.2%	92 58.2%	
	Solitary	2 1.3%	2 1.3%	
				K=.949 Sig=.000**
Group bullying	Yes	43 27.2%	42 26.6%	
	No	115 72.8%	116 73.4%	
				K=.952 Sig=.000**
Peripheral roles	Observer	63 40.1%	72 45.9%	
Category		Rater 1 N %	Rater 2 N %	Inter-rater Agreement
	Assistant	28 17.8%	32 20.4%	
	Reinforcer	14 8.9%	10 6.4%	
	Defender	14 8.9%	14 8.9%	
	No children present	38 24.2%	29 18.5%	
				K=.815 Sig=.000**
Victim reactions	Does nothing	84 53.5%	84 53.5%	
	Speaks to teacher	48 30.6%	48 30.6%	
	Reacts prosocially	18 11.5%	15 9.6%	
	Reacts aggressively	7 4.5%	10 6.4%	
				K=.968 Sig=.000**
Bully reactions	Does nothing	63 40.1%	63 40.1%	
	Speaks to teacher	1 .6%	1 .6%	
	Reacts prosocially	10 6.4%	6 3.8%	
	Reacts aggressively	83 52.9%	87 55.4%	
				K=.953 Sig=.000**
Teacher reactions	Does nothing	13 8.2%	13 8.2%	
	Speaks to bully and/or consoles victim	26 16.5%	23 14.6%	
	Actively engages to resolve conflict	42 26.6%	45 28.5%	
	Physically not present	77 48.7%	77 48.74%	
				K=.894 Sig=.000**
Active adult supervision	Yes	60 38%	58 36.7%	
	No	98 62%	100 63.3%	
				K=.919 Sig=.000**
Location	Classroom non-specified	34 21.5%	34 21.5%	
	Classroom specified	51 32.3%	51 32.3%	
	Playground non-specified	44 27.8%	42 26.6%	
	Playground specified	29 18.4%	31 19.6%	
				K=.983 Sig=.000**

Interaction between Aspects Related to Bullying Episodes

In order to examine the interaction between categories of episodes recorded, cross-tabulations using χ^2 test of independence were computed. For χ^2 tests only the measurements collected from Rater 1 was used. First, our χ^2 analyses show that group bullying is not related to perpetrators' gender ($\chi^2=1.80$, $p=.18$). Also, we were interested to obtain a closer insight between group-bullying and socio-cognitive factors. Therefore, we conducted a series of t-tests between group bullying and empathy, theory of mind, hostile attributions and hostile strategies of perpetrators. Results showed no main effect between group bullying and empathy ($t=-.91$, $\text{sig}=.36$), theory of mind ($t=1.65$, $\text{sig}=.09$), hostile attributions ($t=-.66$, $\text{sig}=.51$) and hostile strategies ($t=-1.72$, $\text{sig}=.08$).

Consequently, we administrated χ^2 tests which showed that peripheral roles are related to the reactions of both victims ($\chi^2 = 44.34$, $p<.000^{**}$) and bullies ($\chi^2 = 41.56$, $p<.000^{**}$). We adjusted p values for multiple comparisons using the Bonferonni method in order to find out on which terms this relationship is significant. Thus, we found that when observers or assistants were present then the bully tended to augment aggressiveness whereas when the defender of the victim intervened then the bully tended to quit. Lastly, when reinforcers were present then the victim tended to react in a social manner. Also, active adult supervision is related to the reactions of both the bully ($\chi^2 = 10.32$, $p<.016^*$) and the victim ($\chi^2= 10.51$, $p<.015^*$). Using multiple comparisons we found that when an aggressive act ended, victims tended to seek help from the supervisor and bullies tended to stop it immediately. In contrast, when a supervisor was not actively supervising the victim's reaction was passive while the bully tended to insist on behaving aggressively. In relation to active adult supervision, we were interested to examine its interaction with indoor/outdoor space. Analyses revealed that these are two related variables ($\chi^2 = 16.509$, $p<.001^{**1}$). Multiple comparisons showed that when bullying episodes occurred into the classroom, supervision was more frequently active whereas on the playground supervision was less active. In order to get a more detailed insight into the teacher's role, we computed the interaction between teacher's reactions and space ($\chi^2 = 24.25$, $p<.004^*$). Bonferonni method revealed that teachers tend to do nothing when a bullying episode occurs in the non-specified locations on the playground, and this difference is greater compared to the specified places into the classroom. Significant interaction was also revealed between playful activities and the physical environment ($\chi^2 = 56.65$, $p<.000^{**}$). Post-hoc analyses indicated that during joint activities bullying acts are more probable to occur in non-specified spaces into the classroom (and its close surroundings i.e., toilets, corridors), whereas during group activities in the specified areas of both the classroom and the playground. Finally, χ^2 analyses indicated a significant interaction between peripheral roles and specified/non-specified locations ($\chi^2 = 41.45$, $p<.000^{**}$). Multiple comparisons showed that bullying episodes occurred more frequently in interior non-specified places (classroom/corridors/toilets) when peers were not present. Whereas in the specified locations of the classroom and on the playground (both in specified and non-specified areas), peers were present during bullying episodes.

¹ * The Chi-square statistic is significant ≥ 0.05 level. ** The Chi-square statistic is significant ≥ 0.01 level.

DISCUSSION

Our findings indicate that victimization interactions emerge during the preschool years and that participant roles, both central and peripheral, become distinct. The mean prevalence rates including all three forms of bullying were: 10.97% of participants observed to demonstrate the role of the victim, 12.43% the role of the bully, 4.4% the role of the bully-victim. In line with previous studies, we found that physical bullying was more frequently observed in preschool children compared to verbal or relational bullying (Björkqvist, Österman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Björkqvist, Österman and Lagerspetz, 1994).

As regards to results on socio-cognitive factors our analyses indicated that perspective taking and false-belief do not influence participant roles in verbal, physical and relational bullying in preschool children. A possible explanation for this might rely on the fact that the development of theory of mind skills depends on maturation processes such as the development of pre-frontal lobe (Sabbagh et al., 2009). It seems therefore that theory of mind skills may play a role in victimization processes for older children when they acquire second order skills such as interpretative theory of mind (Chandler & Lalone, 1996). In relation to the cognitive aspects of empathy, our results showed that this may be an important factor for children not assuming any central role in verbal bullying episodes only. In line with our findings, Endreson and Olweus (2001) and Espelage, Mebane and Swearer (2004) showed that middle school children who scored high on empathy tended to avoid engagement in bullying episodes. However, there was no main effect of empathy scores for both physical and relational bullying. As far as hostile bias are concerned, our data revealed that children not assuming any central role are better, rather than the victims, at attributing hostile intent to actions relevant to relational bullying, and therefore be able to recognize and avoid engagement. According to our findings, perpetrators of physical and relational bullying tended to report more hostile strategies than victims or children not assuming any central role.

As far as the social context is concerned, bullying episodes were more frequent when children were involved in joint compared to group or solitary play activities. It seems that in the preschool victimization interactions manifests primarily during dyadic activities where it would be easier for the perpetrator to manipulate a target. According to our results, preschool children were capable of organizing group bullying acts. Almost one out of three of the episodes recorded were attacks directed to a victim by a whole group of peers. Our results imply that bullying might be a social phenomenon even in the early years. This is extremely important since research data investigating the occurrence of group bullying in this young age group is extremely scarce. Past studies based on peer nominations or teacher reports implied that peripheral roles in preschool children might not be as salient (Monks et al., 2003, 2005). The results of our observational data show that children undertake peripheral roles. According to our observations, preschool peers were present in almost eight out of ten bullying episodes. Of those children present, the majority watched passively the event, a considerable percentage supported the bully and a small percentage defended the victim. A possible explanation for this comes from our finding that the perpetrators' behavior tended to be influenced by the reactions of children standing by. When observers or assistants were present during the episode this seemed to work as reinforcement for the aggressive reactions of the bully. According to Twemlow, Fonagy and Sacco (2010), the role of the observer entails active involvement and for this reason it should not be considered as neutral. Children who simply watch bullying will often contend that they "aren't doing anything". In their observations, O'Connell, Pepler and

Craig (1999) found that peers reinforced bullying 54% of the time by passively attending to the episode and not helping the victim. Besides, and according to our results, preschool victims reacted mainly in a passive and submissive way. This is in line with previous research which found that submissiveness is the hallmark of victimization (Perren and Alsaker, 2006). Also, in our study, when preschool teachers were physically present they intervened to help the victim at a higher rate compared to prior research data conducted with school teachers (Craig and Pepler, 1995, 1997; Salmivalli and Voeten, 2004). A possible explanation for this finding is that preschool children are more dependent and rely more often on adult attendance than school children. Therefore, teachers working with young populations tend to be more considerate and observant than school teachers. In relation to this, Jimerson, Swearer and Espelage (2010) argue that the social context in the school constitutes a substantial factor when examining bullying behavior. Teachers' attitudes and interventions could contribute significantly to the decrease of victimization prevalence (Biggs, Vernberg, Twemlow, Fonagy, and Dill, 2008; Jimerson et al., 2010). In line with previous research (Craig and Pepler, 1995, 1997; Salmivalli and Voeten, 2004), we found that bullying episodes occurred more frequently when adult supervision is not active. Furthermore, our results showed that when bullying episodes occurred into the classroom supervision was more frequently active compared to supervision on the playground. Support for the above finding comes from prior data where most children, knowing that aggression is prohibited, restrict their aggression toward peers to the less supervised locations of the playground, or out of the sight of adult supervisors (Pellegrini, 1990). Nevertheless, preschool children were observed to demonstrate bullying behaviour at a relatively high percentage even when supervision was active. This may imply that preschool perpetrators act in a more impulsive and less prohibited way than their school-age counterparts.

In our study, teachers tended to act passively when victimization processes occurred in the non-specified locations of the playground. A possible explanation is that teachers, in this specific location, might have mistaken bullying episodes for rough-and tumble play. Support for this comes from a study of Blatchford (1996) where a high percentage of school personnel continued to view recess as a carefree and positive play period for children. It is thus important to include teacher sensitization and training when designing effective prevention programs (Hazler, Miller, Carney, and Green, 2001). As far as the physical environment is concerned the findings from the present study indicate that bullying episodes occurred into the specified locations of the preschool class more frequently than on the playground both in the non specified areas and the specified ones. Contrary to the formal school settings, the structure of the preschool class might incite children to engage into victimization processes. More specifically, the preschool space is particular in that it is separated into learning areas where children interact and move with greater freedom whereas a typical school class is organised and arranged in a way that pupils' interactions and mobility are restrained. For this reason, school-age children may find it easier to organise bullying attacks during recess on the playground rather than into the classroom.

Another interesting finding is that group bullying is independent of bully's gender. Given that boys prefer to play in large and open play groups whereas girls' playgroups are usually in dyads (Bugental, 2000), one would expect boys to carry out more frequently group attacks. Rather, our findings highlight that girls organise group attacks as frequently as boys. Moreover, neither cognitive empathy, nor theory of mind and hostile bias and strategies influence group bullying. This means that those psychological correlates do not play an important role when group bullying behaviour is displayed. Finally, ring-leader bullies organising group attacks are

popular amongst their peers whereas perpetrators organising sole attacks tend to be rejected by their peers. Support for this finding come from outcomes of a recent study examining the resource control theory in preschoolers' behaviour (Roseth, Pellegrini, Dupuis, Bohn, Hickey, Hilke, Peshkam, 2011). It was shown that coercive resource control was used most frequently at the start of the school year, presumably to access resources and establish social dominance. Rates of prosocial resource control increased over the school year, and socially dominant preschoolers showed higher rates compared with peers, presumably to maintain resource control while keeping peers as allies. Socially dominant preschoolers also used reconciliation more often than peers, resulting in higher rates of affiliation between former competitors and more positive peer regard from fall to spring. Therefore, ring-leader bullies tend to be more popular probably due to their ability to interchange between coercive and prosocial strategies whereas single bullies tend to use coercive strategies and hence experience peer rejection. In line with this, an investigation carried out in elementary school children highlighted the importance of distinguishing between (1) strategic social-cognitive and moral competencies and (2) different subgroups of bullies (Gasser & Keller, 2009).

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The implementation of effective prevention programs, as early as in the preschool, is critical. The fact that preschool bullies demonstrate aggressive behaviour even when supervision is active may help teachers to intervene actively and prevent victimization processes from escalating. Also, preschool teachers should be particularly attentive in the non-specified interior places, i.e., corridors, toilets, where perpetrators are capable to isolate their victims. According to our findings, the role of the observer during victimization interactions in the preschool is active and critical; it can be either favourable or detrimental. Therefore, primary prevention programs should include developmentally appropriate activities informing preschool children about the process of victimization and should focus on training them to implement strategies to defend victims. Finally, the results of the present study have shown that bullying is a social phenomenon and involves a whole group of persons even in the preschool. One out of three attacks were organised by a whole group of peers. The fact that the majority of episodes occurred during social play activities means that anti-bullying prevention programs should take the development of social play processes into account. As far as the physical environment is concerned, our results show that bullying episodes occur into the specified locations of the preschool class. Space arrangement and classroom general layout play an important role in the occurrence of bullying episodes. Particularly important is the consideration of the overall classroom arrangement, especially in spaces that remain unspecified in children's use; for instance, teacher areas, large open spaces, and walk through pathways leading to other classrooms. Planning of every space is essential in ensuring positive social interactions among children (Harms et al., 1998; Peisner-Feinberg, Burchinal, Clifford, Culkin, Howes, Kagan, et al., 2000). Therefore, certain arrangements should be made into the classroom in order to ensure positive peer interactions, i.e., environment quality, abundance of materials, arrangement of learning corners, setting rules etc.

LIMITATIONS - FUTURE RESEARCH

It is a fact that during our naturalistic observations, the presence of observers, although unobtrusive, might have altered children's behaviour. It might be difficult to observe and evaluate children's playground aggression because adults may not always be aware of the aggressive incidents that occur privately between peers (Cairns and Cairns, 2000; Pellegrini, 1995). Therefore, future research should seek to triangulate data collected through observations. Also, given the distance and noise present on the playground, observers might have been unaware of verbal or relational playground aggression that has occurred. Future research should seek to examine in depth those parameters of the preschool context, both into the classroom and on the playground, that influence bullying behaviour. For example, it could be interesting to compare space arrangement and layout from different preschools and find out the degree to which those parameters correlate to each other. Bullying behaviour is largely influenced by the social environment of the school. It would be interesting to examine which personality traits influence the attitude and behaviour of children present (observers, assistants, reinforcers, defenders). Qualitative data are also needed in relation to group bullying, its occurrence and underlying aetiological factors. Cross-sectional or longitudinal studies comparing peripheral roles and group bullying between preschool and school-age children are needed in order to design effective prevention programs. Finally, future research should examine prevention programs that include developmentally appropriate activities in relation to social play in preschool children.

In relation to the role of empathy, a recent study, using teacher reports, showed a robust negative relationship of both affective and cognitive empathy with hostile roles and with outsider role, contrary to a positive correlation of only affective empathy with prosocial roles. No relationships emerged between empathy measures and victim role (Belacchi & Farina, 2012). In our study, only cognitive empathy was measured using observational data in relation to central participant roles. Future research would seek to examine the mediating role of both affective and cognitive empathy in relation to central and peripheral roles using observational data in preschool children. Recently, it was revealed that only bully-victims, but not bullies, were characterized by a deficit in perspective taking, while both aggressive groups showed a deficit in moral motivation (Gasser & Keller, 2009). Future research in pre-school populations should seek to understand the implication of perspective taking and moral competencies (moral knowledge and moral motivation) in victimization processes among preschoolers.

CONCLUSION

Bullying is a social phenomenon even in the preschool. Both the physical and social features of the school environment affect the occurrence of victimization. The results of the present research showed that, apart from central peripheral roles, active supervision, teacher sensitization, bystander's role, group bullying and space arrangement for social interactions should be thoroughly examined when studying the emergence of bullying behaviour. All in all, we would argue that mediating factors influencing victimization processes should be investigated in preschool contextual factors such as socialization processes rather than in intra-personal factors such as socio-cognitive skills. Pro-bullying behaviour, in preschool children,

may generate when children enter preschool contexts, develop through peer interactions and establish during socialization processes, i.e., friendship liaisons.

APPENDIX

Scoring/Coding

- 1) For central participant roles, children were scored as perpetrators if they initiated an unprovoked aggressive act towards their peers. The bully was clearly the leader in the episode. The victim was the recipient of the act by a more dominant individual. Also, children were scored as bully-victims when they were observed to display dual role behaviours.
- 2) The forms of bullying recorded were: *physical bullying* (i.e., hitting, pushing, pulling, punching, or forcibly taking objects), *verbal bullying* (i.e., antagonistic teasing, mean names, verbal threats of harm, or insult not expressed at friendship status; i.e., 'Shut up!', 'Chicken!' etc), and *relational bullying* (excluding from playgroup, withdrawing friendship, maliciously telling lies, ignoring a peer; e.g., 'You can't play with us but she can,' 'You can't come to my party,' or deliberately turning away and ignoring a peer's request to join in play). Social exclusion involved the rejection of an individual from a group. It was only considered to be bullying when the exclusion was related to the child, not the nature of the activity from which they were excluded. If, during an episode, a focus child was observed to demonstrate or receive more than one form of bullying behaviour then the roles corresponding to those forms of bullying were checked i.e., a focus child demonstrated social exclusion and physical bullying during the same episode then the role of perpetrator was checked for both forms of behaviour for the same child.
- 3) Playful activities were scored according to the following categories: 1. Solitary play: refers to children who play all alone, 2. Joint play: refers to a pair of children playing together, and 3. Group play: refers to groups of three or more children who are actively playing together.
- 4) It was also noted whether the episode took the form of group bullying. Scores for this variable were dichotomous (yes/no). Group bullying was scored anytime an aggressive act of two or more children was directed towards a sole child.
- 5) For the peripheral roles, children were scored as observers, assistants, reinforcers and defenders. More specifically, observers were children who were in close proximity and merely watching the bullying episode. An assistant was a child who co-operated with the bully but did not initiate the act. The reinforcer referred to the child who joined in the episode but did not initiate the attack nor shared major responsibility, i.e., laugh while a victim is humiliated. Defenders were children who took the victim's side, supported or consoled the victim, and/or intervened in bullying on behalf of the victim.
- 6) A brief description of the reactions of the victim, the bully and the supervisor (if present) were recorded. Based on our field notes, codes for the reactions of the bully and the victim were selected and classified in the following categories as: 1. aggressive, i.e., beatings, kicks etc, 2. prosocial, i.e., shows social behaviour, 3.

passive, i.e., does nothing, and 4. speaks to the teacher. The reactions of the teachers were recorded as: 1. passive, i.e., does not react, watches inactively, 2. speaks to the child, i.e., tells children to stop it, to play carefully, 3. resolves immediately the conflict, i.e., separates the bully (ies) from the victim(s), sanctions the bully, tries to integrate a socially excluded victim.

- 7) The presence of active adult supervisor was also noted down. Active supervision was defined as either the physical presence of the teacher maintaining direct visual contact or as being attentive to children's interactions i.e., talking to the group of children, maintaining unobstructed supervision (hindrance from furniture), standing at a close distance from children during outdoor activities.
- 8) For all episodes, the location of the event was recorded. More specifically, we noted whether the event occurred into the classroom (or the locations close to the classroom) or on the playground. For each location it was, also, noted whether the location was specified or non-specified. Specified places refer to all organised areas equipped with educational materials/structures i.e., into the classroom the learning areas e.g., reading area, arts etc, and on the playground the areas for psycho-motor play, i.e., sliding frames, bowling etc. Non-specified places are those "open" spaces offering no organisation at all i.e., free open play spaces, the open space surrounding the "circle". Also, we recorded bullying episodes that took place in the areas adjacent to classroom such as the corridors, toilets, storage sheds. Those areas were considered as open "classroom" spaces, since in the preschool context children are free to move or interact into those places during free play activities.

Criteria for Identifying Bullying Episodes

Bullying is defined as an intended and unprovoked aggressive act which is carried out repeatedly and is characterized by an imbalance of power. During observations and in order to distinguish aggressive from bullying acts we followed the above criteria.

Negative intent is difficult to quantify because we cannot see what one is thinking. However, negative intent may be exhibited through facial expressions or verbalisations of intent. Therefore, in the present study participant roles were attributed when negative, unprovoked acts (the perpetrator displayed proactive aggression) were directed towards a weaker peer. For our data analyses, only those participants who were observed to act more than once as either perpetrator and/or victim for the same form of bullying were assigned the corresponding role. Roles were attributed independently from the interaction between two children. For example, the role of perpetrator for physical bullying was attributed to child A if it kicks child B and next child C, and/or kicks child B into the classroom and child C on the playground. Therefore, the criterion of repetition "more than once a week" was fulfilled. Also, we have selected only those negative interactions where an imbalance of social power or physical strength was observed among participants. Counts were made each time a behavior occurred, i.e., one insult added one episode, two insults added two episodes and so on. One episode was marked even when the behaviors were part of the same encounter. If a child maintained a continuous aggressive act i.e., a pinch for an extended period of time, only one episode of physical bullying was made. Similarly, the continuous statement, 'We don't like you, so you can't play with us' would be coded as one act of relational bullying rather than two,

given the immediate temporal association and interdependency between the two phrases. Two episodes were counted if the victimization acts were observed in different contexts and therefore were distinct. When an act was not intended i.e., a ball that sailed out of control and hit another child, it was not an event that scored as an aggressive act.

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Chapter 95

DISCORDANCES IN ADOLESCENTS' ADOPTION OF PERSPECTIVES ON BULLYING, AND THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM

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ABSTRACT

In recent decades, the phenomenon of school violence has been the subject of numerous studies. These have elucidated the dynamics of the bullying and victimization that occurs in schools, and explain in part some of the imbalances and conflicts detected in pupils' relationships with each other. Current interest is focused on studying the adolescents' own perceptions of bullying. Finding answers to such questions as what they understand by bullying, whether there are differences in their conceptions and if so what causes these variations, what types of behaviour they consider to be bullying or which criteria they use to sometimes classify a form of behaviour as bullying and sometimes as aggression or a reprimand, will allow the phenomenon to be better understood and delineated.

The aim of the present work was to contribute to a better understanding of the potential risk factors and predictors of school bullying. It analyses the perceptions that 2295 Spanish secondary school pupils (aged from 12 to 16 years) have of bullying, and the different forms in which it occurs (physical, verbal, social, sexual, etc.). The most relevant contributions of the work reside neither solely nor primarily in the description of how the pupils may conceptualize bullying, but in analysing the principal variables affecting their perceptions – the role they themselves play in these situations (aggressor, victim, or witness), gender, intensity of the aggression/victimization, and age or educational level.

The results showed that a pupil's perception of bullying and its different modalities depends on the role he or she plays in situations of school violence. Aggressors emphasize the criterion of "power imbalance", and often justify many of the situations usually described as bullying as really being just another form of adolescents' social interaction. Victims are less likely to use this type of justification, but instead emphasize as the main defining criterion of bullying the "intent to hurt". Witnesses see both of these conditions as being necessary to classify aggression as bullying – that the aggressor has a clear intention

to hurt the victim, and that there is a power imbalance between victim and aggressor in favour of the latter.

With respect to gender, there were significant differences between boys' and girls' perceptions of the different modes of bullying and the type of behaviour that it involves. Similarly, the results for the variable intensity of aggression/victimization indicated that as the intensity increased, there was a corresponding decrease in the pupils' identification of aggressive behaviour with mechanisms of social interaction. With respect to age, the older pupils presented the fullest and most detailed perceptions of the phenomenon of bullying, but they also were more likely to downplay certain aggressive manifestations, considering them to be typical forms of interaction among adolescents.

INTRODUCTION

The dynamics of the bullying and victimization among peers that take place in school has been extensively studied over the last more than thirty years. During this period many varied programs of prevention and intervention have been implemented, but still the problem persists. In all schools there are still bullies who abuse their peers, and victims who suffer the aggressions of maybe just one student, or a group of students, or classmates hiding behind the anonymity of the Internet. And surrounding the bullies and the victims is a great mass of witnesses who pull a veil of silence down to cover these episodes of violence, and thus themselves contribute to the persistence of the aggression.

This lack of effectiveness in solving the problem may in large part be due to the difficulty in clearly defining and delimiting the bullying phenomenon.

The World Health Organization (2002) identifies bullying as a deliberate use of force or power, physical or psychological, as a threat or an actual event, which occurs against oneself, another person, or against a group or community with intent to cause injury, death, psychological harm, or deprivation. However, this definition takes on different nuances, even significant variations, for the different research contexts in which this phenomenon and its manifestations are studied. Espelage & Swearer (2003) note also that the concept of bullying not only varies with from researcher to researcher, but also with the country in which it is studied. Smorti, Menesini & Smith (2003) show that there are significant differences in the concept of bullying between Japan, Italy, Spain, England, and Portugal. Their results indicate that the linguistic richness of each language interferes sometimes in the translation of the term bullying, since there may exist different expressions and terminologies that approximate the meaning given to it in English. This terminological variability can bring about confusion and a lack of precision, with aggressive forms of behaviour being labeled as bullying when they are not.

But beyond language difficulties, what is detected is a lack of consensus in establishing objective criteria and quantifiable measures to catalogue violent behaviour as bullying. One of the most accepted and widespread conceptions is that bullying is any behaviour used repetitively by a person who has more physical, social, or psychological power than his or her victim and is committed with intent to cause harm, either physical or psychological. From this definition, three basic criteria can be drawn that facilitate its identification – the repetition of violent behaviour, the imbalance of power between aggressor and victim, and the intention to hurt.

Regarding the 'repetition' criterion, Dam Olweus, one of the researchers who has most studied bullying in schools, indicates that in some circumstances a one-time attack can be considered bullying behaviour (Olweus, 1993). The problem generated by this affirmation is that it has not yet been determined what those circumstances would be. Similarly, other researchers also suggest that a single occurrence of aggressive behaviour can be labeled as bullying if it causes negative effects on the victim that last over a prolonged time period (Arora, 1996; Randall, 1996, Guerin & Hennessy, 2002), but neither here is it clearly laid out how long that period would have to be.

The discrepancies also extend to the 'power imbalance' criterion. Tatum (1997) states that the superiority of the aggressor over the victim does not have to be real – it is sufficient that the victim perceives it as such. In either case, the behaviour leads to the victim feeling helpless and unable to cope with the situation because he or she believes that their abuser can repeat it even more viciously as having greater physical, psychological, or social strength. This leads us to consider that the perception of the asymmetry of power often lies in the physical or social image of both the aggressor and the victim.

In the case of the perception of physical power imbalance, the aggressor is associated with someone more corpulent, muscular, and bigger than the victim, whose body image is weak and fragile. However, for adolescents it is the social asymmetry and fear of exclusion from the peer group that is becoming more important. In this case, the image of the aggressor does not always coincide with that of the most popular person, which makes it difficult to identify the signs or characteristics that identify the possible existence (real or imagined) of power imbalance. It is even more difficult to discover the criteria the victims use to perceive asymmetry of emotional or psychological power. As suggested by Dooley, Pyzalski & Cross (2009), it is becoming steadily more complex to capture the repetitive nature and the power imbalances to which the current definitions of bullying refer.

Finally, the 'intention to hurt' criterion also raises some questions among researchers that hinder the identification of episodes of bullying and therefore of practical intervention. Tatum (1997) rejects the existence of an actual intent to hurt the victim by the aggressor, and explains that behaviour may be classified as bullying if it caused any harm to another person, regardless of the intent with which this behaviour had been carried out. Thus, it may be that someone feels harassed and injured without their alleged aggressor knowing or having had any intention of assaulting them, but instead with the act having been accidental. It is enough that the victim perceived, wrongly or not, that someone else had an intention of hurting them for that conduct to be labeled as bullying. However, a majority of researchers still state that the aggressor must intend to cause harm for violent behaviour to be classified as bullying.

These discrepancies between researchers in the conceptualization of this phenomenon may have a significant influence on the results of epidemiological studies aimed at detecting the numbers of aggressors and victims, as it may be that some researchers consider some individuals as bullies that other researchers do not categorize as such. Furthermore, if there is no unanimous agreement that allows the identification of those involved in bullying situations and of the roles they play, then the results of comparative studies between countries, communities, or even schools should be taken with some caution.

The difficulties that researchers have in defining and identifying bullying situations are significantly multiplied when it is adolescents who have to do the defining and identifying. In recent years we have conducted extensive research focused on the study of the perceptions of adolescents regarding bullying and its manifestations in the school context. The ultimate goal

is to design more effective prevention and intervention programs. If researchers use different criteria to those used by students to classify violent behaviour as bullying then they will be describing different realities, and the success of any such programs will consequently be severely threatened.

HOW ADOLESCENTS DEFINE SCHOOL BULLYING

One of the basic premises defended by most of the researchers who analyse the bullying phenomenon is the coexistence of three identification criteria: repeated aggressive behaviour, supremacy of power on the part of the aggressor, and a manifest intention to cause harm to the person against whom the aggression is directed. However, studies conducted in many countries conclude that very few adolescents employ these three criteria together to identify signs of bullying. This means that many young people label as bullying isolated assaults that probably involved no intention to cause harm, or types of behaviour that may not be violent but are nonetheless hurtful to certain people, or abuse that is repeated continuously but does not really have a victim, etc. But the opposite may also occur. We find adolescents who do not consider as bullying a repeatedly produced aggression with a clear intent to harm a person who is at a lower status than their attacker.

The analysis of the different criteria used by young people to identify bullying situations will allow a closer understanding of their perceptions and a better match of the measures aimed at improving school life to the realities of that context.

The most controversial of the criteria in the definition of bullying is that of repetition of the abuse. Indeed, there are still numerous ongoing debates about the frequency and extension over time of aggressive behaviour. For some researchers this criterion is met when the abuse has been committed several times in recent months, but others consider that the repetition rate has to be weekly. These difficulties in the operational definition of the frequency variable is not shared by the adolescents who, for the most part, do not refer to this criterion in their concept of bullying. The studies of Madsen (1996) in the United Kingdom indicate that 97% of the secondary school students participating in the research did not believe that the repetition of aggressive behaviour should be a condition determining the classification of the behaviour as bullying. In 2006, in the same country, Naylor and co-workers confirmed the lack of importance that students of 11 to 14 years old attributed to the repetition criterion, finding that 91% of the 1820 adolescents surveyed did not use it in their definitions of bullying.

In other countries the figures are similar. In Canada, Vaillancourt and co-workers (2008) found that 94% of a sample of 1767 students did not mention repeated abuse in any of their definitions of bullying or in their identification of its manifestations. In Ireland, the percentage drops to 72.3% (Guerin & Hennessy, 2002) and in Sweden to 70% (Frisén, Holmqvist & Oscarsson, 2008). Other studies do not provide exact percentages but indicate that students rarely refer to the repetition criterion to define bullying, e.g., Cheng, Chen, Ho & Cheng (2011) in a study conducted in Taiwan with 967 secondary school students. The research conducted in Spain by Cuadrado (2011) with 2295 adolescents also shows that for adolescents the repetition of the abuse is not a criterion for identifying or defining bullying. In the United States, Land (2003), on a sample of 147 students from 14 to 18 years, states that less than half of those adolescents considered the repetition as a requirement for the classification of aggressive

behaviour as episodes of bullying. In sum, all these studies note that for many young people a single occurrence of violent behaviour that causes harm to another person may be perceived as a manifestation of bullying.

A second identification criterion that achieves greater consensus among researchers is the 'intention to hurt another person'. However, a major fraction of adolescents believe that bullying is any behaviour that causes physical, psychological, or social harm to another person, even if there was no intention to do so. In this sense, Everett & Price (1995) found that only 17% of the 726 adolescents surveyed perceived in the aggressor an intent to harm. This percentage decreased significantly in other studies addressing the perceptions that secondary school students have of bullying. Guerin & Hennessy (2002) report 13%, while Madsen (1996) only 5%, Naylor et al. (2006) 3.9%, and Vaillancourt et al. (2008) 1.7%. However, the use of different data collection instruments and the variability in the size and composition of the sample may in part explain such mixed results. Hunter, Boyle & Warden (2007), in a study of 1429 Scottish pupils of 8-13 years old, concluded that for these young people the attribution of the aggressor's intention of doing harm is a very difficult aspect to detect and measure, with the consequence that sometimes this criterion appears very pronounced in the definitions given for bullying, and sometimes it is absent. Some researchers, such as Cheng et al. (2011), reflect a different situation, indicating that the majority of adolescents believe that the intent to cause harm should be the central support of the definition of bullying. What is more complex to determine is whether that intention is real or the result of a subjective perception on the part of the victim. Indeed, Cuadrado (2012) warns that this variability in the responses of adolescents is even greater if one considers the role each participant plays in the bullying situations that occur in their school – in particular that the perception of intentionality is much commoner in the victims than in the aggressors.

Finally, regarding the criterion 'imbalance of power', the results of research addressing this issue have also been very different, leading to new questions concerning the causes of this variability, especially the influence of cultural identity. Thus, while Frisé et al. (2008) find that 19% of adolescents conceive the imbalance of power between aggressor and victim as a condition to define an episode of aggression as bullying, for Naylor et al. (2006) the proportion rises to 40%.

Differences in Adolescents' Perceptions of the Manifestations of Bullying

The difficulties adolescents have in conceptualizing the term bullying increase when it comes to determining its possible manifestations in school. Their doubts are generally focused on the more indirect or less obvious forms of behaviour. In this regard, Boulton, Trueman & Flemington (2002) note that the behaviours that students most often classified as episodes of bullying are those in the form of direct physical aggression. In this case, these authors indicate that 82.9% of adolescents consider fighting and jostling as possible manifestations of bullying. At the opposite extreme is behaviour related to isolation and social exclusion, which are mentioned by only 20.6% of the students. Between the two extremes are threats that are included among the forms of bullying by 72.7%, direct verbal aggression and more specifically the allocation of offensive nicknames by 65.9%, indirect physical abuse (such as taking personal property away so as to annoy, or ridiculing the victim before their peers) by 59.4%, and indirect verbal aggression (such as spreading false stories and rumours) by 54.1%.

These percentages differ from those found in other studies such as those of Menesini, Fonzi & Smith (2002), Guerin & Hennessy (2002), Naylor et al. (2006), Friséen et al. (2008), and Vaillancourt et al. (2008), although they all agree in pointing out that the modalities of bullying that teenagers identify most easily are those of direct verbal and physical abuse, while those they find most complex involve social isolation. In this regard, the studies by Menesini et al. (2002) indicate that the proportion of students who refer to physical abuse such as hitting, kicking or punching reaches 97%, and references to verbal attacks are made by 90.5%. These figures drop in the work of Naylor et al. (2006), where 65% of adolescents see physical abuse as potential signs of bullying, and 60% also include direct verbal insults or offensive nicknames. The percentage of students who see behaviour oriented towards provoking social exclusion as possible episodes of bullying is also low, being just 5%, while the proportion reported in the study of Guerin & Hennessy (2002) is 13%.

The student's Gender as an Explicative Factor of the Variability in the Perception of Bullying

The differences found in the concept of bullying taking the gender of the students into account refer to the relative emphasis that boys and girls give the various criteria used to discriminate a bullying situation from other violent acts. The works of Naylor et al. (2006) and Friséen et al. (2008) suggest that boys refer more often than girls to the criterion of 'imbalance of power'. However, no significant differences were recorded in the criteria of 'repetition' of aggressive behaviour or of the 'intent to cause harm'.

In relation to the variability in the consideration of the possible manifestations of bullying, Crick, Casas & Ku (1999) indicate that previous experiences of aggression or victimization that the young people have had to a great extent conditioned whether they included the corresponding modality in their conception of the phenomenon. If this premise is true, one should be able to anticipate which manifestations of bullying would most often be mentioned by the girls and which by the boys. We know that the majority of studies examining the incidence and types of bullying have concluded that girls are more likely to commit and suffer verbal aggression and behaviour that leads to social exclusion, while boys usually resort to direct physical abuse.

The above predictions are confirmed in the research of Smith et al. (2002), Naylor et al. (2006), Friséen et al. (2008), and Vaillancourt et al. (2008) who find that, relative to the boys' perceptions, in the girls' it is usual to find a greater proportion of references to forms of bullying which include relational types of aggression, such as social exclusion or spreading false rumours. They also find that the verbal abuse modality of bullying also tends to be more frequent in the girls' descriptions.

How the Student's Age Influences Their Perception of Bullying

Changes in the conceptualization of bullying attributed to the age variable refer firstly to the development of cognitive abilities. Comparing children of 7-9 years with adolescents, one will quickly observe that the formers' interpretations focus more on the results of the actions than on the intent with which they are committed. However, with increasing age, attention is

not directed solely to the results but takes other dimensions and more complex categorizations into account, facilitating a more detailed and complete understanding and explanation.

Secondly, differences in perceptions of bullying may also be motivated by previous experiences of victimization or aggression. The likelihood of having committed, experienced, or observed a greater number and diversity of bullying episodes is substantially greater in an older child (Monks, Smith & Swettenham, 2005).

HOW THE ADOLESCENT'S ROLE IN BULLYING SITUATIONS AFFECTS THEIR PERSPECTIVES ON THE PHENOMENON: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

The experiences, direct or indirect, of bullying situations exert an influence on the perception that adolescents have of this phenomenon and its possible manifestations in the school (Astor, Benbenishty, Vinokur & Zeira, 2006). Young people who have studied in schools where peer aggression occurs frequently tend to have a more complete and consistent definition of bullying than those who have not been exposed to this type of situation, or only very occasionally. However, the authors of that study do not specify what influence those experience actually has, or if there are differences as a function of the intensity or the type of those experiences, or of the student's role in the situation (aggressor, victim, or witness).

In the present work, we try to answer these questions by presenting the results of research carried out in Extremadura (Spain), involving 2295 adolescents (54.3% male and 45.7% female, $SD = 0.4$) with ages between 12 and 16 years ($M = 13.8$, $SD = 1.4$). The instrument used for data collection was a questionnaire designed and validated for this study. The questionnaire was designed first to identify students who are aggressors, victims, and witnesses of school bullying situations, and the frequency with which they commit, suffer, or observe such situations. In this latter case, the scale used consisted of four values: Never, Sometimes, Often, and Always.

Second, the study shows which are the criteria adolescents use to identify an episode of bullying and differentiate it from other acts of violence. And third, it allows one to determine whether or not those criteria are the same for the various modalities of bullying. In these latter two cases, the response scale consisted of five values: Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Somewhat Agree (4), and Disagree (5).

From the data collected with the questionnaire, it was necessary to make an initial factor analysis to reduce the number of variables to consider, reflecting the main factors explaining the variability, with the relative importance of each and the relationships between them. Further exploratory factor analyses allowed us to know whether the criteria resulting from the above analysis are applied equally by aggressors, victims, and witnesses, and whether there is any variation depending on the intensity of the abuse committed, experienced or observed. Finally, to detect and evaluate possible gender differences, we made a contingency analysis assuming a confidence level of 95% ($\alpha = .05$) and a sample error estimated at around 2.1%.

Delineating the Criteria Identifying Bullying

The approach to the perceptions that adolescents have of this phenomenon requires knowledge of both the factors or criteria that shape their definitions of this concept and of what they think are the possible behaviours in which bullying may be manifest in their school context. For adolescents, the definition of this construct may be complex. However, the detailed description of its application was expected to be simpler for them, and would thus facilitate our acquisition of a more global and comprehensive vision of the bases of their perceptions of bullying.

The diversity of the responses required the application of a first exploratory factor analysis to group the responses depending on their interrelationships, and thus delimit more generic criteria. The resulting KMO index of .82 and a significance level in the Bartlett sphericity test of .001, provided the sufficient guarantee of reliability of the results.

The principal component analysis showed that, although in principle up to 7 factors were detected as present in the concept students have of bullying, only 3 explain the variability of the responses and provide a closer approximation to the general perception that more than 83% of the participants has (Table 1).

The resulting factors were the following:

Factor 1. A form of social interaction. This factor encompasses bullying situations that the teenagers interpreted as a form of amusement and peer relationships. It explained 48.68% of the variance (Table 1), and had a moderate internal reliability ($\alpha = .61$) and a mean factor loading of .54.

Factor 2. Intent to hurt. This factor includes the responses in which the teens considered the intent to cause physical, social, or psychological harm in others as a necessary condition for aggression to be classified as bullying. It explained 22.56% of the variance (Table 1), and had an internal reliability of $\alpha = .69$ and a mean factor loading of .52.

Factor 3. Power imbalance. This factor includes behaviours that the teenagers classified as bullying and in which they perceive the aggressor to have some superiority over the victim. It explained 12.6% of the variance (Table 1), and had a high internal reliability ($\alpha = .85$) and a mean factor loading of .77.

Table 1. Total Variance Explained by the Components

Component	Initial eigenvalues			Sum of the squared saturations of the extraction		
	Total	% of variance	Accumulated %	Total	% of variance	Accumulated %
1	5.93	48.68	48.68	5.93	48.68	48.68
2	2.75	22.56	71.23	2.75	22.56	71.23
3	1.53	12.6	83.83	1.53	12.6	83.83
4	0.91	7.47	91.3			
5	0.74	6.11	97.41			
6	0.22	1.77	99.19			
7	0.1	0.82	100			

Extraction method: principal component analysis.

The comparison between the criteria assumed by researchers and those adopted by students indicates that they both agree that there must be an asymmetry of power between victim and aggressor, and that the aggressor's intention to hurt should be perceived. But the 'repetition of aggressive behaviour' is hardly represented at all in the students' descriptions and definitions, and represents neither a basic nor an identifying criterion.

Table 2. Rotated component matrix

	Components		
	1	2	3
Definition of bullying		.761	.503
Social isolation	.619	.393	
Not letting the other participate in class	.573		
Insults	.372	.442	
Spreading false rumours	.623		
Nicknames	.864		
Negative criticisms	.361	.427	
Ridiculing others		.614	
Hiding things	.506		
Stealing or breaking things	.437		
Direct physical aggression			.917
Intimidation			.815
Forcing others to do things against their will			.836

Extraction method: principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax.

The rotation converged in 4 iterations.

The results reveal the presence of a factor explaining 48.68% of the students' responses that referred directly to their perception of certain types of behaviour labeled as manifestations of bullying. This is the perception of certain types of behaviour as mediating elements that facilitate and promote peer relationships.

However, the results presented in Table 2 show that the presence of these three factors undergoes major changes depending on the mode of abuse being considered. Also, there are differences when comparing the concept of bullying as a global phenomenon with its manifestations in the school context alone (Table 2).

Regarding the definition of bullying, the adolescents refer to the criteria of intentionality and power asymmetry, with the former predominating. When asked about the different manifestations of bullying listed in Table 2, none of them consider these two criteria (intentionality and power asymmetry) simultaneously, and they consider 8 of the 12 types of behaviour described as 'forms of social interaction'. Some of these reach important factor weights, in particular the forms of social exclusion, verbal abuse, and indirect physical abuse. However, some of these types of behaviour also recorded significant scores on the criterion 'intentionality'. It remains to determine whether this seemingly contradictory duality of scores is motivated by their experiences or by the contextualization they make of the scenes described. The detailed analysis to be presented below of the perceptions in terms of the role played may shed more light on this issue.

Also, the results in Table 2 show that there is a broad consensus among adolescents that the fundamental criterion for classifying as bullying some direct physical aggression, or the different types of threats, is the imbalance of power between the aggressor and victim. This explains the high factor scores in these cases (.917, .815, and .836).

Gender Differences in the Perception of Bullying

The gender differences detected in the perception that adolescents have of bullying refer to the emphasis each gender gives to the identifying criteria (Table 3). The girls' scores were higher on both 'power imbalance' and on 'intent to harm' ($p < .01$).

Regarding the differences found in the perception of the different types of bullying, boys attributed more than the girls the 'intent to harm' to behaviours that lead to exclusion from peer groups and social isolation ($p < .01$). But at the same time, the boys more frequently tended to explain the manifestation of this type of behaviour as a mechanism facilitating interaction between peers, permanence in the group, and the respect of peers ($p < .01$).

Verbal insults are perceived by both boys (52.7%) and girls (56.5%) as forms of aggressive behaviour intended to ridicule others in front of peers and to cause them suffering. However, 29.8% of boys and 48.1% of girls do not consider such insults as a form of bullying, but as a teenage vocabulary that allows them to relate to each other ($p < .01$).

Another form of conduct included in the modality of verbal aggression is 'spreading false rumours'. The results show that most students perceive this behaviour as a common consequence of the relations established between peers, and that it is more frequent in girls than in boys ($p < .05$).

Table 3. Gender differences in the perception of bullying (%)

	Components					
	Power imbalance		Intent to hurt		A form of social interaction	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Forms of bullying						
Definition of bullying	26.8	32.7**	53.5	59.7**	1.7	1.3
Social isolation	11.7	9.5	38.7	30.6**	63.5	44.0**
Not letting the other participate in class	8.2	9.1	21.4	22.3	59.9	55.7
Insults	11.6	12.0	52.7	56.5	29.8	48.1**
Spreading false rumours	2.4	6.3	17.5	21.0	56.7	69.2*
Nicknames	3.1	2.7	4.9	8.3	91.6	80.8
Negative criticisms	10.4	11.6	43.1	50.5	33.3	36.8
Ridiculing others	15.6	16.1	56.7	61.4	7.8	7.6
Hiding things	7.0	9.4	17.1	14.2	59.2	45.4**
Stealing or breaking things	12.2	8.7	19.6	16.7	43.1	44.8
Direct physical aggression	89.3	96.0	30.2	32.1	2.7	0.3
Intimidation	87.5	73.4***	9.6	21.3***	11.5	2.2***
Forcing others to do things against their will	86.2	79.8	3.3	2.9	1.4	0.7

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.

Gender differences are also found in the modality of indirect physical abuse, specifically in behaviour such as hiding personal items from others to ridicule them in front of peers. In this case, the dominant perception is the mechanism of social interaction, being much more relevant in boys than in girls ($p < .01$).

A final type of behaviour where gender differences were present is that of intimidating threats. The general perception is that of a behaviour which demonstrates the existence of an asymmetry of power between peers, although this perception is shared more by boys than by girls ($p < .001$). Similarly, the boys score higher on the criterion 'form of social interaction' ($p < .001$), considering this type of threat to be formulas for fun and cementing relationships which some young people use when they lack other social skills when interacting with peers. Girls, in contrast, often assigned a clear intention to cause harm to this type of intimidating behaviour ($p < .001$).

Identification of Aggressors, Victims, and Witnesses

Although the roles involved in a situation of school bullying are multiple, in this work we have only taken into account those of aggressor, victim and witness. The grouping of students into each of these types is made from the behaviour they claim to have followed in the example situations of abuse. The aggressor is considered to be the adolescent who admits abusing another classmate continuously, regardless of type of aggression committed. Similarly, a student who reports having been the receiver of some aggression on an ongoing basis, whether verbal, physical, or social, is considered a victim. Finally, the witnesses are students who state that they have been observers of continued episodes of aggression and have not tried to stop them.

The questionnaire design would also have permitted us to detect students playing more than one role. However, this was not considered in the present work, so that the sample was distributed as follows (Table 4):

The influence of the frequency of aggression on the perception of bullying was another of the variables analysed. This required those who for whom the abuse occurs 'Sometimes' and those for whom it is 'Always'. We binned the frequencies 'often' and 'always' into this latter category. The resulting distribution of the sample is presented in Table 5.

A more detailed analysis of the bullying situations registered shows, firstly, that the percentage of victims, aggressors and witnesses who suffer, commit or observe abuses that occur 'Sometimes' is far superior to in the category 'Always'.

Table 4. Distribution of the Sample According to the Role Played

		Gender		Total
		Boy	Girl	
Role played	Victim	173	183	356
	Aggressor	199	125	324
	Witness	758	685	1443
Total		1130	993	2123

Table 5. Distribution of the Sample According to the Role Played and frequency of aggression %

		Frequency	
		Sometimes	Always
	Victim	15.8	3.0
	Aggressor	15.5	2.1
	Witness	44.5	26.6

Secondly, the patterns of abuse with the highest percentages of aggressors, victims and witnesses are verbal attacks, both direct and indirect, followed by abuses related to social isolation. Thirdly, there are statistically significant differences between boys and girls. While boys scored higher in behaviour such as 'insults', 'nicknames', 'not letting participate', and direct or indirect physical aggression, girls stand out in indirect aggression such as 'spreading false rumours'. And fourthly, as the age of the students advances, direct physical and verbal abuses are replaced by indirect modalities such as 'spreading false stories' which seek to damage the other person's image, or behaviour intended to cause social exclusion.

The Aggressors' Perception of Bullying

The concept that aggressors have of bullying is based on the two criteria: 'imbalance of power' and 'intent to hurt', with the former predominating (.801) over the latter (.575). With this definition as referent, the results reveal that aggressors only consider direct physical aggressions such as fighting, pushing, and hitting as bullying (Table 6).

Table 6. The Aggressors' Perception of Bullying. Rotated Component Matrix

	Components		
	1	2	3
Definition of bullying		.575	.801
Social isolation	.464		
Not letting the other participate in class	.529		
Insults	.496		.331
Spreading false rumours	.420		
Nicknames	.673		
Negative criticisms		.481	
Ridiculing others			.512
Hiding things	.323		
Stealing or breaking things	.437		
Direct physical aggression		.626	.984
Intimidation			.904
Forcing others to do things against their will			.913

Extraction method: principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax.

The rotation converged in 3 iterations.

KMO = .68 α = .001.

It is particularly significant that the aggressors perceived 7 of the 12 forms of abuse included in this study as mechanisms of social interaction between peers. I.e., aggressors perceive behaviours that cause the social exclusion of a classmate, direct verbal abuse, and indirect physical abuse as normal forms of interactive behaviour.

The criterion 'intent to harm' only expressly appeared in one of the types of behaviour included in the modality of indirect verbal abuse – 'negative criticism' (.481).

Finally, both intimidating behaviour (.904) and behaviour seeking to force others to do things against their will (.913) are perceived as signs of obvious asymmetry of power that can only be carried out by those of a higher status. However, they do not attribute to these behaviours the 'intent to cause harm', and therefore do not classify them as possible examples of bullying.

The Victims' Perception of Bullying

The criterion that the victims use to define and identify violent behaviour as bullying is the 'intention to hurt' (.809). I.e., any violent behaviour in which the aggressor is perceived to have an intention to cause harm is considered an episode of bullying. These data indicate that the imbalance of power that was so notable in the aggressors' perception of bullying is of no relevance to the victims. Therefore, one can deduce that the victim does not necessarily see their aggressor as a physically or socially stronger person, but that both may have the same status. This perception of bullying is repeated in various forms of behaviour – social exclusion (.740), insults (.579), verbal abuse intending to ridicule the victim in the presence of peers (.788), and indirect physical abuse such as hiding or breaking personal items (.387). From the victims' standpoint therefore, all these types of behaviour are considered manifestations of bullying (Table 7).

Table 7. The Victims' Perception of Bullying. Rotated Component Matrix

	Components		
	1	2	3
Definition of bullying		.809	
Social isolation		.740	
Not letting the other participate in class	.311	.617	
Insults		.579	
Spreading false rumours	.421		
Nicknames	.481	.437	
Negative criticisms	.570	.333	
Ridiculing others		.788	
Hiding things	.442		
Stealing or breaking things		.387	
Direct physical aggression		.775	.699
Intimidation			.816
Forcing others to do things against their will			.736

Extraction method: principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax.

The rotation converged in 4 iterations. KMO = .81 α = .001.

Moreover, the results presented in Table 7 show that the criterion 'intent to hurt' is present in a greater number of types of behaviour, although not exclusively but shared with other criteria such as power imbalance. This applies, for example, to the direct physical aggressions which are interpreted by victims as episodes of bullying whose manifestation is usually accompanied by a supremacy of power in favour of the aggressor. In some other modalities of behaviour (being boycotted in class, being given offensive nicknames, and receiving negative criticism), as well scoring the intentionality criterion, the victims also scored the 'form of social relationship' criterion. The explanation that can be attributed to this finding is that they do not always perceive 'intent to harm' in these types of behaviour, but that such a perception depends on the context and the moment that these types of aggression take place. It remains to be determined whether this duality of interpretations is motivated by differences in prior experiences of victimization, i.e., whether those who have already felt themselves abused with any of these types of behaviour perceive intentionality in them, while those who have never experienced them see them as patterns of social interaction.

Finally, intimidating forms of behaviour are not perceived as manifestations of bullying, but as signs of power that some students use to demonstrate superiority in their peer group.

The Witnesses' Perception of Bullying

Globally, the criteria that underpin the witnesses' definition of bullying the witnesses are 'intention to hurt' (.789) and 'power imbalance' (.433). The hierarchy of these two is contrary to what was observed in the case of aggressors, in which the relationships were reversed, with 'intention to cause harm' giving the value (.575), and 'power imbalance' (.801).

However, the analysis of this definition in each of the types of behaviour conforming the presence of bullying showed that these two criteria do not appear simultaneously (see Table 8).

Table 8. The Witnesses' Perception of Bullying. Rotated Component Matrix

	Components		
	1	2	3
Definition of bullying		.789	.433
Social isolation	.307		
Not letting the other participate in class	.564		
Insults	.398	.435	
Spreading false rumours	.615		
Nicknames	.792		
Negative criticisms	.564		
Ridiculing others		.480	
Hiding things	.671		
Stealing or breaking things	.395		
Direct physical aggression			.674
Intimidation			.737
Forcing others to do things against their will			.800

Extraction method: principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax.

The rotation converged in 2 iterations. KMO = .77 α = .001.

It is particularly noteworthy that behaviour related to social exclusion, direct and indirect verbal aggression, and indirect physical abuse is not even considered to be aggressive, even though it may cause another person harm. Witnesses perceive the forms of behaviour in these categories as seemingly harmless pranks and mechanisms used by adolescents in their interactions with their peers, and which facilitate their entry and permanence in a group.

The intent to hurt is only attributed to insults and negative criticism. In the former case, the resulting perception is that of behaviours which occur with an intention to cause harm (.435), but sometimes such intention is diluted, and the behaviour is justified as being the use of vocabulary typical of adolescents which permits them to identify themselves as members of a peer group (.398).

Moreover, it is noteworthy that the witnesses do not perceive any clear intent to hurt in direct physical aggressions. The students who witness this type of behaviour tend to interpret it as a sign of dominance and superiority over a weaker classmate that someone with more power uses to demonstrate their status in front of their peers (.674), without necessarily implying that there has to be an intention to harm the victim. A similar interpretation can be applied to threats, both those referring to intimidating behaviour (.737) and those to forcing another person to do things against their will (.800).

Gender Differences in the Perception of Bullying As a Function of the Role Played

When the role played is that of aggressor, there were statistically significant differences in the perception of spreading false rumours ($p < .001$), giving offensive nicknames ($p < .05$), ridiculing others in front of the peer group ($p < .05$), direct physical aggression ($p < .1$), and threats ($p < .01$).

In the case of the use of defamatory comments, 52.7% of the boys perceive them as behaviours that contain a playful element that adolescents use to facilitate interaction in the group. However, this perception is shared by only 39.3% of the girls who, more than the boys, see the use of such comments as having an intention to hurt other classmates socially and personally. Previous experiences of victimization are probably involved in this type of interpretation.

The allocation of offensive nicknames is conceived by most of the boys (80.4%) as a typical adolescent behaviour denoting proximity amongst peers, and therefore can not be considered as a manifestation of bullying. This perception is shared by two-thirds of the girl aggressors who, more than the boys, perceive this behaviour as involving the intention to cause harm (Table 9).

In relation to actions directed at ridiculing another in the presence of peers, the results show that a greater percentage of girls than boys ascribe intentionality to them and perceive power imbalance in the figure of the aggressor. By contrast, more boys than girls understand these types of behaviour to be forms of social interaction among adolescents.

Hitting, kicking and shoving are perceived as manifestations of bullying, although boys more than girls emphasize both the intent to hurt and the imbalance of power criteria.

Finally, the differences found in threats (both those involving intimidating behaviour and those seeking to compel another to do things against their will) are more focused on the supremacy of power of the aggressor (Table 9) in the case of the boys.

Table 9. Gender differences in the aggressors' perception of bullying (%)

	Components						
	1		2		3		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Definition of bullying	4.1	2.9	46.4	52.5	81.4	78.6	
Social isolation	49.3	42.0	6.1	8.0	11.2	6.3	
Not letting the other participate in class	59.1	49.6	3.9	6.2	9.4	5.8	
Insults	54.8	42.7	13.1	15.0	34.9	29.4	
Spreading false rumours	52.7	39.3	12.1	26.3	6.7	4.1	***
Nicknames	80.4	66.8	7.5	18.4	17.0	13.9	*
Negative criticisms	12.4	9.8	46.1	49.0	14.7	8.6	
Ridiculing others	14.0	11.3	21.3	33.8	49.8	53.1	*
Hiding things	29.7	38.1	9.6	11.4	9.8	5.4	
Stealing or breaking things	28.6	47.2	8.0	10.9	12.6	8.9	
Direct physical aggression	10.0	0.8	72.5	56.3	98.1	88.9	**
Intimidation	6.5	3.2	9.1	15.6	91.0	79.5	**
Forcing others to do things against their will	4.0	1.6	6.5	6.3	91.3	72.4	**

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.**Table 10. Gender differences in the victims' perception of bullying (%)**

	Components						
	1		2		3		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Definition of bullying	1.1	1.1	72.1	89.0	21.7	16.2	*
Social isolation	10.1	8.9	74.6	80.5	19.4	16.1	
Not letting the other participate in class	33.5	26.2	54.9	63.1	14.5	9.7	
Insults	15.5	12.3	60.7	69.6	17.5	14.3	
Spreading false rumours	50.4	34.1	19.3	36.2	11.2	7.4	**
Nicknames	62.2	50.2	17.9	29.8	9.4	7.4	*
Negative criticisms	53.5	45.7	29.2	36.2	11.2	9.7	
Ridiculing others	19.2	10.1	74.9	82.7	16.7	12.3	*
Hiding things	43.5	46.2	15.6	17.2	9.4	5.7	
Stealing or breaking things	11.2	7.4	36.9	44.6	15.6	10.1	
Direct physical aggression	3.8	0	79.8	87.5	75.6	68.2	
Intimidation	7.9	3.8	20.5	23.7	84.5	77.1	
Forcing others to do things against their will	2.3	0	4.0	6.5	76.8	71.9	

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.

When the role played is that of victim, gender differences are found in the conceptualization of bullying ($p < .05$). More girls than boys indicate the 'intent to harm' as an identifying criterion, while more boys than girls believe there must be an 'imbalance of power' between aggressor and victim for an aggressive behaviour to be considered bullying.

The remaining differences are related to different forms of verbal aggression. One is spreading false rumours ($p < .01$) which most boys conceive of as a means of social

relationships typical of adolescents, while most girls perceive as an aggressive act that seeks to harm the person who is the subject of such rumours (Table 10).

The assignment of offensive nicknames is another type of behaviour where there are gender differences ($p < .05$). In this case, although more than half of the students do not perceive this behaviour as a manifestation of bullying, 29.8% of the girls and 17.9% of the boys ascribe the 'intent to harm' to the person who uses nicknames to refer to a classmate.

The third type of behaviour in which there were gender differences among the victims is that of actions aimed at publicly ridiculing others ($p < .05$). More girls (82.7%) than boys (74.9%) see this behaviour as involving the 'intent to harm'. In contrast, more boys than girls perceive 'power imbalance' in the aggressor, and find it possible that these actions should be seen as pranks, not bullying.

Finally, when the role played is that of witness, again significant differences are found in the conceptualization of bullying ($p < .01$), with more girls than boys alluding to the 'intentionality' and 'imbalance' criteria. There are also significant differences in the modality of intimidating threats ($p < .001$) with boys tending to emphasize the presence of 'power imbalance' and the possibility of it being typical innocuous behaviour that occurs in interactions between adolescents. In contrast, girls tend to perceive these threats as behaviour that occurs with the intention to hurt and provoke fear. Finally, there are gender differences in insults ($p < .01$) and spreading false rumours ($p < .05$), with the girls tending to emphasize that these types of behaviour may in fact be simply playful, depending on the circumstances, the moment, or the people involved, rather than manifestations of bullying.

Differences in the Perception of Bullying as a Function of the 'Frequency of Aggression' and 'Role Played'

In the case of aggressors, significant differences were detected between those who say they show aggression 'Sometimes' and those who do so 'Always'.

First, it is observed that as the frequency of aggression increases, greater scores are reached acquired by the 'power imbalance' criterion, and notably lower scores by the 'intent to harm' criterion, regarding both the aggressors' conceptualization of bullying ($p < .01$) and the different modalities of aggression.

Second, those who abuse 'Sometimes' tend to see the behaviours that cause social exclusion, verbal abuse and indirect physical attacks as normal behaviour of adolescents facilitating their interaction with peers. In contrast, those who abuse 'Always' tend to ascribe the behaviour with 'intent to harm' or 'imbalance of power', but not with the combination of the two criteria (Table 11).

And third, there are major variations in the perception of the 'intent' and 'imbalance' criteria. While the 'Sometimes' aggressors only score in 'intent' on 2 of the 12 types of bullying behaviour included in this study, the 'Always' aggressors scored on 6 of them. The case is similar for the 'imbalance' criterion. While those who abuse 'Sometimes' only emphasize the asymmetry of power in 5 of the 12 aggressive behaviours considered, those who abuse 'Always' emphasize this asymmetry in 3 more types of behaviour – social exclusion, boycotting the victim's class participation, and the assignment of offensive nicknames ($p < .001$).

Table 11. Rotated component matrix for the sample of aggressors

Frequency	Components						
	1		2		3		
	Sometimes	Always	Sometimes	Always	Sometimes	Always	
Definition of bullying			.684	.421	.721	.873	**
Social isolation	.612					.319	***
Not letting the other participate in class	.677					.355	***
Insults	.652	.311			.303	.519	*
Spreading false rumours	.525			.302			**
Nicknames	.724	.382				.314	***
Negative criticisms			.501	.489			
Ridiculing others				.366	.593	.487	*
Hiding things	.474			.350			***
Stealing or breaking things	.509			.361			***
Direct physical aggression			.673	.404	.978	.990	
Intimidation					.911	.948	
Forcing others to do things against their will					.899	.965	

Extraction method: principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax.

Sometimes: KMO = .69; Bartlett = .001. Always: KMO = .68, Bartlett = .001.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Self-perception differences also extend to the students who play the role of victims. The results show that those who have been abused 'Sometimes' gave significantly lower scores to the criterion 'intent to hurt' than those who have been abused 'Always', both in their definition of bullying and in their identification of its modalities (Table 12).

Instead, the scores for in the criterion 'power imbalance' show that, as the frequency of aggression suffered rises, the emphasis given to the asymmetry of power lessens in direct physical aggression ($p < .05$), and in threatening and intimidating behaviours.

Another noteworthy difference is in the perception of bullying as a form of social interaction. The 'Sometimes' victims tend to justify more often and a wider range of aggressive behaviour as mechanisms that facilitate interaction between peers, and which, a priori, need not hurt another person. Only in the cases of 'assigning nicknames' ($p < .05$) and 'boycotting participation in class' ($p < .001$) do victims allow a two-fold interpretation – either as a pattern relating socially, or as abuse committed with the intent to hurt – with which of the two depending on the person, the moment, and the context in which the aggression occurs.

Finally, there was a marked change in the perceptions of spreading false rumours ($p < .01$), of negative criticism ($p < .001$), and of hiding or breaking personal items ($p < .01$), which are considered by the victims who suffer bullying 'Sometimes' as harmless acts that take place in peer groups to demonstrate membership in them, while victims who feel abused 'Always' perceive them as aggressive forms of behaviour that occur with the express intention of harming others.

Table 12. Rotated component matrix for the sample of victims

Frequency	Components						
	1		2		3		
	Some-times	Always	Sometimes	Always	Sometimes	Always	
Definition of bullying			.774	.902			*
Social isolation			.689	.815			*
Not letting the other participate in class	.340		.381	.722			***
Insults			.517	.635			
Spreading false rumours	.539			.382			**
Nicknames	.544	.397	.414	.519			*
Negative criticisms	.638			.553			***
Ridiculing others			.756	.840			
Hiding things	.491	.342					
Stealing or breaking things	.390			.413			**
Direct physical aggression			.712	.881	.724	.504	*
Intimidation					.825	.807	
Forcing others to do things against their will					.833	.672	

Extraction method: principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax.

Sometimes: KMO = .78;

Bartlett = .001.

Always: KMO = .84, Bartlett = .001.

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001.

Table 13. Rotated component matrix for the sample of witnesses

Frequency	Components						
	1		2		3		
	Sometimes	Always	Sometimes	Always	Sometimes	Always	
Definition of bullying			.733	.810	.384	.601	**
Social isolation	.421					.382	*
Not letting the other participate in class	.611	.485					
Insults	.496	.303	.376	.590			**
Spreading false rumours	.697	.415		.329			*
Nicknames	.815	.764					
Negative criticisms	.572	.389		.314			*
Ridiculing others	.320		.368	.577			*
Hiding things	.709	.663					
Stealing or breaking things	.402			.380			*
Direct physical aggression				.412	.654	.695	
Intimidation					.761	.728	
Forcing others to do things against their will					.840	.756	

Extraction method: principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax.

Sometimes: KMO = .80;

Bartlett = .001.

Always: KMO = .74, Bartlett = .001.

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001.

With regard to the third role, witnesses, the frequency of the aggression affected their perceptions of bullying. Those who 'Sometimes' were viewers of aggression scored the criterion of power imbalance significantly lower than did those who were witnesses 'Always' ($p < .01$).

Another difference is that those who are witnesses 'Sometimes' tend to perceive most of the forms of abuse listed in Table 13 more as forms of greeting, communication and interaction among peers rather than episodes of bullying than do those who are witnesses 'Always' (Table 13).

In contrast, the highest scores for the criterion 'intent' came from the witnesses who most often observed peer aggression involving verbal abuse and direct and indirect physical assaults.

Another differences is that the witnesses classified as 'Sometimes' do not perceive social isolation as aggressive behaviour, but those included in the 'Always' category explain that, for such exclusion to be carried out, there must be an imbalance of power in favour of the aggressor.

CONCLUSION

The search for more effective prevention and intervention programs to combat violence in school justifies the diversity of approaches adopted by current research on bullying. In our case, we wanted to approach the study of adolescents' perceptions of this phenomenon in general and of the various forms in which it can be present in the school context.

But the most important contributions of this work reside not only in the identification of the criteria that conform these perceptions, but also in the detailed analysis of the variability in the application of these criteria according to the student's gender, the role played in bullying situations, and the frequency of the aggression suffered, committed or observed.

In this regard, we must emphasize that the adolescents' perceptions of bullying are far removed from those assumed and defended by the scientific community. For adolescents, the recurrence of aggressive behaviour is not a defining criterion of bullying. And there are significant differences in the assumption of the 'power imbalance' and 'intent to harm' criteria between the different roles that the students might play in situations of aggression. The aggressors, probably due to the perception they have of being physically or psychologically more powerful, enjoying social approval and recognition from their peers (Schwarzwald, Koslowsky & Brody-Shamir, 2006), give greater importance to the asymmetry of power than to the intent to harm, although they consider both. This emphasis on the imbalance criterion is particularly evident in the aggressors who abuse other classmates 'Always'.

The witnesses, although also using both criteria to conceptualize bullying, put the accent on intent, and relegate power imbalance to the background. According to Gini, Pozzoli, Borghi & Franzoni (2008), the fear that witnesses feel of getting hurt themselves if they intervene to stop the aggression may be one of the arguments explaining the importance they attach to this criterion. This fear seems to be more present in the girl witnesses who are very often spectators of episodes of bullying.

Instead, the main criterion governing the perception that victims have of this phenomenon is that of 'intent to harm'. The experiences of aggression and the physical, psychological and social pain they have experienced influence the construction of this perception, which is especially acute in girl victims who suffer abuse 'Always'.

In relation to the conceptions that aggressors, victims and witnesses have of the different modalities in which bullying occurs, it is striking that many of the behaviours included in these modalities are considered as typical mechanisms of social interaction among adolescents. As indicated by Ojala & Nesdale (2004), membership in a peer group provides its members with a sense of social identity that not only describes them, but also prescribes their behaviour. For many adolescents, bullying may be considered acceptable as a process of social interaction when it is in line with group norms, and when directed at a person outside the group who represents a potential threat.

This equivalence established by the adolescents of bullying and a social interaction mechanism reflects the existence of maladjusted perceptions in the processes of interpersonal relations and moral balance (Twemlow & Sacco, 2008), and requires specific intervention measures for each case. The present results show that in the case of aggressors, as well as of the victims and witnesses, the scores on the 'form of social relationship' criterion increase significantly and cover more of the modalities of aggression considered when the attacks occur or are perceived with the 'Sometimes' frequency. Also, this trend is more marked in the boys than in the girls.

With respect to the types of abuse, those that are manifested orally, whether directly (insults, offensive nicknames) or indirectly (spreading rumours), through indirect physical abuse (hiding, stealing or breaking personal things), or leading to social exclusion (isolation, or not allowing the victim to participate in class), are those which both aggressors and witnesses generally tend to perceive as behaviour that promotes personal interaction among adolescents. Such seemingly peculiar interpretations from our standpoint as researchers lead us to believe that the adoption of these antisocial behaviours so as to interact with peers denotes a lack of social skills reflected in the assumption of unassertive models of getting on with other people in one's social context. These models are probably inherited from the family context or from a group of peers in the hope of obtaining some type of recognition or acceptance. As Menesini, Sanchez, Fonzi, Ortega, Costabile & Lo-Feud (2003) indicate, this is an imbalance in moral development which makes it hard for them to understand the seriousness of their actions and the damage they cause to others.

In the case of the victims, the types of abuse that they tend to perceive as patterns of social interaction are in most cases limited to spreading lies and indirect physical abuse such as hiding personal items from a classmate to ridicule them in public. Other forms of aggressive behaviour, such as 'not allowing them to participate in class', 'offensive nicknames' and 'negative criticism', are sometimes interpreted as mechanisms of social relationships and at other times as abuse with the intention of causing harm to another. Their previous experiences of victimization clearly condition victims' perceptions. One would need to know whether or not they themselves have repeatedly been the target of the forms of behaviour which they perceive as having the intent to hurt, and whether these occurrences have caused them great pain or continued distress.

If this greater depth of information were available, it would facilitate the adjustment of anti-bullying programs to match them to the realities of adolescents' perceptions, and thus optimize their effectiveness.

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Chapter 96

WHY DO BULLIES BULLY? REPUTATION AS A PREDICTOR OF BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

The social psychological factors that underpin choices to bully and sustain involvement in bullying have been relatively neglected in the research literature. This is somewhat puzzling since the extensive research conducted into bullying provides a strong indication that image, the need to dominate others in the course of establishing a hierarchy, and the establishment and maintenance of peer status, and social status in general, are important motivations for why young people bully others. These motivations are social group processes, and are very much aligned with the key elements of Reputation Enhancement Theory (RET), which has become a dominant theory in explaining why young people engage in delinquent and antisocial acts. RET is based on the premise that much child and adolescent behavior is motivated by the desire to present one's self to the peer community in a particular way and as a means to impress peers and gain their approval. Given that bullying occurs relatively more directly (overtly) than indirectly and predominantly in contexts where there is an audience present are indicators that RET may offer a plausible explanation for the underlying motivations for bullying.

In this chapter we demonstrate through the research literature, along with recently conducted studies, how the desire to attain a specific reputation of choice is a significant motivator for why individuals engage in bullying. We also examine why some bullies operate on their own rather than in a group, which is contra to RET. Finally, we show that the emergence of electronic technologies which provide for greater levels of invasiveness, reach a wider audience, and preserve anonymity on the part of the perpetrator (if they so wish to) has provided bullies with an additional medium through which to enhance and sustain their reputation of choice.

INTRODUCTION

Bullying is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon (Kyriakides, Kaloyirou, & Lindsay, 2006), which has serious, long-term mental health, well-being, and psychosocial consequences for perpetrators, victims, bystanders, and communities alike (Cross, Epstein, Hearn, Slee, Shaw, & Monks., 2011a; Cross, Monks, Hall, Shaw, Pintabona, Erceg et al. 2011b; Green, Collingwood, & Ross, 2010; Marsh, Nagengast, Morin, Parada et al., 2011; Nation, Vieno, Perkins, & Santinello, 2008; Parada, Craven, & Marsh, 2008; Smith, Pepler, & Rigby, 2004; Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010). Research demonstrates that involvement in bullying is consistently associated with delinquent behavior (Rigby, 2008), depression and criminality, (Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpela, Marttunen, Rimpela, & Rantanen, 1999), as well as suicidal ideation, loneliness, isolation and school refusal (see Hazler, Hoover, & Oliver, 1992; Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpela, Rantanen, & Rimpela, 2000; Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan et al, 2001; Newman, Holden, & Delville, 2005; Woods & White, 2005). Consequently, bullying results in considerable socio-economic costs (see Green et al., 2010).

Bullying in schools has been a major focus of international research for some 25 years (see Andreou & Bonoti, 2010; Cheng, Chen, Ho, & Cheng, 2011; Nation, Vieno, Perkins, & Santinello, 2008; Rigby, 2008; Scheithauer, Hayer, Petermann, & Jugert, 2006) and rather than repeat the prevalence rates and definitions here, it is suffice to say that countries as diverse as Northern Ireland, England, Germany, the USA, Australia, Japan, Korea, and China have reported that up to 50% of school students claim to have been victims of bullying (e.g., Murray-Harvey, Slee, & Taki, 2010; Von Marees & Petermann, 2010; Koo, Kwak, & Smith, 2008; Wei, Johnson-Reid, & Tsao, 2007). The emergence of electronic technologies in recent years, particularly mobile phones and the Internet, along with the increasing penetration of networked computers has enhanced the potential for school aged students to engage in malevolent behavior (Shariff, 2008) and bullying (Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, Fisher, Russell, & Tippett, 2008).

While other contributors in this book will undoubtedly examine the prevalence of cyberbullying it is important to note for the purposes of this chapter that over 90% of school aged students in many parts of the world access the Internet, with 50% reporting daily usage (Cassidy, Jackson, & Brown, 2009; Popovic-Citic, Djuric, & Cvetkovic, 2011; Ybarra, Mitchell, Wolak, & Finkelhor, 2006; Yoon, Bauman, Choi, & Hutchinson, 2011). Why is this important? Basically because this wired culture in which contemporary adolescents operate (Kowalski & Limber, 2007) maximizes the potential of those who bully others to transcend real life and cross into the virtual world of communication (Popovic-Citic et al., 2011). In doing this, they reach a wider audience and achieve greater levels of invasiveness. Moreover, for those who want anonymity, they are able to preserve it (see Campbell, 2005; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Pearce, Cross, Monks, Waters, & Falconer, 2011).

While much is known about the prevalence of bullying (and cyberbullying) and its consequences (see Scheithauer, Hayer, Petermann, & Jugert, 2006 for a review), it appears that the social psychological factors that underpin specific behavioral choices and sustain involvement in bullying have, in comparison, been relatively neglected (Von Marees & Petermann, 2010). There is no doubting that peers and the peer group are significant in the everyday lives of bullies, just as they are in the daily lives of young people who commit delinquent offences (see Carroll, Houghton, Durkin, & Hattie, 2009, for a review). According to Farrington (1993), the career paths perspective referred to in the delinquency research may

also explain trajectories to bullying. That is, a bullying career would be frequent over an extended time period. However, just as in trajectories to delinquency, only a small proportion of the population would engage in persistent bullying and this involvement might increase or decrease. A dominant theory which has emerged in explaining why children and adolescents become involved (and maintain their involvement) in delinquent behavior is Reputation Enhancement Theory (RET; Emler, 1984; Emler & Reicher, 1995) (for a comprehensive review see Carroll et al., 2009). Therefore, RET may offer a plausible explanation for the social psychological motivations underpinning the behavior of children and adolescents who bully others. Prior to examining bullying in the context of RET, however, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the theory itself.

Reputation Enhancement Theory

RET (Emler, 1984) posits that individuals choose a reputation or social identity and then promote this before an audience of their peers. Individuals go to great lengths to both develop and maintain this reputation of choice (Emler, 1984; Emler & Reicher, 1995). The feedback received from the audience assists the individual to develop and maintain this reputation or social identity of choice within a relatively stable community of mutually acquainted and conversing individuals (Hopkins & Emler, 1990). To gain social visibility for reputational purposes there has to be direct witnessing of the acts by others, and/or self-disclosure through gossip and exchange of information (Carroll et al., 2009). Hopkins and Emler (1990) hypothesized that individuals communicate their reputations through intentional, visible behavior, primarily to persuade others that they belong to a particular social category. To acquire and maintain a delinquent reputation requires an audience who share a subculture (Gold & Petronio, 1980) and to ensure visibility, deviant/delinquent activities are not committed alone but in company (Reicher & Emler, 1986). Finally, as postulated by Reicher and Emler (1986), without the social support of a peer group a delinquent (or non delinquent) reputation is hard to sustain.

Therefore, an integral argument of RET is that individuals have public reputations and that this is the social goal of their conduct (Hopkins & Emler, 1990). Promoting a reputation is particularly important because of the credit it attributes to individuals within their social community (Emler, 1990; Emler & Reicher, 2005). Visibility of actions to others is therefore a key element on which the psychology of reputation has been built (Emler, 1984). Reicher and Emler (1986) made the point that the visibility of chronic rule breakers' conduct or the damage it will do to their reputations is not miscalculated; rather, they deliberately foster this reputation. Finally, reputation is a strategy of self-protection and redress for the individual and the group (Emler & Reicher, 1995). How then does RET explain the underpinning social psychological motivations for children and adolescents who bully others?

Reputation Enhancement Theory As a Social Psychological Motivation in Bullying

Bullying is a social group process (Gini, 2006; Woods & Wolke, 2004) whereby the relationship between the bully and the person(s) being bullied emanates from the dynamic

interactions which take place among a variety of variables which extend outside of the bully/bullied interactions to the whole group (see Menesini, Codecasa, Benelli, & Cowie, 2003). Research has demonstrated the crucial role peers and the peer group play in bullying (e.g., Atlas & Pepler, 1998; Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000; Olweus, 2001; Rigby, 2005; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004; Woods & Wolke, 2004). In line with this it has been hypothesized that bullies have a desire to be seen as strong, tough and powerful (Burns, Maycock, Cross, & Brown, 2008; Rodriguez, 2004) and that by satisfying their need to dominate others in the course of establishing a hierarchy (Pellegrini & Long, 2004), and establishing and enhancing peer status (Juvonen, Graham, & Schuster, 2003) they attain an image (Rigby, 2008). Bullying has also been explained by, among other things, group mechanisms and friends' expectations (Olweus, 2001; Rigby, 2005; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004).

Thus, bullying meets the basic underlying social psychological motivation associated with RET, that is *the need to be seen by others in a specific way*. Support for this comes from what appears to be the first study specifically investigating reputation enhancement and choice among bullies. Nathan, Houghton, Tan, and Carroll (2011) administered the Reputation Enhancement Scale (Carroll, Houghton, Hattie, & Durkin, 1999) to 132 early adolescents (62 males [47%] and 70 females [53%]) from Grades 5 ($n = 27$), 6 ($n = 53$) and 7 ($n = 52$), 38 of who had official records of suspension from school for bullying peers. The ages of these participants ranged from 10.0 to 12.7 years (mean age = 11 years 4 months, $SD = 8.8$ months).

The Reputation Enhancement Scale (Carroll et al, 1999) comprises: a 32-item *social desirability scale* that examines admiration for law-abiding and law-breaking activities, the underlying value of reputation, and conformity or deviance to social attitudes; a 30-item *social identity scale* that measures participants' self-perception and how they would ideally like others to view them; a *self-identity scale* made up of two sets of 12 semantic differentials measuring how participants describe themselves and how they would ideally like to be described in terms of power (i.e., strong/weak, tough/soft) and activity (i.e., mean/kind, nasty/friendly) attributes; and a 56-item *communication of events scale* that measures patterns of disclosure of events to adults and/or peers, by participants.

A multivariate analysis of variance revealed that the bullies sought reputations that were significantly more nonconforming compared to non bullies and that this was how they wanted peers to perceive them. These bullies openly admired peers of their age involved in nonconforming activities; believed that other early adolescents of their age would have the same admiration for these individuals; believed that peers saw them (i.e., bullies) as someone who breaks rules, breaks the law, is a trouble maker, a bully, and tough; and they wanted others to perceive them in this manner. Previous research has also found that bullying among primary school aged children is an antecedent to achieving goals (O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999; Saufler & Gagne, 2000) and that bullies believe that everyone who behaves aggressively to others does so deliberately for a purpose (Dodge, 1991; Loeber & Coie, 2001). What the Nathan et al. (2011) findings seem to confirm is that bullying is a deliberate choice and that bullies are highly successful in their drive to get others to attribute them with specific characteristics associated with being strong, powerful and able to control others, just as Rigby's (1996) earlier research suggested. Further, indirect evidence supportive of this comes from Buelga, Musitu, Murgui and Pons (2008) who found that Spanish adolescents used aggressive behaviors as a

strategy to achieve power and status within the peer group and also as a means to satisfy certain needs involving social approval.

In a recent qualitative based study, Houghton, Nathan, and Taylor (2012) further investigated the construct of reputation as an underlying social psychological motivation in bullying by interviewing 28 (18 males and 10 females, aged 10 to 13 years) early adolescent school bullies. Official school records showed a repetitive pattern of bullying among these young persons, all of whom had clear opinions about their bullying of others. For example, bullying was a choice for them:

Bullies feel stronger and tougher than everybody. They want to be on top. Like all the kids never respected them so they have to fight and bash people to get that respect (Male, Grade 5)

I wanted to be on top, so I fight with people to get respect. I mean getting respect ...that's what it's all about (Male, Grade 6)

Furthermore, the nonconforming image that the bullies sought was not only achieved, but also reinforced by others:

Everyone tells me I'm bad - the other kids tell me. The teacher always tells me I'm a bad person, that I don't have any good in me. My parents tell me that I am bad at home and that no-one likes me and I am mean to everyone. Being bad gets me anything I want. So I feel pretty good about being bad (Male, Grade 7)

Attaining peer status has been highlighted by other researchers as a significant motivation for involvement in bullying (e.g., Juvonen, Graham, & Schuster, 2003; Kaltiala-Heino et al., 2000) and the early adolescent bullies interviewed by Houghton et al. (2012) provide strong support for this assertion.

The question remains, however, is how do bullies ensure that others see them in a specific way? In answer to this question, bullies choose to further cultivate their image of choice using a number of social psychological mechanisms that are key elements of RET. Moreover, the activation of these mechanisms further strengthens our contention that the image and reputation that bullies seek is a deliberate choice on their part and that they go to great lengths in the choices they make to maximise any opportunities to achieve this reputation. For example, bullying occurs relatively more directly (overtly) than indirectly (Nabuzoka, Ronning, & Handegard, 2009) and predominantly in contexts where there is an audience present (Astor, Meyer, & Pitner, 2001; Gini, 2006), or where children interact in unstructured contexts (e.g., during recess and in outdoor play: Gini, 2006; lunch times, extra-curricular events, and on the way to/from school: Isernhagen & Harris, 2002; and in school hallways, on school buses, and cafeterias: Astor, Meyer, & Pitner, 2001). Rigby (2008) made the point that bullies are not ashamed of what they are doing and want attention and an audience of peers to impress. Moreover, Gamliel, Hoover, Daughtry, and Imbra (2003) argued that bullies actually use the audience as a "theater" to their advantage. The following comment made by a male bully in the Houghton et al. (2012) study is typical of both boys and girls who bully in this regard:

I choose my place carefully. I mean why get somebody if no one is going to see you do it. You get nothing from that. When others do see you it makes you feel great because they know not to mess with you. You got to mean it (Male, Grade 6)

Thus, the *presence of others* in addition to the bully/bullies and victim(s) in a social context (e.g., bystanders) is particularly salient given the findings demonstrating that bullying is a relationship problem (Pepler et al., 2008; Scholte, Sentse, & Granic, 2010). According to Oh and Hazler (2009), bystanders are the most overlooked group even though their roles are critical in encouraging or reducing bullying behaviors (see Swearer et al., 2010). Observational studies conducted while children freely interacted during recess and in outdoor play, have confirmed the crucial role of peers in bullying by consistently noting peer involvement in 85% of bullying episodes (Atlas & Pepler, 1998; Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000). Other studies have also revealed the strong influence of group behavior and/or the influence of the peer group or network on children's bullying (Cairns & Cairns, 1994; Salmivalli et al., 1997; Woods & Wolke, 2004). Thus, through their intentional, visible behavior bullies achieve a public reputation, which is the social goal of their conduct (see Hopkins & Emler, 1990). Furthermore, through involvement in bullying they create a certain (tough) reputation which persuades others that they belong to a particular social category (Emler & Reicher, 1995).

According to Pronk and Zimmer-Gembeck (2010) aggressive behavior is viewed as a means of maintaining/increasing status and striving for social dominance. The findings from a large scale quantitative study of early and mid adolescent boys and girls ($n = 455$, mean age = 12.5 years) that found gaining social power and group status were the primary motives in peer victimization, are supportive of this (see Gini, 2006). Moreover, according to Gini (2006, p. 62) young people attempt to raise their social status to enhance their own standing and gain dominance over peers and as such "viewed aggressive behavior towards weaker peers as an effective way to achieve social power". Hawley and Vaughn (2003) referred to this as the bright side to bad behavior. This latter assertion is supported by all of the male and female bullies interviewed by Houghton et al. (2012) who reported that the kudos they received by ensuring that peers witnessed their daring and brutality in high visibility locations helped them to gain widespread peer recognition for being "*hard*" and "*bad-assed*".

Thus, *visibility of actions* to others is another key social psychological motivating element on which the psychology of reputation is built. In the case of both boys and (particularly) girls who bully others, engaging in covert types of bullying such as writing comments on toilet walls is another frequently used strategy in addition to the more direct actions of physical bullying. According to the female bullies in the Houghton et al. (2012) study, using covert techniques such as writing on toilet walls reached a wider audience for the purposes of enhancing their reputations:

Everyone has to head for the toilets at some time so it's a good place to leave things. I wrote S is a filthy slut and P can't be trusted so don't tell her things. I mean, writing nasty things on the toilet walls and doors about someone - its easy and it works (Female, Grade 6)

In the case of male bullies in the Houghton et al. (2012) study, they go further than the females to ensure the visibility of their actions. To achieve high visibility they actively seek out the homes of their victims and then, more often than not during the evenings, commit additional group based bullying-related acts which involve deliberately damaging personal items such as

mail boxes, flower beds and trees. Male bullies believe that the victim soon associates this property damage with them (i.e., the bully group or an individual) which in turn creates more fear in their victims. Showing victims that the clutches of the bully extends beyond school permeates an even greater sense of fear. In many cases, when the parents of the victim or even the police visit the school to complain, this further increases the visibility of the bully and the bullying. How is this achieved? Quite simply, through the peer communication network, via which word spreads about the behavior of the bully(ies) and that they had stood up to persons in authority (i.e., teachers and police) by denying they had committed any such acts. As one male bully stated:

A is smart. He visits houses late at night. He has kicked down mail boxes, thrown eggs at people's windows and doors and he doesn't care. When C's parents complained to the school he just told them it wasn't him, even though every one of us all knew he had done it. C was pretty worried for sure. You could see it on his face (Male, Grade 7)

Rigby (2008) and Pellegrini (2004) found that bullies engaged in bullying to show how tough they were, and the out of school bullying behaviors described above seem to further reinforce the toughness that bullies strive to attain. Furthermore, since much of this after school bullying occurs in a social group context, it provides members with a sense of social identity and this not only describes them, but also prescribes their behaviors (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004). The standing up to authority and subsequent enhancing of reputations may be what attracts members (i.e., the appeal of associating with winners) to bullies' groups, as suggested by Estell, Farmer, and Cairns (2007).

Thus, in line with the social psychological motivations of RET, bullies provide public proof of character to others (see Goffman, 1972) by ensuring that their activities (either direct physical bullying or indirect covert bullying) are committed in company or are witnessed by others (Reicher & Emler, 1986). As RET proposes, without the social backdrop of a peer group, a nonconforming reputation is hard to sustain (Reicher & Emler, 1986).

Reputation Enhancement Theory and Those Who Bully Alone

Although the importance of the peer group cannot be underestimated, because without its (i.e., peer group) social support a nonconforming reputation is hard to sustain (Reicher & Emler, 1986), it is known that some bullies are social isolates with limited, if any friends (see Boulton & Smith, 1994; Vaillancourt et al., 2003) and operate successfully without the social support of a group. Individuals with none or very limited friendships have been classified as "loners" by some researchers (Demuth, 2004) and as "social isolates" by others (e.g., Adler & Adler, 1996). Irrespective of the name used, a common issue appears to be their limited friendship patterns (Demuth, 2004). Data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (see Kreager, 2004) demonstrates that social isolates who report having significant trouble with others ('peer trouble isolates') are more likely to become involved in antisocial activities and to form delinquent peer associations than isolates who report having little trouble with others ('invisible isolates'). Although there is research pointing to bullies as social and popular members of peer groups, there is also research suggesting that some are social isolates with limited, if any friends (see Boulton & Smith, 1994; Vaillancourt et al., 2003). In Australia,

Sakellariou (2005) found that although group bullying occurred more frequently than individual bullying, there was a small core group of approximately 2.5% of students who engaged in bullying on their own “several times a week”, while 4.1% did so “once a week”.

To date, there appears to be limited information on this group of social isolates and so little is known about the social psychological motivations underlying their bullying of others. Research with loner delinquents (10-18 years of age) has shown that they strive for nonconformity but desire this to be of a private nature, which is why they commit their delinquent activities without the presence of an immediate audience (Houghton, Carroll, Tan, & Hopkins, 2008). Following Farrington’s (1993) contention that the career paths perspective referred to in the delinquency research may also explain trajectories to bullying, Nathan (2010) applied RET to a small group ($n = 11$) of bullies identified as loners. The findings were clear in that the motivation to achieve nonconformity among peers was the priority. However, social conformity also figured prominently among these loner bullies, suggesting that a degree of confusion prevailed regarding their desired reputation of choice. Nathan (2010) concluded that bullies with limited or no friends (i.e., loners) may be in a state of transition along the delinquency/bully trajectory and therefore more malleable to intervention.

Is Reputation Enhancement Theory a Social Psychological Motivation in Cyberbullying?

Cyberbullying has been briefly defined as “sending or posting harmful or cruel text or images using the Internet or other digital communication devices” (Willard, 2003, p. 1). More recent definitions have been more comprehensive. For example, Shariff and Strong-Wilson (2005; cited in Shariff, 2008, p. 30) defined cyberbullying as comprising “covert psychological bullying, conveyed through the electronic media such as cell phones, weblogs and web sites, online chat rooms, MUD rooms (Multi User Domains where individuals take on different characters) and Xangas (on line personal profiles where some adolescents create lists of people they do not like)”. Smith et al. (2008) highlighted that cyberbullying is the intentional use of electronic forms of contact repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself. Irrespective of any definition invoked, there appears to be little doubt among researchers and educators alike, that bullying has “gone digital” (Li, 2005, p. 271). Indeed, Smith et al. (2008) highlighted the “increasing penetration of networked computers” (p. 376) and the emergence of electronic technologies, particularly mobile phones and the Internet, as increasing the potential for bullying.

Thus, in line with RET, the use of these electronic technologies has the potential to achieve a wider audience (see Donchi & Moore, 2004; Smith et al., 2008) and although the perpetrator is less likely to receive direct gratification, (a key element postulated by RET - because he/she cannot see the victim’s direct response), they may receive social prestige because they share the abusive information or video clips with a wider audience (Smith et al., 2008). The earlier findings from the first Youth Internet Safety Survey (see Ybarra, Mitchell, Wolak, & Finkelhor, 2006) which indicated that around 50% of abusive information cyberbullying victims received is also posted or sent to someone else, supports the argument regarding reaching a wider audience.

In summary, cyberbullying is a mechanism through which young people can bully others and in doing so attain and enhance a reputation that they have chosen to pursue. That there is

growing evidence from research studies worldwide showing trends for cyberbullying as being between 6% and 33% and between 10% and 42% for victimization (see Campbell, 2005; Charlton, Panting, & Hannan, 2002; Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Kraft, 2006; Mathews, 2004; Noret & Rivers, 2006; Oliver & Candappa, 2003; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2008; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004) suggests that some young people may already be adding electronic technologies to their bullying armoury. Whether cyberbullying is aligned to RET as an underlying social psychological mechanism has so far not been investigated.

In what appears to be the only study to date that has specifically investigated cyberbullying and RET, Houghton et al. (2012) interviewed 28 (18 males and 10 females, aged 10 to 13 years) school bullies with official school records of suspension for their repetitive patterns of bullying. What was striking was that many more of the female bullies than the male bullies used electronic technologies for bullying and the main reason given for this was clearly reputational based. According to the females, the technologies allowed them to reach a wider audience and the fact that it was in a delayed manner was especially important to them - even more important than reaching an immediate audience through direct physical bullying. The females reported they particularly favored the school Internet because it allowed them to make sure everyone knew *"what's going to happen to someone"*. This is not to say that other media was not used. For some females, the ability to be able to modify the content of, or replace another person's Facebook information or blog was fulfilling in their quest for a reputation:

S is one of the best at this. She changed somebody's details so it read like that she was a slapper; she is always calling others sluts and bitches. We all read it and laugh (Female, Grade 7)

Although on the surface it appears that cyberbullying may be primarily a female mechanism for the purposes of reputation enhancement, both the male and female bullies in the Houghton et al. (2012) study reported using electronic technologies. However, one of the main reasons for its use was for maintaining, rather than initiating, reputations of choice. In this scenario the goal was to create in the victim a sense of trepidation along with feelings of not being sure of whether the bully had in fact carried out the actions. This sinister behavior was not only reinforcing to the bully, but it was also inspiring within the peer group. As one male bully and one female bully, respectively confided:

Sending texts and emails means you can carry on to whoever you like after hitting them or scaring them. Texting can be done anytime but I like sending them really late at night so when they switch their mobiles on next morning the message is waiting for them. It's real fun waiting next day just to see how they act when they see you. You can tell they're scared (Male, Grade 7)

I can be real mean and bitchy after sending a message. I just pretend everything is OK for like two or three days. Then when she thinks everything seems normal I hold my phone up to the person and wave it about with a smile on my face. You should see the look on her face (Female, Grade 6)

Thus, it appears that cyberbullying is a social psychological mechanism through which bullies can extend their bullying repertoire and in doing so induce even greater levels of fear

and insecurity in their victims. The anonymity that goes hand in hand with cyberbullying (see Harmon, 2004) creates a hostile and suspicious physical environment, which Shariff and Strong-Wilson (2005) highlighted as an important mechanism in the context of cyberbullying. However, in the case of bullies, it appears that they only wish to preserve their anonymity for a temporary period because they subsequently invoke subtle mechanisms of communicating their intentions to their victims. This may include, for example, holding up a mobile phone and slowly and gleefully waving it from side to side, so as to show that it was they who sent the threatening text message or video. Thus, it is argued here that bullies do get immediate gratification from their initial anonymity because they know that after a short time they can reveal themselves to their victims. Moreover, the delayed gratification they subsequently receive is additionally reinforcing, which in many ways is an extension to current RET. Thus, in line with RET bullies utilise the social psychological mechanisms of the electronic media to attain a nonconforming reputation of choice and they go to great lengths, such as delaying revealing their identity, in order to promote this reputation before an audience of their peers (Emler, 1984; Emler & Reicher, 1995).

In summary, the review of research presented in this chapter provides strong support for RET (Emler, 1984) as a plausible predictive social psychological mechanism underpinning school aged students bullying of others. How can it all be summarised in the context of the bullying of others? Irrespective of whether the bullying is direct or indirect or involves the use of electronic media, those who bully others are motivated by the desire to present one's self to the peer community in a particular way (Emler & Reicher, 1995) in order to impress peers and gain their approval (Agnew, 1991). This is the case irrespective of gender, although girls tend to employ more indirect methods of bullying, which is in line with previous research findings (e.g., Kyriakides, Kaloyirou, & Lindsay, 2006; Sakellariou, 2005). What is also clear is that the feelings of strength and power, and the resulting recognition that emanates from bullying provides the status that bullies deliberately set out to achieve (Juvonen et al., 2003; Kaltiala-Heino et al., 2000; Rigby, 1996). Moreover, they choose their location to bully with great care so as to promote their self-image before an audience of their peers. In line with RET this audience then provides feedback so that the individual develops and maintains this social identity within a community. Indeed, there appears to be a familiar cyclical nature to reputation enhancement and bullies which is similar to that of young offenders and at risk youth (see Carroll et al., 2009). That is, bullies commit acts of bullying, sometimes in a proactive manner, in highly visible locations to impress others. The bullies themselves ensure their behaviors are publicized by subsequently bragging to others, while their victims further the cause by also telling others (students and teachers); this is in addition to the direct witnessing by onlookers, who also then communicate the acts of bullying to others. Thus, the communication of events is very well developed in the construct of bullying and this undoubtedly serves to enhance the reputation of the bully.

It should also be recognised that there are some young people who bully others but who do not seem to fit with the summary presented above. These are individuals in every sense of the word, in that they bully others but not in the company of peers. Nevertheless, these loner bullies, like their more peer group oriented bullies, still see themselves as nonconforming, believe that others view them in this way, and desire to be seen in this way. Thus, irrespective of bullying with or without the company of others, having a reputation is still the social psychological goal of their conduct, as posited by Hopkins and Emler (1990). Thus RET is a plausible explanation for those who indulge in bullying on their own.

Implications for Education

There can be little doubt that reputation is a significant underlying social psychological mechanism that motivates some young people to become involved in bullying others. Therefore, developing a clearer understanding of bullying and the significance of RET is important because of the potential benefits for the prevention of such behavior during the school years and beyond. Carroll and colleagues (see Carroll et al., 2009) have clearly demonstrated the significance of reputation in explaining why young people indulge in antisocial and delinquent behaviors. This present review has juxtaposed the findings from Carroll and colleagues and others such as Emler and Reicher in the field of RET, with the research on bullying. In doing so, support has been provided about the importance of RET as a predictor of bullying, and thus its necessary inclusion in what Rigby (2008) termed as research-led best practice. Further support for this comes from Buelga et al. (2008, p. 198) who argued that “the construction and management of reputation should be included in programs of prevention of violent behavior in the school setting, as this is undoubtedly a very important variable in the life of adolescents”.

The question is how can the management of reputation be included in programs? Indeed, without great care it may actually be counter-productive. For example, to modify the reputations that bullies go to great lengths to attain, or to prevent the development of a nonconforming reputation in the first place, educators need to focus their efforts on the bullies and the intentional, visible behavior that they (the bullies) deliberately propagate to cultivate their nonconforming reputation. However, this in itself is the goal of bullies and therefore the efforts and attention of educators may inadvertently generate the reputation the bully seeks. How then can schools reduce the visibility of the bully and his/her behavior without drawing attention to it? We argue that there are a series of steps that schools can take.

It is crucial that educators and system administrators understand that bullying is a relationship problem whereby those who bully are learning to use power and aggression to control and distress others. It goes to say that they must therefore understand that relationship problems require relationship solutions (Pepler, 2006) and perhaps one of the first things that should be undertaken is to ensure that any interventions that are introduced in schools identifies the needs of those who bully (in terms of relationship skills) and then supports and enhances their relationship capacity to promote healthy relationships (Pepler, 2006).

The central role of peers in promoting the dynamics of bullying (see Craig & Pepler, 1997) highlights the importance of maximizing any opportunities to structure children's peer groups to promote positive peer experiences and deconstruct negative peer experiences (i.e., social architecture) (Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001; Pepler, 2006). In doing this, those who bully may become more involved in prosocial activities that enhance conforming, rather than nonconforming reputations. In addition, the influence of the peer group in terms of providing feedback to those who bully must also be acknowledged in relation to interventions. In line with this we suggest that multimedia based interventions which remove the immediate presence of an audience may offer great potential for preventing students' progression along the trajectory towards greater involvement in bullying. Without the social backdrop of a peer group, a non-conforming reputation is hard to sustain (Reicher & Emler, 1986). (We expand on this subsequently.)

Nabuzoka et al. (2009) drew attention to the potential of bullying to adversely affect the general school atmosphere and so it is important strategies are developed that reduce the visibility of bullies and their actions, particularly by reorganizing student's group structures so

that negative leadership through bullying can be transformed to positive leadership within the school context (see Pepler, 2006). In doing so the opportunities to achieve and enhance a desired nonconforming reputation may be diminished. It may also be at this time that schools employ programs which teach bullies *how* to attain reputations which are conforming rather than nonconforming, and which are achieved through participation in more prosocial activities, yet still result in enhanced status among peers. In line with Burns et al. (2008), we would emphasize that schools must acknowledge the strength and influence of the peer group and the need for peers to conform as being paramount to the development of appropriate intervention strategies.

To address the critical need to reduce visibility while still allowing bullies (or those on the trajectory to bullying) to attain a reputation is difficult, especially given the advent of cyberbullying. Cross et al. (2011a, 2011b) drew attention to the finding that the prevalence of bullying has remained largely unchanged despite the multitude of interventions claiming to be effective. Therefore, we argue that interactive multimedia-based interventions should be initiated within schools. Indeed, the increasing use of multimedia technology among school students, along with the opportunities such technology provides to include motivational, attitudinal, and skills-training components (which have better empirical support than educational approaches: Larimer & Crouse, 2002; Walters & Bennett, 2000) makes it highly advantageous (Walters, Miller, & Chiauzzi, 2005). In the context of school bullying, an individualized multimedia intervention, set in a classroom based regular lesson, would remove (or reduce) the immediate presence of an audience and therefore the visibility that those who bully others so desperately need. To reiterate, as Reicher and Emler (1986) contended - without the social backdrop of a peer group, a nonconforming reputation is hard to sustain. Inextricably linked to this latter point, interactive multimedia-based interventions may also reduce the likelihood that bullies will be grouped together in one program setting. In doing so it reduces the potential to create the reputation of choice and for the bully to behave in ways consistent with the label of bully.

In conclusion this present review has shown that reputation enhancement is an important social psychological motivating mechanism underpinning bullying. School aged students decide how they wish to present themselves to others and count the costs of this by gauging the reactions they get (Emler, 1984). Furthermore, the socially attractive aspects associated with bullying and the importance assigned to the peer group that bullies associate with appears greater than any possible negative or detrimental outcomes. Therefore, bullying needs to be understood in relation to the social purposes it serves and the goals that are met by undertaking it. Only by achieving this might intervention programs be developed that change the social identities of young people who bully for the better and break involvement in, or the trajectory towards, greater levels and intensities of bullying.

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Chapter 97

THE ROLE OF FATHER INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S BULLYING BEHAVIOR: AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

It has been argued in the literature that fathers and mothers may play distinct and complimentary roles in parenting and that they interact in different ways with their children. Recent studies have found that children's perception of fathers' parenting style influence children more strongly than did their perception of mothers' parenting style. Further, effects of father involvement and support have been shown to be associated with positive child outcomes in different areas of their psychological adjustment. However, little is known regarding the effects of father parenting in the prevalence of bullying behavior in children. The aim of this review article was to summarize the key trends in the research of the role of paternal involvement in children with regards to their psychological adjustment and their participation in bullying incidents. The implications of the issues raised from this literature review for counseling interventions are also discussed.

Keywords: Parenting, father involvement, bullying, victimization

DESCRIPTION OF BULLYING

Bullying is an international phenomenon affecting a large number of students worldwide, from the United States to Japan (Eslea et al., 2003). Despite the magnitude of this phenomenon and the short- and long-term impact that may have to all those involved, it was not until the

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1980s that bullying became an object of systematic study and research (Olweus, 1993). Victimization/bullying involves repeated, long term negative actions (intentional infliction of injury or discomfort) from one or more students against another student (Olweus 1993, 1994).

Researchers have pointed out that it consists of a conscious and deliberate behavior on behalf of the perpetrator who exerts some sort of power over the victim (Johnstone, 1991). In the opposite case, where two students of equal power enter a clash situation, it is no longer classified as bullying but as conflict (Olweus, 1993).

For a more complete definition of the term “bullying”, its 5 major points are presented, as described by Greene (2000).

Research data from all continents show that a significant number of students in all school grades participate in one way or another in incidents of aggressive insults and victimization (Fekkes, Pipers, & Verloove-Vanhorick, 2004; Hawker & Boulton, 2000; Sullivan, 2000). The exact incidence of this phenomenon is difficult to determine, and varies depending on the country and the age of the students.

Research in the Scandinavian countries have shown that the incidence of bullying varies between 10 % and 15% (Olweus, 1994; Olweus, 1997). Specifically, in a relevant study it was shown that 9% of students, aged 8-16 were victims, 7% were engaging in bullying behavior, and 1.6% belonged to the bully/victim category (Olweus, 1993). In a study involving a sample of 5.000 students of Swedish schools, it was revealed that 11.1% of boys and 9.1% of girls were facing bullying behavior 2 or 3 times every month (Solberg & Olweus, 2003).

In Britain, the incidence of bullying is much more widespread. According to research data, about 18-20% of students have reported some kind of bullying involvement (Boulton, & Smith, 1994; Boulton & Underwood, 1992). In a sample of 6.700 students aged 8-16 years, it was found that 27% of elementary school students were victims at least sometimes during the last trimester, with the percentage decreasing to 10% for secondary education students. Concerning the bullies, the percentages were 12% and 6%, respectively (Whitney & Smith, 1993). In Ireland, 13% of elementary school students, and 5% of middle school students had faced bullying behavior, at least at some point during the last trimester (O’ Moore, 2000).

Table 1. Characteristics of schoolyard bullying

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The perpetrator intends to cause injury or fear to the victim • It is an often repeated aggressive behavior towards the victim • The victim never exhibits any provoking behavior towards the perpetrator • Bullying takes place in social environments familiar to the perpetrator • The perpetrator clearly possesses greater “power” than the victim |
|---|

Research data show that in Greece the incidence of victimization is – on average – the same as in other European countries. In a recent research by Giovazolias, Kourkoutas, Mitsopoulou, and Georgiadi (2010) it was found that in a sample of 371 elementary school children, 16.2% were victims, 2.7% were bullies and 7.8% belonged to the bully/victim group. In another study by the General Secretariat for Youth, 29.4% of a teenage sample reported that they had been exposed to various forms of bullying by other children (Psalti, Papathanassiou, Konstantinou, & Deliyanni, 2005). Therefore, it seems that victimization is a universal phenomenon, which

can take place in almost all schoolrooms, as well as in schoolyards, and demands intense research and treatment.

In order to distinguish more easily between the different types of bullying, we distinguish two types of victimization, direct and indirect bullying.

Bullying can take two main forms; *direct bullying* is characterized by a direct assault on the victim, and usually involves physical contact (i.e., punching, kicking). In *indirect bullying*, the perpetrator is not physically engaged in the assault. Most likely, he/she is encouraging others towards the victim; this type of bullying may be more verbal (e.g., swearing, nicknames, etc.) and/or non-verbal (e.g., staring intently at someone). Indirect bullying may also be psychological in nature (i.e., exclusion of some students from activities, spreading of rumors, blackmail, etc.). In summarizing, direct bullying is manifested through relatively open attacks against the victim, while indirect bullying is mostly manifested through social isolation (Rigby, 2008; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996). Other forms of bullying include cyberbullying, racial bullying, and sexual bullying. According to the research data of the last decades (Card, Stucky, Sawalani, & Little, 2008; O'Moore, 2000; Pateraki & Houndoumadi, 2001; Sapouna, 2008; Whitney & Smith, 1993), boys tend to get involved mostly in direct types of bullying, while girls in more indirect forms (e.g., spreading rumors).

CONSEQUENCES OF BULLYING

Numerous researches focus on the consequences of victimization by peers, as well as on the personality characteristics and the problems faced by bullies, victims, and bullies-victims. All researches agree in that bullying pose a serious problem at an international level in all schools, which affects the mental health of a large number of victims, leading to serious psychological, behavioral, and academic problems (Nansel, Craig, Overpeck, Saluja, & Ruan, 2004; Totura, Green, Karver, & Gesten, 2009). More specifically, it has been found that victimization relates to internalizing problems such as anxiety, depression, feelings of loneliness and low self-esteem (Hawker & Boulton, 2000). Further, the experience of bullying behaviors has been associated to different emotional states, such as anger, guilt, confusion, and the intense sadness experienced by the victim (James, Sofroniou, & Lawlor, 2003; Luis, 2004). Furthermore, victimization is also associated with more serious and long-lasting effects, such as somatoform disorders, physical health problems, antisocial behavior, self-injuries, suicide attempts, sleep problems (insomnia), and Attention Deficit Disorders- Hyperactivity (Dyer & Teggart, 2007; Ireland, 2005; Kumpulainen, Rasanen & Puura, 2001; Mills, Guerin, Daly, Lynch, & Fitzpatrick, 2004). In a relevant study, it was found that experiencing victimization from peers of the same age directly contributes to the development of emotional problems and to the development of poor social relationships (Bond, Carlin, Thomas, Rubin, & Patton, 2001).

However, it seems that bullies also experience problems. Specifically, they tend to be more aggressive compared to other students, and they are more likely to utilize force in order to react to their anger (Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000). It has been also suggested that when compared to uninvolved students, they have more incidents of depression (Nansel et al., 2001). Bullying is also related to incidents of violent and dangerous behavior, such as frequent injuries because of fighting, and possession of handguns (Nansel et al., 2001). It has also been related to the appearance of behavioral problems, such as hyperactivity, problems in organizing and

executing activities, and difficulties in their interpersonal relationships (Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2000). It has been noted that children engaging in bullying behaviors are extremely aggressive and possess the ability to manipulate other children, so that they can exert control over them (Totura, et al., 2009). Furthermore, concerning their academic performance, it has been found that they display poor academic performance in school, and spend less time with their homework, regardless of their mental capacity (Graham, Bellmore, & Mize, 2006).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARENTAL BEHAVIOR AND BULLYING/VICTIMIZATION

The contribution of family dynamics to the development and display of problematic behaviors in childhood and adolescence has been one of the most important parameters in the research on aggression and deviant behavior during the last decades (see Campbell, 2002). Overall, it is suggested that family dynamics (structure, organization, emotional climate, communication etc.), the standards of relationships/attachment, and the interpersonal and systematic interactions, seem to define to a large extent the behavior and the relation of the child to others, to the extent that the child adopts, internalizes and develops standards of behavior and conciliation with the others, based on the family experiences.

The ability of the family to protect the child from the effects of stressful events that take place in his/her life is sufficiently documented in the literature. Studies have shown that a supportive, warm, and secure family environment has a definite contribution to the adjustment of the child, and can act protectively against the development of psychological difficulties (Collishaw et al., 2007; Jaffee, 2007). Similar to this, studies have found that parental warmth is an essential ingredient of proper upbringing, and plays an important part in the social and emotional well-being of the child (Egeland, Kalkoste, Gottesman, & Erickson, 1990; Kim-Cohen, Moffit, Caspi, & Taylor, 2004). According to Patterson, Cohn and Kao (1989), children that are rejected by their schoolmates, and have a tender relationship with their mother, seem to face less behavioral problems. The overall atmosphere of an organized and supportive family environment appears to reduce the anxiety levels experienced by victims and increases the probability of their adjustment (Estevez, Musitu, & Herrero, 2005).

The type of parental behavior found to be most closely associated to the development of bullying behavior is the authoritarian parenting style (Baldry, & Farrington, 2000; Espelage et al., 2000; Knafo, 2003; Soenens, Duriez, & Hutsebaut, 2005). Authoritarian parents place many demands and expectations on their children, leave no room for negotiation, and do not respond to their needs (Knafo, 2003). The existence of this parental type increases the probability that the child will develop bullying behavior at school (Kaufmann et al., 2000).

Furthermore, the aggressive, rejective, and violent parental behavior (Pontzer, 2010), as well as the lack of emotional attachment to the child is positively correlated to the phenomenon of bullying (Jewell, Krohn, Scott, Carlton, & Mainz, 2008). Children exposed to such types of behavior may employ them in their own relationships with other people, the result being a lack of empathy for others and development of aggressive behavior, which is possibly going to include bullying (Lila, Garcia, & Garcia, 2007). From the data presented above, it becomes clear that when parents are not acting as positive role models for their children, and do not teach them how to behave, bullying behaviors are very likely to occur.

THE ROLE OF FATHER IN THE MENTAL HEALTH OF THE CHILD

It is only in the last two decades that the role of the father has been the object of systematic research and study. Research data concerning the paternal role in the life of the child were very sparse before the 1980s. Researchers used to characterize the father as the invisible parent, or the parent who cannot be easily approached (Herbert, & Carpenter, 1994). His role in the upbringing of the child was considered ancillary to that of the mother, and as a result his contribution to the child's development remained always in the background (Ang, 2006; Finley & Schwartz, 2006). Attachment theory seemed to support this view as, according to which, the father was not viewed as a primary attachment person like the mother, but rather as a less 'important' person, whose participation was restricted solely to providing material supplies and play (Bowlby, 1982).

THE DISTINCT ROLE OF THE PARENTS

According to subsequent research, the mother and father seem to have distinct roles regarding the development of the child, which operate complementary to one another (Craig, 2006; Parke, 2004). The first research questions regarding this approach were posed during the 1950s, by Parsons and Bales (1995, as is reported in the article by Finley, Mira, & Schwartz, 2008), who claimed that the role of the father mainly concerns areas such as financial provisions and discipline (instrumental functions), while the role of the mother concerns areas such as upbringing, companionship and participation in the free time (expressive functions). Contemporary research shows that this difference seems to be in effect even to our days, since it reflects the attitudes of young adults regarding the distinction of the parents and their contribution to children's development (Finley, et al., 2008; Finley, & Schwartz, 2006). On the other hand, there is the opposite perspective, which does not adopt this categorization and claims that the father, after the social changes that took place in the 1960's and 1970's, has already started to be actively involved in the upbringing of the child, to participate in activities inside the house, and to express himself in a more emotional way (Giele, & Holst, 2004; Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000).

Following the approach of Parsons and Bales, Gottman and his colleagues (1998) claimed that the experiences that a child has with his/her father affect specific areas of his/her development more, when compared with the experiences with his/her mother. For example, it has been found that paternal support to the efforts of the child for autonomy during the preschool years affects the emotional security experienced by the child during adolescence more than the maternal support (Gottman et al., 1998). Similar results were obtained with Asian participants, according to which, paternal influence seemed to affect to a greater extent the psychological adjustment of adolescents and the functionality of the family than maternal influence (Ang, 2006; Shek, 2001).

At different times, several models have been developed that refer to the areas of paternal involvement. According to the model proposed by Lamb, Pleck, Chernov, and Levine (1987), there are three dimensions of paternal involvement: a) *engagement*, which refers to the direct contact of the father with his child and the sharing of activities during their interaction, b) *availability*, which refers to the presence of the father, and how available he is to his child, and

c) *responsibility*, which refers to the duties the father has towards the child, such as organizing and planning his/her life, as well as the fulfillment of his/her needs (both material and emotional).

In a similar vein, based on the model of Lamb et al., (1987), Palkovitz (2002) describes three areas of paternal involvement (cognitive, emotional and behavioral) which overlap and are defined by factors such as the time the father spends with his child, the degree to which he is involved in his/her life, and how direct their interactions are. According to this model, a father can be involved in children's development in at least 15 different ways: through communicating, teaching, monitoring, engaging in thought processes, providing to the child's needs, showing affection, protecting, emotionally supporting, caregiving, engaging in child-related maintenance, being available, sharing interests with the child, sharing activities, planning, and through the father's running errands and doing favors for the child. Both models include behaviors which are frequently displayed by a man when he is a father.

What is of particular interest is that the extent of paternal involvement to the life of the child can be affected by several factors. The structure of the family, the relationships among its members, the gender, age and personality of the child, the father's views concerning the upbringing of the child, and the characteristics of the personality of the father and mother are only some of the factors that may affect the degree to which a father is involved in the life of his child (Cabrera, Fitzgerald, Bradley, & Roggman, 2007).

PATERNAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD

Numerous research data confirm that the support and the involvement of the father to the life of the child has a positive effect to his/her development (Ang, 2006). Research data from the National Center for Educational Statistics-NCES (1997, as reported in the article by Flouri, Buchanan, & Bream, 2002) have demonstrated that children whose father plays an active role to their everyday life had the best academic performance, behavior, attitudes, and interpersonal relationships at school. The presence of the father also appears to positively affect cognitive and mental development of the child. More contemporary research has shown that children of supportive fathers have the tendency to exhibit better pro-social behavior and psychological adjustment, have better performance at school, less involvement in anti-social behaviors and, finally, have better interpersonal relationships (Rohner & Veneziano, 2001; Shek, 2001). Grossman and his colleagues in a research conducted in 2002, found that adolescents who felt security in their relationship with their father were more sensitive, receptive, and they responded to provocations of their schoolmates more effectively. The lack of paternal love seems to reinforce the manifestation of behavioral and psychological problems, while reducing the sense of well-being and security (Amato, 1994; Rohner & Veneziano, 2001; Veneziano, 2003). Absence of the father also seems to be associated with personality problems as well as difficulties with psychological adjustment (Amato, 1994), mental problems (Barrera Garrison-Jones, 1992), substance abuse problems and criminality (Repetti, Taylor, & Seeman, 2002).

Apart from research which examines in general the paternal involvement in the life of children, most contemporary research has focused on the extent to which paternal involvement can be used as an independent predicting factor for the development of psychological problems and negative behaviors in children. More specifically, it is examined whether paternal

involvement can explain part of the variance of factors concerning the mental health of the child, independently of the presence of maternal support (Veneziano, 2003). Initial results have demonstrated that, indeed, paternal love contributes as an independent predictive factor, while in some cases, it seems that it is the single factor predicting the elimination of a number of problems and negative behaviors in children (Rohner, 2004; Rohner, & Veneziano, 2001).

According to a research by Flouri et al. (2002), maternal and paternal support are independently associated with a positive attitude of adolescents towards school. In a similar research, it was found that involvement of the father was able to predict, independently from maternal involvement, the continuation of the academic studies of the adolescents at the age of twenty years (Flouri, & Buchanan, 2003). Related results were reported in a study by Veneziano in 2000, according to which only paternal warmth was statistically correlated with psychological adjustment of children.

Numerous research data indicate that the role of the father comprises an independent predictive factor in the appearance of specific types of psychopathology, such as substance abuse, depression, incidence of depressive emotion, as well as externalizing and behavioral problems (Rohner & Britner, 2002). Furthermore, Chen, Liu and Li (2000) found that only paternal warmth correlated negatively with the incidence of reactive aggression among peers, while it correlated positively with academic performance and social efficacy. Similarly, paternal love seems to contribute independently from maternal love to happiness of children, their satisfaction from life, decreased levels of psychological stress, as well as in overall mental well-being (Amato, 1994; Barnett, Marshall, & Pleck, 1992).

FATHER INVOLVEMENT AND BULLYING

Concerning incidents of bullying and the role of the father, despite the lack of sufficient research on this topic, the available research data indicate the following:

As far as boy-victims are concerned, fathers are usually either emotionally absent, or overly critical towards them (Olweus, 1993; Fosse & Holen, 2002). It is argued that sons, learn mainly from their fathers how to develop self-protective behaviors and ways of interacting with other children. Absence or problematic relations with the father, in those cases, in relation with over-protectiveness on the mother's part, renders the boy, usually, socially passive and less equipped to face the challenges of interpersonal relationships, especially the aggressive behaviors of their peers (Fosse & Holen, 2002). Unfortunately, to our knowledge there are no research data concerning the specific role of the father in the victimization of girls.

As far as bullies are concerned, existing data indicate that fathers are either absent, both emotionally and physically, or they exert their power through force and harsh physical punishment and violence, or, in other cases, are over-permissive and reinforce directly or indirectly the aggressive behaviors of their boys (Duncan, 1999).

Similarly, in the families of victims, the few available data indicate that fathers express a wide range of negative behaviors towards their children. These behaviors include, at one extreme, physical violence and negative emotions, and on the other extreme, indifference and emotional detachment (King, 2006). On the other hand, involved fathers seem to function protectively towards children-victims.

Other research data confirm this finding. In a research conducted by Frouri and Buchanan in 2002, including 1344 students from schools of Great Britain, the mediating role of paternal involvement to the degree of victimization and bullying incidents was examined. It was found that the existence of a supportive father can limit the negative impact of bullying and protect the victims from its more intense manifestations. According to the results of this research, paternal support was affecting the victims of bullying more often than the rest of the students, since it was functioning as a form of social support, protecting them from their negative experiences (Flouri & Buchanan, 2002).

In a similar research, it was found that victimization in school comprises a source of intense stress and affects the well-being of the child, as well as the sense of satisfaction it has regarding his/her own life (i.e., low self-esteem, negative self-image) (Olweus, 1993). Other researchers have confirmed that the existence of social support greatly contributes to the well-being and the prosperity of the student, even if the student has already experienced victimization (Rigby, 2002).

On the other hand, there are behaviors on behalf of the father that intensifies the importance of power and assertion over others, while at the same time place no limits to the child's aggressiveness, or directly reinforce it. Ladd has noted (1992) that children who have fathers with authoritarian or demanding behavior and who project patterns of power to their sons, are usually also emotionally detached; as a consequence, the child develops similar patterns of behavior towards his/her weaker peers, and most importantly, does not display any empathy to the sensitive or emotionally vulnerable individuals. In these cases, it is very important to stress the importance of clinical and counseling interventions that can - in combination with research data - offer us sufficient and useful information regarding the course of each child towards victimization and the importance of the father's role to his child's involvement to such incidents.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

Based on the data presented in this literature review, we should note that in counseling interventions emphasis should be given to certain parameters, such as the role of the parents, and especially that of the father. Clinical practice, as well as research, usually highlights for both groups - victims and bullies - a problematic relationship with the father (absence of paternal involvement, inefficient emotional investment/support, problematic family dynamics, etc.). Emotional motivation and involvement of the father in the emotional development of the children, consists in a lot of cases a vital parameter of counseling work.

For example, it has been systematically noted that paternal involvement is of paramount importance to children with anxiety disorders, children with low self-esteem, children that are introverted and socially inhibited and maintain dependent relationships to over-protecting mothers, but also to children with aggressive tendencies, that are involved in one way or another to similar phenomena (i.e. bullying/victimisation) (Caldwell, 1999; Keat, 1999). The reinforcement of the relationship with the father through counseling work, the restoration of mutual trust between parents and children, and the reinforcement of the child's self-esteem makes much easier the recognition as well as the reporting of bullying incidents on behalf of the child (Mackey & Immerman, 2004). In any case, as noted earlier, research has already

proven that the father, with his attitude, seems to play an important role both in the manifestation of and in the protection from bullying incidents, and consequently, his involvement is deemed absolutely necessary (Flouri & Buchanan, 2002).

In the last years, there has been an increase in intervention programmes which, gradually, have started to include in their approaches the active role of the father. This tendency appears to be the result of factors such as the gradual change of society's beliefs concerning parental roles, contemporary research data concerning the influence of the father to the development of the child (Thompson, 2003), as well as men's desire to actively seek information concerning fatherhood and their preparation for becoming fathers (Gage & Kirk, 2002).

The characteristics of the intervention programs vary depending on: the target they want to achieve, the kind of father to whom they are addressed, their content, as well as on the methods they are using (Gearing, Colvin, Popova, & Regehr, 2008). Some of them, aim at cultivating in the father the responsibility inherent in his role, as well as the emotional and financial commitment to his children. Other programs focus on the training of the parents and the whole family in general (e.g., Parent and Family Education PFE). Those programmes inform parents on the developmental stages of the child, their parental responsibilities, the different types of care available to them, as well as on matters related to their relationship to their children (Palm, 1997, as cited in the article of Gearing et al., 2008). Similarly, there are programs geared towards fathers who face special financial and socio-cultural challenges, such as adolescent fathers, divorced fathers, or fathers of different cultural backgrounds. Finally, some of them have a therapeutic orientation, and attempt to strengthen the self-confidence of the fathers so that they can face effectively the challenges of fatherhood (Gearing, et al., 2008). However, despite the existence of a satisfactory number of interventional programmes, participation in such programmes is strongly affected by different socioeconomic factors. As Raikes and Bellotti (2007) mention in their article, the existence of additional problems, such as underpaid jobs, unsteady employment, demands of the workplace, existence of mental disorders, problems with the law and unsteady residence, can impede the attempts of the father to get close to his child and contribute essentially to his/her development.

Another factor which prevents the father from being involved in his child's psychosocial development is the attitude of the mother herself regarding this effort. According to contemporary research, while fathers seem to be more motivated than in the past regarding the participation to interventional programmes (Raikes, Summers, & Roggman, 2005; Turbiville, Umbarger, & Guthrie, 2000), the perception of the mother that she is the sole responsible (and capable) parent for the upbringing of the child hampers their efforts. The research by Walker and McGraw in 2000 comes to the same conclusion, confirming the definite contribution of the mother both in the reinforcement of the father-child relationship, and in the decision of the father to participate in an interventional program. Specifically, the authors state that it is a very common phenomenon for the mother to organize her schedule in such a way as to be able to satisfy the needs of the child by herself, without giving to the father the chance to contribute to the needs of the child. For example, the mother, despite all the responsibilities she may have, tries to always pick up the child from school, without allowing the father to participate to the daily schedule of the child. In this way, the father is getting estranged and feels that his presence is redundant, resulting in his total resignation from the paternal role.

CONCLUSION

In concluding, what has become very clear is that the role of the father in the life of the child is no longer considered to be inferior to that of the mother. The wide range of research that revolves around the father, the factors which affect his behavior, the areas he is involved in, and the impact his behavior and his involvement have in the development of the child, prove how important his presence, his behavior, and his role is considered to be. Despite the different areas of involvement and the different roles the father has compared to the mother, what almost all research comes down to is that his presence, his positive relationship with the child, and his positive behavior contributes to the positive development of the child. The father should not be considered, and is not considered anymore, as less important to the child's development compared to the mother. He exerts the same influence as she does, albeit in a different way and in different areas some of the time. This is especially true in the case of bullying, since it has been shown that, especially for boys, the paternal involvement can be even more influential, compared to mother, regarding the prevention or the reinforcement of the phenomenon.

The active involvement of the father in such activities is necessary, since his role in the general mental well-being of the child is considered to be important. Holistic interventions for the combat of bullying, which take place at the earliest possible stage, and which presuppose the participation and the conscious effort of both parents comprise, most likely, the most effective solution towards this direction.

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Chapter 98

BULLYING VICTIMIZATION AMONG IN-SCHOOL ADOLESCENTS

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ABSTRACT

Bullying victimization is a major public health problem among adolescents. It is associated with poor academic performance, anxiety, depression and suicidal behaviors. There are limited reports on victimization from bullying among Botswana adolescents. The purpose of this study was to determine the correlates for bullying victimization among school-going adolescents in Botswana. The 2005 Botswana Global School-based Health Survey (GSHS) data were obtained from the World Health Organization. A weighted analysis was conducted using statistical software (SPSS version 15.0). We estimated the prevalence of bullying victimization and conducted logistic regression analysis to estimate associations between the outcome (bullying victimization) and selected explanatory variables. Out of 2,165 in-school adolescents who participated in the study, 51.3% (54.2% males and 52.2% females; $p=0.086$) reported having been bullied in the last 30 days. In multivariate analysis, bullying victimization was positively associated with physical fighting (OR=2.17; 95% CI [1.73, 2.73]), truancy (OR=1.84; 95% CI [1.35, 2.50]), and alcohol drinking (OR=1.41; 95% CI [1.04, 1.91]). Victimization is prevalent among in-school

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adolescents in Botswana. Efforts to prevent and control bullying should take into consideration the factors identified in this study.

INTRODUCTION

Where data are available, bullying victimization is prevalent globally with significant regional variations in the rates of victimization (1-2). In a study on bully victimization among in-school adolescents from five continents, Due et al (2) reported the highest prevalence for bullying victimization among boys was in Zimbabwe (70.2%), while Zambia had the highest prevalence for girls (67%). Adverse conditions positively associated with victimization from bullying include serious injuries (3), alcohol and drug use (4), truancy (5), depression (6) and suicidal behaviors (7).

Bullying victimization is common in Botswana among school going adolescents. Fleming and Jacobsen (4) reports rates of being bullied as high as 53.0% with no sex difference (52.2% of females and 54.2% of males). They also considered factors (age, sex, symptoms of depression) associated with being bullied in their study but in their analysis they used the relative risk as a measure of the magnitude of association. Unfortunately the relative risk is not an appropriate measure of association in cross sectional studies. The purpose of this study was to re-analyze the data on correlates for bullying victimization among school-going adolescents in Botswana so that we may provide public health officers with correct results for use in interventions.

OUR STUDY

This study was based on a secondary analysis of data from the Botswana Global School-based Student Health Survey (GSHS) that was conducted in 2005. The 2005 Botswana GSHS was a school-based survey which included students in classes with the majority ages of 13-15 years. A two-stage cluster sampling design was used to produce data that was representative of students in the country. At the first stage, schools were selected with probability proportional to enrolment size. At the second stage, classes were randomly selected and all students in selected classes were eligible to participate. There was no replacement of students who were not available despite being in the selected schools. Students self-completed the questionnaires and the responses to questions were indicated on a computer scannable answer sheet.

In order to assess history of victimization from bullying, the question that was asked was: During the past 30 days, on how many days were you bullied? Possible responses included 0 days or any number of days. In terms of involvement in a physical fight, students were asked the question: During the past 12 months, how many times were you in a physical fight? Options included 0 times, one up to 12 or more times.

These data were obtained from the World Health Organization. The study was approved by the Botswana Ministry of Health. Parents were informed of the study through a letter, and students gave verbal consent to participate in the survey. To preserve individual confidentiality, the questionnaire was anonymously self-reported by the students.

Cases with missing values were not considered in the analysis. A weighting factor was used in the analysis to account for differences in the probability of selecting a school and classroom, and to account for differences in non response rates for various strata.

Data were first analyzed using SPSS version 11.5. Unweighted frequencies and their weighted percentages are reported. For the main outcome (bullying victimization), we recoded the responses in two categories: 0 for not having been victimized in the past 30 days, and 1 for having been victimized in the past 30 days. We conducted bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analyses in order to estimate associations between independent factors and the outcome variable. The hypotheses were "There were no significant associations between socio-demographic factors and bullying victimization". We report prevalence of bullying victimization as well as the unadjusted odds ratios (OR) and adjusted odds ratios (AOR) together with their 95% confidence intervals (CI).

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics and bullying victimization of the study population

Factor	Male n (%)	Female n (%)	Total (%)
Age (years)			
< 14	78 (8.0)	131 (11.0)	209 (9.7)
14	190 (19.5)	302 (25.3)	492 (22.7)
15	319 (32.8)	372 (31.2)	6 (1.9)
16 +	385 (39.6)	388 (32.5)	773 (35.7)
Physical fight			
No	458 (47.1)	691 (58.3)	1149 (53.3)
Yes	514 (52.9)	494 (41.7)	1008 (46.7)
Parental supervision			
No	326 (34.5)	348 (30)	674 (32)
Yes	618 (65.5)	811 (70)	1429 (68)
Depression			
No	569 (59.6)	651 (55.7)	1220 (57.5)
Yes	385 (40.4)	518 (44.3)	903 (42.5)
Cigarette smoking			
No	817 (89)	1083 (95.2)	1900 (92.4)
Yes	101 (11)	55 (4.8)	156 (7.6)
Alcohol drinking			
No	596 (75.9)	795 (78.8)	1391 (77.5)
Yes	189 (24.1)	214 (21.2)	403 (22.5)
Drug use			
No	840 (86.3)	1138 (95.4)	1978 (91.3)
Yes	133 (13.7)	55 (4.6)	188 (8.7)
Truancy			
No	665 (70.2)	950 (80.3)	1615 (75.8)
Yes	282 (29.8)	233 (19.7)	515 (24.2)
Bullied			
No	377 (45.8)	481 (47.8)	858 (46.9)
Yes	446 (54.2)	525 (52.2)	971 (53.1)

FINDINGS

A total of 2,165 students participated in the 2005 Botswana GSHS; and 1829 had information on whether they were bullied or not. Overall, 42.4% were depressed; 22.5% consumed alcohol; and 8.7% had used illicit drugs. More than 1 in five (22.5%) participants reported having missed classes without permission. Altogether, 53.1% (54.2% of male and 52.2% of female) participants reported having been bullied in the previous 30 days to the survey. Further description of the sample by gender is shown in Table 1.

Table 2 reports associations between being bullied and selected factors. Being bullied was positively associated with having engaged in physical fighting (OR=2.17; 95% CI [1.73, 2.73]), self reported feelings of depression (OR=1.40; 95% CI [1.16, 1.77]); truancy (OR=1.84; 95% CI [1.35, 2.50]); and alcohol drinking (OR=1.41; 95% CI [1.04, 1.91]).

DISCUSSION

In a study of bullying victimization among in-school adolescents in Botswana, we found that 53.1% of the respondents were bullied in the last month. This prevalence is higher than the average (32%) for 66 countries and territories from five continents (2). In Africa, that prevalence is lower than 62.8% reported in Zambia (9), but higher than 40.1% in Ghana (8) and 39.6% in neighboring Swaziland (5).

We found that bullying victimization was positively associated with reported depression, having engaged in physical fighting, truancy, and alcohol drinking. In a study of the association between bullying and psychological health among senior high school students in Ghana, Owuso et al found that bullying victimization was positively associated with depression, suicide ideation, and loneliness (8). The association between bullying victimization and physical fighting was reported previously in other settings such as Zambia (9), Philippines (10) and China (11). In a study of the association between physical bullying victimization and physical fighting among Filipino school going adolescents, Rudatsikira et al reported a dose-response relationship between the two (10). Previous studies have reported the relationship between bullying victimization and alcohol use and other substances (12,13).

In this study, there was no significant gender difference in bullying victimization. Some studies have reported similar findings (8,10) while others have reported that males were more likely to be bullied than females (9,11). What is consistent in the literature is the gender difference in the types of bullying victimization; males are more at risk for physical victimization while females are more at risk of relational or emotional victimization (14-15).

The present study has several limitations and strengths. Data were collected through self-reports. To the extent that study participants mis-reported, intentionally or not, our findings may be biased. The study design was cross sectional which limits us from ascribing causation between the outcome and explanatory variables. It is also important to note that different studies have defined bullying differently. For instance, Sourander et al (16) defined bullying as "an aggressive act embodying an imbalance of power in which the victims cannot defend themselves accompanied by an element of repetition." Our study only asked whether students had been bullied. However, the sample size was large thus improving precision of the effect measure estimates. That this study is a secondary analysis of existing data can be both a strength and a weakness. A strength in that the subjects' responses could be accurate as study

participants may not have anticipated any links between outcome variable and explanatory variables, hence truthful reporting; and a weakness in that there are likely to be several unmeasured confounders that a primary study could have planned to measure.

Table 2. Factors associated with being bullied

Factor	Bullied n (%)	OR ¹ (95% CI ³)	AOR ² (95% CI)
Age (years)			
< 14	89 (9.2)	0.95 (0.67-1.35)	1.12 (0.76-1.67)
14	216 (22.3)	0.83 (0.59-1.16)	1.06 (0.79-1.43)
15	309 (31.9)	0.82 (0.59-1.14)	0.97 (0.74-1.28)
16+	355 (36.6)	1	1
Sex			
Male	446 (45.5)	1.08 (0.90-1.30)	0.92 (0.73-1.16)
Female	525 (54.5)	1	1
Physical fight			
No	409 (42.3)	1	1
Yes	557 (57.7)	2.89 (2.38-3.50)	2.17 (1.73-2.73)
Depression			
No	495 (52.2)	1	1
Yes	454 (47.8)	1.74 (1.44 - 2.10)	1.40 (1.16-1.77)
Cigarette smoking			
No	807 (88.8)	1	1
Yes	102 (11.2)	3.54 (2.31 - 5.40)	1.36 (0.77-2.40)
Drug use			
No	853 (88.1)	1	1
Yes	115 (11.9)	3.01 (2.06 - 4.42)	1.26 (0.7-2.26)
Truancy			
No	666 (69.1)	1	1
Yes	287 (30.1)	2.63 (2.10 - 3.33)	1.84 (1.35-2.5)
Parental supervision			
No	314 (33.1)	1	1
Yes	634 (66.9)	0.87 (0.70 - 1.10)	0.80 (0.85-1.37)
Alcohol drinking			
No	538 (69.7)	1	1
Yes	238 (30.7)	2.44 (1.90-3.13)	1.41 (1.04-1.91)

¹OR Unadjusted odds ratio.

²AOR Adjusted odds ratio.

³CI confidence interval.

CONCLUSION

In this study, we found that bullying victimization was prevalent among school-going adolescents in Botswana. Efforts to prevent and control bullying should take into consideration the factors identified in this study.

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Chapter 99

CHILDREN, VIOLENCE AND BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

Adolescent violence is a very visible phenomenon in our modern society, where you just have to open the newspaper or the television and you find yourself right in the middle of it. In order to understand the scope of the problem, we need to look at the epidemiology of global violence. Each year, more than 1.6 million people worldwide lose their lives to violence and for every person who dies as a result of violence, many more are injured and suffer from a range of physical, sexual, reproductive and mental health problems. Violence places a massive burden on national economies in health care, law enforcement and lost productivity. We are talking about a major public health problem. Programs for intervention have been researched and long-term follow-up indicates that early intervention is working and even if such programs would seem to demand a substantial economic investment, they have been proven cost-effective in the long run.

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INTRODUCTION

Adolescent or youth violence is a very visible violence in our modern society, where you just have to open the newspaper or the television and you find yourself right in the middle of it. In order to understand the scope of the problem, we need to look at the epidemiology of global violence. In 1996 the World Health Assembly declared violence a leading public health issue (1) and as a result of this resolution a comprehensive report was published in 2002 (2).

The World Health Organization (WHO) defined violence as: "The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation" (3).

The World Health Organization's Global Burden of Disease project for 2000 (2) estimated that 1.6 million people (28.8 per 100,000) worldwide died as a result of self-inflicted, interpersonal or collective violence. In this 2000 project an estimated 199,000 adolescent homicides (9.2 per 100,000) occurred globally or about 565 adolescents died each day due to interpersonal violence with variations around the globe. Homicide rates were 0.9 per 100,000 in countries like Europe, 17.6 per 100,000 in Africa and 36.4 per 100,000 in Latin America (2). So we indeed live in a violent world, but there has been a downward trend between 1990 to 2000 from a violence related death rate of 35.3 to 28.8 per 100,000 (2,4). Each year, more than 1.6 million people worldwide lose their lives to violence (5). For every person who dies as a result of violence, many more are injured and suffer from a range of physical, sexual, reproductive and mental health problems. Violence places a massive burden on national economies, costing countries billions of US dollars each year in health care, law enforcement and lost productivity (5).

TRENDS IN ADOLESCENT HOMICIDE

In the years between 1985 and 1994 the adolescent homicide rates increased in many parts of the world. There was a sharp increase for males (it doubled), while the trend for females was steady. The increase was seen in developing countries and economies in transition with the most common method of attack by firearm. Dramatic increase was seen in the age group of 10-24 year olds in the Russian Federation after the collapse of communism with a 150% increase from 7.0% to 18.0 per 100,000. Decrease was seen in Canada and Australia, while both the United States and New Zealand had increase (2).

Between 1970 the early 1990s, the homicide rate for teens ages 15 to 19 more than doubled, from 8.1 to a peak of 20.7 per 100,000 in 1993 (7). The rate declined steeply during the late 1990s, then leveled out at around nine deaths per 100,000 between 2000 and 2004. Although the rate of homicides increased between 2004 and 2006, to 10.7 deaths per 100,000, it has since decreased. In 2010, the homicide rate was 8.3 deaths per 100,000, the lowest it has been since before 1980 (7).

Risk factors can be divided into four categories (8): Family factors such as a firearm at home, low income, domestic violence, teen parents or divorce; Social factors such as ethnic heterogeneity, crowded housing, racial intolerance, lack of adult supervision and social acceptance of violence; Psychological factors such as depression, antisocial behavior, conduct

disorder or aggression; and Personal factors such as male gender, alcohol or drug abuse, poor impulse control, previous gunshot injury and minority race.

TRENDS IN ADOLESCENT SUICIDE

Suicide is the third leading cause of death among adolescents with a fivefold increase seen for example in the United States for the period 1950-1990 (8). In 2010, rates of suicide among male teens were highest among American Indians (24.3 per 100,000) and whites (14.2), followed by Hispanics at 8.1, blacks at 6.8, and Asian or Pacific Islanders at 6.3 per 100,000 (7). Among females, American Indian teens had the highest rate at 11.0 per 100,000, followed by white teens at 3.5, Hispanic teens at 2.9, and Asian or Pacific Islanders with 3.1, with black teens at 1.1 per 100,000 (7).

Firearms and alcohol are also here important risk factors (4-7) and gender. Adolescent females attempt more suicided, but males have a higher completion rate due to the use of more lethal means (like a firearm).

TRENDS IN NON-FATAL VIOLENCE

For every adolescent homicide there is about 20-40 victims of non-fatal youth violence (2). Here still males are most often involved, but fewer firearm involvement and instead fists and feet and other weapons like knife and clubs (2).

TRENDS IN SCHOOL VIOLENCE

Research into school violence took off in Scandinavia and the United kingdom in the 1980s and together with the WHO cross national studies (37 countries) on health behavior in school aged children (HBSC) is conducted every fourth year (9). Bullying in schools varied from 15.7% in Sweden to 68.5% in Lithuania and with 50.0% in Israel (9).

According to the CDC's School Associated Violent Death Study, between 1% and 2% of all homicides among school-age children happen on school grounds or on the way to and from school or during a school sponsored event (10). In a 2011 nationally representative sample of youth in grades 9-12 (11):

- 12% reported being in a physical fight on school property in the 12 months preceding the survey
- 16% of male students and 7.8% of female students reported being in a physical fight on school property in the 12 months preceding the survey
- 5.9% did not go to school on one or more days in the 30 days preceding the survey because they felt unsafe at school or on their way to or from school
- 5.4% reported carrying a weapon (gun, knife or club) on school property on one or more days in the 30 days preceding the survey

- 7.4% reported being threatened or injured with a weapon on school property one or more times in the 12 months preceding the survey

EXAMPLES FROM OUR DAILY PRACTICE

We would like to share a few stories from our experience with adolescents on a daily basis:

- Two thirteen-year-old boys were arrested for breaking into air-conditioning units in the neighborhood to steal Freon. Obviously they use it for huffing, to get high. Upon interviewing them after being consulted by the social services, one of the boys said: “I am bored, my parents are working and I have nothing to do after school so we wanted to get high and forget about life’s problems”
- A young man of 14 years of age was admitted after attempting suicide. He said his life was basically good, but he became worried that maybe he is not a real man, since he noticed that his breasts are growing and he is looking more like a girl
- Several young teens between the ages of 13-15 years were diagnosed with gonorrhea tonsillitis. They said they were not sexually active, but have participated in “head parties” with other peers. It was revealed that these parties referred to gathering of young teens to have oral sex.
- A 16-year-old girl was referred for evaluation of depression and weight loss. She disclosed that she had been sexually assaulted by her stepfather for the last two months. When we tried to line up her mother’s help we got exactly the opposite: the mother threatened to kick the “liar” out of the home without even listening to the whole story.

We also see our fair share of good stories with teens doing good deeds and achieving high levels of success. It is the bad stories, however, that grab our attention, because of their sad and tragic consequences and our desire to understand why they happen. In countries like the United States of America the leading causes of mortality continue to be accidents, homicide, suicide, sexually transmitted infections and teen pregnancy. All are preventable yet they continue to happen. So whom should we blame? The parents for being busy and/or uneducated, the media for portraying sex, drugs and violence as a “normal” way of life, the school system for not educating our kids about real life, the health care industry that continues to deprive many of our teens access to health care, or our local and federal leaders both political and religious for giving bad examples with their continuing scandals of corruption and inappropriate sexual conduct!

It would be extremely simplistic to say that one or the other bears the blame. With the technological advances and the availability of modern communication systems including the internet, our teens are bombarded with a sea of information that is frequently inaccurate or age-inappropriate. The literature and real life experience are overall in agreement that improvement of all aspects of our societies is needed to help prevent many of our teens’ problems. The parents should do their part in finding a way to spend quality time with their kids and to educate them on all aspects of life. Schools should do a better job of teaching real life skills and knowledge rather than purely academic subjects only. As a society, we should be able to provide better environment and health care for our adolescents. Our leaders should be providing good

examples and so should the celebrities. If each one of us contributes, maybe we can improve our future by improving the current status of our adolescents who are our future.

HOME VISITATION

One type of prevention programs that has proven effective is home visitation. Such programs date back nearly 100 years in Scandinavia, the United Kingdom and even in the United States with research showing the positive long-term effects (12). Prenatal and early childhood nurse home visitation (two years after birth) can reduce serious antisocial and criminal behavior shown by a 15 year closely follow-up study (12).

CONCLUSIONS

In recent years a growing body of research on adolescent violence has shown the epidemiology on a global basis and confirmed that we are talking about a major public health problem. Programs for intervention have also been researched and long-term follow-up (12) indicates that early intervention is working. Such programs would seem to demand a substantial economic investment, but proven cost-effective in the long run (13).

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Chapter 100

BOTSWANA: BULLYING VICTIMIZATION AMONG SCHOOL-GOING ADOLESCENTS

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Bullying victimization is a major public health problem among adolescents. It is associated with poor academic performance, anxiety, depression and suicidal behaviors. There are limited reports on victimization from bullying among Botswana adolescents. The purpose of this study was to determine the correlates for bullying victimization among school-going adolescents in Botswana. The 2005 Botswana Global School-based Health Survey (GSHS) data were obtained from the World Health Organization. A weighted analysis was conducted using statistical software (SPSS version 15.0). We estimated the prevalence of bullying victimization and conducted logistic regression analysis to estimate associations between the outcome (bullying victimization) and selected explanatory variables. Out of 2,165 in-school adolescents who participated in the study, 51.3% (54.2% males and 52.2% females; $p=0.086$) reported having been bullied in the last 30 days. In multivariate analysis, bullying victimization was positively associated with physical fighting (OR=2.17; 95% CI [1.73, 2.73]), truancy (OR=1.84; 95% CI [1.35, 2.50]), and alcohol drinking (OR=1.41; 95% CI [1.04, 1.91]). Victimization is prevalent among in-

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school adolescents in Botswana. Efforts to prevent and control bullying should take into consideration the factors identified in this study.

INTRODUCTION

Where data are available, bullying victimization is prevalent globally with significant regional variations in the rates of victimization (1-2). In a study on bully victimization among in-school adolescents from five continents, Due et al (2) reported the highest prevalence for bullying victimization among boys was in Zimbabwe (70.2%), while Zambia had the highest prevalence for girls (67%). Adverse conditions positively associated with victimization from bullying include serious injuries (3), alcohol and drug use (4), truancy (5), depression (6) and suicidal behaviors (7).

Bullying victimization is common in Botswana among school going adolescents. Fleming and Jacobsen (4) reports rates of being bullied as high as 53.0% with no sex difference (52.2% of females and 54.2% of males). They also considered factors (age, sex, symptoms of depression) associated with being bullied in their study but in their analysis they used the relative risk as a measure of the magnitude of association. Unfortunately the relative risk is not an appropriate measure of association in cross sectional studies. The purpose of this study was to re-analyze the data on correlates for bullying victimization among school-going adolescents in Botswana so that we may provide public health officers with correct results for use in interventions.

OUR STUDY

This study was based on a secondary analysis of data from the Botswana Global School-based Student Health Survey (GSHS) that was conducted in 2005. The 2005 Botswana GSHS was a school-based survey which included students in classes with the majority ages of 13-15 years. A two-stage cluster sampling design was used to produce data that was representative of students in the country. At the first stage, schools were selected with probability proportional to enrolment size. At the second stage, classes were randomly selected and all students in selected classes were eligible to participate. There was no replacement of students who were not available despite being in the selected schools. Students self-completed the questionnaires and the responses to questions were indicated on a computer scannable answer sheet.

In order to assess history of victimization from bullying, the question that was asked was: During the past 30 days, on how many days were you bullied? Possible responses included 0 days or any number of days. In terms of involvement in a physical fight, students were asked the question: During the past 12 months, how many times were you in a physical fight? Options included 0 times, one up to 12 or more times.

These data were obtained from the World Health Organization. The study was approved by the Botswana Ministry of Health. Parents were informed of the study through a letter, and students gave verbal consent to participate in the survey. To preserve individual confidentiality, the questionnaire was anonymously self-reported by the students.

Cases with missing values were not considered in the analysis. A weighting factor was used in the analysis to account for differences in the probability of selecting a school and classroom, and to account for differences in non response rates for various strata.

Data were first analyzed using SPSS version 11.5. Unweighted frequencies and their weighted percentages are reported. For the main outcome (bullying victimization), we recoded the responses in two categories: 0 for not having been victimized in the past 30 days, and 1 for having been victimized in the past 30 days. We conducted bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analyses in order to estimate associations between independent factors and the outcome variable. The hypotheses were "There were no significant associations between socio-demographic factors and bullying victimization". We report prevalence of bullying victimization as well as the unadjusted odds ratios (OR) and adjusted odds ratios (AOR) together with their 95% confidence intervals (CI).

FINDINGS

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics and bullying victimization of the study population.

Factor	Male n (%)	Female n (%)	Total (%)
Age (years)			
< 14	78 (8.0)	131 (11.0)	209 (9.7)
14	190 (19.5)	302 (25.3)	492 (22.7)
15	319 (32.8)	372 (31.2)	6 (1.9)
16 +	385 (39.6)	388 (32.5)	773 (35.7)
Physical fight			
No	458 (47.1)	691 (58.3)	1149 (53.3)
Yes	514 (52.9)	494 (41.7)	1008 (46.7)
Parental supervision			
No	326 (34.5)	348 (30)	674 (32)
Yes	618 (65.5)	811 (70)	1429 (68)
Depression			
No	569 (59.6)	651 (55.7)	1220 (57.5)
Yes	385 (40.4)	518 (44.3)	903 (42.5)
Cigarette smoking			
No	817 (89)	1083 (95.2)	1900 (92.4)
Yes	101 (11)	55 (4.8)	156 (7.6)
Alcohol drinking			
No	596 (75.9)	795 (78.8)	1391 (77.5)
Yes	189 (24.1)	214 (21.2)	403 (22.5)
Drug use			
No	840 (86.3)	1138 (95.4)	1978 (91.3)
Yes	133 (13.7)	55 (4.6)	188 (8.7)
Truancy			
No	665 (70.2)	950 (80.3)	1615 (75.8)
Yes	282 (29.8)	233 (19.7)	515 (24.2)
Bullied			
No	377 (45.8)	481 (47.8)	858 (46.9)
Yes	446 (54.2)	525 (52.2)	971 (53.1)

A total of 2,165 students participated in the 2005 Botswana GSHS; and 1829 had information on whether they were bullied or not. Overall, 42.4% were depressed; 22.5% consumed alcohol; and 8.7% had used illicit drugs. More than 1 in five (22.5%) participants reported having missed classes without permission. Altogether, 53.1% (54.2% of male and 52.2% of female) participants reported having been bullied in the previous 30 days to the survey. Further description of the sample by gender is shown in Table 1.

Table 2 reports associations between being bullied and selected factors. Being bullied was positively associated with having engaged in physical fighting (OR=2.17; 95% CI [1.73, 2.73]), self reported feelings of depression (OR=1.40; 95% CI [1.16, 1.77]); truancy (OR=1.84; 95% CI [1.35, 2.50]); and alcohol drinking (OR=1.41; 95% CI [1.04, 1.91]).

Table 2. Factors associated with being bullied.

Factor	Bullied n (%)	OR ¹ (95% CI) ³	AOR ² (95% CI)
Age (years)			
< 14	89 (9.2)	0.95 (0.67-1.35)	1.12 (0.76-1.67)
14	216 (22.3)	0.83 (0.59-1.16)	1.06 (0.79-1.43)
15	309 (31.9)	0.82 (0.59-1.14)	0.97 (0.74-1.28)
16+	355 (36.6)	1	1
Sex			
Male	446 (45.5)	1.08 (0.90-1.30)	0.92 (0.73-1.16)
Female	525 (54.5)	1	1
Physical fight			
No	409 (42.3)	1	1
Yes	557 (57.7)	2.89 (2.38-3.50)	2.17 (1.73-2.73)
Depression			
No	495 (52.2)	1	1
Yes	454 (47.8)	1.74 (1.44 - 2.10)	1.40 (1.16-1.77)
Cigarette smoking			
No	807 (88.8)	1	1
Yes	102 (11.2)	3.54 (2.31 - 5.40)	1.36 (0.77-2.40)
Drug use			
No	853 (88.1)	1	1
Yes	115 (11.9)	3.01 (2.06 - 4.42)	1.26 (0.7-2.26)
Truancy			
No	666 (69.1)	1	1
Yes	287 (30.1)	2.63 (2.10 - 3.33)	1.84 (1.35-2.5)
Parental supervision			
No	314 (33.1)	1	1
Yes	634 (66.9)	0.87 (0.70 - 1.10)	0.80 (0.85-1.37)
Alcohol drinking			
No	538 (69.7)	1	1
Yes	238 (30.7)	2.44 (1.90-3.13)	1.41 (1.04-1.91)

¹OR Unadjusted odds ratio

²AOR Adjusted odds ratio

³CI confidence interval

DISCUSSION

In a study of bullying victimization among in-school adolescents in Botswana, we found that 53.1% of the respondents were bullied in the last month. This prevalence is higher than the average (32%) for 66 countries and territories from five continents (2). In Africa, that prevalence is lower than 62.8% reported in Zambia (9), but higher than 40.1% in Ghana (8) and 39.6% in neighboring Swaziland (5).

We found that bullying victimization was positively associated with reported depression, having engaged in physical fighting, truancy, and alcohol drinking. In a study of the association between bullying and psychological health among senior high school students in Ghana, Owuso et al found that bullying victimization was positively associated with depression, suicide ideation, and loneliness (8). The association between bullying victimization and physical fighting was reported previously in other settings such as Zambia (9), Philippines (10) and China (11). In a study of the association between physical bullying victimization and physical fighting among Filipino school going adolescents, Rudatsikira et al reported a dose-response relationship between the two (10). Previous studies have reported the relationship between bullying victimization and alcohol use and other substances (12,13).

In this study, there was no significant gender difference in bullying victimization. Some studies have reported similar findings (8,10) while others have reported that males were more likely to be bullied than females (9,11). What is consistent in the literature is the gender difference in the types of bullying victimization; males are more at risk for physical victimization while females are more at risk of relational or emotional victimization (14-15).

The present study has several limitations and strengths. Data were collected through self-reports. To the extent that study participants mis-reported, intentionally or not, our findings may be biased. The study design was cross sectional which limits us from ascribing causation between the outcome and explanatory variables. It is also important to note that different studies have defined bullying differently. For instance, Sourander et al (16) defined bullying as "an aggressive act embodying an imbalance of power in which the victims cannot defend themselves accompanied by an element of repetition." Our study only asked whether students had been bullied. However, the sample size was large thus improving precision of the effect measure estimates. That this study is a secondary analysis of existing data can be both a strength and a weakness. A strength in that the subjects' responses could be accurate as study participants may not have anticipated any links between outcome variable and explanatory variables, hence truthful reporting; and a weakness in that there are likely to be several unmeasured confounders that a primary study could have planned to measure.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study, we found that bullying victimization was prevalent among school-going adolescents in Botswana. Efforts to prevent and control bullying should take into consideration the factors identified in this study.

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Chapter 101

WORKPLACE AND BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

A working environment is bullying and unsafe as long as your manager believes that being a 'team player' means loyalty to your manager and doing as you are told. Unfortunately, the literature on bullying concentrates on the characteristics of victims and the impact of bullying on their lives. The literature offers very little on how to prevent and eradicate bullying. Instead, the literature's solution is to offers ways of preparing potential victims. The problem with this approach is that while it does not address bullies and bullying it can also lead to confrontation and more bullying especially covert bullying. The literature on bullying in the workplace describes the mental and physical ill-health suffered by the victims and their families. The literature also discusses methods of bullying such as overt and covert, as well as physical and psychological abuse. The implications are that the consequences of abuse go far beyond the intended target; from the impact on the working environment to an individuals' health to economic and financial loss. The literature suggests various recommendations to employers and managers to combat bullying at work. However, the common assumption within the literature has been that the bullying is done by a colleague, a line manager or middle manager. Furthermore, it is often, wrongly, assumed that the executive/vice-chancellor, human resources, the trustees or the governing body are unaware of bullying in their workplace. Rate of workplace bullying is consistently highest in the Education and health sectors. This high rate of bullying can only be sustained if the management culture, wittingly or unwittingly, is one of bullying. In this chapter it is argued that cases of bullying whether due to isolated individuals, competition, rivalry, power or pure meanness as reported in the literature, can only thrive in a bullying management culture. Therefore, debate and policy formulation must be directed at government level in the first instance. The case reported is intended to raise some relevant issues to stimulate a debate and more research in this area.

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INTRODUCTION

Much of the bullying literature is based on the premise of a bully with at least one victim, and offering suggestions on how parents, teachers, authorities, employers, and workforce can identify bullies in order to combat bullying. Very few authors discuss the possibility that bullies thrive when the workplace culture together with employment laws is conducive to supporting and encouraging bullying. For example, in some organisations, the executive management believes that loyalty means that staff must do what they are told i.e., loyalty to the executive rather than the organisation's goals, this will have a major impact on how senior and middle management behave and manage their staff. In this chapter the main issues of workplace bullying is raised and demonstrated through a case report.

Much has been written about the consequences of bullying as a social problem both in school and the workplace. The literature covers the various aspects of bullying e.g theoretical considerations (1), management environment and gender (2), psychological violence, misplaced loyalty and methods of bullying (e.g overt: visible physical and mental abuse, and covert: subtle abuse) (3), the effects of bullying (4-7), bullying at school (8), (9-11), and causes of bullying (12,13). McAvoy and Murtagh (14) provide a brief description of workplace bullying. An example of overt and covert abuse by an employer is demonstrated in a case narrative (15). Various authors make recommendations to the employers in order to combat bullying in their work environment (16). Glendinning (17) suggests that it is the role of human resources to deal with bullying and administer relevant policies in the workplace which often has tremendous implications for the organisation.

Most studies of bullying have concentrated on the victims' characteristics. Very few people ever victimise themselves; to have a victim there must be a seeker (18). Human interaction is a process and therefore is governed by dynamic codes of conduct. Some individuals, for whatever reasons, breach these codes to inflict suffering on others with whom they are bound by and share a common goal; through the organisational policy objectives and contracts. Very few studies have paid attention to studying the characteristics of the organisations, the bullies or the environments where bullies thrive. An important question to ask is what governs these individuals' behaviour? Without a proper study design to treat bullying as a process and to include the dynamics of human behaviour, our understanding of bullying behaviour could be vague and confused and at best one-sided. For example, Einarsen (12) in attempting to address the nature and causes of bullying on the one hand reports that the victims of harassment are more oversensitive, suspicious and angry, have low self-esteem and are anxious. On the other hand Einarsen argues that the personality of the victim may provoke aggression in others. Einarsen quotes competition, envy and the aggressor's own self doubt as three main reasons for bullying. However, these results were based on a subjective survey of the victims. The author, quite correctly, reports that without longitudinal studies personality factors may well be the outcome of bullying. It is not surprising then that assertiveness in the workplace is advised (19). Indeed, most employers, through their human resources (HR) division, offer staff self-development/assertiveness courses.

There are a number of problems with this strategy. There are no clearly defined boundaries for when assertiveness becomes aggression and bullying. What good will assertiveness or any anti-harassment policy do in a working environment and culture based on fear amongst staff, rumours, lies, falsifying of facts and misinformation and so on often referred to as predatory

bullying (12)? And what are the implications of implementing recommendations from poorly designed studies and lack of real evidence? For example, Manthei's (20) comparison of methods of teaching assertiveness is flawed and lacks academic rigour; it appears to breach ethics regulations, is a badly designed and poorly conducted study with an inappropriate methodology that does not relate to the aims of the study. The author's conclusions appear to be her own views and do not relate to the results. Therefore, policies developed based on such studies will create more problems for the organisations rather than resolving.

For practical purposes, perhaps, the brief discussion by McAvoy and Murtagh (14) provides a more comprehensive collection of issues from the prevalence of morbidity in the individual victims to the morbidity of the workplace environment. They also report that apart from the negative effects on physical and mental well being, bullying can have negative cognitive effects e.g lack of initiatives. Such practices will not be without economic and other social consequences. For example, McAvoy and Murtagh report that statistics from the UK national workplace bullying advice line suggest 20% of the cases are from the education sector, 12% from health care followed closely by 10% from social services. It is not therefore surprising that the associated costs of bullying in the UK alone is estimated at £2-30bn per annum. Similarly, a Canadian report (21) suggests a cost to employers of \$3.5bn and when the costs of wage replacement, health and medical care are included the costs are estimated at \$16bn. See also Sheehan for the Australian experience (22).

Bullying and harassment, though studied as one phenomena, take different forms and shape. However, it is argued that bullying thrives in an environment where the organisation has a bullying culture (4,12). Examples of harassment may include belittling opinion, public humiliation, withholding of access to training, unnecessary disruption, obstruction, threats of dismissal, shifting of goalposts, removal of responsibility, undue pressure to produce work (4). Sheehan (22) reports psychological abuse in the workplace and discusses the damage caused, and the legal and economic risks to organisations that fail to address the problems.

A STORY

Unsurprisingly, the case report concerns a tertiary education institution. The subject has kindly given permission to outline some of the main events representing unprofessional behaviour by the institution – in order to maintain anonymity details of events have been kept to a minimum.

The subject accepted an offer of a post from an educational establishment. The subject was brought in with the specific mandate to carry out research and development (R & D), consultancy with a small teaching component. The advertisement and the bump gave a positive picture of the institution using phrases such as a highly supportive, friendly and dynamic working environment, teaching staff expert in their fields, high quality research and researchers with international standing and so on. A quick internet search established that the claims about international standing was standard hype and by dynamic it was meant a high staff turn-over. The subject's final choice over other job offers was influenced by the challenges of the post.

One of the subject's mandates was to identify problem areas and report them to the management. Initially, things got onto a flying start and despite the negative rumours about the

institution and the management a number of initiatives got underway. These initiatives proved popular with staff. Within the first few weeks of starting work, the subject realised that the institution had huge problems in terms of culture, management style, staff and above all vision. All the management posts had been filled via internal promotions despite attracting credible and well-qualified external candidates and against the wishes of staff members who participated in the selection process. Most of the managers/staff had been in the same institution for many years. The existence of tribalism suggested the divide and rule style of management. Access to resources in particular to do research is the privilege of those belonging to the right tribe. Symbolism appears the central driving force in management style and staff perceptions of status. For example, office size and position and job title (e.g team leader) signifies academic status as opposed to experience, qualification and performance. The institution is being administered by staff without relevant management experience (in particular people skills) and qualifications. These internal appointments were apparently made after open competition with staff competing with credible, well-qualified and highly experienced candidates. Clearly, such a management style is a recipe for disaster particularly where new blood is recruited to carry out the education developmental work and delivery. The subject reported that the frustration of experienced and qualified staff working under such management had soon given way to friction and confrontation which quickly turned to hostility, abuse and harassment.

The subject made a report to the management based on the above observations and suggested that for the institution to achieve its goals a more supportive management practice was essential. In the report the subject further suggested that change in practice and recruitment of new blood at senior level to be a necessity. Moreover, the report recommended that as a first step the institution needed to consider a retraining programme for its current managers. With hindsight, the management did not want to see that kind of report! What followed next was months (nearly three years) of a sustained campaign against the subject. The initiatives one by one, without justification and in breach of the institution's own policies, were cancelled, the subject was excluded from input and contribution, workload was increased, rumours about the subject were spread. Consultations with the HR and their promise of resolving the situation was not only fruitless but also led to further campaigns. Included in the arguments with the management was the treatment of staff. However, the subject underestimated the fear amongst the staff; their unwillingness to demand their own rights and were prepared to be passive bystanders grateful for having a job, summarised the workplace culture of the institution. Managers with no track record and experience in R & D suddenly became experts and criticised the subject. Needless to say that the subject was quick and efficient in dismissing such criticism, which appeared to make the matters worse and help the campaign against the subject to intensify. Delaying tactics and obstruction also included intrusion, not processing of forms until after the closing date, access to personal files/materials without the knowledge or permission of the subject, interfering with processes, contacting external agencies with the specific view of obstructing the subjects progress. The subject reported these as the institution's immoral activities and malpractice by design.

The subject reported wondering if the management was so critical why would they not call a meeting with a view of terminating the contract. Not surprisingly, some material and statistics that became available through the unions revealed an unwritten policy of not to terminate contracts for fear of legal repercussion, that the senior management including HR had a history of aggressive behaviour and harassment against staff, were engaged in spreading rumours, setting up colleagues against colleagues, obstruction, positive support for the subject from other

heads of department being falsified as negative, threatening behaviour, instead of following complaint procedures the management met every complaint with a counter complaint, and, the use of their external social contacts to obstruct. It also revealed consistent complaints against the same managers and pattern of behaviour by the institution (similarly using humiliation, threats, undermining, belittling etc): the victims were either silenced, had to leave their posts or on long-term sick leave whilst the offending managers received promotion! In fact, during a face-to-face conversation about the structure of the institution and procedures with the head of department, the subject was told that the head was the real decision maker pointing out that there was no point contacting even the executive/vice-chancellor.

The subject was a confident and professional individual with a capacity to articulate and debate a point of view with evidence. The irony was that the employer consistently used this virtue negatively against the subject first covertly and then overtly in the statements of complaints. Examples of false assertion by the managers included that staff find the subject is aggressive, intimidating and putting the institution at risk!

The consequences of working under such a working environment are multi-dimension. First of all the effects on the subjects personal life can be categorised as individual and family. The individual effects include health, financial, career and family problems: the subject suffered mental and emotional stresses manifesting as physical and emotional symptoms. Quite apart from the emotional suffering, the combined effect of ill-health was debilitating, led to a loss of confidence, reduced output, and financial loss in fees for GP/consultant/psychiatrist/medicine. The effect on the subject's family was most unforgivable. The family also suffered severe emotional stress and ill-health which strained the relationship between the subject and the rest of the family leading to separation.

For the employer, it is the loss of an active dedicated employee who put institution goals ahead of personal objectives. Lost productivity. Lost progress. Lost market. Therefore, lost long-term investment and possible lost returns. Unnecessary expenditure in lawsuit(s) that could be invested in the institution for its staff and students' future.

DISCUSSION

Recommendations to combat bullying in the workplace are directed at the employer (16,23), e.g employers must educate their line managers, and should investigate claims thoroughly. By the end of the last century, most western governments acknowledged bullying and its consequences as a major problem, and have issued policy statements holding employers responsible for managing a stress-free working environment. This is no different to the executive/vice-chancellor's passing of the problems to the source of the problem to resolve! It is not, therefore, surprising that the number of cases post government legislations for stress-free working environment including this one (15,22-24) demonstrate that the offending employers continue to show a disregard for the law let alone implementing anti-harassment recommendations. The politicians, the trustees, the auditors, the legal community, staff, the community they all know who the offending organisations are – the question is why do we allow bullying behaviour to continue?

Clearly, it is not as easy to study perpetrators or organisations. Any references to the bully or organisation characteristics are usually obtained from the victims' accounts. Most studies

also rely on surveys of victims or legal/court case notes. However, very few cases make it to the courts and a majority accept out of court settlements (for obvious reasons e.g low levels of self-esteem, stressed and depressed, ill-health). However, the settlement comes with a gagging order preventing the victims from discussing any aspects of the case with anyone! Therefore, we know very little about the victims and in particular the effect on their families; the untold damage to health and mental well being in particular the emotional well-being of the children. In addition, our information on bullying is collected after the event; after a period of sustained bullying and stressful working environment. Thus, although the data set will have contained historical information it is essentially cross-sectional information on an individual exhibiting low self-esteem, uninterested, depressed and unable to articulate. It is not surprising that some authors recommend self-development training (e.g., assertiveness) models to combat bullying! This type of models accepts bullying in the workplace and places the onus on the employee to prepare for it.

In attempting to understand why certain senior managers who already hold positions of power and have established “empires” behave in such a manner in today’s society, the subject reported that almost all the comments received from other colleagues pointed to the insecurity and low confidence of the management due to their lack of experience. These comments appear in line with the literature quoted in the introduction. However, they do not explain the treatment of other teaching staff who did not pose a threat to anyone and simply wanted to do their jobs. One simple explanation could come from the literature. Such a management style is reminiscent of school yard/playground bullying. There is some evidence to suggest school bullies suffer from psychological and mental health problems which go undiagnosed and untreated (10,11), furthermore, school bullying may be transferred to adulthood and workplace (8). On the other hand legal risks may have influenced management behaviour. The literature provides examples of the legal precedent of employees being awarded damages against employers who failed to provide due care and support for appointing inexperienced staff into management roles (22).

An important issue arising from the case report and which did not feature in the literature is the effects on the victim’s family quality of life i) sudden change in the family, and ii) sustained strained family relationship and stress, and iii) the workforce as passive observers.

It is commendable to see that McAvoy and Murtagh (14) suggest that the medical profession ought to take a serious role in preventing bullying in the workplace. This would be a good idea if it wasn’t for the fact that health services have one of the highest rates of bullying. Denying that bullying or racism does not exist in ‘our society’ has never or will never resolve the issue. In the absence of solid evidence to explain the reasons for bullying, societies where bullying is common must acknowledge it rather than deny it and eradicate it from politics, home, school yards and the workplace. In other words, we cannot wait for a political solution and society must own and solve the bullying problem e.g., see Shahtahmasebi (27). As long as your manager believes that being a ‘team player’ means doing what you are told then bullying will be part of the culture.

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Chapter 102

STUDENT BULLYING: OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH, FEDERAL INITIATIVES, AND LEGAL ISSUES*

Gail McCallion and Jody Feder

SUMMARY

Many Members of Congress have become increasingly concerned about what can be done to address student bullying. This concern has arisen in response to high-profile bullying incidents that have occurred in recent years, and due to a growing body of research on the negative consequences of school bullying.

Congress is interested in ensuring that schools are safe, secure places for students, so that they can receive the full benefits of their education. Several bills that address school bullying have already been introduced in the 113th Congress, although none has been enacted as of the date of this report.

Some of the research on anti-bullying programs has found mixed success, particularly in the United States. However, a meta-analysis of 44 evaluations identified particular characteristics of school-based bullying programs that may help reduce bullying.

This study found the intensity and duration of a program, as well as the number of program elements, to be linked with effectiveness. Other factors found to be important to effectiveness were parent training, parent meetings, firm disciplinary methods, classroom rules, classroom management, and improved playground supervision.

Currently, there is no federal statute that explicitly prohibits student bullying or cyber-bullying. Under some circumstances, however, bullying may be prohibited by certain federal civil rights laws. In addition, bullying may, in some instances, constitute a violation of state criminal or tort law.

There are several federal initiatives that are specifically focused on student bullying, including interagency initiatives. In addition, there are a variety of federal initiatives that are not solely or primarily focused on student bullying, but permit some funds to be used for this

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purpose. Representatives from the U.S. Departments of Agriculture, Defense, Education, Health and Human Services, the Interior, and Justice, as well as the Federal Trade Commission and the White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, have formed a Federal Partners in Bullying Prevention Steering Committee. The Federal Partners work to coordinate policy, research, and communications on bullying topics. The Federal Partners have created a website, <http://www.stopbullying.gov>, which provides extensive resources on bullying, including information on how schools can address bullying.

Although there is currently no federal anti-bullying statute, there has been a surge in state legislation in recent years. A Department of Education (ED) study found that between 1999 and 2010, 120 bills and amendments to existing bills were introduced by states. Currently, 49 states have passed anti-bullying legislation. The majority of these laws direct school districts to adopt anti-bullying policies. However, the requirements placed on schools by these laws are quite varied. In addition, many of these laws do not contain all the key components of anti-bullying legislation that the U.S. Department of Education identified as important in a document it distributed to school districts.

INTRODUCTION

Significance for Congress

Many Members of Congress have become increasingly concerned about what can be done to address student bullying. Congressional interest is in response to high-profile incidents of bullying and their negative consequences, as well as to an increasing body of research documenting the detrimental effects of school bullying.¹

This has spurred interest in ensuring that schools are safe, secure places for students, so that they can receive the full benefits of their education. Several bills that address school bullying have been introduced in the 113th Congress, although none as of the date of this report have been enacted. However, currently 49 states have anti-bullying laws, although there is considerable variation in the content of these laws.²

Report Roadmap

This report begins with working definitions of bullying and cyber-bullying that were developed by a federal interagency working group. It provides a brief overview of research on the prevalence and impact of bullying, and it reviews research on what can be done to reduce student bullying. It discusses the responsibility of schools regarding bullying behavior; and it reviews the status of state laws that have been adopted to address student bullying. In addition, it discusses federal interagency initiatives intended to prevent bullying, and includes an appendix that summarizes many additional federal initiatives that permit some funding to be used for anti-bullying efforts. Finally, it discusses the legal issues and recent case law that define the parameters schools must consider in developing anti-bullying policies.

Definitions of Bullying and Cyber-Bullying

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) is leading an effort to develop a consensus definition of bullying that can be used throughout the school bullying research field.³ A consensus definition is key to obtaining consistent and comparable data on bullying. According to CDC health scientist Alana Vivolo-Kantor: “The lack of a uniform definition hinders our ability to understand the true magnitude, scope, and impact of bullying and track trends over time.

Consistent terminology with standardized definitions is necessary to improve public health surveillance of bullying and inform efforts to address bullying.”⁴ For the present, a federal working group has published working definitions of bullying and cyber-bullying (see text box below).

Bullying: Working Definitions

“Unwanted, aggressive behavior among school aged children that involves a real or perceived power imbalance.

The behavior is repeated, or has the potential to be repeated, over time. Both kids who are bullied and who bully others may have serious, lasting problems. In order to be considered bullying, the behavior must be aggressive and include:

- A Real or Perceived Imbalance of Power: Kids who bully use their power—such as physical strength, access to embarrassing information, or popularity—to control or harm others. Power imbalances can change over time and in different situations, even if they involve the same people.
- Repetition: Bullying behaviors happen more than once or have the potential to happen more than once.⁶
- Bullying includes actions such as making threats, spreading rumors, attacking someone physically or verbally, and excluding someone from a group on purpose.

Cyber-bullying is bullying that takes place using electronic technology. Electronic technology includes devices and equipment such as cell phones, computers, and tablets as well as communication tools including social media sites, text messages, chat, and websites.

Examples of cyber-bullying include mean text messages or emails, rumors sent by email or posted on social networking sites, and embarrassing pictures, videos, websites, or fake profiles.”⁷

Cyber-bullying is a relatively new form of bullying that has become a concern due to the increasing use of technology by students as a method of communicating with peers.

Cyber-bullying differs from traditional bullying because it can happen at any time of day or night, and messages can be immediately viewed by many others.

In addition, cyberbullying messages can be posted anonymously, and the victim may not know who the perpetrator is.

ESTIMATES OF THE PREVALENCE, PREDICTIVE FACTORS FOR, AND CONSEQUENCES OF BULLYING

Although this report focuses on bullying of students in grades K-12, it is worth noting that elementary and secondary students are not the only potential victims of bullying. Bullying also occurs at institutions of higher education (IHEs)⁸ and at workplaces, as well as other locations.

Students may be exposed to bullying at school for many reasons. Research indicates that although no single factor can explain bullying behavior, certain individuals are more vulnerable to being bullied, for example, those who have low self-esteem and are unpopular, friendless, or rejected.⁹ In addition, studies indicate that some students, including those with disabilities and those who are GLBT, are disproportionately subjected to bullying behavior.¹⁰ However, because bullying can happen to any student, some experts recommend that a school policy that enumerates groups protected by its anti-bullying policy also make clear that the requirements of the policy are not limited to those enumerated groups.¹¹

The number of research studies on student bullying has significantly increased in recent years. However, most studies on the prevalence and/or impact of bullying are not directly comparable for several reasons:

- the definition of bullying is not consistent across studies;¹²
- the age range of surveyed students varies;
- the time period for the analysis varies (e.g., bullying behavior in the last two months versus bullying behavior over a school year or lifetime exposure);
- the survey methodology varies; and¹³
- some studies provide an overall prevalence rate for bullying, while other studies separate bullying by type (e.g., physical, emotional, or electronic).

In addition, when negative outcomes are found to be associated with bullying, it is difficult to discern the extent to which the bullying behavior is responsible. One study on bullying states that

it is not entirely clear whether the connections between bullying, victimization, and psychosocial difficulties reflect causes, consequences, or merely concomitant correlates of bullying and/or victimization.¹⁴

Prevalence of Bullying

A Government Accountability Office (GAO) study examined four federal agency sponsored nationally representative surveys that include questions on student bullying: the National Youth Risk Behavior Survey (2011, YRBSS);¹⁵ the School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey (2012, SCS/NCVS);¹⁶ Health Behavior in School-aged Children (2005/2006, HBSC);¹⁷ and the National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence (2008, NatSCEV).¹⁸ Due to differences across the surveys in definitions, the age of students surveyed, and the time frame of the studies, among other things, each survey obtained different estimates for the prevalence of bullying and cyber-bullying (or electronic bullying). Three of the surveys included an overall measure of the prevalence of bullying behavior. The overall

prevalence of bullying varied across the three surveys—from a low of 20.1% to a high of 27.8%. YRBSS estimated that 20.1% of surveyed youth reported being bullied; HBSC estimated that 27% of surveyed youth reported being bullied; and SCS/NCVS estimated that 27.8% of surveyed youth reported being bullied. In addition, all of the surveys included some measure of electronic bullying. The overall prevalence of electronic bullying varied across the four surveys—from a low of 1.8% to a high of 16.2%. NatSCEV estimated that 1.8% of surveyed youth reported Internet harassment; HBSC estimated that 8.1% of surveyed youth reported having been bullied using a computer or e-mail messages or pictures, and 5.7% reported having been bullied using a cell phone; SCS/NCVS estimated that 9% of surveyed youth reported being cyber-bullied; and YRBSS estimated that 16.2% of surveyed youth reported being electronically bullied. The surveys did not obtain consistent results on whether bullying was greater for one sex, race, or ethnic group. The surveys also varied in the extent to which they collected data on additional demographic characteristics on youth who were bullied.¹⁹

Student Bullying Research on the Precursors for, and Impacts of, Bullying

Many researchers who focus on student bullying believe that a variety of factors interact to influence bullying behavior, including “families, schools, peer groups, teacher-student relationships, neighborhoods, and cultural expectations.”²⁰ The interaction of these factors can have a positive influence on reducing bullying—if a positive school environment with involved, supportive adults and teachers is created, a positive peer culture is established, and school connectedness is reinforced. Researchers also note that bullying generally occurs with the physical or virtual presence of an audience of peers. These bystanders can play an important role in reinforcing bullying behavior through laughter or other encouragement, or in curbing it by speaking out against the behavior.

A 2010 meta-analysis of 153 studies evaluating predictors of being a bully, a victim, or bully-victim found some predictors were shared by both bullies and victims of bullying, including family environment, school climate, community factors, and poor social problem-solving skills. However, the authors found some factors to be more associated with one group than another. For example, bullies were more likely to have externalizing behaviors,²¹ poor academic performance, and negative thoughts or beliefs about others, and to be negatively influenced by their peers. Victims were more likely to have internalizing behaviors and negative thoughts about themselves, and to be rejected and isolated. Although both had deficits in social competence, bullies were generally more socially competent than victims.²²

In addition, some students engage in bullying behavior and are also a victim of bullying, either simultaneously, or by switching roles over time. These so called “bully-victims” were found to be the most at risk—containing risk factors associated with both of the other two groups:

That is, bully victims appeared to resemble victims by being rejected and isolated by their peers and to resemble bullies by being negatively influenced by the peers with whom they do interact.²³

As discussed above, both victims of bullying and those who engage in bullying behavior can experience psychological difficulties and social relationship problems. Additionally, a GAO literature review of seven meta-analyses on the impact of bullying on victims indicates that bullying may result in psychological, physical, academic, and behavioral issues.²⁴

Recent high profile suicides following incidents of bullying have heightened concerns about bullying behavior. The American Foundation for Suicide Prevention (AFSP) states that “Elevated rates of depression, suicidal ideation and suicide attempts have been found in youth who are bullied and also in those who bully others.”²⁵ However, AFSP indicates that no single factor is responsible for suicide. The factors that are correlated with suicide are multidimensional—for example, mental and developmental disorders, early life adverse events, and personality traits, among others. In addition, AFSP notes that “Suicidal ideation and suicide attempts occur in a small percentage of youth involved in bullying.”²⁶

EFFICACY OF ANTI-BULLYING PROGRAMS

Some of the research on anti-bullying programs has found mixed success from anti-bullying programs, particularly in the United States.²⁷ However, a cross-national meta-analysis of 44 evaluations identified particular characteristics of school-based bullying programs that may help reduce bullying.²⁸ The study found that on average, school-based anti-bullying programs decreased bullying behavior by 20%-23% and victimization by bullies by 17%-20%.

This study found the intensity and duration of a program, as well as the number of program elements, to be linked with effectiveness. Other elements found important to effectiveness were parent training, parent meetings, firm disciplinary methods, classroom rules, classroom management, and improved playground supervision. The study did not find evidence that working with peers was effective.²⁹ The authors also recommended that a system of accreditation for anti-bullying programs be established to help ensure that programs being adopted by schools include the elements that have been found to be effective.³⁰

Another study pointed out the importance of addressing peer norms in anti-bullying programs. In peer groups where bullying is the norm, the authors of the study argue that “Until these peer norms are modified, it is likely that bullying behaviors will remain intractable in our schools.”³¹

Resources for states and schools on effective anti-bullying programs are becoming more widely available. There has been an increased focus in recent years on the importance of school climate to preventing bullying and improving a variety of other school indicators. The National School Climate Center has published a resource that addresses the implementation of positive school climate practices as they relate to a variety of issues important for schools, including school bullying.³² In August 2008, ED published a document to assist schools in evaluating anti-bullying policies and practices titled *Effective Evidence-based Practices for Preventing and Addressing Bullying*.³³ In addition, several federal agencies maintain websites that include extensive information on anti-bullying programs that have proved effective or are promising.³⁴

STATE BULLYING LEGISLATION

As of the date of this report, 49 states have at least one anti-bullying law, although the content of these laws varies considerably. The majority of these laws direct school districts to adopt anti-bullying policies. However, the requirements placed on schools by these laws are quite varied.

In 2010, ED issued an in-depth report focused on state bullying laws.³⁵ The report noted the surge in state legislation addressing bullying in recent years, with 120 bills or amendments to existing legislation introduced between 1999 and 2010. According to the report, the landscape of state legislation has been changing as new bills (or amendments to existing laws) that address student bullying have been introduced that reflect:

the rapidly evolving political and policy environment surrounding bullying in schools, where lawmakers are continually refining legislative expectations for schools in response to the new problem dimensions (e.g., the growth of cyber-bullying), and to emerging research concerning effective policy strategies for combating student bullying.³⁶

The report's evaluation of the content and expansiveness of these laws highlighted the tremendous variation in these laws. The report was based on the 46 states that had bullying laws in place prior to the study. According to the report all but three of these states included definitions of what behaviors were prohibited. All but one of the 46 states required school districts in the state to adopt bullying policies. Forty-one of these states had developed model bullying policies, and 36 states included a prohibition on cyber-bullying or bullying using electronic media. In addition, 13 states included a provision stating that schools could address bullying that occurs outside of school grounds if it creates a hostile school environment.

The report delineated 11 key components of a comprehensive state anti-bullying statute.³⁷ The topics addressed by these 11 key components include the following:

- Purpose Statement
- Statement of Scope
- Specification of Prohibited Conduct
- Enumeration of Specific Characteristics
- Development and Implementation of Local Policies
- Review of Local Policies
- Communication Plan
- Training and Prevention Education
- Transparency and Monitoring
- Statement of Rights to Other Legal Recourse³⁸

The report classified each state's legislation into one of three categories for each key component on a continuum from least to most expansive and scored them from 0-2. Key components in more expansive state laws were usually more inclusive and more prescriptive, used less discretionary language, or established stronger measures of accountability. There was considerable variation across states in the number of the 11 key components included in state law, and in the level of detail and scope in the components that were included.³⁹ The report indicates that it did not include an analysis of how effectively school districts and individual

schools are implementing these anti-bullying policies. A second phase of the study will address implementation in a sample of school districts and schools:

While this report focuses on documenting and profiling policy across the states, these policies may not benefit schools or students unless they can be successfully implemented. For example, legislation that defines prohibited bullying behaviors, and specifies graduated and substantial sanctions, will often require extensive implementation procedures for the implementing of the sanction (e.g., expulsion). Whether these necessary actions are feasible within resource constraints cannot be determined through a policy review alone.⁴⁰

SCHOOL RESPONSIBILITIES REGARDING BULLYING

Schools must balance a variety of factors in developing policies to address bullying. Among other things, they must meet state, federal, and local regulations and statutory requirements.⁴¹ Although resources on factors to consider in developing a comprehensive school anti-bullying policy are becoming more widely available,⁴² developing and implementing comprehensive and effective bullying policies can be challenging for schools. As more schools adopt anti-bullying policies, a variety of potential policy issues have arisen—including the wide variation in the coverage provided by these policies, the potential difficulty in ensuring civil rights laws are not violated while simultaneously ensuring that constitutional protections on free speech are not impinged upon, and the particular difficulties of developing policies to address the rising phenomenon of cyber-bullying.

Focus on Cyber-Bullying

Although cyber-bullying frequently occurs off school grounds, it can have negative effects that are felt at school. Developing policies that address cyber-bullying can be a particular challenge for schools. School districts must deal with evolving case law on issues related to cyber-bullying that may cause uncertainty regarding a school's legal responsibility or potential culpability. For example, in some instances courts have prohibited disciplining a student for out of school speech. (See discussion of the Tinker standard under "Legal Issues.")

Cyber-bullying experts Sameer Hinduja and Justin Patchin recommend that schools ensure that their current policies on harassment and bullying permit disciplining students for cyber-bullying: They note that "If their policy covers it, cyber-bullying incidents that occur at school—or that originate off campus but ultimately result in a substantial disruption of the learning environment—are well within a school's legal authority to intervene."⁴³ The authors further note that

Even though the vast majority of these incidents can be handled informally (calling parents, counseling the bully and target, expressing condemnation of the behavior), there may be occasions where formal response from the school is warranted. This is particularly the case in incidents involving serious threats toward another student, if the target no longer feels comfortable coming to school, or if cyber-bullying behaviors continue after informal attempts to stop it have failed. In these cases, the authors suggest that detention, suspension, changes of placement, or even expulsion may be necessary. If these extreme measures are

required, it is important that educators are able to clearly demonstrate the link to school and present evidence that supports their action.⁴⁴

ED Dear Colleague Letter: School Responsibilities Regarding Bullying that Rises to the Level of Discriminatory Harassment

In December of 2010, the U.S. Department of Education issued a Dear Colleague Letter (DCL) that provided guidance on schools' responsibilities regarding bullying, in particular how some forms of bullying could rise to the level of discriminatory harassment, and as a consequence, might violate civil rights statutes. Several civil rights statutes explicitly protect against harassment based on race, color, national origin, sex, and disability. (See discussion of "Legal Issues.") Several of these laws are enforced by ED's Office for Civil Rights (OCR).⁴⁵ If a school or Institution of Higher Education fails to adequately address harassment of a student that falls under one of these protected categories, it has not met its statutory obligations to protect the student according to the DCL:

Harassment creates a hostile environment when the conduct is sufficiently severe, pervasive, or persistent so as to interfere with or limit a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the services, activities, or opportunities offered by a school. When such harassment is based on race, color, national origin, sex, or disability, it violates the civil rights laws that OCR enforces.... A school is responsible for addressing harassment incidents about which it knows or reasonably should have known.⁴⁶

Furthermore, according to the DCL, addressing the discriminatory harassment through a school's anti-bullying policy is not sufficient:

If an investigation reveals that discriminatory harassment has occurred, a school must take prompt and effective steps reasonably calculated to end the harassment, eliminate any hostile environment and its effects, and prevent the harassment from recurring. These duties are a school's responsibility even if the misconduct also is covered by an anti-bullying policy, and regardless of whether a student has complained, asked the school to take action, or identified the harassment as a form of discrimination.⁴⁷

Harassment Based on Disability

It is important to note that students with disabilities who are victims of bullying may be able to file a complaint under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act (Section 504), Title II of the American with Disabilities Act (Title II), and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) in addition to pursuing redress through state anti-bullying laws, state civil rights legislation, other state laws, or in some circumstances through other federal civil rights legislation. This issue is addressed in an ED Dear Colleague letter issued on July 25, 2000. According to ED, state and school districts are required by Section 504, Title II, and IDEA to:

ensure that a free appropriate public education (FAPE) is made available to eligible students with disabilities. Disability harassment may result in a denial of FAPE under these statutes. Parents may initiate administrative due process procedures under IDEA, Section

504, or Title II to address a denial of FAPE.... In addition, an individual or organization may file a complaint alleging a violation of IDEA under separate procedures with the state educational agency.⁴⁸

A recent ED DCL provided more detailed guidance on the responsibility of schools to address bullying of students with disabilities:

Whether or not the bullying is related to the student's disability, any bullying of a student with a disability that results in the student not receiving meaningful educational benefit constitutes a denial of FAPE under IDEA and must be remedied.⁴⁹

The DCL also made clear that care must be taken in considering changing the placement of a student with a disability who is being bullied (i.e., the school must ensure that the student remains in the least restrictive educational environment in order to provide the student a FAPE).

Response to Dear Colleague Letter

Some groups have raised concerns about the guidance ED provided in its December 2010 Dear Colleague Letter. The National School Boards Association (NSBA) submitted a letter to ED stating that the guidance would place too broad an obligation on schools. According to the NSBA's letter:

our fear is that absent clarification, the Department's expansive reading of the law as stated in the DCL will invite misguided litigation that needlessly drains precious school resources and creates adversarial climates that distract schools from their educational mission.⁵⁰

In addition, the American Jewish Committee and the Religious Freedom Education Project/First Amendment Center issued proposed guidelines for school administrators intended to address bullying while also protecting students' freedom of speech and expression. Fifteen additional organizations signed on to these guidelines. The guidelines note that schools must balance safety concerns and free expression. They argue that unless student speech causes a substantial disruption at school it should not be censored.⁵¹

In response to these proposed guidelines the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) submitted a letter to ED calling them "ill-conceived, unnecessary, deeply flawed, and counterproductive to confronting the growing and serious problem of bullying and cyber-bullying."⁵² Furthermore, the ADL letter notes that

Bullying situations very rarely erupt as conflicts over political or religious speech.... Instead, they much more often involve the intentional targeting of an individual with less physical or social standing for physical or verbal abuse. Targeted students are in a very different power position than those who are doing the bullying. The aggressor's objective is not to convince his/her target of the rightness of a policy position—it is, rather, to cause physical or emotional harm.⁵³

FEDERAL AGENCY EFFORTS ON BULLYING

There are currently several federal initiatives that address student bullying. However, many of these initiatives are not solely or primarily focused on student bullying, but permit some funds to be used for this purpose. This section of the report summarizes interagency efforts to address student bullying. In addition, this report includes an Appendix that briefly summarizes selected federal bullying initiatives that may allow funding to be used to address school bullying. The Appendix focuses on some of the initiatives that have been undertaken by the three federal agencies that are most involved in addressing this issue: The U.S. Department of Education (ED), the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), and the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ). Note that bullying is often a small, optional part of the initiatives included in the Appendix. The initiatives that are included should not be viewed as an exhaustive list of federal initiatives that may address school bullying.

Interagency Initiatives

Representatives from the U.S. Departments of Agriculture, Defense, Education, Health and Human Services, the Interior, and Justice; the Federal Trade Commission; and the White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders have formed a Federal Partners in Bullying Prevention Steering Committee. The Federal Partners work to coordinate policy, research, and communications on bullying topics. The Federal Partners have created a website, <http://www.stopbullying.gov>, which provides extensive resources on bullying, including information on how schools can address bullying.⁵⁴ In addition, with leadership from the U.S. Department of Education (ED), the Federal Partners have sponsored three anti-bullying summits attended by education practitioners, policymakers, researchers, and federal officials.⁵⁵ With ED and HHS, the CDC is currently leading an effort to develop a consensus definition of bullying that is intended to provide a consistent definition that will enhance comparability of data across studies and consequently lead to better measurement and tracking of bullying, as well as to improved prevention and responses to bullying.⁵⁶

Three agencies currently collaborate on a program called Safe Schools/Healthy Students (SS/HS). SS/HS is funded jointly by ED and HHS's Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). The program is administered by ED, SAMHSA, and DOJ. Although SS/HS is not primarily an anti-bullying program, grantees may use program funds to include an anti-bullying component as part of their overall comprehensive plan of activities, programs, and services focusing on healthy childhood development and the prevention of violence and alcohol and drug abuse. SS/HS grants are awarded competitively to local educational agencies (LEAs). LEAs that receive a grant are required to establish partnerships with local law enforcement, public mental health, and juvenile justice agencies/entities.⁵⁷

Additionally, six agencies collaborated (U.S. Department of Education, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency) to develop and publish comprehensive guides for developing high-quality emergency operations

plans. Three separate guides were published; each was targeted to a different audience—elementary and secondary schools, institutions of higher education, and houses of worship.⁵⁸

LEGAL ISSUES

Currently, there are no federal statutes that explicitly prohibit student bullying or cyberbullying. Under some circumstances, however, bullying in schools may be prohibited by certain federal civil rights laws. In contrast, many states have laws that explicitly prohibit bullying. In addition, bullying may, in some instances, constitute a violation of state criminal or tort law. The federal and state laws that govern traditional forms of bullying are described below, followed by a separate section that discusses federal and state laws that may pertain to cyberbullying.

Federal Law

Under certain circumstances, federal civil rights statutes may be used to combat bullying in schools. The applicable federal civil rights statutes that prohibit discrimination in schools include Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (CRA), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in federal funded programs or activities;⁵⁹ Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in federally funded education programs or activities;⁶⁰ Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of disability in federally funded programs or activities;⁶¹ Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of disability by state or local governments;⁶² Title IV of the CRA, which bars discrimination in public schools on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin;⁶³ and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act, which prohibits states from denying equal educational opportunities based on race, color, sex, or national origin.⁶⁴ The latter two statutes were largely designed to combat segregation in public schools.

Discriminatory conduct under these statutes includes peer harassment if such harassment is sufficiently serious that it creates a hostile environment and if such harassment is encouraged, tolerated, not adequately addressed, or ignored by school employees. If the bullying conduct in question involved discrimination or harassment on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, or disability under the above statutes, then it is prohibited by federal law. However, bullying that does not constitute discrimination on these grounds is not covered.

In 2010, ED issued guidance that discusses when student bullying or harassment may violate federal education anti-discrimination laws and that clarifies a school's obligation to combat such bullying or harassment.⁶⁵ The guidance includes a discussion of when bullying or harassment that targets lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender students may be a form of sex discrimination that violates Title IX, as well as a section that describes when bullying or harassment of students who share a particular religion may constitute national origin discrimination in violation of Title VI.

Although none of these civil rights statutes explicitly prohibits discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity, there may, as ED's guidance notes, be instances in which such discrimination may also be a form of sex discrimination that violates Title IX.⁶⁶ In

the employment context, the Supreme Court has recognized that sex discrimination may encompass same-sex sexual harassment, meaning that sex discrimination is prohibited even if the harasser and victim are members of the same sex.⁶⁷ The Court has also ruled that gender stereotyping is a form of discrimination on the basis of sex.⁶⁸ Therefore, if a student who is gay or transgender is being harassed because of a failure to conform to gender stereotypes, such harassment is prohibited by Title IX. It is important to note, however, that Title IX prohibits sexual orientation or gender identity discrimination only when it constitutes a form of sex discrimination.⁶⁹ Thus, the statute does not prohibit all forms of sexual orientation or gender identity discrimination or harassment of students.⁷⁰

Likewise, although none of the civil rights statutes described above explicitly prohibits discrimination on the basis of religion, there may be instances in which such discrimination may also be a form of national origin discrimination that violates Title VI. According to ED, “harassment against students who are members of any religious group triggers a school’s Title VI responsibilities when the harassment is based on the group’s actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics, rather than solely on its members’ religious practices.”⁷¹ Thus, for example, Jewish, Muslim, or Sikh students who share a religious identity may be victims of national origin discrimination if they are being bullied or harassed due to actual or perceived ancestry or ethnicity.

State Law

State laws also offer some protection to victims of bullying. Indeed, some states have statutes that explicitly prohibit bullying,⁷² while all states have general criminal and tort laws that may, under certain circumstances, provide remedies to victims of bullying. For example, certain forms of bullying are likely to violate a state’s general laws against criminal assault and battery or other infractions such as disorderly conduct. Thus, bullies may incur penalties in states without explicit anti-bullying statutes and may even incur stiffer penalties under assault and battery statutes in states that also have anti-bullying laws.

Furthermore, tort law remedies, which allow bullying victims to sue on their own behalf, are available in all states. Tort law, which is created by both court decisions and statutory enactments, is generally intended to provide a mechanism by which individuals who have been injured can sue to recover damages. Tort law also serves as a deterrent to prevent similar injurious activities in the future. With regard to bullying, typical tort actions include intentional tort claims or negligent tort claims.

Lawsuits based on an intentional tort theory typically involve claims that fall into two categories: assault and/or battery. In general, assault claims involve fear of harmful or offensive touching, while battery claims involve actual harmful or offensive touching. Lawsuits based on a negligent tort theory generally involve claims against schools for failure to reasonably supervise students or employees or for failure to anticipate the wrongful conduct of such third parties. In order to succeed in such claims, plaintiffs must establish that the school owed them a duty of supervision, that the school breached that duty, that the breach was a foreseeable cause of an injury, and that an actual injury resulted.

Finally, it is important to note that many school districts and individual schools have anti-bullying policies that may be applicable.

Cyber-Bullying

Cyber-bullying, which generally refers to harassment occurring among school-aged children through the use of the Internet, may or may not overlap with bullying that occurs in schools. Depending on the circumstances, some or all of the federal and state laws discussed above may apply to cyber-bullying. In addition, several states have passed legislation to prohibit cyberbullying. In many cases, such legislation requires or authorizes school districts to adopt cyberbullying policies.⁷³

It is important to note that the types of laws that may be invoked to combat cyber-bullying will vary depending on the circumstances of the particular case and thus may not be limited to the statutes cited above.⁷⁴

Constitutional Considerations

As noted above, there may be constitutional principles that limit the authority of federal, state, or local governments or schools from enacting anti-bullying laws and policies. These constitutional considerations primarily involve the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

First Amendment: Freedom of Speech

The First Amendment declares that “Congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech.” The Fourteenth Amendment’s due process clause imposes the same restriction upon the states,⁷⁵ many of whose constitutions have a comparable limitation on state legislative action.⁷⁶ Although the First Amendment guarantees free speech, the right is not absolute. Governments impose limitations on many types of speech, and courts frequently distinguish between constitutionally protected speech and other less socially valuable categories of speech. One such example of unprotected speech is speech that constitutes a true threat.⁷⁷ The Supreme Court has decided several “true threat” cases that provide the constitutional parameters that states or localities must meet when seeking to establish anti-bullying laws or policies.

In *Watts v. United States*,⁷⁸ the Court held that only “true threats” are outside the scope of the First Amendment. In *Watts*, the defendant attended a political rally and made the statement, “I have already received my draft classification ... I am not going. If they ever make me carry a rifle the first man I want to get in my sights is [President] L.B.J.”⁷⁹ The defendant was arrested and charged with violating 18 U.S.C. Section 871(a) for “knowingly and willfully ... [making a] threat to take the life of or to inflict bodily harm upon the President of the United States.” The Court held that, although the federal statute was not unconstitutionally overbroad, the defendant’s statement was protected because it was not a “true threat.” The Court found that the content of Watts’s statement, the context in which the statement was made, and the audience’s reaction⁸⁰ to the statement were all supportive of Watts’s claim that he engaged in protected “political hyperbole.”⁸¹ The Court recognized that “true threats” should not be afforded First Amendment protection, and stated, “What is a threat must be distinguished from what is constitutionally protected speech.”⁸²

Watts did not establish a bright-line test for distinguishing a true threat from protected speech. As such, lower courts have created varying tests for determining whether speech rises to the level of a true threat.⁸³ The main point of contention among the appellate courts is whether the focus of a “true threat” test should be on the speaker or the listener. Some courts evaluate

the existence of a threat by determining whether the speaker should reasonably have foreseen his words to be threatening,⁸⁴ while others rest the determination on whether a reasonable recipient would be threatened by the statement.⁸⁵

Based on these principles, it is possible that anti-bullying laws or policies could be deemed constitutionally deficient if the prohibited behavior does not rise to the level of a “true threat” under most circumstances. This analysis, however, may differ depending on whether the challenged language is contained in a state statute or school policy.

In the school context, school officials who use anti-bullying policies to take disciplinary action against students may face legal challenges based on the First Amendment. While students generally retain the protections of the First Amendment, these protections may not always mirror the constitutional protections afforded in other contexts.⁸⁶ For example, in *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*,⁸⁷ the Court held that student expression may be regulated only if it would substantially disrupt school operations or interfere with the rights of others.⁸⁸

In *Tinker*, students wore black armbands to school to protest the United States’ involvement in Vietnam, despite knowledge that such action was in violation of school policy. The students were asked to remove the armbands, and upon their refusal were suspended until they came to school without the armbands. The Court held that the wearing of armbands for the purpose of expressing different viewpoints is the type of symbolic act within the protection of the First Amendment. Specifically, the Court ruled that “First Amendment rights, applied in light of the special characteristics of the school environment, are available to teachers and students. It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of expression at the schoolhouse gate.”⁸⁹

The Court subsequently refined the *Tinker* rationale as it applies to verbal expression or “pure speech.” In *Bethel School District 403 v. Fraser*,⁹⁰ the Court ruled that school officials had the authority to discipline a student for violating school rules by delivering a lewd speech at a school assembly. Shifting its focus from the students’ rights articulated in *Tinker*, the Court instead emphasized the school’s duty to inculcate habits and manners of civility and teach students the boundaries of socially appropriate behavior.⁹¹ In addition, the Court noted the importance of protecting minors from vulgar, lewd, or indecent language.⁹² As such, the Court concluded that the nomination speech had a disruptive effect on the education process, and that it was up to school officials to determine what manner of speech in the classroom or in school assembly is appropriate.⁹³

While it is undisputed that the First Amendment does not protect “offensive” speech while on school grounds, courts are less clear when the speech occurs off school premises. For example, in *iS. v. Bethlehem Area School District*,⁹⁴ an 8th grader created a website that contained derogatory remarks regarding a math teacher and a principal. Most of the website was devoted to ridiculing the math teacher, comparing her to Adolph Hitler and making fun of her physical appearance. In addition, the site contained a solicitation for contributions to pay for a “hit man.”⁹⁵ School officials subsequently expelled the student, citing the extreme emotional distress suffered by the math teacher and the disruption the website caused at the school. The student argued that his website was protected speech.

In reviewing the case, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court decided two issues: (1) whether the student’s speech constituted a true threat; and (2) whether the *Tinker* and *Fraser* standards permit a school district to discipline a student for off-campus speech. In addressing the “true threat” issue, the court determined that, although the website was in extremely poor taste, it

was not a “true threat.” Specifically, the court stated that “[w]e believe that the [w]ebsite, taken as a whole, was a sophomoric, crude, highly offensive and perhaps misguided attempt at humor or parody. However, it did not reflect a serious expression of intent to inflict harm,” as the site focused primarily on the teacher’s physical appearance, utilizing cartoons, hand drawings, and a reference to Adolph Hitler.⁹⁶

The court then addressed whether First Amendment jurisprudence permitted the school to discipline a student for off-campus speech. It dismissed the argument that the website was off-campus speech beyond the school’s jurisdiction. Specifically, the court stated that “[w]e find there is a sufficient nexus between the [w]ebsite and the school campus to consider the speech as occurring on-campus.”⁹⁷ The court made this determination because the student had accessed the site at school, showed it to a fellow student, and informed other students about the site.⁹⁸ The court then reasoned that school officials could punish the student under the *Tinker* or *Fraser* standard⁹⁹—under the *Fraser* standard because the speech on the website was vulgar and highly offensive,¹⁰⁰ and under the *Tinker* standard inasmuch as the website caused a substantial disruption of school activities.¹⁰¹

Ultimately, court rulings in this area tend to depend on the circumstances that arise in a given case, with courts sometimes upholding a school’s disciplinary actions¹⁰² and other times ruling in favor of a student’s right to free speech.¹⁰³

Fourteenth Amendment: Due Process

Another constitutional constraint that legislators and school administrators may face when drafting legislation or school policies aimed at curtailing bullying is the Fourteenth Amendment. The Fourteenth Amendment’s due process clause provides that “[n]o State shall ... deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law....” Under the due process clause, criminal statutes that lack sufficient definiteness or specificity may be held “void for vagueness.” A governmental regulation or statute may be declared void if it fails to give a person adequate warning that his or her conduct is prohibited or if it fails to set out adequate standards to prevent arbitrary and/or discriminatory enforcement.¹⁰⁴

Indeed, a statute may be so vague or threatening to constitutionally protected activity that it can be pronounced unconstitutional on its face. For example, in *Papachristou v. City of Jacksonville*,¹⁰⁵ a unanimous Court struck down as facially invalid a vagrancy ordinance that punished:

dissolute persons who go about begging, ... common night walkers, ... common railers and brawlers, persons wandering or strolling around from place to place without any lawful purpose or object, habitual loafers, ... persons neglecting all lawful business and habitually spending their time by frequenting houses of ill fame, gaming houses, or places where alcoholic beverages are sold or served, persons able to work but habitually living upon the earnings of their wives or minor children.¹⁰⁶

The Court found the statute facially invalid, as it failed to provide fair notice or require specific intent to commit an unlawful act. The Court concluded that the statute permitted arbitrary and erratic arrests and convictions, provided police officers too much discretion, and criminalized activities that are normally innocent.¹⁰⁷

When evaluating the constitutionality of anti-bullying laws or policies, the courts may apply these due process principles. For example, in *Flaherty v. Keystone Oaks School*

District,¹⁰⁸ a student filed a lawsuit after being disciplined for posting on an online message board devoted to high school volleyball. A federal district court held that the breadth of student handbook policies pertaining to discipline and technology was overreaching, thus violating students' free speech rights. In addition, the court held that the policies were unconstitutionally vague in definition and as applied.

The court found the school policies unconstitutionally overbroad for several reasons. First, the policies were not referred to or incorporated in the student handbook. In addition, the policy "authorizes discipline where a student's expression that is abusive, offending, harassing, or inappropriate, interferes with the educational program of the schools." This standard, concluded the court, did not comply with the *Tinker* requirement that discipline should be reserved for those circumstances that cause a substantial disruption to school operations.¹⁰⁹

Finally, the court noted that even if it did not find the policy overbroad, it would find the student handbook policies unconstitutionally vague, as the terms "abuse, offend, harassment, and inappropriate" were not defined in any significant manner. In addition, the court found the policies not only vague in definition but also in application. The court noted that school personnel had varying interpretations of the policies. As such, the court concluded that the policies were vague enough to result in arbitrary enforcement. Therefore, the court concluded that the student handbook policies did not provide the student with adequate warning of proscribed conduct.

Ultimately, when drafting legislation or school policies to combat student bullying, legislators and school administrators must consider the constitutional constraints imposed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Specifically, such officials must ensure that statutes and school policies are narrow enough not to infringe upon protected speech and specific enough not to be found unconstitutionally vague.

APPENDIX.

Table A-1. Federal Agency Initiatives that May Address School Bullying

Title	Description	Federal Agency Administering Initiative
	<i>GRANT PROGRAMS</i>	
<i>The Safe and Drug Free Schools and Community Act (SDFSCA)</i>	SDFSCA is the federal government's primary program aimed at preventing drug abuse and violence, including student bullying, in and around public schools. ^a	Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, Office of Safe and Health Students, U.S. Department of Education
<i>Secure our Schools Program (SOS)</i>	SOS funds can be used for anti-bullying initiatives, among other things. Grants under this program provide funding to state, local, or tribal governments working in partnership with public schools to improve school safety. ^b	Office of Community Oriented Policing, U.S. Department of Justice
<i>Academic Centers of Excellence (ACE)</i>	The ACE program supports grants for National Academic Centers of Excellence in Youth Violence Prevention and Urban Partnership Academic Centers of Excellence. It funds collaborative efforts between research universities	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Table A-1. (Continued)

Title	Description	Federal Agency Administering Initiative
<i>Academic Centers of Excellence (ACE)</i>	and community-based organizations to help community partners develop, implement, and evaluate comprehensive youth violence prevention efforts. ^c	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
<i>Juvenile Accountability Block Grant (JABG)</i>	The JABG program authorizes the Attorney General to make grants to states and units of local government to strengthen their juvenile justice systems and to foster accountability within their juvenile populations. The program focuses resources on holding juveniles accountable for their actions and building up the juvenile justice system in the states. ^d	Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice
<i>Garrett Lee Smith State, Tribal, and Campus Youth Suicide Prevention Programs</i>	Grants made under this program help states, tribes, and campuses develop and implement youth suicide prevention and early intervention strategies involving public-private collaborations among youth-serving institutions. ^e	Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
<i>Native Aspirations Grants</i>	Grants under this program fund training and technical assistance to provide proactive mental health assistance to children, youth, and their families living on American Indian Tribal reservations and in Alaska Native villages. The program is designed to help decrease the risk factors that contribute to youth violence, bullying, and suicide, and to help increase the protective factors linked to healthy, safe children and families. ^f	Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
<i>School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey (SCS/NCVS)</i>	This survey is co-designed by the U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Justice. It is a national survey of students ages 12-18 in public and private K-12 schools. SCS/NCVS collects information about victimization, crime, and safety at school, including bullying. It is currently administered every two years. ^g	Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice National Center on Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education
<i>Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC)</i>	The most recent (SY2009-SY2010) data collection is the first time the survey has included reporting on bullying and harassment (at both the school and district level). The survey also includes data on corporal punishment; in- and out-of-school suspensions, expulsions, zero tolerance expulsions, referral to law enforcement; and school-based arrests. This survey is based on a sample of public school districts and schools. It is conducted every two years. ^h	Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education

Title	Description	Federal Agency Administering Initiative
<i>Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS)</i>	YRBSS monitors alcohol, tobacco, and drug use, sexual behaviors that lead to unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, behaviors that lead to unintentional injury and violence, unhealthy dietary habits, and inadequate physical activity. It includes questions on student bullying. Students in grades 9-12 are surveyed every two years during the spring school semester. ⁱ	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
DATA COLLECTION		
<i>Health Behavior in School- Aged Children (HBSC)</i>	NICHHD conducts research on bullying through the Health behavior in School-Aged Children survey. This international survey includes a nationally representative sample of U.S students in grades 6-10, and includes questions addressing bullying behaviors (perpetration and victimization). This survey is conducted every four years. ^j	National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, National Institutes of Health, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
<i>National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence (NatSCEV)</i>	Surveys past-year and lifetime exposure to violence, including bullying, of children age 17 and younger. This phone survey is conducted periodically, based on a nationally representative sample of children. Children ages 10 and over are surveyed directly; responses for children under the age of 10 are obtained from their principal caregiver. ^k	Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
<i>School Survey on Crime and safety (SSOCS)</i>	SSOCS is a survey of approximately 3,500 principals in public K-12 schools. SSOCS is ED's primary source of data on crime and safety at the school level. SSOCS includes questions on the reported frequency of bullying and cyber-bullying. It is currently administered every two years. ^l	National Center on Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education
RESOURCES ON PROMISING PRACTICES, PREVENTION, AND INTERVENTIONS		
<i>Measuring Bullying Victimization, Perpetration, and Bystander Experiences</i>	Compendium of bullying measurement tools. ^m	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
<i>Blueprints for Healthy Youth Development</i>	Identifies evidence-based prevention and intervention programs. ⁿ	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
<i>National Registry of Evidence- based Programs and Practices</i>	SAMHSA maintains a National Registry of Evidence Based Programs and Practices that includes bullying prevention programs. ^o	Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Table A-1. (Continued)

Title	Description	Federal Agency Administering Initiative
RESOURCES ON PROMISING PRACTICES, PREVENTION, AND INTERVENTIONS		
<i>Model Programs Guide</i>	This guide helps users select evidenced-based prevention and intervention programs. It allows users to search for programs based on criteria that they select, e.g., program type, target setting (such as schools), problem behavior (such as bullying), special populations, as well as by gender, race/ethnicity, and age. ^p	Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice
<i>Community Action Planning</i>	Bullying prevention training modules and a community action toolkit to provide communities with research-based strategies to address bullying. ^q	Health Resources and Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
	OUTREACH	
<i>Stop Bullying Now Campaign</i>	The Stop Bullying Now Campaign is targeted to children ages 9-13. It has distributed resources on bullying to all public elementary and secondary schools and many other organizations that serve youth. ^r	Health Resources and Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
<i>Striving to Reduce Youth Violence Everywhere (STRYVE)</i>	STRYVE provides training and resources to achieve the goals of the program, which are to (1) increase awareness that youth violence can and should be prevented, (2) promote the use of youth violence prevention approaches that are based upon the best available evidence, and (3) provide guidance to communities on how to prevent youth violence. ^s	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
<i>Defending Childhood</i>	DOJ is leading this initiative, which is focused on children's exposure to violence. The initiative is working to coordinate resources in order to prevent, reduce, and better understand this issue. It provides funds for research, evaluation, and public awareness, as well as for demonstration grants. Although this is a broad initiative focusing on a comprehensive approach to violence, victimization through bullying may be included as one of the issues addressed. ^t	U.S. Department of Justice
	REPORTS/RESEARCH ON SCHOOL BULLYING	
<i>State Bullying Laws and Policies</i>	The U.S. Department of Education has published a detailed report on state bullying laws that is available online. ^u	Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development, Policy and Program Studies Services, U.S. Department of Education
<i>Reports</i>	The CDC has published several reports on school bullying including three on electronic aggression— including one targeted to researchers and one targeted to caregivers. ^v	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Title	Description	Federal Agency Administering Initiative
<i>Reports</i>	OJP has issued a series of publications on student bullying including some focused on peer victimization, and others on the impact of bullying on student behaviors, such as <i>student</i> engagement, attendance, and achievement. ^w	Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice
<i>School-Based Programs to Reduce Bullying and Victimization</i>	This report reviews school-based programs to reduce bullying and victimization. ^x	National Criminal Justice Reference Service, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice
<i>Research</i>	Supports research to enhance the evidence base on bullying for use in program development at the school and district levels. Also supports research on the causes of violent and aggressive behaviors and the mechanisms underlying these behaviors. ^y	National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, National Institutes of Health, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
	<i>TECHINICAL ASSISTANCE</i>	
<i>Technical Assistance Center on Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports</i>	The Center provides capacity-building information and technical assistance to schools, districts, and states who are implementing School-wide Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS), including PBIS for bullying prevention. PBIS is a three-tiered prevention based approach to improving school-wide disciplinary practices. According to the Center, PBIS is used in more than 9,000 schools across 40 states. ^z	Office of Special Education, U.S. Department of Education
<i>National Training and Technical Assistance Center</i>	The Center provides technical assistance on student bullying, among other things. In addition, it provides funding for the Safe Start Initiative, which is intended to broaden the knowledge of, and promote community investment in, evidence-based strategies for reducing the impact of children's exposure to violence. ^{aa}	Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice

Source: Compiled by CRS.

^a As authorized, the SDFSCA is divided into two major programs: State Formula Grants and National Programs. However, FY2009 was the last year that funding was provided for State Formula Grants. Overall funding for SDFSCA was considerably lower in FY2012 than it was in years when the State Grant Program also received funding. The SDFSCA program received a total of \$65 million in funding in FY2012. In contrast, for FY2009, the last year in which State Formula Grants received funding, the total funding for SDFSCA equaled \$435 million—\$295 million for State Formula Grants, and \$140 million for National Programs. For more information on the SDFSCA program see CRS Report RL34496, *Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act: Program Overview and Reauthorization Issues*, by Gail McCallion.

^b <http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=2368>.

^c <http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/ace/>.

^d The only core mandate of the JABG program is that states must begin to implement a system of graduated sanctions for juveniles in order to be eligible for funding. As currently comprised, the program authorizes funding for 17 accountability based purpose areas. While not all of the purpose areas address activities in the school arena, one such purpose area is “establishing and maintaining accountability-based programs that are designed to enhance school safety, which programs may include research-based bullying, cyber-bullying, and gang prevention programs.” (42 USC 3796ee(b)(13)). <http://www.ojjdp.gov/programs/ProgSummary.asp?pi=1>.

^e <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3107991/>.

^f See p. 300 of HHS FY2014 Budget Justification: http://www.samhsa.gov/Budget/FY2014/SAMHSA_FY2014_CJ_FINAL.pdf.

^g Although some of the data elements collected in this survey are available by state, bullying is not. The survey asks about school related topics such as alcohol and drug availability; fighting, bullying, and hate-related behaviors; fear and avoidance behaviors; gun and weapon carrying; and gangs at school. This survey is conducted every two years. Each incident of crime against an individual is counted as a victimization. However, if a particular student reports two incidents of victimization during the previous 6 months, then this student would be counted only once in the overall prevalence (“any”) estimate. Thus the prevalence indicates the number of students affected by victimization rather than the number of victimizations that occur at school. <http://nces.ed.gov/programs/crime/surveys.asp>.

^h The purpose of this survey is to monitor the extent to which public elementary and secondary schools are meeting their obligation to provide equal educational opportunities to all students. Most of the data are broken down by sex, race, ELL, IDEA, and Section 504 status. The most recent survey is based on a sample that covers more than 72,000 schools in approximately 7,000 school districts, and represents about 85% of all U.S. students. <http://ocrdata.ed.gov>.

ⁱ <http://www.cdc.gov/HealthyYouth/yrbs/index.htm>.

^j <http://www.hbsc.org/about/index.html>.

^k <http://www.ojjdp.gov/pubs/235394.pdf>.

^l SSOCs collects data from school principals on: the frequency and types of crimes occurring at school, disciplinary actions allowed and used in schools, policies and practices designed to prevent or reduce crime in schools, and characteristics of school climate related to safety. It includes information on the percentage of schools reporting incidents of hate crimes and cyber-bullying. Since 2003, it has been administered every two years. <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2011/2011320.pdf>.

^m <http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/bullyCompendiumbk-a.pdf>.

ⁿ <http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/blueprints/>.

^o <http://www.nrepp.samhsa.gov/>.

^p <http://www.ojjdp.gov/mpg/>.

^q <http://www.stopbullying.gov/prevention/in-the-community/community-action-planning/index.html>.

^r <http://mchb.hrsa.gov/programs/bullying/>.

^s <http://vetoviolence.cdc.gov/stryve/>.

^t <http://www.justice.gov/defendingchildhood/>.

^u <http://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/bullying/state-bullying-laws/state-bullying-laws.pdf>.

^v <http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/youthviolence/electronicaggression/>.

^w http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/newsroom/factsheets/ojfs_bullying.html.

^x <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/229377.pdf>.

^y Most recently NICHD has provided funds for research projects that are exploring the content of social media for types of harassment, identifying youth who may be more vulnerable to Internet victimization and factors that may provide protection, and the development of a new online library that will feature bullying prevention programming and resources for schools and other programs that serve adolescents. <http://www.nichd.nih.gov/health/topics/bullying/researchinfo/Pages/activities.aspx..>

^z <http://www.pbis.org/>.

^{aa} <https://www.nttac.org/>.

End Notes

¹ See discussion of Student Bullying Research.

² The U.S. Department of Education has issued a report analyzing state bullying laws and policies that is available online: <http://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/bullying/state-bullying-laws/state-bullying-laws.pdf>.

³ A uniform definition will be addressed in a forthcoming document titled: *Bullying Surveillance Among Youth: Uniform Definitions and Recommended Data Elements*, Version 1.0. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Public Health Law News: Office for State, Tribal, Local, and Territorial Support, October 2012.

⁴ Vivolo-Kantor also points out that “important factors need to be considered when drafting this definition. First and foremost, we felt it was important to develop a definition that leads to accurate measurement of bullying and that can be easily understood by the field. Second, we needed to make the definition relevant for schools but also for youth. Lastly, we needed to acknowledge that this definition was developed for surveillance purposes. Additional work is needed to translate the definition for use in other contexts, such as state or school bullying policies.”

⁵ <http://www.stopbullying.gov>.

- ⁶ <http://www.stopbullying.gov/what-is-bullying/definition/index.html#types>. In addition the website states that “It is not bullying when two kids with no perceived power imbalance fight, have an argument, or disagree. Conflict resolution or peer mediation may be appropriate for these situations.”
- ⁷ <http://www.stopbullying.gov/cyber-bullying/index.html>.
- ⁸ According to <http://www.stopbullying.gov>: “Although media reports often call unwanted, aggressive behavior among young adults ‘bullying,’ this is not exactly accurate. Many state and federal laws address bullying-like behaviors in this age group under very serious terms, such as hazing, harassment, and stalking. Additionally, most young adults are uncomfortable with the term bullying—they associate it with school-aged children.”
- ⁹ David P. Farrington and Maria M. Ttofi, “How to Reduce School Bullying,” *Victims and Offenders*, vol. 4 (2009), pp. 321-326.
- ¹⁰ Although there are no federal data surveys on bullying of students with disabilities; and gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual (GLBT) students (or those perceived to be GLBT), some research studies indicate that these students are frequent targets of bullying. See <http://www.stopbullying.gov/at-risk/groups/lgbt/#additional>, and <http://www.stopbullying.gov/at-risk/groups/special-needs/BullyingTipSheet.pdf>. Recent guidance from ED addresses the bullying of students with disabilities in detail. See http://www.ed.gov/blog/2013/08/keeping-students-with-disabilities-safe-from-bullying/?utm_medium=email&utm_source=govdelivery.
- ¹¹ See http://www.huffingtonpost.com/deborah-temkin/the-three-words-missing-f_b_3480347.html. In addition, research has indicated that bullying occurs not only to vulnerable youth, but also can occur when more popular youth bully lower ranking individuals within their peer group as a means to attain higher social status. Robert Faris and Diane Felmlee, “Status Struggles: Network Centrality and Gender Segregation in Same- and Cross-Gender Aggression,” *American Sociological Review*, vol. 76, no. 1 (February 2011), pp. 48-67.
- ¹² Studies also employ different terminology for “bullying” including bullying, peer victimization, peer abuse and relational aggression, among others.
- ¹³ Among other differences, most are based solely on self-reports. However, some studies are based on other sources of data, e.g., teacher ratings, direct observation, peer-nominations.
- ¹⁴ Susan Swearer, et al., *What Can Be Done About School Bullying? Linking Research to Educational Practice*, *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 39, No 1, (Jan/Feb 2010), p. 38.
- ¹⁵ Since the issuance of the GAO report, YRBSS has been updated with data for the period of September 2010–December 2011. These updated data are used here. *Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance—United States, 2011*, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
- ¹⁶ Since the issuance of the GAO report, SCS/NCVS has been updated with bullying data for 2011. These updated data are used here. Robers, S., Kemp, J., and Truman, J. (2013). *Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2012* (NCES 2013-036/ NCJ 241446). National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, and Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Washington, DC.
- ¹⁷ <http://www.hbsc.org/about/index.html>.
- ¹⁸ U.S. Government Accountability Office, *School Bullying: Extent of Legal Protections for Vulnerable groups Needs to Be More Fully Assessed*, GA0-12-349, May 2012, pp. 40-41, <http://www.gao.gov/assets/600/591202.pdf>. Two additional surveys that do not obtain survey data through student interviews are not included in this discussion, but are included in Appendix A. They are the Survey of School Crime and Safety (SSOCS), and the Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC).
- ¹⁹ The School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey did, however, collect data on whether a student was the target of a “hate-related word” based on their race, ethnicity, religion, disability, gender, or sexual orientation.
- ²⁰ This approach to analyzing behavior is referred to as a social-ecological framework. It incorporates the interconnected personal, social, environmental, and societal factors that influence behavior. Susan Swearer, et al., *What Can Be Done About School Bullying? Linking Research to Educational Practice*, *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 39, No. 1, (Jan/Feb 2010), p. 43.
- ²¹ “Externalizing behavior problems—behaviors characterized by an undercontrol of emotions—include difficulties with interpersonal relationships and rule breaking as well as displays of irritability and belligerence ... conversely, internalizing behavior problems—defined as an overcontrol of emotions—include social withdrawal, demand for attention, feelings of worthlessness or inferiority, and dependency.” Guttmannova, et al., “Internalizing and Externalizing Behavior Problem Scores: Cross-Ethnic and Longitudinal Measurement Invariance of the Behavior Problem Index,” 2007 Sage Publications.
- ²² Clayton R. Cook et al., “Predictors of Bullying and Victimization in Childhood and Adolescence: A Meta-analytic Investigation,” *School Psychology Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2010), p. 78.

- ²³ Clayton R. Cook et al., "Predictors of Bullying and Victimization in Childhood and Adolescence: A Meta-analytic Investigation," *School Psychology Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2010), p. 78. Another meta-analysis of student bullying programs identified the following characteristics of bullies and victims of bullies: "Bullies tend to have poorer academic skills and grades than the majority of their classmates, often are lacking in the characteristic of empathy, and may have cognitive distortions and social perception biases related to perceived threats in their environment and with respect to how aggression is viewed as an effective way to solve problems. Bullies also tend to be at heightened risk for substance abuse and later criminal behavior, and are likely to become increasingly unpopular with peers as they get older, and tend to come from homes where there is poor parental role modeling in the form of coercive and aggressive means of problem solving and a lack of consistent and effective discipline. Bullying victims, on the other hand ... tend to be physically smaller or weaker in some way than perpetrators, and are often anxious, fearful, insecure, depressed, and have poor self-esteem. A high percentage of victims tend to engage in school avoidance behaviors, and many repeated victims of bullying at school end up dropping out of the school system. Victims are also more likely than perpetrators to bring weapons to school, for the purpose of revenge." Kenneth W. Merrell et al., "How Effective Are School Bullying Intervention Programs? A Meta-Analysis of Intervention Research," *School Psychology Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2008), p. 27.
- ²⁴ U.S. Government Accountability Office, *SCHOOL BULLYING: Extent of Legal Protections for Vulnerable groups Needs to Be More Fully Assessed*, GA0-12-349, May 2012, pp. 8-10, <http://www.gao.gov/assets/600/591202.pdf>.
- ²⁵ American Foundation for Suicide Prevention, *Anti-bullying and Anti-Cyber-bullying Legislation*, Public Policy Issue Brief, Washington, DC, 2011.
- ²⁶ Nicole Cardarelli, "Bullying and Suicide: Unraveling the Link," American Foundation for Suicide Prevention—presentation at the 2012 Federal Partners in Bullying Prevention Summit, August 6-7, 2012. A video of the Summit panel on bullying and suicide is available here: <http://c-spanvideo.org/program/SummitSu>.
- ²⁷ For a survey of this research see Susan Swearer, et al., *What Can Be Done About School Bullying? Linking Research to Educational Practice, Educational Researcher*, Vol. 39, No 1, Jan/Feb (2010).
- ²⁸ This study examined the effects of anti-bullying programs on bullying behavior, and on victimization by bullies. The authors only included evaluations that compared results of anti-bullying programs on an experimental group of students to a control group. D.P. Farrington and M.M. Ttofi, *School-based programs to reduce bullying and victimization*, Campbell Systematic Reviews No. 6 (2009).
- ²⁹ In fact, the authors found that working with peers was associated with an increase in victimization. D.P. Farrington and M.M. Ttofi, *School-based programs to reduce bullying and victimization*, Campbell Systematic Reviews No. 6 (2009).
- ³⁰ David Farrington and Maria Ttofi, "How to Reduce School Bullying," *Victims and Offenders*, vol. 4 (2009), pp. 321- 326.
- ³¹ Susan Swearer, et al., *What Can Be Done About School Bullying? Linking Research to Educational Practice, Educational Researcher*, Vol. 39, No 1, Jan/Feb (2010).
- ³² <http://www.schoolclimate.org/publications/documents/SchoolClimatePracticeBriefs-2013.pdf>.
- ³³ <http://www2.ed.gov/policy/speced/guid/idea/memosdcrltrs/bullyingdcl-enclosure-8-20-13.pdf>.
- ³⁴ <http://nrepp.samhsa.gov/>, <http://www.findyouthinfo.gov/youth-topics/preventing-youth-violence>, <http://www.ojjdp.gov/mpg/>, http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/blueprints/model_programs.html.
- ³⁵ <http://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/bullying/state-bullying-laws/state-bullying-laws.pdf>.
- ³⁶ <http://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/bullying/state-bullying-laws/state-bullying-laws.pdf>. p. 16.
- ³⁷ <http://www.stopbullying.gov/laws/key-components/index.html>.
- ³⁸ For a detailed discussion of these key components see <http://www.stopbullying.gov/laws/key-components/>.
- ³⁹ One key component comprises six subcomponents regarding school district policies. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development, Policy and Program Studies Service, *Analysis of State Bullying Laws and Policies*, Washington, DC, 2011. <http://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/bullying/state-bullying-laws/state-bullying-laws.pdf>.
- ⁴⁰ U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development, Policy and Program Studies Service, *Analysis of State Bullying Laws and Policies*, Washington, DC, 2011, p. xvi.
- ⁴¹ For a detailed discussion of the legal precedents on the obligations and limitations schools confront when developing anti-bullying policies, see the discussion on Legal Issues.
- ⁴² See <http://www.stopbullying.gov/prevention/at-school/index.html>.
- ⁴³ Sameer Hinduja and Justin W. Patchin, "Cyber-bullying: Identification, Prevention, and Response," *The Cyber-bullying Research Center*, 2010, p. 3.

- ⁴⁴ Sameer Hinduja and Justin W. Patchin, “Cyber-bullying: Identification, Prevention, and Response,” *The Cyber-bullying Research Center*, 2010, p. 4.
- ⁴⁵ Four civil rights laws enforced by ED’s Office for Civil Rights are: Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin); Title II of the American with Disabilities Act of 1990; Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (prohibits discrimination on the basis of disability); and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex). The Department of Justice enforces Title IV of the Civil Right Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin.
- ⁴⁶ United States Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, *Dear Colleague Letter*, October 26, 2010.
- ⁴⁷ United States Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, *Dear Colleague Letter*, October 26, 2010.
- ⁴⁸ <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/disabharassltr.html>.
- ⁴⁹ <http://www2.ed.gov/policy/speced/guid/idea/memosdcrltrs/bullyingdcl-8-20-13.pdf>.
- ⁵⁰ <http://www.nsba.org/SchoolLaw/Issues/NSBA-letter-to-Ed-12-07-10.pdf>.
- ⁵¹ <http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org/madison/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/FAC-Harassment-Free-Expression-BROCHURE.pdf>.
- ⁵² <http://www.adl.org/education/Letter-adl-secretary-duncan.asp>.
- ⁵³ <http://www.adl.org/education/Letter-adl-secretary-duncan.asp>.
- ⁵⁴ HHS’s Health Resources and Services Administration supports the management of this website, <http://www.stopbullying.gov/live/index.html>.
- ⁵⁵ The most recent summit was held on August 6-7, 2012.
- ⁵⁶ <http://www.cdc.gov/phlp/news/2012/2012-10-18.html#feature1>.
- ⁵⁷ <http://www.sshs.samhsa.gov/initiative/about.aspx>.
- ⁵⁸ <http://rem.s.ed.gov/EOPGuides>.
- ⁵⁹ 42 U.S.C. §§2000d et seq.
- ⁶⁰ 20 U.S.C. §§1681 et seq.
- ⁶¹ 29 U.S.C. §794.
- ⁶² 42 U.S.C. §§12131 et seq.
- ⁶³ 42 U.S.C. §§2000c et seq.
- ⁶⁴ 20 U.S.C. §1703.
- ⁶⁵ United States Department of Education, *Office for Civil Rights*, *Dear Colleague Letter*, October 26, 2010, <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201010.html>.
- ⁶⁶ See, for example, *Ray v. Antioch Unified Sch. Dist.*, 107 F. Supp. 2d 1165 (N.D. Cal. 2000); *Doe v. Perry Cmty. Sch. Dist.*, 316 F. Supp. 2d 809 (S.D. Iowa 2004).
- ⁶⁷ *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Servs.*, 523 U.S. 75 (1998).
- ⁶⁸ *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*, 490 U.S. 228 (1989).
- ⁶⁹ For more information on how the courts have handled claims in the employment context that sexual orientation or gender identity discrimination constitutes unlawful sex discrimination, see CRS Report R40934, *Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Discrimination in Employment: A Legal Analysis of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA)*, by Jody Feder and Cynthia Brougher.
- ⁷⁰ For more information on sexual harassment in schools, see ED’s policy guidance on the issue. U.S. Department of Education, *Office for Civil Rights*, Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance: Harassment of Students By School Employees, Other Students, or Third Parties, January 2001. <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.html#Guidance>. See also, United States Department of Education, *Office for Civil Rights*, *Dear Colleague Letter*, April 4, 2011, <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201104.html>.
- ⁷¹ United States Department of Education, *Office for Civil Rights*, *Dear Colleague Letter*, October 26, 2010, <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201010.html>.
- ⁷² The Department of Health and Human Services maintains a website that seeks to combat bullying. The website also tracks state anti-bullying laws at <http://www.stopbullying.gov/laws/index.html>.
- ⁷³ For example, in Arkansas, cyber-bullying was added to the schools’ anti-bullying policies and included in provisions for school officials to punish students for some off-campus activities “if the electronic act is directed specifically at students or school personnel and is maliciously intended for the purpose of disrupting school and has a high likelihood of succeeding in that purpose.” However, it should be noted that some of these policies are limited in their application. For example, in Washington, the school district harassment prevention policies are applicable only to actions that take place “while on school grounds and during the day.” In other words, some of these policies would not cover bullies from other districts or other states. Furthermore, adults who “harass” or “cyberbully” minors would not be covered in most instances. In addition, some courts have concluded that a

school district may not punish a student for out-of-school speech. See, for example, *Killion v. Franklin Regional School Dist.*, 136 F. Supp.2d 446 (W.D.Pa. 2001)(holding that school could not punish student for list disparaging the athletic director); *Flaherty v. Keystone Oaks School Dist.*, 247 F. Supp.2d 693 (W.D.Pa. 2003)(holding that the school could not punish a student for “trash talk” about a volleyball game); *Latour v. Riverside Beaver School Dist.*, No. 05-1076, 2005 WL 2106562 (W.D.Pa. August 24, 2005)(enjoining school from punishing a student for rap song lyrics).

⁷⁴ 18 U.S.C. §1030(a)(2)(C) and (c)(2)(B)(2). For example, a Missouri woman was charged with violating the federal Computer Fraud and Abuse Act for her alleged role in a MySpace hoax against a minor. The act makes it a felony punishable by up to five years of imprisonment if one “intentionally accesses a computer without authorization ..., and thereby obtains ... information from any protected computer⁷⁴ if the conduct involved an interstate ... communication” and “the offense was committed in furtherance of any ... tortious act [in this case intentional infliction of emotional distress] in violation of the ... laws ... of any State.” Prosecutors alleged that the defendant violated MySpace’s terms of use by using a fictitious name, thereby giving her no authority to access MySpace. However, the judge granted the defendant’s motion for a judgment of acquittal. In granting the defendant’s motion, the judge found that the absence of “minimal guidelines to govern law enforcement” as well as notice deficiencies made a misdemeanor violation of the CFAA based upon a “conscious violation of a website’s terms of service” void for vagueness. *United States v. Drew*, 259 F.R.O. 449 (C.D.Cal. 2009).

⁷⁵ 44 Liquormart, Inc. v. Rhode Island, 517 U.S. 484, 489 (1996); *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S. 652, 666 (1925).

⁷⁶ See, for example, LA. CONST. ART. I §7; MD. DECL. RTS. ART. 40.

⁷⁷ *Watts v. United States*, 394 U.S. 705, 707 (1969).

⁷⁸ 394 U.S. 705, 705 (1969).

⁷⁹ *Id.* at 706.

⁸⁰ *Id.* at 708 (describing the audience’s reaction as that of laughter).

⁸¹ *Id.*

⁸² *Id.* at 707.

⁸³ See, for example, *United States v. Alkhabaz*, 104 F.3d 1492 (6th Cir. 1997).

⁸⁴ See, for example, *United States v. Fulmer*, 108 F.3d 1486 (1st Cir. 1997)

⁸⁵ See, for example, *United States v. Maisonet*, 484 F.2d 1356, 1357 (4th Cir. 1973).

⁸⁶ See, *Tinker v. Des Moines Indep. Cmty. Sch. Dist.*, 393 U.S. 503 (1969); *Bethel Sch. Dist. No. 403 v. Fraser*, 478 U.S. 675 (1986)(upholding suspension of a high school student for a student government nomination speech including the use of obscene, profane language and gestures); *Hazelwood Sch. Dist. v. Kuhlmeier*, 484 U.S. 260 (1988)(upholding a principal’s authority to delete material from a high school paper); and *Morse v. Frederick*, 551 U.S. 393 (2007)(holding that a principal did not violate a student’s right to free speech by confiscating a banner she reasonably viewed as promoting illegal drug use).

⁸⁷ 393 U.S. 503 (1969).

⁸⁸ *Id.* at 507.

⁸⁹ *Id.* at 506.

⁹⁰ 478 U.S. 675 (1986).

⁹¹ *Id.* at 681.

⁹² *Id.*

⁹³ *Id.* at 683.

⁹⁴ 807 A.2d 847 (Pa. 2002).

⁹⁵ *Id.* at 851.

⁹⁶ *Id.* at 859.

⁹⁷ *Id.* at 865.

⁹⁸ *Id.* (stating that “where speech that is aimed at a specific school and/or its personnel is brought onto the school campus or accessed at school by its originator, the speech will be considered on-campus speech.”).

⁹⁹ *Id.* at 868-869.

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

¹⁰² See, for example, *Wisniewski v. Bd. of Ed* 494 F.3d 34 (2nd Cir. 2007), *cert. denied*, 552 U.S. 1296 (2008).

¹⁰³ See, for example, *Layshock v. Hermitage Sch. Dist.*, 650 F.3d 205 (3d Cir. 2011), *cert. denied*, *Blue Mt. Sch. Dist. v. J.S.*, 132 S. Ct. 1097 (2012); *Emmett v. Kent Sch. Dist. No. 415*, 92 F. Supp.2d 1088 (W.D. Wash. 2000); *Beussink v. Woodland R-IV Sch. Dist.*, 30 F. Supp.2d 1175 (E.D. Missouri 1998).

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, *Chicago v. Morales*, 527 U.S. 41 (1999); *Kolender v. Lawson*, 461 U.S. 352 (1983). According to the Court, “[v]ague laws offend several important values. First, because we assume that man is free to steer

between lawful and unlawful conduct, we insist that laws give the person of ordinary intelligence a reasonable opportunity to know what is prohibited, so that he may act accordingly. Vague laws may trap the innocent by not providing fair warnings. Second, if arbitrary and discriminatory enforcement is to be prevented, laws must provide explicit standards for those who apply them. A vague law impermissibly delegates basic policy matters to policemen, judges, and juries for resolution on an *ad hoc* and subjective basis, with the attendant dangers of arbitrary and discriminatory applications.” *Grayned v. City of Rockford*, 408 U.S. 104, 108-09 (1972).

¹⁰⁵ 405 U.S. 156 (1972).

¹⁰⁶ *Id.* at n.1.

¹⁰⁷ Similarly, an ordinance making it a criminal offense for three or more persons to assemble on a sidewalk and conduct themselves in a manner annoying to passersby was found impermissibly vague and void on its face because it encroached on the freedom of assembly. *Coats v. City of Cincinnati*, 402 U.S. 611 (1971).

¹⁰⁸ 247 F. Supp.2d 698 (W.D. Pa. 2003).

¹⁰⁹ *Id.* at 704.

Chapter 103

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON BULLYING PREVENTION*

The White House

PREFACE

This chapter contains research findings, briefing materials and associated references on various aspects of bullying, prepared for the White House 2011 Conference on Bullying Prevention.

RISK FACTORS FOR AND OUTCOMES OF BULLYING AND VICTIMIZATION

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No individual exists in isolation. We are all products of the interaction between our biology and our environment. The “father of social psychology,” Kurt Lewin, wrote that behavior is a function of the interaction between the individual and his or her environment (Lewin, 1936). This prophetic formula holds true for our understanding of bullying behavior. Individuals exist within multiple environments: home, school, neighborhood, church, community, and society. Within the interaction between individuals and these environments are risk factors for bullying and victimization.

In this paper research on risk factors for bullying and victimization across multiple contexts-- individual, peer, school, family, community, and society will be synthesized. It is important to keep in mind that these factors do not exist in isolation.

* These conference materials were released in 2011; Conference materials (this paper) taken from the following web site: http://www.stopbullying.gov/references/white_house_conference/index.html.

There is no, one single causal factor for bullying. In fact, it is the interaction between these multiple contexts defined as the social-ecology in which bullying and victimization unfold (Espelage & Swearer, 2004, 2011; Swearer & Doll, 2001; Swearer et al., 2006; Swearer et al., in press). Outcomes of bullying will be reviewed, with the call to address bullying as a social-ecological problem that requires prevention and intervention efforts to target the interaction between individuals and their multiple environments in order to be effective.

Prevalence of Bullying and Victimization

Given the vast methodological variation in studying bullying and victimization and the fact that bullying is a phenomenon that is idiosyncratic to individual schools and communities, determining accurate prevalence rates is spurious at best.

To date, there is no longitudinal, nationally representative assessment of bullying and victimization in the United States. However, one study analyzed prevalence rates for bullying and victimization across 22 countries and found that in the U.S. prevalence rates were 22.1% for male bully perpetrators; 15.1% for female bully perpetrators; 23.7% for male victims; 18.8% for female victims; 10.6% for male bully-victims; and 4.9% for female bully-victims (Cook, Williams, Guerra, & Kim, 2010).

However, until a nationally representative, longitudinal study on bullying and victimization is conducted, prevalence rates will reflect differences in sample characteristics and methodology.

Individual Risk Factors

Gender

While both girls and boys are involved in bullying perpetration and victimization, research has found that boys are involved in bullying at greater rates than girls (Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, & Sadek, 2010).

Grade Level

Bullying has generally been shown to be most prevalent in middle school (Nansel et al., 2001); however, research has suggested that bullying peaks during school transition (i.e., between elementary and middle school and between middle and high school) as youth are negotiating new peer groups and use bullying as a means to achieve social dominance (Pellegrini et al., 2011).

Ethnicity

Involvement in bullying is a cross-cultural phenomenon (Jimerson, Swearer, & Espelage, 2010) and transcends ethnicity. However, research has shown that students who are in the ethnic minority in a school are more likely to be bullied than students who are in the ethnic majority (Graham, 2006).

Religious Orientation

Surprisingly, while the media has reported on the connection between bullying and religious orientation (i.e., Muslims in the United States), a paucity of research on this risk factor for bullying has been conducted. In a study of 243 Hindu, Muslim, and Pakistani children in the U.K., 57% of boys and 43% of girls reported being bullied because of religious or cultural differences (Eslea & Mukhtar, 2000). Indeed, most students report being bullied because they are different from the normative group (Swearer & Cary, 2003).

Socioeconomic Status

Greater disparities between socioeconomic status within a country were associated with higher levels of victimization (Due et al., 2009). Other research has found that low income status was a risk factor for aggression in male and female students (Harachi et al., 2005). However, it is likely that the relationship between socioeconomic status and being bullied is contextually-driven and varies across communities.

Poor Social Skills

Bullying has been called a “social relationship problem” (Pepler, Jiang, Craig, & Connolly, 2008). Indeed, victims, bully-victims, and some bullies display deficits in social skills (Cook et al., 2010).

Superior Social Skills

However, among a subset of bully perpetrators there are students who are perceived as popular and cool (Rodkin, Farmer, Pearl, & VanAcker, 2006). For these youth, their popularity status affords them high social standing which contributes to their ability to bully and manipulate others.

Low Academic Achievement

The relationship between bullying and academic achievement is complicated. Some research has demonstrated that victims and bully victims do poorly in school (Glew, Fan, Katon, Rivara, & Kernic, 2005), while other research has found that the connection between being bullied and low academic achievement is more robust when there is low parental support and school disengagement (Beran, 2008).

Sexual Orientation

Recent media reports have drawn attention to youth who have been bullied due to their sexual orientation. Research conducted with 7,261 students (ages 13 to 21) in 2009 found that 84.6% of LGBT students reported being verbally harassed, 40.1% reported being physically harassed and 18.8% reported being physically assaulted at school in the past year because of their sexual orientation (GLSEN, 2009).

Disability Status

The research on bullying toward and by students with disabilities has yielded mixed results. Some research has found that students on the autism spectrum are more likely to be victimized than their non-disabled peers (Little, 2002). Other research has found that students with behavior disorders are more likely to perpetrate bullying, but the bullying behavior may be retaliatory, in response to being bullied (Rose, 2011).

Externalizing Behavior

One of the DSMIV-TR criteria for conduct disorder is “often bullies, threatens, or intimidates others.” Bullying is an aggressive behavior and studies have consistently found an association between conduct problems and bullying (Cook et al., 2010). Youth who are bully-victims have reported the highest levels of conduct-disordered behavior (Kokkinos & Panayiotou, 2004).

Internalizing Symptoms

Research has found that bully-victims, victims, and bullies all experience depressive disorders. In one study, 18% of bully-victims, 13% of bullies, and 10% of victims experienced depression (Kumpulainen, Rasanen, & Puura, 2001), which is higher than the estimated 8.3% of adolescents who are diagnosed with a depressive disorder (NIMH, 2011). Other research has supported the finding that bully-victims are at the greatest risk for experiencing comorbid internalizing and externalizing problems (Cook et al., 2010). In a recent study depression and suicidality were predictors of both bullying and victimization (Swearer et al., in press).

Peer Group Risk Factors***Homophily***

This term is captured by the proverb, “birds of a feather flock together” and the homophily hypothesis has been shown to explain how bullying is a peer group phenomenon (Espelage, Holt, & Henkel, 2003).

Peer Norms

When members in a peer group are involved in bullying, the other members tend to take part. Additionally, students who are involved in bully perpetration tended to come from larger peer groups (Salmivalli, Huttunen, & Lagerspetz, 1997).

Delinquency

Negative peer influence was found to predict involvement in bullying and victimization (Cook et al., 2010). In a recent study, the strongest predictor of both bullying and victimization was delinquency (measured as engaging in vandalism, being a member of a gang, and carrying a weapon onto school property) (Swearer et al., in press).

Alcohol/Drug Use

The relationship between alcohol/drug use and bullying is well-documented. In a study of middle through high school students, researchers found that aggressive victims and aggressive non-victims were more likely than their non-aggressive counterparts to use drugs and alcohol (Brockenbrough, Cornell, & Loper, 2002) and a study of 43, 093 U.S. adults found that bullying was significantly correlated with lifetime alcohol and drug use (Vaughn, Bender, DeLisi, Beaver, Perron, & Howard, 2010). Thus, involvement in bullying is related to concurrent alcohol/drug use as well as future alcohol/drug use.

School Risk Factors

School Climate

The adults in our nation's schools play a major role in creating a positive or negative school climate. When the school climate is not supportive and unhealthy, then bullying and concomitant problems proliferate (Kasen, Johnson, Chen, Crawford, & Cohen, 2011). Schools where high levels of bullying exist are schools that have a negative and punitive school climate.

Teacher Attitudes

When adults in the school system ignore bullying or feel that bullying is just “kids being kids,” then higher levels of bullying will exist (Holt, Keyes, & Koenig, 2011).

Classroom Characteristics

Schools are comprised of classrooms and it stands to reason that healthy classroom environments will have less bullying and victimization. There are four classroom characteristics that have been found to be associated with greater levels of bullying and victimization: (1) negative peer friendships, (2) poor teacher-student relationships, (3) lack of self-control, and (4) poor problem-solving among students (Doll, Song, Champion, & Jones, 2011).

Academic Engagement

When students are challenged and motivated to do well in school, engagement in bullying and victimization is lower. Students involved in bullying and victimization are less academically engaged (Nansel, Haynie, & Simons-Morton, 2003).

School Belonging

Elementary students who bullied others reported lower rates of school belonging than students who were victimized or not involved in bullying (Ma et al., 2009). Data from 16,917 middle and high school students showed that feelings of school belonging were associated with less bullying and victimization (Swearer et al., in press).

Family Risk Factors

Parental Characteristics

In a synthesis of research on family characteristics of bullies, bully-victims, and victims, psychologist Renae Duncan (2011) found that bullies typically come from families with low cohesion, little warmth, absent fathers, high power needs, permit aggressive behavior, physical abuse, poor family functioning, and authoritarian parenting. Bully-victims come from families with physical abuse, domestic violence, hostile mothers, powerless mothers, uninvolved parents, neglect, low warmth, inconsistent discipline, and negative environment. Male victims had mothers who were overprotective, controlling, restrictive, coddling, overinvolved, and warm while their fathers were distant, critical, absent, uncaring, neglectful, and controlling. Female victims had mothers who were hostile, rejecting, withdrawing love, threatening, and controlling, while their fathers were uncaring and controlling.

Family Discord

Being in a family where parents fight and use drugs and alcohol and who are physically or sexually abusive predicted both bully perpetration and victimization (Swearer et al., in press). Youth who bully others consistently report family conflict and poor parental monitoring (Cook et al., 2010).

Community Risk Factors***Neighborhoods***

Characteristics of neighborhoods have a significant effect on bullying behavior (Cook et al., 2010). Neighborhoods that are unsafe, violent, and disorganized are breeding grounds for bullying. Living in a safe, connected neighborhood predicted less bullying and victimization (Swearer et al., in press).

Societal Risk Factors***Media***

Decades of research have examined the question of whether or not exposure to violent video games, television, and film are associated with greater levels of aggression. In fact, meta-analyses of these studies clearly support the fact that media violence is correlated with aggressive and antisocial behavior (Gentile, 2003). A recent study examining the dosage effects of playing mature video games predicted greater risk for bully perpetration among middle school students (Olson, Kutner, Baer, Beresin, Warner, & Nicholi, 2009).

Intolerance

Discrimination and prejudice have been documented since Biblical times. Prejudices such as homophobia, sexism, classism, racism, set fertile ground for bullying and victimization.

Outcomes of Bullying and Victimization

The aforementioned social-ecological risk factors for bullying and victimization clearly paint a bleak picture for the outcomes of bullying and victimization. The bottom line is that without effective intervention, the consequences of bullying and victimization are dire for individuals, peer groups, schools, families, communities, and society at large.

Biological

Studies of early social deprivation have demonstrated that the social environment alters brain functioning (Chugani et al., 2001). This and other research have been extended to our understanding of how bullying experiences can alter brain chemistry and functioning. The stress of being bullied has been hypothesized to depress immune functioning and research has found that cortisol moderated the link between being bullied and physical health (Vaillancourt et al., 2010). As neuroscientists have long argued, it is impossible to separate the brain from behavior.

Educational

According to the National Association of School Psychologists (http://www2.ed.gov/admins/lead/safety/training/bullying/bullying_pg14.html), over 160,000 students miss school each day due to fears of being bullied. It stands to reason that bullying detracts from academic achievement and research supports this negative outcome (Glew et al., 2005).

Psychological

The psychological outcomes of bullying are well-established in the research literature. Individuals involved in bullying and victimization have higher levels of depression, anxiety, and externalizing behavior (Cook et al., 2010; Menesini, Modena, & Tani, 2009; Espelage & Swearer, 2011).

Conclusion

Two decades of basic research have illuminated the risk factors and negative outcomes of bullying and victimization. The picture for our nation's youth is bleak. Researchers and educators have argued that research across the social ecology must inform bullying prevention and intervention practices if we ever hope to significantly reduce bullying in our nation's schools (Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010). Bullying and victimization are social-ecological phenomena that require comprehensive, data-based prevention and intervention efforts.

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FINDINGS FROM THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION'S NATIONWIDE STUDY OF BULLYING: TEACHERS' AND EDUCATION SUPPORT PROFESSIONALS' PERSPECTIVES

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Executive Summary

This research brief reports the results of a National Education Association (NEA) survey of teachers and education support professionals (ESPs)ⁱ that addresses the problem of bullying in America's public schools. The study finds that bullying is not only pervasive in the nation's schools but also widely perceived by school staff to be a serious problem, particularly in middle schools and in schools located in urban areas. The vast majority of school staff reported that their district had implemented a bullying prevention policy. However, ESPs were significantly less likely than teachers to have received formal training or to have been involved in bullying prevention activities, such as committees, teams, or prevention programs. In light of these disparities, it is not surprising that, although ESPs were nearly as likely as their teacher counterparts to indicate that it was "their job" to intervene, they expressed significantly less comfort in taking action in a wide range of bullying situations. The fact that ESPs report high levels of connectedness to their respective school communities, combined with evidence that such subjective feelings tend to be associated with a greater willingness to intervene, suggests that ESPs represent an invaluable resource and should be included in the design and implementation of future prevention programs. The very presence of ESPs in areas throughout the school where bullying regularly occurs—on playgrounds, school busses, cafeterias and hallways—further substantiates this conclusion.

Introduction

Bullying continues to be a major concern among students and staff in the nation's public schools and, most recently, has been the focus of widespread public attention as a result of several high-profile incidents. The National Education Association (NEA) has had a long history of involvement in bullying prevention efforts.ⁱⁱ With 3.2 million members, representing both teaching and non-teaching staff, the NEA is in a unique position to address bullying from a whole-school perspective—through its existing programs and through research aimed at developing a better understanding of the role that a united education workforce can play in dealing with this critical issue. Toward that end, in April 2010 the NEA drew upon its membership to implement a national survey examining school staff members' perceptions of bullying among students. The overall goal of the study was to identify strengths as well as areas

of need related to bullying prevention to inform future prevention efforts, both within the NEA and in collaboration with other agencies.

The NEA study is the first of its kind to examine both teachers and education support professionals (ESPs)—including bus drivers, cafeteria workers, custodians, and other support staff—in a nationwide study of bullying.ⁱⁱⁱ Much of what is currently known about bullying prevention is limited to how teachers and students perceive bullying and the actions they take in response to such behavior. However, bullying incidents regularly occur outside of the classroom and, therefore, may be beyond the awareness of teachers. Inasmuch as ESPs represent about one-third of school staff and typically work in non-classroom settings where bullying often takes place, it is essential that we develop a better understanding of the attitudes, behaviors, and concerns of ESPs pertaining to this issue and apply that knowledge to the design and implementation of more effective prevention programs. This brief summarizes findings from this unique study in an effort to promote collaboration in bullying prevention in the nation's public schools.^{iv}

Key Findings from the NEA Bullying Study

School staff perceived bullying to be a problem in their school; they witnessed bullying frequently and students reported it to them in large numbers. Over 40 percent of respondents indicated that bullying was a moderate or major problem in their school, with 62 percent indicating that they witnessed two or more incidents of bullying in the last month, while 41 percent witnessed bullying once a week or more. Although more teachers (45%) than ESPs (35%) indicated that a student reported bullying to them within the past month, all staff members equally indicated that parents had reported bullying to them (16%). Across school levels and communities, staff working in middle schools and in urban areas were more likely to report that they had frequently witnessed bullying (66% and 65%, respectively) and were more likely to perceive it as a serious problem (59% and 54%, respectively).

There was a discrepancy between the existence of school district bullying policies and staff members' self-reported training on these policies. Although the vast majority of school employees (93%) reported that their district had implemented a bullying prevention policy, only about half of all staff had received training related to the policy. ESPs were significantly less likely to report that they had received training on their district's policy than teachers (45% and 54%, respectively). Staff in urban schools, where the rates of staff-reported bullying were highest, were less likely to report the existence of a district-wide policy (88%) and less likely to have received training on the policy (51%).

Bullying takes many forms, with school staff reporting that verbal (59%), social/relational (50%), and physical (39%) forms were of greater concern in their school than cyber-bullying (17%). All staff reported that bullying based on a student's weight (23%), gender (20%), perceived sexual orientation (18%), and disability (12%) were of concern in their school. Both teachers and ESPs reported a need for additional training in intervening with different forms of bullying, but ESPs expressed greater need than teachers in dealing with physical, verbal, and relational bullying, as well as the more recent phenomenon, "sexting." All school staff reported the greatest need for training on cyber-bullying and bullying related to sexual orientation and gender issues; they also reported being the least comfortable intervening in these types of

bullying situations. In addition, ESPs reported that they were less comfortable intervening in physical, verbal, and relational forms of bullying.

Although school staff reported being very willing to intervene in bullying situations, slightly over half of the survey respondents indicated that there were few formal bullying prevention activities present in their schools, and less than 40 percent were directly involved in these activities. Across all school levels and communities, most school employees felt that it was ‘their job’ to intervene when they witnessed bullying incidents, though teachers and ESPs differed in their responses (99% of teachers and 91% of ESPs agreed). Overall, however, only 58 percent of staff reported that their school had implemented formal bullying prevention efforts such as school teams, committees, or prevention programs. Even fewer reported the presence of such prevention activities in schools located in urban areas (47%) and in high schools (51%). Teachers were significantly more likely than ESPs to be directly involved in bullying prevention activities (42% and 27%, respectively). The lowest level of staff involvement in bullying prevention activities was in high schools (24%).

An important predictor of staff members’ willingness to intervene in bullying situations was their subjective sense of connectedness to the school, defined as “the belief held by adults in the school that they are cared about as individuals and professionals involved in the learning process.” Specifically, school staff members’ perceptions of their relationships with colleagues and school administrators, their perceptions of safety, and their overall sense of belonging within the school community were associated with a greater likelihood of intervening in bullying situations. Moreover, staff members’ belief that other school staff were likely to intervene in bullying incidents was associated with a greater likelihood that they themselves would intervene. ESPs reported high levels of personal connectedness, connectedness with the administration, and overall connectedness to the school community. This may, in part, be attributable to the fact that ESPs tend to reside within the neighborhoods surrounding the schools in which they work. Feelings of connectedness also varied across school levels and urbanicity, with staff in high schools and in schools located in urban communities reporting the lowest levels of connectedness.

Conclusion and Implications

Given the high rates of bullying in schools, it is not surprising that teachers and other school staff express great concern about this issue. Although bullying policies appear to exist in many districts, there seems to be a lack of sufficient instruction on the implementation of those policies. School staff, especially ESPs, reported a great need for additional training to help them confidently intervene in bullying situations. With less than 60% of members reporting that their school had formal bullying prevention efforts in place, there should be a greater emphasis on the implementation of evidence-based bullying prevention programs.

There is ample evidence that students who experience bullying suffer a range of adverse academic and health effects (Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010). Large numbers of students are seeking help from teachers, as well as from ESPs. The findings from the current study indicate that ESPs tend to live in the community served by their schools and express high levels of connectedness to the school community. ESPs’ strong connections to both the school and students make them a natural source of support for students in need. Moreover, given the fact that a significant portion of bullying occurs in areas such as the cafeteria, playground, and

school busses, intervention programs should more actively include ESPs and other school staff who have the opportunity to supervise these areas. ESPs appear to represent an untapped resource in schools, many of whom appear eager to be involved in preventative interventions programs.

This study suggests that school staff connectedness may serve as an important lever for bullying prevention efforts, as the more connected school employees feel to their school community, the more likely they may be to become involved in bullying prevention efforts. A recent study of School-Wide Positive Behavior Supports found that high fidelity implementation of the model was associated with significant improvements in staff members' connectedness to others within the school (Bradshaw, Koth, Thornton, & Leaf, 2009); thus Positive Behavior Supports may also have an impact on staff members willingness to intervene and participate in prevention efforts, as well as on students' bullying behavior (Waasdorp, Bradshaw, & Leaf, 2011).

Taken together, the findings of the NEA Bullying Study provide great insight into staff members' perceptions of bullying, including the unique perspectives of different groups of ESPs (e.g., bus drivers, cafeteria workers, security officers), who are often overlooked in the literature. To our knowledge, this investigation presents findings from the only large-scale nationwide survey fielded to examine different staff members' perspectives on bullying and prevention efforts. As such, this study helps to elucidate the specific needs of various groups of adults who work in schools across the country. These findings may also inform the creation of professional development and training materials tailored for different school staff and for those working with special populations of students across different grade levels and community contexts.

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APPENDIX

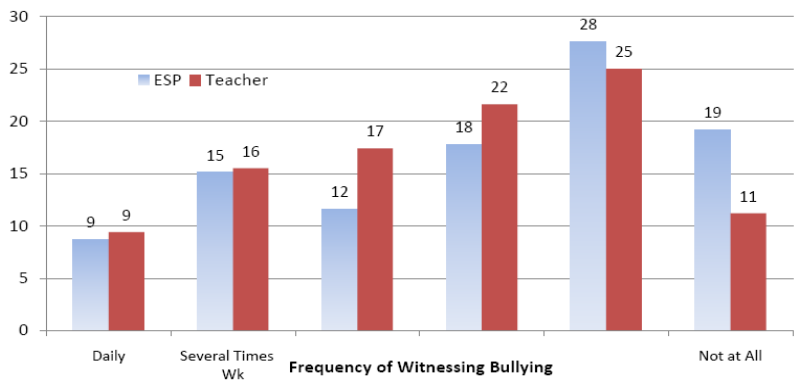


Figure 1. Percentage of Staff Who Witnessed Bullying During the Past Month.

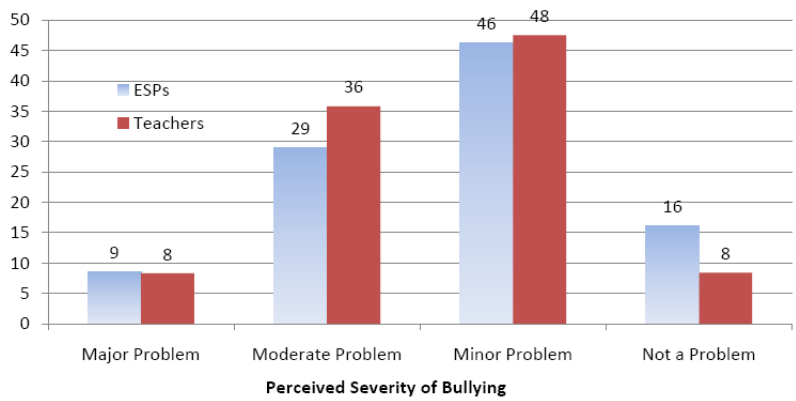


Figure 2. Percentage of Staff Perceiving Bullying as a Problem.

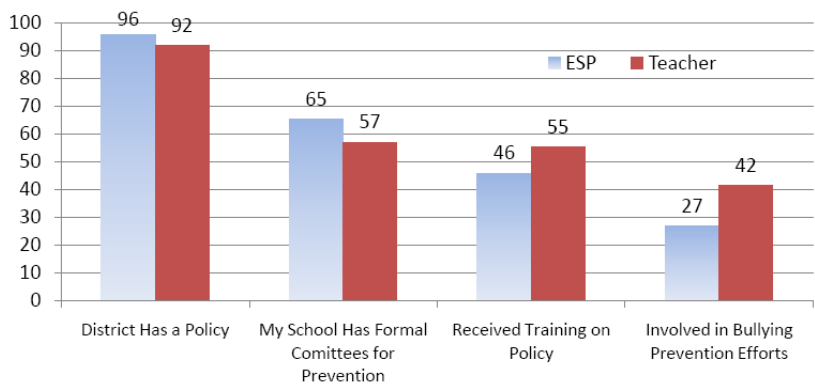


Figure 3. Percentage of Staff Who Responded ‘Yes’ Regarding Bullying Policies and Prevention Activities.

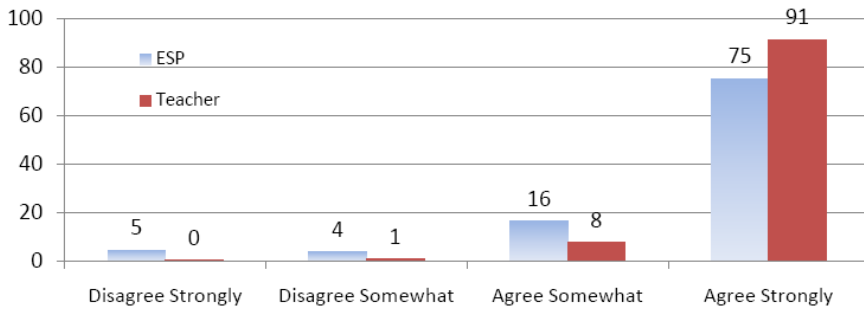


Figure 4. Percentage of Staff Who Perceived It Is Their Job to Intervene.

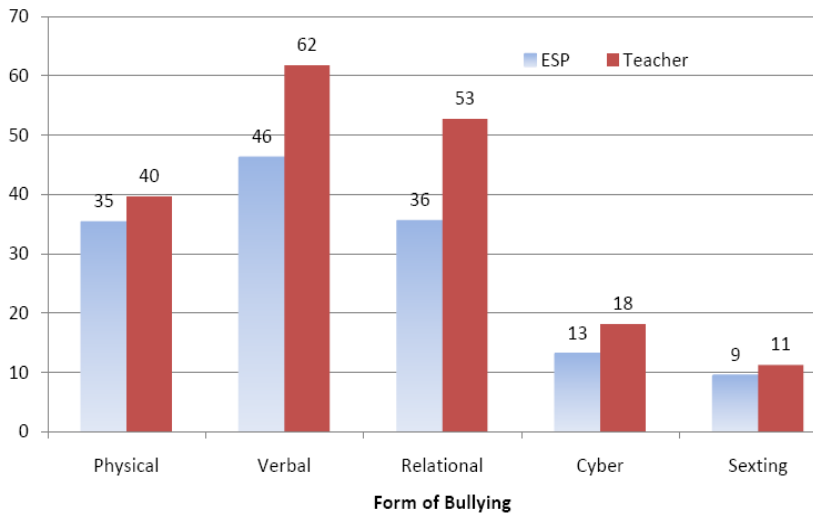


Figure 5. Percentage of Staff Who Reported Different Types of Bullying Were a Moderate/Major Problem.

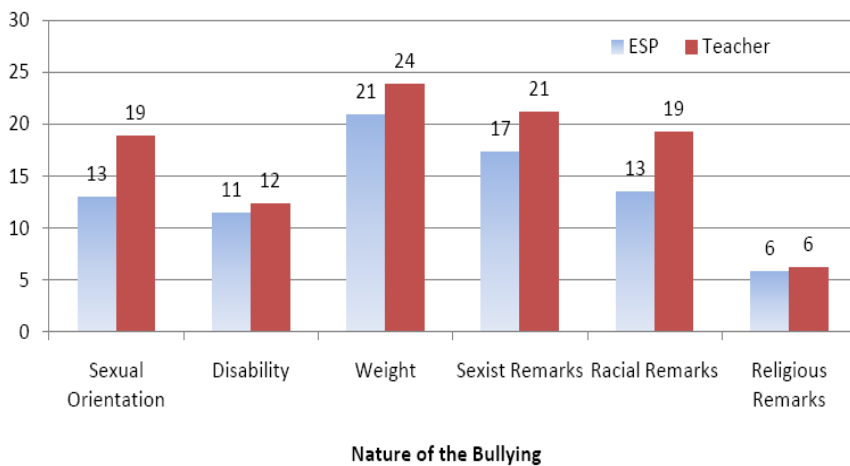


Figure 6. Percentage of Staff Who Reported That Bullying Behaviors Were a Moderate/Major Problem.

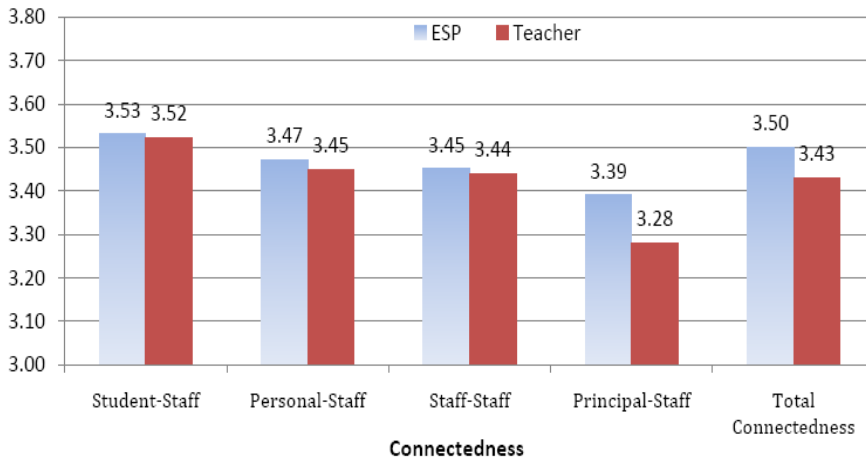


Figure 7. ESP and Teacher Average Reports of Different Aspects of Connectedness.

OVERVIEW OF CYBERBULLYING

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Kids have been bullying each other for generations. The latest generation, however, has been able to utilize technology to expand their reach and the extent of their harm.

This phenomenon is being called *cyberbullying*, defined as: “*willful and repeated harm inflicted through the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices*” (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009:5). Basically, we are referring to incidents where adolescents use technology, usually computers or cell phones, to harass, threaten, humiliate, or otherwise hassle their peers.

Where Does Cyberbullying Commonly Occur?

Cyberbullying occurs across a variety of venues and mediums in cyberspace, and it shouldn’t come as a surprise that it occurs most often where teenagers congregate. Initially, many teens hung out in chat rooms, and as a result that is where most harassment took place. In recent years, most youth have been drawn to social networking websites (such as Facebook) and video-sharing websites (such as YouTube). This trend has led to increased reports of cyberbullying occurring in those environments (Burgess-Proctor, Patchin, & Hinduja, 2009; Hinduja & Patchin, 2008b; R. M. Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Lenhart, 2007; Li, 2007a; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006). Instant messaging on the Internet or text messaging via a cell phone also

appear to be common ways in which youth are harassing others. Moreover, since most cell phones attractive to youth are “smart” phones (e.g., iPhones, Blackberries, Droids), they often have full computing, recording, and Internet capabilities on a device that is always with them. Adolescents have sometimes taken pictures in a bedroom, a bathroom, or another location where privacy is expected, and posted or distributed them online. More recently, some have recorded unauthorized videos of other teens and uploaded them for the world to see, rate, tag, and discuss. We are also seeing it happen with portable gaming devices, in 3-D virtual worlds and on social gaming sites, and in newer interactive sites such as Formspring and ChatRoulette.

How Much Cyberbullying Is out There?

Estimates of the number of youth who experience cyberbullying vary widely (ranging from 5-40% or more), depending on the age of the group studied, how cyberbullying is formally defined, and the research methodology (Hinduja & Patchin, 2007, 2009, 2010c; R. M. Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Li, 2007b; Williams & Guerra, 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). In our work, we inform students that cyberbullying is when someone “repeatedly makes fun of another person online or repeatedly picks on another person through email or text message or when someone posts something online about another person that they don’t like.” Using this definition, about 20% of the over 4,400 randomly-selected 11-18 year-old students we surveyed in 2010 indicated they had been a victim at some point in their life. About this same number admitted to cyberbullying others during their lifetime (Hinduja & Patchin, forthcoming). Finally, about 10% of teens in this recent study said they had both been a victim and an offender.

What Are Some of the Negative Effects That Cyberbullying Can Have on a Person?

There are many detrimental outcomes associated with cyberbullying that reach into the real world. First, many targets of cyberbullying report feeling depressed, sad, angry, and frustrated (Hinduja & Patchin, 2007, 2008a, 2009; Kowalski, Limber, Scheck, Redfearn, Allen, Calloway, & Farris, 2005; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Li, 2007a, 2007b; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006; Williams & Guerra, 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004), and these emotions have been correlated with delinquency and interpersonal violence among youth (Berson, Berson, & Ferron, 2002; Cowie & Berdondini, 2002; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2007). As one teenager stated: “It makes me hurt both physically and mentally. It scares me and takes away all my confidence. It makes me feel sick and worthless.” Victims who experience cyberbullying also reveal that they were afraid or embarrassed to go to school.

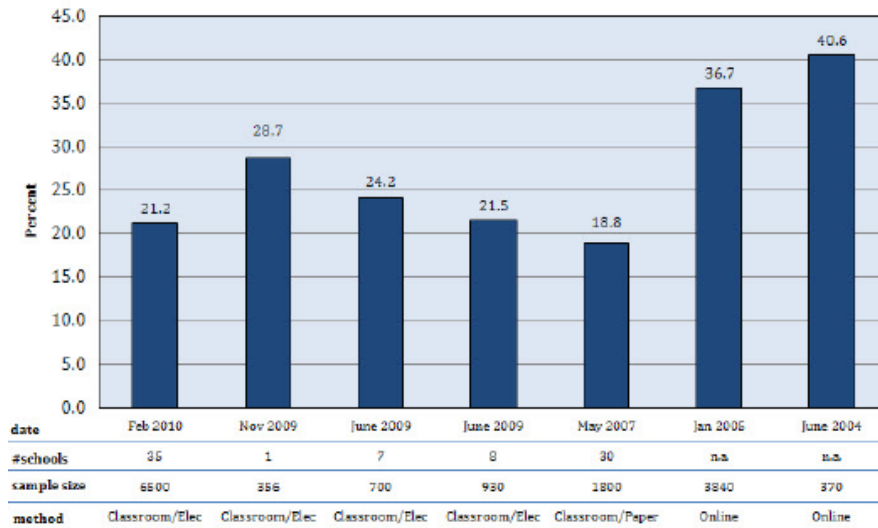
In addition, research has revealed a link between cyberbullying and low self-esteem, family problems, academic problems, school violence, and delinquent behavior (Hinduja & Patchin, 2007, 2008a, 2009; Patchin & Hinduja, 2010; Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). Finally, cyberbullied youth also report having suicidal thoughts, and there have been a number of examples in the United States where youth who were victimized ended up taking their own lives (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010a).

Lifetime Cyberbullying Victimization Rates

Seven Different Studies 2004-2010

Sameer Hinduja and Justin W. Patchin

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How Is Cyberbullying Different from Traditional Bullying?

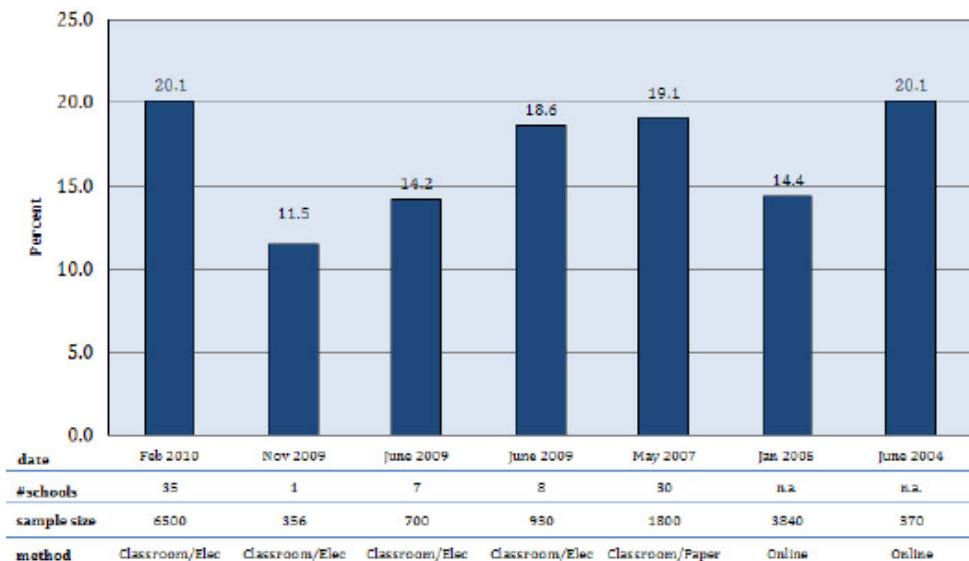
While often similar in terms of targeting peers with hurtful words or threats, bullying and cyberbullying have many differences that can make the latter even more devastating.

Lifetime Cyberbullying Offending Rates

Seven Different Studies 2004-2010

Sameer Hinduja and Justin W. Patchin

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First, victims sometimes do not know who the bully is, or why they are being targeted. The cyberbully can cloak his or her identity behind a computer or cell phone using anonymous email addresses or pseudonymous screen names (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008a). Second, the hurtful actions of a cyberbully are viral; that is, a large number of people (at school, in the neighborhood, in the city, in the world!) can be involved in a cyber-attack on a victim, or at least find out about the incident with a few keystrokes or clicks of the mouse. The perception, then, is that absolutely everyone is in on the joke.

Third, it is often easier to be cruel using technology because cyberbullying can be done from a physically distant location, and the bully doesn't have to see the immediate response by the target (Willard, 2007). In fact, some teens simply might not recognize the serious harm they are causing because they are sheltered from the victim's response. Finally, while parents and teachers are doing a better job supervising youth at school and at home, many adults don't have the technological know-how to keep track of what teens are up to online. As a result, a victim's experience may be missed and a bully's actions may be left unchecked. Even if bullies are identified, many adults find themselves unprepared to adequately respond.

Why Is Cyberbullying Becoming a Major Issue?

Cyberbullying is a growing problem because increasing numbers of teens are using and have completely embraced interactions via computers and cell phones. Two-thirds of youth go online every day for school work, to keep in touch with their friends, to play games, to learn about celebrities, to share their digital creations, or for many other reasons (Lenhart, Purcell, Smith, & Zickuhr, 2010). Because the online communication tools have become an important part of their lives, it is not surprising that some teens have decided to use these devices to be malicious or menacing towards others. The fact that teens are connected to technology 24/7 means they are susceptible to victimization (and able to act on mean intentions toward others) around the clock (Kowalski, Limber, & Agatston, 2007). Apart from a measure of anonymity, it is also easier to be hateful using typed words rather than spoken words face-to-face. And because some adults have been slow to respond to cyberbullying, many cyberbullies feel that there are little to no consequences for their actions.

Despite these differences, a significant body of research notes the close connection between experiences with online and offline bullying. While it is difficult to determine whether being a bully or being bullied in the real world *causes* similar experiences in cyberspace (or vice versa), a clear correlation between the two spheres of interaction exists. For example, Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) found that about half of cyberbullying victims and offenders report also experiencing traditional, offline bullying (see also Hinduja & Patchin, 2009) and we Hinduja & Patchin, 2008 found that traditional bullies were more than twice as likely to be both the victims and the perpetrators of electronic forms of bullying compared to those who do not engage in traditional bullying. Moreover, victims of offline bullying were 2.7 times as likely to also be a victim of cyberbullying compared to those who hadn't experienced offline bullying.

What Can Parents Do?

The best tack parents can take when their child is cyberbullied is to make sure they feel (and are) safe and secure, and to convey unconditional support. Parents must demonstrate to

their children through words and actions that they both desire the same end result: that the cyberbullying stop and that life does not become even more difficult. This can be accomplished by working together to arrive at a mutually-agreeable course of action, as sometimes it is appropriate (and important) to solicit the child's perspective as to what might be done to improve the situation. If necessary, parents should explain the importance of scheduling a meeting with school administrators (or a teacher they trust) to discuss the matter. Parents may also be able to contact the father or mother of the offender, and/or work with the Internet Service Provider, Cell Phone Service Provider, or Content Provider to investigate the issue or remove the offending material. The police should also be approached when physical threats are involved or a crime has possibly been committed.

Overall, parents must educate their children about appropriate online behaviors (and teens must follow these guidelines!). They should also monitor their child's activities while online – especially early in their exploration of cyberspace. This can be done informally (through active participation in your child's Internet experience, which we recommend most of all) or formally (through software). Cultivate and maintain an open, candid line of communication with your children, so that they are ready and willing to come to you whenever they experience something unpleasant or distressing when interacting via computer or cell phone. Model, teach, and reinforce positive morals and values, and instill in youth the importance of treating others with respect and dignity, whether online or off.

Parents may also utilize an "Internet Use Contract" and a "Cell Phone Use Contract" to foster a crystal-clear understanding about what is and is not appropriate with respect to the use of technology. Within these documents, both the child and the parent agree to abide by certain mutually-acceptable rules of engagement. To remind the child of this pledged commitment, it is recommended that this contract be posted in a highly visible place (e.g., next to the computer). When there are violations to this contract, immediate consequences must be given that are proportionate to the misbehavior, and that leave an impact. Teens need to learn that inappropriate online actions will not be tolerated. Victims of cyberbullying (and the bystanders who observe it) must know for sure that the adults who they tell will intervene rationally and logically, and not make the situation worse.

If a parent discovers that their child is cyberbullying others, they should first communicate how that behavior inflicts harm and causes pain in the real world as well as in cyberspace. Depending on the level of seriousness of the incident, and whether it seems that the child has realized the hurtful nature of his or her behavior, consequences should be firmly applied (and escalated if the behavior continues). If the incident was particularly severe, parents may want to consider installing tracking or filtering software, or removing technology privileges altogether for a period of time. Moving forward, it is essential that parents pay even greater attention to the Internet and cell phone activities of their child to make sure that they have internalized the lesson and are acting in responsible ways.

What Should Schools Do to Prevent Cyberbullying?

Cyberbullying that is initiated using computer on campus – such as in a school lab or on school-issued laptops, or even via personally-owned devices (cell phones, iPads, netbooks) between or during classes – can obviously affect the mission, value system, and goals of a school. However, even if cyberbullying originates off-campus from a student's home computer

or phone, it can lead to the same problematic outcomes on campus. This is because the social and relational fallout frequently carries over into the school environment since it mostly involves conflict between students who know each other, rather than involving strangers (Hinduja & Patchin, 2007, 2008a, 2009, 2010a; McQuade & Sampat, 2008; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007; Ybarra, et al., 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). As such, the school is necessarily implicated in a large number of these cases, which not only tends to compromise the safety and well-being of youth, but also undermines the positive school climate that teachers, staff, and administrators have worked to create.

The most important preventive step is to educate the school community about responsible Internet interactions. Students need to know that all forms of bullying are wrong and that those who engage in harassing or threatening behaviors will be subject to discipline. It is therefore important to discuss issues related to the appropriate use of online communications technology in various areas of the general curriculum – and not just in technology-related classes. To be sure, these messages should be reinforced in classes that regularly utilize technology. Signage also should be posted in the computer lab or at each computer workstation to remind students of the rules of acceptable use. In general, it is crucial to establish and maintain a school climate of respect and integrity where violations result in informal or formal sanction (Davis & Davis, 2007b).

Furthermore, school district personnel should review their harassment and bullying policies to see if they allow for the discipline of students who engage in cyberbullying. If their policy covers it, cyberbullying incidents that occur at school - or that originate off campus but ultimately result in a substantial disruption of the learning environment - are well within a school's legal authority to intervene. The school then needs to make it clear to students, parents, and all staff that these behaviors are unacceptable and will be subject to discipline. In some cases, simply discussing the incident with the offender's parents will result in the behavior stopping.

What Should Schools Do to Respond to Cyberbullying?

Students should already know that cyberbullying is unacceptable and that the behavior will result in discipline. Utilize school liaison officers or other members of law enforcement to thoroughly investigate incidents, as needed, if the behaviors cross a certain threshold of severity. Once the offending party has been identified, develop a response that is commensurate with the harm done and the disruption that occurred.

School administrators should also work with parents to convey to the student that cyberbullying behaviors are taken seriously and are not trivialized. Moreover, schools should come up with creative response strategies, particularly for relatively minor forms of harassment that do not result in significant harm. For example, students may be required to create anti-cyberbullying posters to be displayed throughout the school. Older students might be required to give a brief presentation to younger students about the importance of using technology in ethically-sound ways. The point here, again, is to condemn the behavior while sending a message to the rest of the school community that bullying in any form is wrong and will not be tolerated.

Even though the vast majority of these incidents can be handled informally (calling parents, counseling the bully and target, expressing condemnation of the behavior), there may be

occasions where formal response from the school is warranted. This is particularly the case in incidents involving serious threats toward another student, if the target no longer feels comfortable coming to school, or if cyberbullying behaviors continue after informal attempts to stop it have failed. In these cases, detention, suspension, changes of placement, or even expulsion may be necessary. If these extreme measures are required, it is important that educators are able to clearly demonstrate the link to school and present evidence that supports their action.

How Is Cyberbullying and School Climate Related?

The benefits of a positive school climate have been identified through much research over the last thirty years. It contributes to more consistent attendance, higher student achievement, and other desirable student outcomes. Though limited, the research done on school climate and traditional bullying also underscores its importance in preventing peer conflict. Existing research has consistently identified an inverse relationship between specific components of school climate and bullying among students (e.g., Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1985; Malecki & Demaray, 2004; Rigby, 1996; Whitney & Smith, 1993).

Also, a school climate that condones bullying (Olweus, Limber, & Mihalic, 1999) within a high-conflict, disorganized school environment tends to exacerbate the problem of bullying (Kasen, Berenson, Cohen, & Johnson, 2004). Finally, youth who are introduced to and adopt normative beliefs that support peer aggression are more likely to bully others (Bentley & Li, 1995; Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Huesmann, 1997; Olweus, 1991).

One of our recent studies found that students who experienced cyberbullying (both those who were victims and those who admitted to cyberbullying others) perceived a poorer climate at their school than those who had not experienced cyberbullying. Youth were asked whether they “enjoy going to school,” “feel safe at school,” “feel that teachers at their school really try to help them succeed,” and “feel that teachers at their school care about them.” Those who admitted to cyberbullying others or who were the target of cyberbullying were less likely to agree with those statements.

Overall, it is critical for educators to develop and promote a safe and respectful school climate. A positive on-campus environment will go a long way in reducing the frequency of many problematic behaviors at school, including bullying and harassment. In this setting, teachers must demonstrate emotional support, a warm and caring atmosphere, a strong focus on academics and learning, and a fostering of healthy self-esteem. Additionally, it is crucial that the school seeks to create and promote an atmosphere where certain conduct not tolerated—by students and staff alike. In schools with healthy climates, students know what is appropriate and what is not.

One way to combat cyberbullying is to create a positive school climate. The benefits of a positive school climate have been identified through much research as improved attendance, student achievement, perceived and actual campus safety, and other desirable student outcomes, along with decreased peer-on-peer bullying. The following are ways to foster a positive climate at school:

- Constantly demonstrate emotional support, a warm and caring atmosphere, a strong focus on academics and learning, and encourage healthy self-esteem among students.

- Offer training workshops for staff to get them up to speed on the positive and negative uses of Facebook, YouTube, FormSpring, ChatRoulette, instant messaging programs, chat rooms, message boards, and cell phones.
- Hold assemblies for students that are relevant, hard-hitting, and meaningful, emphasizing that the *vast majority* of kids do the right thing with their computers and cell phones and that appropriate and wise Internet participation is the social norm. This should inspire the rest to “get on board.”
- Use peer mentoring by having older students informally teach lessons and share learning experiences with younger students to promote positive online interactions.
- Establish clear rules about the use of the Internet, computers, and other electronic devices, making sure to cover online harassment. Post eye-catching signs or posters in school computer labs, hallways, and classrooms to remind students to use technology responsibly.
- Create a formal behavioral contract specific to cyberbullying or introduce clauses within the formal “respect policy” or “honor code” that identify cyberbullying as inappropriate behavior. Do what you can to make sure this policy or honor code is viewed as sacred among students.
- Share important facts, reminders, and guidance about cyberbullying over the audio or video morning announcements on a weekly basis.
- Develop *anonymous* ways for students to report situations or incidents that may weaken the school climate (cyberbullying and other forms of harassment). Post a web form on the school’s web page, create an e-mail account where messages are forwarded to the counselor or assistant principal, or provide a cell phone number to which students can text their concerns.
- Develop a website, blog, Facebook group, or Twitter page for parents and students to further inform them about your school’s position and how you will respond to incidents. Send out news, reminders, and links to stories involving appropriate and inappropriate online communications among young adolescents to keep these issues in the forefront of their minds and reinforce them as priority issues for your school.
- Motivate students to initiate an anticyberbullying awareness or pledge campaign. Let them come up with a very cool and relevant design for their hard-hitting message, then approach local businesses and organizations to sponsor the production of T-shirts, buttons, pins, key chains, magnets, or bumper stickers to spread the word.

Cultivating a positive climate on campus will not only promote student achievement, success, and productivity, it will decrease peer harassment—online and offline.

What Can Youth Do?

Most importantly, youth should develop a relationship with an adult they trust (a parent, teacher, or someone else) so they can talk about any experiences they have online (or off) that make them upset or uncomfortable. If possible, teens should ignore minor teasing or name calling, and not respond to the bully as that might simply make the problem continue. It’s also useful to keep all evidence of cyberbullying to show an adult who can help with the situation.

If targets of cyberbullying are able to keep a log or a journal of the dates and times and instances of the online harassment, that can also help prove what was going on and who started it.

Overall, youth should go online with their parents – show them what web sites they use, and why. At the same time, they need to be responsible when interacting with others on the Internet. For instance, they shouldn't say anything to anyone online that they wouldn't say to them in person with their parents in the room. Finally, youth ought to take advantage of the privacy settings within Facebook and other websites, and the social software (instant messaging, email, and chat programs) that they use – they are there to help reduce the chances of victimization. Users can adjust the settings to restrict and monitor who can contact them and who can read their online content.

What Can Bystanders Do?

Bystanders also have a very critical role to play. Those who witness cyberbullying generally do not want to get involved because of the hassle and problems they fear it might bring upon them, yet they often recognize that what they are seeing is not right and should stop (Davis & Davis, 2007a). However, by doing *nothing*, bystanders are doing *something*. We have a responsibility to look out for the best interests of each other. Bystanders can make a huge difference in improving the situation for cyberbullying victims, who often feel helpless and hopeless and need someone to come to the rescue. Bystanders should note what they see and when. They should also stand up for the victim, and tell an adult they trust who can really step in and improve the situation (Patchin & Hinduja, forthcoming). Finally, they should never encourage or indirectly contribute to the behavior – by forwarding hurtful messages, laughing at inappropriate jokes or content, condoning the act just to “fit in,” or otherwise silently allowing it to continue (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009).

What Can Law Enforcement Do?

Law enforcement officers also have a role in preventing and responding to cyberbullying. To begin, they need to be aware of ever-evolving state and local laws concerning online behaviors, and equip themselves with the skills and knowledge to intervene as necessary (Patchin & Hinduja, forthcoming). In a recent survey of school resource officers, we found that almost one-quarter did not know if their state had a cyberbullying law. This is surprising since their most visible responsibility involves responding to actions which are in violation of law (e.g., harassment, threats, stalking). Even if the behavior doesn't immediately appear to rise to the level of a crime, officers should use their discretion to handle the situation in a way that is appropriate for the circumstances. For example, a simple discussion of the legal issues involved in cyberbullying may be enough to deter some youth from future misbehavior. Officers might also talk to parents about their child's conduct and express to them the seriousness of online harassment.

Relatedly, officers can play an essential role in preventing cyberbullying from occurring or getting out of hand in the first place. They can speak to students in classrooms about cyberbullying and online safety issues more broadly in an attempt to discourage them from engaging in risky or unacceptable actions and interactions. They might also speak to parents

about local and state laws, so that they are informed and can properly respond if their child is involved in an incident.

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BULLYING AND CHILDREN'S PEER RELATIONSHIPS

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On first thought, the words *bully* and *peer* hardly belong in the same title; for all intents and purposes the two words are opposites. A peer is an equal, of the same social standing as oneself (Hartup, 1983). Bullying lacks the elements of equality and free choice. What distinguishes bullying from other forms of childhood aggression, whether a hard-fought basketball game or rough-and-tumble play, is *unequal, coercive power* (Olweus, 1993; Vaillancourt, McDougall, Hymel, & Sunderani, 2010). It's this sense of inequality, abuse, unfairness, and of a peer culture valuing all the wrong things that makes the problem of bullying fundamentally incompatible with the American character. Bullying violates our democratic spirit that all youth should be free to learn, in peace and safety, making the most of their talents and goals.

What kind of power does a bully really have? Children and youth (and some adults) use bullying to acquire resources and—here is where peers come into the picture—to demonstrate to an audience that they can dominate (Pellegrini, Long, Solberg, Roseth, DuPuis, Bohn, & Hickey, 2010; Salmivalli, Kärnä, & Poskiparta, 2010). The success of bullies in attaining resources and recognition—indeed, the very extent to which children turn to bullying-- depends on factors that include the characteristics of the bully, the relationship existing between bullies and whom they target for harassment, and the reactions of classmates who witness bullying. Do schoolmates embarrass the harassed and stroke the bully's ego, do they ignore the bullying in front of their eyes, or does somebody intervene to support the victim and help stop the bullying? Of course, peer culture in elementary, middle, and high school exists not in some *Lord of the Flies* lawlessness, but rather under the presumably watchful eyes of responsible adults: teachers, principals, bus drivers, school staff, and of course parents. The importance of how peers and adults act in response to—or even better, in anticipation of bullying, can't be overestimated.

Two Social Worlds of Bullying

In a recent article, Tom Farmer and his colleagues report on the “two social worlds” of bullying (Farmer, Petrin, Robertson, Fraser, Hall, Day, & Dadisman, 2010). These social worlds are *marginalization* on the one hand, and *connection* on the other. To quote Farmer and colleagues, socially marginalized bullies “may be fighting against a social system that keeps them on the periphery” while socially integrated bullies “may use aggression to control” others (p. 386).

With respect to rejection and marginalization, many bullies seem to continuously come into conflict with others, to run against the world. These children, mostly boys, tend to be characterized by a clear pattern of deficits in broad domains of developmental functioning. They’re consistently identified as being at-risk, even from bullying and harassment by others (what Olweus (1993) terms “bully-victims”). Their aggression is impulsive and overly reactive to real or perceived slights. Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, and Sadek (2010, p. 76) write that this type of bully: “has comorbid externalizing and internalizing problems, holds significantly negative attitudes and beliefs about himself or herself and others, is low in social competence, does not have adequate social problem-solving skills, performs poorly academically, and is not only rejected and isolated by peers but also negatively influenced by the peers with whom he or she interacts.” Farmer and colleagues report that marginalized, unpopular bullies, whether girls or boys, are often shunted into peer groups with other bullies, and sometimes even with the children they harass. Marginalized bullies have a host of problems of which bullying behavior is but one manifestation. Their bullying might stem from an inability to control their impulsive actions, or from a desire to gain status that generally eludes them.

Then there are bullies whose social worlds are networked and integrated—these children don’t lack for peer social support. Socially integrated bullies are more evenly split between boys and girls. They have a variety of friends, some bullies but others not, and strengths that are easy to recognize, like social skills, athleticism, or attractiveness. Socially connected bullies tend to be proactive and goal-directed in their aggression. They have lots of experience with peers, perhaps as far back as the day care years (Rodkin & Roisman, 2010). Some bullies incorporate prosocial strategies into their behavioral repertoire, for example reconciling with their targets after conflict, or becoming less aggressive once a clear dominance relationship has been established (Pellegrini et al., 2010). Socially connected bullies are both underrecognized as seriously aggressive, and popularized in the media as in, for instance, *Mean Girls*. Vaillancourt and colleagues (2010, p. 218) go so far as to call these socially connected bullies “Machiavellian”: “popular, socially skilled and competent... [with] high self-esteem.. low on psychopathology... [and] many assets” (see also Hawley, 2003). This portrait of mental health may be overdrawn, as Cook and colleagues (2010) and Rodkin and Roisman (2010) find substantial deficits even for more popular bullies, but there is no doubt that a substantial proportion of very aggressive children and youth have moderately low to surprisingly high levels of popularity among their peers.

Bullying may peak in early adolescence, but these two social worlds of bullying exist as early as kindergarten (Alsaker & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2010), or in Farmer and colleagues’ study, second grade. The two social worlds of bullying represent two central but seemingly inconsistent views of aggressive behavior: as dysfunctional and maladaptive, or functional and adaptive. As light can be both wave and particle, aggression can be maladaptive or adaptive depending on why the aggression occurs, the time frame (e.g., “good in the short run, but bad

in the long run”), the consequences of aggressive acts, and one’s perspective (Rodkin & Wilson, 2007). Educators and parents need to ask why bullying is working from the perspective of the bully and what goals are being served by bullying behavior, as they will be different for different children.

The Bully-Victim Relationship

Any law enforcement official would quickly want to establish the relationship that might exist between an alleged perpetrator and victim. However, in the area of bullying research, little is known about the relationship between a bully and the child whom he or she targets. Instead, the focus has been on identifying children who fall into *bully*, *victim*, and *bully-victim* categories, and then determining prevalence rates and behavioral characteristics of bullies, victims, and bully-victims (e.g., Cook et al., 2010). This procedure puts bullies and victims into separate boxes and overemphasizes their separateness. In practical terms, this could mean that there is no known relationship between a bully and victim, or something of a random targeting.

Reality is more complicated. Bullies and victims often have a previously existing relationship that presages bullying before it happens, which if known would alert knowledgeable adults about possible trouble spots (Card & Hodges, 2008). One clear predictor of bullying is reciprocated dislike and animosity. Potential bullies, particularly socially connected bullies, actualize angry thoughts into aggressive behavior towards low status peers whom they already dislike, and who dislike them (Hodges, Peets, & Salmivalli, 2009). Socially connected children choose same-sex bullying as part of a struggle for dominance, particularly in the beginning of the school year or between transitions from one school to another, when the social hierarchy is in flux and unpopular children can be targeted (Pellegrini et al., 2010). The bullying behavior of socially connected children is thus quite responsive to changing opportunities in the peer social ecology.

One finding that becomes obvious once bullies and victims are considered as a two-person dyad is that there are a disturbing number of cases, possibly half, where aggressive boys are harassing girls (Berger & Rodkin, 2009; Rodkin & Berger, 2008; Veenstra, Lindenberg, Zijlstra, DeWinter, Verhulst, & Ormel, 2007). Olweus (1993, p. 18) first reported this overlooked finding, writing that “*boys carried out a large part of the bullying to which girls were subjected*” (itals. original): 60% of fifth through seventh grade girls whom Olweus (1993) reported as being harassed said that they were bullied by boys. Similarly, the American Association of University Women (2001, p. 25) reported that 38% of girls who experience sexual harassment “say they first experienced it in elementary school.” Unpopular, rejected-aggressive boys are most likely to harass girls (Rodkin & Berger, 2008), whereas socially connected bullies tend to demonstrate within-sex bullying and dominance against unpopular targets (Pellegrini et al., 2010). Still, boys’ physical and verbal aggression against girls can too often become an accepted part of peer culture. Peer sexual harassment is often seen as a purely adolescent phenomenon, but its origins may be linked to when and how boys harass girls in early and middle childhood (Garandeau, Wilson, & Rodkin, 2010; Hanish, Hill, Gosney, Fabes, & Martin, 2011; Rodkin & Fischer, 2003; Rosenbluth, Whitaker, Valle, & Ball, 2011; Ybarra, Espelage, & Martin, 2011). More generally, gender and sexuality is a hidden underbelly of much bullying, as described in the white paper by Espelage. Any notable difference between

people that can be associated with power differentials, such as religion, disability, or ethnicity, has the potential to be seized upon as an object of harassment.

Peer Relationships That Promote and Prevent Bullying

Peer relationships are like oxygen that allows bullying to breathe and spread; peer relationships can be used as a cudgel, a weapon of shame against victims, but even one good friend to a victim of bullying can help assuage the harmful consequences of being harassed.

Socially marginalized bullies who are also victims, who predominantly aggress in reaction to provocation, stand out through their segregation from most peers as isolates or as members of deviant, peripheral peer cliques. These youth would benefit from services that go beyond bullying-reduction programs per se, such as violence reduction therapies and social skills training (Bierman & Powers, 2009; Cook et al., 2010). Where feasible the social ties of marginalized bullies should be broadened to include a greater variety of peers.

My colleague Ramin Karimpour and I have referred to socially connected bullies as “hidden in plain sight” (Rodkin & Karimpour, 2008) because they are on the one hand more socially prominent than marginalized bullies, yet less likely to be recognized as bullies or as at-risk. Since socially connected bullies affiliate with a wide variety of peers, there is an unhealthy potential for widespread acceptance of bullying in some classrooms and schools. This is what Debra Pepler and colleagues call the *theatre of bullying* (Pepler, Craig, & O’Connell, 2010), encompassing not only the bully-victim dyad, but also children who encourage and reinforce bullies (or become bullies themselves), others who silently witness harassment and abuse, and hopefully still others who intervene to support children being harassed (see also Salmivalli et al., 2010). As Pepler and colleagues (2010, p. 470) write: “bullying is a social event in the classroom and on the playground,” with an audience of peers in almost 90% of observed cases. This silent, mocking audience grows exponentially, in frightening anonymity, with cyberbullying. Thus, the problem of bullying is also a problem of the unresponsive bystander, whether that bystander is a classmate who finds harassment to be funny, or a peer who sits on the sidelines afraid to get involved, or an educator who sees bullying as just another part of growing up.

Socially connected bullies target children who will likely *not* be defended (Card & Hodges, 2008; Pellegrini et al., 2010; Veenstra, Lindenberg, Munniksma, & Dijkstra, 2010), but peers who do intervene in bullying can make a real difference. Socially connected bullies thrive on being perceived as dominant, popular, and cool, which is fed by tacit or overt acceptance by peers. Peers who intervene to stop bullying may be successful on over half of such attempts, but unfortunately these defenders stand up in less than 20% of bullying incidents (Pepler et al., 2010; Salmivalli et al., 2010). *One good friend* can make a crucial difference to children who are harassed. Associations between victimization and internalizing problems (e.g., being sad, depressed, anxious) are minimized for victims who are friends with a non-victimized peer (Hodges, Boivin, Vitaro, & Bukowski, 1999). Even first grade children who have a friend but are otherwise socially isolated seem to be protected from the adjustment problems suffered by other isolated children (Laursen, Bukowski, Aunola, & Nurmi, 2007). Peer relationships are crucial both for the bully who is looking to maintain or acquire social status, and for the child who is looking to cope with, and better yet end, peer harassment.

Classroom and School Climate

With clouds of war gathering, German émigré and child psychologist Kurt Lewin and his colleagues created clubs for 10-yearold boys that were organized in an authoritarian (fascistic) or democratic fashion (Lewin, Lippitt, & White, 1939). Victimization and scapegoating were highest in groups with an *autocratic* atmosphere, with a dominant group leader and a strongly hierarchical structure. Victimization was lowest in groups with a *democratic* atmosphere, where relationships with group leaders were more egalitarian and cohesive.

Classroom and school climates are built by the relationships peers have to one another and to their teachers. These interpersonal bonds need to be healthy, or bullying and antisocial behavior can overpower the learning environment. It's well worth asking whether today's schools are characterized by a democratic or autocratic social climate, and whether differences in school climate are related to bullying. Classroom peer ecologies with more egalitarian social status hierarchies, strong group norms in support of academic achievement and prosocial behavior, and cohesive, positive social ties between children should deprive many socially connected bullies of the peer regard that they require (Ahn, Garandeau, & Rodkin, 2010; Frey, Edstrom, & Hirschstein, 2010; Pellegrini et al., 2010; Rodkin & Gest, 2011; Wilson, Karimpour, & Rodkin, 2011). In contrast, even children who are not themselves bullies will form pro-bullying attitudes in classrooms where bullies are popular (Dijkstra, Lindenberg, & Veenstra, 2008), feeding a vicious cycle of bullying reinforcement and failure to stand up for victims of harassment.

Managing School Social Networks to Prevent and Intervene in Bullying

In a review of bullying-reduction programs, Farrington and Ttofi (2009) found that interventions that explicitly work with peers, such as using students as peer mediators, or engaging bystanders to disapprove of bullying and support victims of harassment, were associated with *increases* in victimization! In fact, of twenty program elements included in 44 school-based programs, work with peers was the *only* program element that was associated with significantly *more* bullying and victimization. (In contrast, there were significant and positive effects for parent training and meetings in reducing bullying.) Still other reviews of bullying intervention programs have found generally weak effects (Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, & Isava, 2008).

These disheartening results speak to the fact that peer influences can be a constructive or destructive force on bullying, and need to be handled with knowledge, skill, and care. Antisocial peer groups can undermine behavioral interventions (Dishion & Tipsord, 2011). The most potentially important peer effects have yet to be studied adequately. For instance, children who are chosen to be peer mediators should probably be identified as popular and prosocial for peer mediation to be effective (Pellegrini et al., 2010; Pepler et al., 2010; Vaillancourt et al., 2010). Some of the most innovative, intensive, grass-roots uses of peer relationships to reduce bullying, such as the *You Have the Power!* Program in Montgomery County, Maryland (Holstein-Glass, Silliman, & Nahin, 2010), are never scientifically evaluated. The final verdict awaits on some promising programs that take advantage of peer relationships to combat bullying, such as the KiVa program of Salmivalli et al. (2010), and the Steps to Respect program of Frey et al. (2010).

Teachers can ask what kind of bully they face when dealing with a concrete victimization problem. Is the bully a member of a group, or a group leader? How are bullies and victims situated in the peer ecology? Educators who exclusively target peripheral, antisocial cliques as the engine of school violence problems may leave intact other groups that are more responsible for mainstream peer support of bullying. A strong step educators could take would be to periodically ask students about their social relationships, taking advantage of increasingly powerful techniques of social network analysis that are becoming more user-friendly to educators (Mulvey & Cauffman, 2001; Rodkin & Hanish, 2007). Of course, these efforts can only work in a larger climate where families and educators teach and model strong moral character to our next generation of Americans. Some additional recommendations are listed below (for more, see Berger, Karimpour, & Rodkin, 2008; Garandeau et al., 2010):

- **Ask students about bullying.** Survey students regularly on whether they are being harassed or have witnessed harassment. Make it easier for students to come to an adult in the school to talk about harassment. Consider what bullying accomplishes for a bully.
- **Ask students about their relationships.** Bullying itself is a relationship-- a destructive, asymmetric relationship. Know who students hang out with, who their friends are, and who they dislike. Know who students perceive to be popular and unpopular. Connect with children who have no friends. School staff vary widely in their knowledge of students' relationships, and tend to underestimate the popularity of aggression among peers.
- **Build democratic classroom and school climates.** Identify student leaders who can encourage peers to stand against bullying. Assess whether student social norms are *really* against bullying. Train teachers to better understand and manage student social dynamics, and to handle aggression with clear, consistent consequences. Master teachers not only promote academic success, they also build relationships, trust, and a sense of community.
- **Be an informed consumer of anti-bullying curricula.** Anti-bullying interventions can be successful, but there are significant caveats (Merrell et al., 2008) Some bullies are challenged in broad domains of developmental functioning. Some programs work well in Europe, but not as well here in the U.S. (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). Most anti-bullying programs have not been rigorously evaluated, so be an informed consumer when investigating claims of success. Even with a well-developed anti-bullying curriculum, understanding students' relationships at your school is critical.
- **Remember that bullying is also a problem of values.** Implement a character education or socioemotional learning curriculum that is intellectually challenging. Teach children how to achieve their goals by being assertive rather than aggressive. Always resolve conflicts with civility, among and between staff and students. Involve families.

Charles Payne, in his outstanding 2008 book *So Much Reform, So Little Change*, makes the point that even the best, most rigorous and validated intervention won't be successful without appreciation of the weak social infrastructure and dysfunctional organizational environments of some schools. If adult social networks can doom educational reform, then surely youth social networks can as well.

Child and youth peer ecologies can provide resistance or support to adults' best efforts. When popular children engage in or endorse bullying, they send a message to all students that conflicts with basic values of respect and tolerance that we all should share.

The task ahead is to better integrate bullies and the children they harass into the social fabric of the school, to better inform educators of how to recognize, understand, and help guide children's relationships. With guidance from caring, engaged adults, youth can organize themselves as a force that makes bullying less effective as a means of social connection, or as an outlet for alienation. As detailed in the white paper by Limber, clear, enforceable anti-bullying school policies, including strong consequences for bullying, are also critical. The scourge of bullying has no role in the truly democratic, American school.

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EFFECTIVE STRATEGIES IN COMBATING BULLYING

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Bullying is the most common form of victimization experienced by school-aged children (Nansel et al., 2001) and is an increasing national concern. Nearly all states have passed laws specifically related to bullying prevention, some of which encourage the use of programs or strategies to prevent bullying (Limber & Small, 2003). However, the research on this issue is mixed, with some programs producing significant effects on bullying, but others producing only limited impacts. Schools need guidance on which programs to implement, as well as strategies for optimizing program impacts. This report examines the association between bullying and school climate, and summarizes the research on bullying prevention programs and strategies. Gaps in the current research are highlighted, and recommendations are made regarding the implementation of effective bullying and violence prevention programs.

What Is the Link between Bullying and School Climate?

Research on factors influencing children's risk for involvement in bullying often draws upon the social-ecological framework. Based on initial work by Bronfenbrenner (1979), Espelage and Swearer (2004) applied the social-ecological framework to bullying, highlighting the importance of considering context in relation to individual factors. That context includes social and physical aspects of the youth's environment, which influence both the risk for involvement in bullying and the impact of bullying on social-emotional functioning and academic outcomes. In fact, several studies indicate that youth involved in bullying – as either a bully or a victim – have less favorable perceptions of school and feel less connected to their school (O'Brennan, Bradshaw, & Sawyer, 2009; Nansel et al., 2001). The more frequently these children are involved in bullying, the less safe they feel. Importantly, even bystanders are negatively affected by bullying (Stueve et al., 2006).

Researchers have identified a set of social factors that contribute to a "climate or culture of bullying," (Unnever & Cornell, 2003), which includes shared beliefs and attitudes supporting bullying. In these contexts, aggression and peer victimization become the norm. Not surprisingly, so called "disorderly" or disorganized schools and classrooms have higher rates of bullying. Students perceive these schools as less safe and less supportive, which, in turn, can contribute to aggressive retaliation, resistance to reporting bullying incidents to adults, and poor academic performance (Bradshaw, Sawyer, & O'Brennan, 2009; Unnever & Cornell, 2003).

What Are Common Outcomes of Bullying Prevention Programs?

Although researchers generally agree that self-reports are among the most valid indicators of bullying (Furlong et al., 2009), much of the research on the impact of bullying prevention approaches has focused rather narrowly on students' self-reports of bullying and victimization (Ryan & Smith, 2009). Relatively few studies have reported multiple sources of data on bullying, however, some of the more comprehensive studies have examined observational data, peer reports, or teacher ratings. Other program outcomes also have been studied, such as attitudes toward bullying, avoidance of bullying situations, safety, and school climate (e.g., Fonagy, Twemlow, Vernberg, Sacco, & Little, 2005; Frey et al., 2005; 2009). Notably, bullying typically co-occurs with other forms of aggressive and problem behavior (Nansel et al., 2001; O'Brennan et al., 2009). Therefore, programs that have a broader focus on preventing aggressive and disruptive behavior by addressing social-emotional skills, interpersonal conflict, and behavioral inhibition would likely also curb bullying behaviors (for a review, see Wilson & Lipsey, 2007).

What Works in Bullying Prevention and Intervention?

Multi-Tiered Prevention Approaches

A common approach to the prevention of bullying and other emotional and behavioral problems is the three-tiered public health model (Mrazek & Haggerty, 1994; O'Connell, Boat, & Warner, 2009; Walker et al., 1996). This model includes a universal system of support, or a set of activities that affect all students within a defined community or school setting. Layered onto that first tier of support are selected interventions that target a subgroup of at-risk students. A third level of support includes indicated interventions for youth already showing early signs of problem behaviors. For example, a tiered approach might include lessons on social-emotional skill development for all students – thus making it a universal program. In fact, research highlights the importance of providing class time to discuss bullying (Olweus, 1993) and the use of lessons to foster skills and competencies, effective communication, and strategies for responding to bullying (Farrington & Tofi, 2009); such strategies can also have a positive impact on academic and other behavioral outcomes (Durlak et al., in press). Effective classroom management is also critical, as well-managed classrooms are rated as having a more favorable climate, being safer and more supportive, and having lower rates of bullying (Koth, Bradshaw, & Leaf, 2008). At the second tier, selective interventions may include social skills training for small groups of children at risk for becoming involved in bullying. Finally, an indicated preventive intervention (tier 3) may include more intensive supports and programs tailored to meet the needs of students identified as a bully or victim, and the needs of their families (Espelage & Swearer, 2008; Ross & Horner, 2009).

School-Wide Prevention Activities

Consistent with the social-ecological framework (Espelage & Swearer, 2004), schools should address the social environment and the broader culture and climate of bullying (Bradshaw & Waasdorp, 2009). Research documents the importance of school-wide prevention efforts that provide positive behavior support, establish a common set of expectations for positive behavior across all school contexts, and involve all school staff in prevention activities

(Ross & Horner, 2009). Effective supervision – especially in bullying ‘hot spots’ – and clear anti-bullying policies are essential elements of a successful school-wide prevention effort (Olweus, 1993). The playground appears to be a particularly important context for increasing supervision in order to prevent bullying (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Frey et al., 2005). Collecting data on bullying via anonymous student surveys can inform the supervision and intervention process (HRSA, n.d.a). These data can identify potential areas for intensive training for school staff, which is an essential element of successful bullying prevention efforts (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). Data are also critical for monitoring progress toward the goal of reducing bullying (Olweus, 1993).

Involving Families and Communities

Families also play a critical role in bullying prevention by providing emotional support to promote disclosure of bullying incidents and by fostering coping skills in their children.

Parents need training in how to talk with their children about bullying (Lindstrom Johnson et al., in press), how to communicate their concerns about bullying to the school, and how to get actively involved in school-based bullying prevention efforts (Waasdorp, Bradshaw, & Duong, in press). There also are important bullying prevention activities that can occur at the community level, such as awareness or social marking campaigns that encourage all youth and adults – such as doctors, police officers, and storekeepers – to intervene when they see bullying and to become actively involved in school- and community-based prevention activities (HRSA, n.d.a; Olweus, 1993).

Integrating and Sustaining Prevention Efforts

It is also important to consider how schools can integrate prevention efforts with their other existing programs and supports. Research by Gottfredson and Gottfredson (2001) indicates that, on average, schools are using about 14 different strategies or programs to prevent violence and promote a safe learning environment.

This can often be overwhelming for school staff to execute well, thereby leading to poor implementation fidelity. Therefore, schools are encouraged to integrate their prevention efforts so that there is a seamless system of support (Domitrovich et al., 2009), which is coordinated, monitored for high fidelity implementation, and includes all staff across all school contexts. Instead of adopting a different program to combat each new problem that emerges, it is recommended that schools develop a consistent and longterm prevention plan that addresses multiple student concerns through a set of well-integrated programs and services (HRSA, n.d.a).

Such efforts would address multiple competencies and skills in order to prevent bullying, and help students cope and respond appropriately when bullying does occur. The three-tiered public health model provides a framework for connecting bullying prevention with other programs to address bullying within the broader set of behavioral and academic concerns.

What are Some Specific Evidence-Based Bullying Prevention Programs?

Recent research has investigated the overall impact of anti-bullying programs; however, the findings of these meta-analyses have been mixed (e.g., Ferguson, San Miguel, Kilburn, & Sanchez, 2007; Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, & Isava, 2008; Ryan & Smith, 2009; Smith et al.,

2004; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). To date, the most comprehensive review is Farrington and Ttofi's (2009) Campbell Systematic Review of 53 rigorous evaluations and randomized trials. The majority of these studies were conducted outside of the US or Canada (66%), and over a third of these programs were based in part on the work of Olweus (1993). Farrington and Ttofi found that the programs, on average, were associated with a 20% to 23% decrease in perpetration of bullying, and a 17% to 20% decrease in victimization. The effects generally were stronger in the non-randomized controlled trial designs, suggesting that the more rigorous the study design, the smaller the effects on bullying were (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009).

A number of factors were associated with the effectiveness of these programs. For example, Farrington and Ttofi (2009) found that the most effective elements were the use of parent training activities, meetings, and information; high levels of playground supervision; use of consistent disciplinary methods; classroom management strategies; classroom and school-wide rules related to bullying; and training of teachers. Aspects of the student and teacher training, including the amount of time and the intensity of the training, were also positively associated with the efficacy of the programs. Consistent with previous studies (Olweus, 2005; Smith, 1997), their findings also support the use of multicomponent prevention approaches. The impacts appeared to be largest among older children (ages 11-14) relative to younger children. It is important to note that, unfortunately, the programs were generally more effective in Europe than in the US or Canada.

The most extensively researched program is the **Olweus Bullying Prevention Program**, which was developed by Olweus and colleagues (Olweus et al., 2007). Much of the research demonstrating the effectiveness of this multicomponent, school-wide prevention model was conducted in Norway (e.g., Olweus, 2005; Olweus, Limber, & Mihalic, 1999), with some studies conducted within the US (e.g., Bauer, Lozano, & Rivara, 2007; Limber et al., 2004). The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program includes school-wide components, classroom activities and meetings, targeted interventions for students identified as bullies or victims, and activities aimed at increasing community involvement (e.g., parents, mental health workers). Other derivations of this program also have been shown to be effective at preventing bullying in North America (e.g., Pepler et al., 2004). Farrington and Ttofi (2009) concluded that programs that were conceptually based on the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program were the most effective. Another evidence-based bullying prevention program is **Steps to Respect**, which targets students in grades 3-6 (Frey et al., 2005). This multicomponent program includes a school-wide prevention effort, parent activities, classroom-focused lessons, and targeted activities for children involved in bullying, which are facilitated by counselors. Randomized trials of Steps to Respect have indicated significant impacts on bullying-related attitudes and observations of bullying, but not on student self-reports of bullying (Frey et al., 2009; 2005).

Programs aiming to prevent violence and disruptive behaviors and promote a positive school climate can also impact bullying. For example, recent findings indicate that the school-wide **Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports** (PBIS; Sugai & Horner, 2006) model has a significant impact on teacher reports of bullying and rejection (Waasdorp, Bradshaw, & Leaf, 2011), as well as on school climate and discipline problems (Bradshaw, Koth, Thornton, & Leaf, 2009; Bradshaw, Mitchell, & Leaf, 2010; Horner et al., 2009). Social-emotional learning programs, such as the **Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies** (PATHS; Greenberg, Kusché, Cook, & Quamma, 1995), and classroom management strategies, such as the **Good Behavior Game** (Ialongo, Werthamer, & Kellam, 1999), have demonstrated impacts on a range of aggressive-disruptive behavior problems. In addition, the **Coping Power Program**

(Lochman & Wells, 2004), which targets aggressive youth and their parents, also has demonstrated significant effects on aggressive behavior, social interactions, and disruptive behavior. Therefore, schools are encouraged to implement these more comprehensive programs to address a range of problem behaviors, including bullying (for a review, see Wilson & Lipsey, 2007).

What Strategies May Be Ineffective or Potentially Damaging?

Given the complex nature of bullying, there are some strategies that have been shown to be ineffective or potentially harmful for students. One of these approaches is youth- or peer-facilitated programs, such as peer mediation, peer-led conflict resolution, and peer mentoring.

In fact, research by Farrington and Ttofi (2009) indicated that many programs that used these peer-facilitated approaches actually resulted in increases in victimization. Moreover, studies on youth violence and delinquency prevention (Dodge, Dishion, & Lansford, 2006) suggest that grouping children who bully together may actually reinforce their aggressive behaviors and result in higher rates of bullying. In these contexts, a contagion process occurs, whereby the bullies learn from each other and are reinforced for their aggressive behavior. Furthermore, conflict resolution, even when facilitated by adults, is not typically recommended in situations of bullying, as it suggests a disagreement between two peers of equal status or power, rather than an instance of peer abuse (HRSA, n.d.b).

There is also little evidence that brief assemblies or one-day awareness raising events are sufficient for changing a climate of bullying or producing sustainable effects on bullying behavior (HRSA, n.d.b). Rather, as was found by Farrington and Ttofi (2009), multicomponent programs hold the greatest promise.

Finally, zero-tolerance policies, which mandate suspensions for children who bully, are a common response to bullying and other forms of school violence (APA, 2008).

Although ensuring the safety of the victim is paramount, and a consistent discipline procedure is strongly recommended (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009), zero-tolerance policies may result in underreporting of bullying incidents because they are perceived as too harsh or punitive. Furthermore, there is limited evidence that they are effective in curbing aggressive or bullying behavior (APA, 2008), as many children who bully may themselves be victims and may have other behavioral, social, or emotional problems requiring intervention (Nansel et al., 2001; O'Brennan et al., 2009; Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010). Therefore, schools and districts should be cautious in the use of these approaches, as they may do more harm than good.

What Factors Are Important to Consider When Implementing Prevention Programs?

There has been a movement toward the use of 'packaged' evidence-based prevention programs over the past several years. The work by Farrington and Ttofi (2009) sheds some light on the most efficacious elements of multicomponent bullying prevention programs; however, schools should be cautious when implementing just a few components of a program, as they may not produce the same effects when implemented in isolation. The cost and related resource

needs may also serve as barriers to implementing the more rigorously tested evidence-based prevention programs. Getting ‘buy-in’ from all students and staff is critical to the success of any prevention effort, especially for multicomponent school-wide models, which can be difficult to implement with high fidelity (Bradshaw, Koth et al., 2009; Durlak et al., in press).

Research highlights a number of contextual factors, like principal leadership, staff attitudes toward the program, and the availability of resources that impact implementation quality (Domitrovich et al., 2008; Hong, 2009). Therefore, considerable pre-implementation planning is needed to garner staff support and buy-in for the program and to integrate the new program with existing supports and services (Limber, 2004).

Once implemented, the collection of fidelity and outcome data is critical to ensuring high quality implementation, tracking progress towards outcomes, and promoting sustainability. Unfortunately, most programs lack valid and efficient tools for tracking implementation fidelity, and regular assessments of self-reports of bullying can be costly and burdensome for some schools. Many schools find it helpful to form a team to lead the implementation and help with the integration of programs and the program monitoring process (Limber, 2004).

An implementation specialist or ‘coach’ can also be helpful in ensuring high quality implementation of bullying prevention programs. Changing school climate and the culture of bullying is difficult and requires sustained and intensive commitment from all students, staff, families, and the community. The development of an implementation infrastructure, at the school, district, and state level, is essential to scaling up the available research-based programs (for example, see Barrett, Bradshaw, & Lewis-Palmer, 2008).

What Additional Research Is Needed to Improve Our Understanding of the Most Effective Strategies for Combating Bullying?

Additional research is needed in several areas related to bullying prevention. As noted above, there are relatively few prevention programs, tested through rigorous research designs, which have demonstrated significant impacts on bullying among US students (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Merrell et al., 2008).

Further research is needed on bullying prevention programs to determine their effectiveness in diverse contexts and with different populations, particularly in urban schools and with ethnic minority students and students with disabilities.

The impact of programs also likely varies based on student factors, such as the age or gender of the child, the type of involvement in bullying they experienced (e.g., bully, victim, or both bully and victim), as well as the form of bullying (e.g., cyberbullying or bullying related to perceived sexual orientation or gender non-conformity).

Although the rates of bullying tend to peak during middle school, very few bullying prevention or intervention programs have been developed and tested on high school students.

Additional research is also needed to determine which program components are critical for success, and what factors are important in predicting high quality program implementation. Unfortunately, there have been no cost-benefit analysis studies conducted of bullying prevention programs, although such work is available for some of the more general youth violence prevention programs (see Aos, Lieb, Mayfield, Miller, & Pennucci, 2004).

Studies are also needed to determine the impact of the relatively recently enacted state-level bullying policies on rates of bullying. Moreover, the policies should have an increased

focus on staff training and the use of research-based prevention efforts (Limber & Small, 2003). What is clear is that the passage of these policies signals to educators, parents, and the community that bullying is a major concern - one with potentially serious consequences for students and the school environment (Swearer et al., 2010).

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REDUCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF BULLYING BEHAVIOR IN SCHOOLS^{VI,VII}

OSEP Center on Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports

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Ensuring that children and youth have safe, caring, and respectful places to learn and socialize has been among the top concerns of the general public over the past 40 years (Bushaw & Lopez, 2010). However, effective classroom management and school discipline receive relatively minor attention in many teacher preparation programs and remain in the informal shadows of the academic mission of many schools (Baker, 2005; Oliver & Reschly, 2007; Siebert, 2005). The assumption is that students will come to school ready to learn, adequately prepared to navigate the classroom expectations, and have the social skills to establish lasting relationships with others. In addition, disciplinary consequences and policies are used to “control and punish” norm-violating actions. At best, learning the school and classroom behavioral expectations is informal and trial and error at best.

Calls for effective behavior management and better discipline spike when a school shootings occurs, a student takes her own life, or a youth hurts his classmate. Our immediate reactions are to demand more punishment-oriented consequences, greater student accountability and personal responsibility, and intensive screening for identification. Concerns about recent tragic bullying events and general lack of civility of children and youth have given high priority to bully proofing and violence prevention initiatives.

Although such efforts are understandable and admirable, they are not implemented for long, student behavior does not improve, and school climate remains negative and control-oriented. A major message of this paper is that the challenge is not that we don’t know the characteristics of effective violence prevention strategies, but that we need to implement a systemic framework or process through which these strategies might actually prevent the development and occurrences of violent behavior for all students.

The purpose of this document is to provide an overview of how school-wide positive behavioral interventions and supports (PBIS) can provide such a framework for improving the effectiveness, efficiency, and relevance of practices that can help prevent school violence and bullying behavior, in particular. This overview is organized around eight main questions.

1. What Do We Know about Preventing Violence in Schools?

Decades of research provide excellent guidance on what competent school environments look like and do to prevent the development and occurrence of violent behavior, including bullying behavior, in schools and neighborhoods (e.g., Biglan, 1995; Gottfredson, 1997; Gottfredson, Gottfredson, & Hybl, 1993; Mayer, 1995; Morrison, Furlong, & Morrison, 1997; Tolan & Guerra, 1994; Walker, Ramsey, & Gresham, 2004). In general, effective schools formally invest in the following protective activities:

1. School-wide curriculum that emphasizes targeted social skills instruction.
2. Establishment of positive school and classroom social cultures where teaching and learning are emphasized.
3. Challenging and engaging instructional practices that effectively maximize academic success for all students.
4. Continuous, positive, and active supervision and monitoring of student behavior and learning.
5. Regular, frequent, and positive acknowledgements and reinforcement for student displays of academic and social behavior success.
6. Active involvement of all students and family, faculty, and community members.
7. Multi-year and multi-component approaches to implementation.
8. Adults who model the same positive social behaviors and values expected of students.

2. What Is “Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports?”

To maximize the impact of effective violence prevention strategies, careful attention must be directed to the systemic supports that enable accurate, durable, and scalable implementation (Fixsen et al., 2005). In 1996, the U.S. Congress reauthorized the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (IDEIA), and included authority to establish the National Technical Assistance Center for Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS, www.pbis.org).

It is important to understand that PBIS is NOT a packaged curriculum, scripted intervention, or manualized strategy. Rather, PBIS IS a prevention-oriented multi-tiered framework for school personnel to (a) organize evidence-based practices, (b) implement those practices with high fidelity, and (c) maximize academic and social behavior outcomes for all students (Sugai et al., 1999).

3. How Does School-Wide PBIS Relate to the Prevention of Bullying Behavior?

PBIS begins with the premise that all students should have access to positive behavioral supports to prevent the development and occurrence of problem behavior, including bullying. To avoid stigmatizing any student, PBIS emphasizes what a student does and where it occurs. Instead of labeling a student as a bully, victim, perpetrator, or bystander, the emphasis is on

labeling what the student does, for example, name-calling, teasing, intimidation, verbal aggression, and cyberharassment. Bullying behavior is always described in the context or setting in which it occurs, for example, cyberspace, hallway, dance, field trip, bus, etc.

From a PBIS perspective, successful prevention of bullying behavior is linked directly to teaching adults and students (a) what bullying looks like, (b) what to do before and when bullying behavior is observed, (c) how to teach others what to do, and (d) how to establish a positive and preventive environment that reduces the effectiveness of bullying behavior (Ross, Horner, & Stiller, 2009).

4. What Is the PBIS Approach to Preventing Bullying Behavior?

PBIS takes a multi-tiered responsiveness-tointervention approach to preventing bullying behavior (Bradley, Danielson, & Doolittle, 2007; Sugai & Horner, 2009), which is derived directly from the “3-tiered” public health prevention logic (Walker et al., 1996).

At Tier I, all students and staff are taught directly and formally about how to behave in safe, respectful, and responsible ways across all school settings. The emphasis is on teaching and encouraging positive social skills and character traits. If implemented well, most students will benefit and be successful (Lewis & Sugai, 1999; Taylor-Greene et al., 1997; Sugai et al., 1999).

At Tier II, students whose behaviors do not respond to Tier I supports are provided additional preventive strategies (Crone, Hawken, & Horner, 2010; Fairbanks, Sugai, Guardino, & Lathrop, 2007) that involve (a) more targeted social skills instruction, (b) increased adult monitoring and positive attention, (c) specific and regular daily feedback on their behavioral progress, and (d) additional academic supports, if necessary.

At Tier III, students whose behaviors do not respond to Tier I and II supports are provided intensive preventive strategies (Crone & Horner, 2003; Eber, Sugai, Smith, & Scott, 2002; Walker, Ramsey, & Gresham, 2004) that involve (a) highly individualized academic and/or behavior intervention planning; (b) more comprehensive, person-centered and function-based wraparound processes; and (c) school-family-community mental health supports.

From a prevention and responsiveness-tointervention perspective, not all students respond equally to bully prevention strategies because of a variety of risk and protective factors, for example, behavioral learning history, socio-economic status, social skill competence, academic achievement, disability, peer and family influences (Biglan, 1995; Mayer, 1995; Spivak & Prothrow-Stith, 2001; Walker, Ramsey, & Gresham, 2004). Effective Tier I prevention programs are intended to support most students and then to identify those who may require more intensive and specialized assistance (Tier II and III). This logic is important for students who engage in bullying behavior as well as those who are targets and observers of bullying behaviors. It is important to note that increasing the severity and number of more punishing consequences is not emphasized.

Many evidence-based practices for preventing bullying behavior are available (Bradshaw, Johnson, 2011; Elliott, Hamburg, & Williams, 1998; Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Lipsey & Wilson, 1993; Mayer, 1995; Morrison, Furlong, & Morrison, 1997; Olweus, Limber, & Mihalic, 1990; Ross & Horner, 2009); however, their effectiveness and durability are dependent upon the use of good data systems, efficient progress monitoring tools, competent school personnel, on-going and embedded professional development, formal coaching and

coordination supports, and adequate school and district systems to sustain meaningful outcomes with accurate implementation (Fixsen et al., 2005; PBIS Implementation Blueprint, 2010; PBIS Evaluation Blueprint, 2009).

5. What Costs Are Associated with Implementing School-wide PBIS?

The National PBIS Center is funded by the Office of Special Education Programs in the U.S. Department of Education to disseminate and provide technical assistance to schools, districts, and states. The PBIS Center's website (www.pbis.org) provides a comprehensive collection of free and downloadable materials related to the multi-tiered approach to PBIS, including bullying behavior prevention.

Contact information for a network of state and district implementation efforts is also available at the website. Some states have formalized their training and professional development efforts such that costs are minimized. PBIS state coordinators can be contacted for more information about school and district implementation opportunities and costs.

Although specific trainer costs may vary depending on whether a state or district has established its own training capacity or relies on external trainers, a school's major costs will be associated with professional development days for a PBIS leadership team to develop, implement, and monitor the progress of a PBIS action plan (e.g., substitute teachers). Professional development costs depend on demographic characteristics (e.g., school and district size, number of schools, prior PBIS experiences). During the initial implementation years, schools should expect each team member to participate in 4 to 6 full days of professional development, and implementation action planning (PBIS Professional Development Blueprint, 2010).

Because implementation occurs in phases, the first two to three years are focused on establishing the working infrastructure and capacity for initial implementation of the three-tiered prevention continuum, especially Tier I supports. Over time, action planning shifts to sustaining and improving implementation outcomes, behavioral capacity, and efficiency, and addressing other behavioral needs.

Most importantly, before implementing any PBIS component, schools, districts, and states are encouraged to complete a self-assessment audit of existing behavioral initiatives, programs, interventions, and priorities. The goal is to discontinue ineffective or poorly implemented practices, adjust effective initiatives to improve efficiency and durability, and combine or integrate efforts that have similar outcome expectations and objectives. PBIS implementation cannot be an "add-on" to existing initiatives and programs. Instead, existing resources are re-invested in the smallest number of the most effective, efficient, and relevant practices and initiatives possible. Doing a few things really well is preferred to doing many things partially, or not at all.

PBIS Steps to Addressing Bullying Behavior at School
Step 1. If bullying behavior is identified as a concern, members of a PBIS school leadership team would start by examining their discipline data to determine How often what bullying behaviors (e.g., verbal/physical aggression, intimidation, teasing) were occurring.

• Where those behaviors were being reported (e.g., hallways, parking lots, cyberspace). • How many and which students are involved in displays of bullying behavior (including students who are targets and/or observers of bullying behavior). • Which staff members have been involved in bullying behavior incidents. • When during the day (time/period) and week are bullying behavior being reported.
PBIS Steps to Addressing Bullying Behavior at School
Step 2. A PBIS school leadership team would examine the extent to which Tier I practices and systems are being implemented accurately, fluently, and school-wide. The focus is on the extent to which staff members have • Taught, provided practice for, and acknowledged the behaviors that represent three to five positive school-wide behavioral expectations (e.g., “respecting self, others, and environment;” “safety, responsibility, and honor”). • Actively and positively supervised all students across all school settings. • Had high rates of positive interactions and contact with all students. • Arranged their instruction so all students are actively academically engaged, successful, and challenged.
Step 3. To address bullying behaviors at Tier I, all students and staff would be taught a common strategy for preventing and responding to bullying behavior: • How to avoid situations where bullying behavior is likely. • How to intervene and respond early and quickly to interrupt bullying behavior, remove the social rewards for bullying behavior, and prevent bullying behavior from escalating. • How to remove what triggers and maintains bullying behavior. • How to improve the accuracy, fluency, and sustainability of implementation efforts. • What to do when prevention efforts do not work. • How and what to report and record when a bullying behavior incident occurs.
Step 4. If Steps 1 through 3 are done well, a relatively small proportion of students (initiators, targets, bystanders) will require more than Tier I supports. These students should not receive more of the same ineffective strategies, especially, more severe consequences. Instead, students whose bullying behavior does not improve should be considered for Tiers II and III supports. • These supports would be initiated by increasing consideration of behavioral function or purpose (e.g., “bully behavior results in access to bystander, target, and/or adult attention;” “target behavior results in access to peer and/or adult attention;” “bystander behavior results in access to initiator attention”). • Based on the function of a student’s behavior, students would (a) begin the day with a check-in or reminder about the daily expectations; (b) be more overtly and actively supervised; (c) receive more frequent, regular and positive performance feedback each day; and (d) conclude each day with a checkout or debriefing with an adult. • More intensive supports would be highly individualized, multi-disciplinary, trans-situational (i.e., school, family, community), and long-term.
Step 5. Improving and sustaining implementation of an effective intervention or practice requires that • Accuracy and fluency of implementation are monitored frequently and regularly. • Behavioral data are reviewed regularly. • Intervention features are adapted to improve outcomes and sustain implementation. • Efficient and expert capacity are established to enable consideration of new or other behavioral concerns (scaling and continuous regeneration).

6. Does PBIS Work Better with Different Groups, Settings, or Contexts?

The research base for PBIS is established and expanding (e.g., Bradshaw, Mitchell, & Leaf, 2010; Horner, Sugai, & Anderson, 2010; Horner et al., 2009; Safran & Oswald, 2003). In general, experimental and quasi-experimental studies have demonstrated that when implemented with fidelity, school-wide PBIS is associated with improvements in perceived school health and safety; decreases in disciplinary referrals, detentions, and suspensions; increases in academic achievement; and improvements in concerns related to over-representation and disproportionality for students with disabilities and of color.

Although PBIS implementation has generally occurred at the elementary and middle school levels, high school applications are expanding. In general, the elements, processes, practices, and systems of PBIS are similar across all school levels; however, the specific appearance and implementation characteristics vary based on developmental, cultural, linguistic, organizational, etc. features of individual schools and communities (Flannery et al., 2009).

7. What Does School-wide PBIS Look Like When Bullying Behavior Needs to be Addressed?

By investing in the implementation of multi-tiered prevention frameworks, like PBIS, schools are creating school cultures that prevent the development and occurrences of bullying behavior. However, if a school suspects that bullying behavior might be becoming problematic, a team-based and data-driven problem-solving process is initiated. The following table summarizes the key features of this process.

8. Where Can More Information About PBIS Be Found?

Information about PBIS can be obtained from a number of sources:

- National Center on Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (www.pbis.org)
- Office of Safe and Drug Free Schools (www.ed.gov/osdfs)
- Office of Special Education Programs (www.ed.gov/osers/osep)
- Individual State Departments of Education

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BULLYING AND THE LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, QUESTIONING (LGBTQ) COMMUNITY

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What Do We Know About Rates of Bullying for LGBTQ Students?

A large percentage of bullying among students involves the use of homophobic teasing and slurs, called homophobic teasing or victimization (Poteat & Espelage, 2005; Poteat & Rivers, 2010).

Bullying and homophobic victimization occur more frequently among LGBT youth in American schools than among students who identify as heterosexual (Birkett, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009; Kosciw, Greytak, & Diaz, 2009). A recent nationwide survey of LGBT youth reports that 84.6% of LGBT students reported being verbally harassed, 40.1% reported being physically assaulted at school in the past year because of their sexual orientation (Kosciw, Greytak, Diaz, & Bartkiewicz, 2010). A population-based study of over 200,000 California students found that 7.5% reported being bullied in the last year because they were “gay or lesbian or someone thought they were” (O’Shaughnessy, Russell, Heck, Calhoun, & Laub, 2004, p. 3). Of note, among sexual minority youth, transgender youth remain an especially understudied and underserved population who are often victimized because of their gender expression (Kosciw et al., 2009).

Even without being a direct target of homophobic bullying, a student may feel isolated from friends and teachers because of the anti-gay attitudes and behaviors present in schools; 91.4% of a LGBT middle/high school sample reported that they *sometimes* or *frequently* heard homophobic remarks in school, such as “faggot,” “dyke,” or “queer.” Of these students, 99.4% said they heard remarks from students and 63% heard remarks from faculty or school staff (Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; Kosciw et al., 2008).

The pervasiveness of anti-gay language in schools suggests that most school environments are hostile for LGBT students and create negative environments for their heterosexual peers as well (Swearer, Turner, Givens, & Pollack, 2008).

Are LGBTQ Students More at-Risk for Certain Outcomes Related to Bullying Than Their Heterosexual Peers?

Bontempo and D’Augelli (2002) found that LGB youth were at higher risk for school victimization and health risk behaviors such as substance abuse, sexual risk-taking, and mental health issues than their non-LGB peers. In addition, LGB youth who were victimized reported more risky behaviors than non-victimized LGB youth.

School Engagement

According to a 2003 survey of Massachusetts high school students, individuals who identified as LGB were nearly five times as likely as students who identified as heterosexual to

report not attending school because of feeling unsafe (Massachusetts Youth Risk Behavior Survey, 2003).

A recent nationally representative survey reported that 29.1% of LGBT students missed a class at least once and 30.0% missed at least one day of school in the past month because of safety concerns, compared to only 8.0% and 6.7%, respectively, of a national sample of secondary school students (Kosciw et al., 2010).

Also, in this sample, the reported grade point average of students who were more frequently harassed because of their sexual orientation or gender expression was almost half a grade lower than for students who were less often harassed. LGBT students also tend to have more negative school attitudes (Espelage, Aragon, Birkett, & Koenig, 2008; Russell et al., 2001).

Suicidal Ideation/Attempts

Suicide among sexual minority youth is a major public health concern. A number of studies have reported high rates of suicide attempts among sexual minority youth (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; D'Augelli, Hershberger, & Pilkington, 2002; Espelage et al., 2008; Paul et al., 2002; Safren & Heimberg, 1999); and these youth were significantly more likely to be at risk of suicidal completion than heterosexual youth (Eisenberg & Resnick, 2006; Remafedi et al., 1998).

Child Welfare League of America (2009) found that in 2005, 45% of gay, lesbian, or bisexual youth attempted suicide, compared with eight percent of heterosexual youth. However, on a positive note, when school climate is perceived as positive, it serves to buffer against the experience of negative psychological and social concerns among sexual minority youth (Espelage et al., 2008).

That is, LGB and sexually questioning students who had experienced homophobic teasing, but perceived their school as positive, reported less depression, suicidality, and alcohol and drug use than LGB and questioning students who were bullied and in a negative school climate.

What Challenges Do LGBTQ Students Face Around Bullying That Are Unique from Other Populations?

Sexual minority youth frequently struggle with rejection from their parents, peers, and teachers, as well as homophobia in society, which put them at greater risk for depression, which can lead to self-destructive behavior such as suicide, especially if they are bullied frequently. In addition, students are coming out at younger ages and in higher numbers than in previous generations (Floyd & Bakeman, 2006).

However, they are coming out during middle school when attitudes about same sex attraction are less favorable among early adolescents than as students mature (Heinze & Horn, 2009; Horn, 2006; Poteat, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009). For example, in a study of middle and high school students, 30% of 7th graders (10.8% of 12th graders) indicated that they would not remain friends with someone if they disclosed that they were gay (Poteat et al., 2009). Further, 44.5% of 7th graders (20.6% of 12th graders) would prefer to attend a school where there were no gay or lesbian students. These findings suggest that LGBT students are likely to use sources of support – friends – when they risk disclosing their sexual orientation.

Many LGBTQ students also report that school personnel are perpetrators of homophobic remarks in school – nearly two-thirds (63%) of LGBTQ students in the GLSEN's National

School Climate Survey reported hearing homophobic remarks from school staff (Kosciw et al., 2008) and teachers intervene less when homophobic remarks are made in comparison to racist and sexist remarks (Kosciw et al., 2008).

Moreover, lack of response from other students and teachers to homophobic remarks plays a role in maintaining a school environment that is unsupportive of sexual minority students (Espelage & Swearer, 2008) and compromises their basic rights to safety and an education (Bagley & D'Augelli, 2000; Nichols, 1999).

Indeed, LGBT students typically receive little-to-no protection or support from school policies or administration (Beach et al., 1993; Greydanus & Dewdney, 1985; Kosciw et al., 2010). In a nationwide survey of state and local laws, 42 states were given failing grades for not having sufficient sexuality education, safe school laws protecting students based on sexual orientation, presence of gay straight alliances in schools, and state and local laws protecting the rights of LGB students (Kosciw, 2004).

- Only sixteen states prohibit discrimination or harassment in schools on the basis of sexual orientation.
- Thirty-three states have enacted antibullying/harassment laws that **do not protect** LGBT students

It is obvious that many students who are LGBT or questioning their sexual orientation are spending their childhood and adolescence in schools that lack accurate information, positive role models, or support groups (Bailey & Zucker, 1995; MufozPlaza, Quinn, & Rounds, 2002).

Are There Examples of Strategies, Services, and/or Programs That Are Effective for Preventing and Intervening in Bullying for LGBT Students?

Russell, Kosciw, Horn, and Saewyc (2010) in their "Social Policy Report: Safe Schools Policy for LGBTQ Students" highlight four practices that have shown to promote safety and well-being for LGBTQ youth in schools. These are elaborated here:

Practice #1: School nondiscrimination and anti-bullying policies that specifically include actual or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity or expression (Russell & McGuire, 2008).

- LGBTQ students in states with comprehensive, enumerated safe school laws reported hearing fewer homophobic remarks in school, experienced lower levels of harassment and assault based on sexual orientation or gender expression than students in states with no law or in states with a non-enumerated anti-bullying law and fewer suicidal attempts (Goodenow et al., 2006; Kosciw et al., 2008).

Practice #2: Teachers receive training and ongoing professional development on how to intervene when homophobic teasing occurs.

- Students feel safer when they report that their teachers intervene to stop harassment (O'Shaughnessy et al., 2004).

- Two recent evaluations showed that teacher training around LGBT issues and creating safer school environments for LGBTQ students (Greytak & Kosciw, 2010; Horn & Gregory, 2005).

Practice #3: Presence of school-based support groups or clubs (e.g., gay-straight alliances (GSAs)).

- Students in schools with GSAs reported fewer homophobic remarks, less harassment and bullying based on sexual orientation or gender identity, were less likely to miss school because of feeling unsafe, and were more likely to feel a positive school sense of belonging (Kosciw et al., 2008).
- Szalacha (2003) found in a Massachusetts statewide study found that the presence of a GSA was the most predictive factor in perceived school safety amongst LGB and heterosexual students.
- LGBTQ students who attend schools with Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs) and other support groups report greater perceptions of safety and lower levels of victimization (California Safe Schools Coalition, 2004; Goodenow et al., 2006; Russell, Muraco, Subramaniam, & Laub, 2009).
- A recent study showed that among heterosexual youth, those who had at least one LG friend were less likely to tolerate unfair treatment toward LG peers (Heinze & Horn, 2009).
- Dialogue groups also can provide opportunities for positive intergroup interactions among peers at school (Candelario & Huber, 2002; Portman & Portman, 2002).

Practice #4: Inclusion of LGBTQ role models or issues in school curricula, including bullying-prevention programming, and access to information and resources through the library, school-based health centers, and other avenues.

- When students know where to get information and resources for LGBTQ issues and if they have someone to talk to at their school then they feel safer (O'Shaughnessy et al., 2004).
- School-based programs that focus on a range of issues such as raising cultural awareness or facilitating individual identity development, building connections between students and their cultural community, or promoting social action to counter prejudice and discrimination are likely to reduce bullying directed toward LGBTQ students (Espelage & Horne, 2008).
- In a study of 23 comprehensive anti-bullying programs aimed at middle and high school students, none of them covered issues of sexual orientation, homophobia, sexual harassment, and sexual violence sufficiently enough to warrant any efficacy (Birkett, Espelage, & Stein, 2008).

How Can Parents, Teachers, Community Leaders, Policy-Makers, and Educators Help to Reduce School Bullying in LGBTQ Community?

1. Support legislation that provides funding to implement anti-bullying policies and that specifically include protections based on students' actual or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity. :
2. Support research on bullying among lgbtq students.
3. Support bullying prevention programs that address homophobia.

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BULLYING AND STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES*A Briefing Paper from the National Council on Disability****Jonathan Young, Ph.D., J.D.***

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Like bullying in general, bullying of students with disabilities represents both a civil rights and public health challenge. Amongst the possible effects of bullying the U.S. Department of Education (ED, 2010) includes lowered academic achievement and aspirations, increased anxiety, loss of self-esteem and confidence, depression and post-traumatic stress, deterioration in physical health, self-harm and suicidal thinking, suicide, feelings of alienation, absenteeism and other negative impacts, both educational and health related. While both students with and without disabilities face significant negative emotional, educational and physical results from bullying, students with disabilities are both uniquely vulnerable and disproportionately impacted by the bullying phenomenon. Unaddressed bullying of vulnerable students can be expected to have serious negative impacts on the school experiences of all children – social impacts can be expected in addition to individual impacts. Despite this, there exists a dearth of both research and policy focusing on eliminating the bullying of students with disabilities. Furthermore, evidence suggests that existing legal and policy tools available to address bullying against students with disabilities remain significantly underutilized. Additional focus is needed on the bullying of students with disabilities, both as part of a general strategy of bullying prevention efforts and as a specific area of focus in policy and practice.

Background

In 1970, only one in every five children with disabilities received a public education and many states had laws specifically excluding particular disability categories (i.e., children who were deaf, blind, with intellectual disabilities, or emotional disturbance) from public education (ED, 2010). As a result of landmark court cases such as *PARC v. Pennsylvania* (1971), it was established that the 14th Amendment’s equal protection clause required that students with disabilities have the same opportunity to receive a free and appropriate public education as students without disabilities and that, wherever possible, placement in a regular public school class should be the preference. Public Law 94-142 (1975), known then as the Education for All Handicapped Children Act and today Public Law 108-446, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (IDEA) of 2004, created both a legal and funding infrastructure to help ensure that students with disabilities would enjoy the right to a “free and appropriate public education” in the “least restrictive environment.” As a result, many more students with disabilities began to attend and be educated in general education schools and classrooms and thus interacted more with other students.

Research confirms that students with disabilities benefit from being included in the same school settings as their non-disabled peers and that segregated programs fail to demonstrate greater effectiveness (Lipsky, 1997; Buckley, 2000; and Sailor, 2002).

Furthermore, research suggests that students without disabilities may also benefit from inclusion and that, when properly implemented, inclusion of students with disabilities does not negatively impact student test scores, grades, the amount of allocated and engaged instructional time or the rate of interruption to planned activities (York, Vandercook, MacDonald, Heise-Neff, and Caughey, 1992). Despite this, the increased inclusion of students with disabilities, while the right policy and legal decision, necessitates additional efforts to ensure welcoming school environments for students with disabilities.

As demonstrated by both the all too frequent bullying experiences students with disabilities continue to face and the slow progress in fully integrating students with disabilities in public schools (NCD, 2008) across the country, such welcoming environments have not always been forthcoming.

Literature Review

Studies show that students with visible and non-visible disabilities are subject to more bullying than non-disabled peers (Carter and Spencer, 2006). Bullying is frequently a direct result of a student's disability (Whitney, Smith & Thompson, 1994). Students with disabilities are disproportionately likely to face peer rejection, a significant risk factor for victimization (Martlew & Hodson, 1991; Whitney, et al, 1994; and Hodges and Perry, 1996). Many students with disabilities have significant social skills challenges, either as a core trait of their disability or as a result of social isolation due to segregated environments and/or peer rejection. Such students may be at particular risk for bullying and victimization. For example, Little's (2002) study of U.S. mothers found that 94% of children with a diagnosis of Asperger's Syndrome faced peer victimization, including emotional bullying (75%), gang attacks (10%) and nonsexual assaults to the genitals (15%). Clearly it is important to avoid glossing over physical assault, theft, sexual abuse or other crimes by calling them "bullying."

Other research (Siebeker, Swearer, and Lieske, 2005; and Regional Education Laboratory, 2010) has indicated that students with a wide range of disabilities face increased bullying victimization, including students with visible and invisible disabilities, students with physical, developmental, intellectual, emotional and sensory disabilities and others. A 2003 study found that 34% of students taking medication for ADHD reported bullying victimization at least 2-3 times a month, a substantial increase over the rate of bullying victimization from other students surveyed (Unnever and Cornell, 2003). Wiener and Mak (2009) also found high rates of victims among girls with Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disabilities. Langevin, Bortnick, Hammer and Wiebe's (1998) Canadian study examining the relationship between stuttering and selection as a target for bullying, found that at least 59% of students studied were bullied about their stuttering, 69% of students who stutter were also bullied about other things and that bullying very frequently takes place on at least a weekly basis.

Evidence suggests that the response of policymakers, educators and researchers to the bullying of students with disabilities has not been nearly sufficient to address the breadth or gravity of the problem. For example, Massachusetts Advocates for Children's (2009) survey of families of children on the autism spectrum found that almost 40% of said children experienced

bullying for in excess of a year and that while 92% of parents discussed the bullying with school officials, 68% of families found the response of the school district to be inadequate. Only 21.5% of parents surveyed heard about the bullying from the school, with 80.6% hearing from the student him or herself. Given that many students with disabilities face significant communication barriers and are thus unable to report bullying and victimization themselves, protecting the rights of parents to be informed when their children face incidents of bullying or victimization may be a critical area for future law and practice around bullying. Increased research in this area is also necessary. While the existing literature has clearly established that students with disabilities face higher rates of bullying and victimization than the general student population, very little research on bullying prevention has focused on students with disabilities either in isolation or as an identified sub-category in broader bullying prevention initiatives.

Who Qualifies as a Student with a Disability?

One of the first and most important legal questions with respect to bullying and students with disabilities is: who qualifies as a student with a disability? The answer to this question varies depending on the law under question. There are two major definitions of disability that are relevant in the educational context: students with disabilities under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act and students with disabilities under IDEA. To be a student with a disability under Section 504, a student must, (1) have a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities; (2) have a record of such an impairment; or (3) be regarded as having such an impairment (ED, 2010).” While there does not exist a comprehensive list of what constitutes a physical or mental impairment, the term is intended to be construed broadly. Recently, in the ADA Amendments Act of 2008, Congress provided a non-exhaustive list of major life activities, including but not limited to, “caring for oneself, performing manual tasks, seeing, hearing, eating, sleeping, walking, standing, lifting, bending, speaking, breathing, learning, reading, concentrating, thinking, communicating, and working (ADA, 2008). The ADA Amendments Act makes clear that the ADA’s, and as a result Section 504’s, definition of disability is intended to be construed very broadly. IDEA’s definition of a child with a disability is narrower, in part because of the broader legal rights and educational entitlements available to eligible students under IDEA. Under IDEA, a child with a disability must be evaluated and determined to fall within one of a series of specific, defined disability categories, such as intellectual disability, deafness, blindness, emotional disturbance, autism, specific learning disability and others, and need special education and related services by reason thereof (ADA, 2008).

Bullying and Existing Disability and Special Education Laws

Bullying prevention efforts interact in various ways with disability nondiscrimination laws, some of which are similar to dynamics around laws protecting other minority groups while others remain unique. In 2000, the Department of Education’s Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services (OSERS) and Office on Civil Rights (OCR) issued a joint, “Dear Colleague” letter highlighting the issue of disability harassment, a category within which bullying of students with disabilities is included (ED, 2000). The letter noted that several laws

were relevant to the issue of disability harassment. It notes that educational institutions, including both K-12 schools and institutions of higher education, have a responsibility to ensure equal educational opportunity for all students and that disability harassment denies that right and as a result is a form of discrimination prohibited by Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act. The ED (2000) letter defines disability harassment as “intimidation or abusive behavior toward a student based on disability that creates a hostile environment by interfering with or denying a student’s participation in or receipt of benefits, services, or opportunities in the institution’s program. .When harassing conduct is sufficiently severe, persistent, or pervasive that it creates a hostile environment, it can violate a student’s rights under the Section 504 and Title II regulations. .even if there are no tangible effects on the student (ED, 2000, p. 3).” The letter also notes that failure to address disability harassment may constitute a violation of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act’s (IDEA) guarantee of a Free and Appropriate Public Education (FAPE) for students with disabilities when harassment prevents or diminishes the ability of a student to benefit from his or her education (ED, 2000. p.4). Although the letter does not say so specifically, bullying of students with disabilities may also constitute a violation of IDEA when it forces a student with a disability into a more restrictive educational setting such as a self-contained classroom or out of district placement in order to benefit from their educational experience, given IDEA’s legal right for students with disabilities to receive a Free and Appropriate Public Education (FAPE) in the Least Restrictive Environment (LRE).

More recently, the ED’s (2010) “Dear Colleague” letter included disability in a list of protected classes (e.g., race, gender, disability). Schools must respond to bullying and harassment perpetrated on the basis of membership in these protected classes. The ED (2010) letter spelled out the legal obligations schools possess under existing civil rights laws, including Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act and provided examples of various types of harassment and bullying against protected classes as well as potential school responses. Among the responses mentioned in the context of disability include “disciplinary action against the harassers, consultation with the district’s Section 504/Title II coordinator to ensure a comprehensive and effective response, special training for staff on recognizing and effectively responding to harassment of students with disabilities, and monitoring to ensure that the harassment did not resume (ED, 2010).”

It should be noted that while ED 2010 speaks primarily of harassment on the basis of protected class status, IDEA’s FAPE and LRE provisions may impose upon school districts a legal responsibility to act to protect students with disabilities eligible under IDEA from more general bullying and harassment as well. IDEA does not simply require districts to protect students with disabilities from bullying, harassment and overt discrimination on the basis of disability, but also creates an entitlement to a “free and appropriate public education in the least restrictive environment” which frequently requires funding related services, making educational accommodations and modifications as well as working to address issues such as school climate, access needs and other factors that might hinder a student’s ability to fully benefit from their education in the least restrictive environment possible. For example, when bullying of a student with a disability results in a student being transferred into a self-contained classroom or a special education school serving only students with disabilities as opposed to receiving an education in a general classroom setting, a student’s IDEA LRE rights may have been violated regardless of the type of bullying that precipitated the change in placement and regardless of whether parents or guardians “chose” the segregated setting as a result of fear of

bullying or other forms of intimidation or duress. As research shows that students with disabilities are not only subject to bullying and harassment on the basis of disability, but also are frequently more vulnerable to bullying and harassment of a more general nature as well, it is important that the potentially broader protections of IDEA are in place for this population.

IDEA is relevant to the issue of bullying of students with disabilities in at least two additional respects. First, the Individualized Education Plan process represents a potentially useful avenue to address bullying through both pro-active and reactive measures. Under IDEA, students with disabilities receive an Individualized Education Plan (IEP) as a result of a deliberative process involving educators, administrators, child study team members, parents and, where appropriate, the student. The IEP outlines the student's educational plan, accommodations, related services and goals for the year. The IEP can be useful both for helping students develop useful self-advocacy skills to avoid or effectively respond to bullying and harassment from peers or adults. It can also be a useful way of planning for how educators can intervene in the classroom, during extracurricular activities or in other school settings to help protect students from bullying behaviors. The utility of the IEP as a tool to address bullying has been recognized at the state level. Massachusetts (2010) recently passed into law a requirement that IEPs "address the skills and proficiencies needed to avoid and respond to bullying, harassment or teasing" for students with social skills related disabilities and whenever a student with a disability is vulnerable to disability-based bullying, harassment or teasing.

Secondly, IDEA's provisions around discipline state that a student with a disability may not have their educational placement changed in response to behavior that was a manifestation of a student's disability or the result of a school's failure to implement the student's IEP (34 C.F.R. § 300.530). In an instance in which a child with a disability under IDEA is engaged in bullying behavior, it is important that anti-bullying measures not come into conflict with or serve to restrict existing rights under IDEA. State anti-bullying laws have in many instances attempted to address this with language indicating that anti-bullying laws are not intended to infringe upon IDEA rights. Such language must be carefully constructed to ensure that it does not serve to exclude students with disabilities from anti-bullying efforts and protections. For example, an early proposed draft of a New Jersey (2010) anti-bullying law had attempted to address the potential conflict with IDEA by excluding bullying and harassment which occurred "exclusively among or between special education students or students with developmental disabilities". Such an approach would have deprived students with disabilities of the same civil rights protections other groups would benefit from in the anti-bullying legislation. Instead, the legislation was modified before it passed the legislature to simply clarify that, "nothing contained in the "Anti-Bullying Bill of Rights Act," shall alter or reduce the rights of a student with a disability with regard to disciplinary actions or to general or special educational services and supports."

Policy Recommendations

Effectively addressing bullying of students with disabilities will require undertaking action as part of both general and special education policy. Students with disabilities must be included on an equal basis with other protected classes in bullying prevention efforts undertaken as part of general education laws and policy initiatives such as the upcoming re-authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and bullying prevention efforts from the Health

Resources and Services Administration (HRSA) and the Department of Education Office for Civil Rights. In addition, it is also necessary to strengthen and increase the use of anti-bullying tools unique to students with disabilities, such as IEP process and IDEA's guarantee of a Free and Appropriate Public Education (FAPE) in the Least Restrictive Environment (LRE). We recommend the following policy actions:

Recommendations for School and Classroom Level Change

1. **Requiring Parental Notification:** Families frequently learn of incidents of bullying and harassment only well after they occur, if at all. As Congress considers means by which to incorporate bullying prevention into the re-authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and other relevant education policy laws, a requirement that parents be notified when their child is involved as either victim or perpetrator in an incident of bullying or harassment may be worth consideration. This may be particularly important for students with communication related disabilities whose families may not otherwise become aware of incidents. However, part of the nature of bullying is that the victim may blame themselves or be too ashamed to report what happened, so reporting requirements should not be limited to students with disabilities.
2. **Expanding the Role of the IEP:** For students with disabilities, the IEP is a natural tool for bullying prevention and elimination. The ED Office on Special Education and Rehabilitation Services should expand technical assistance on how to use the IEP to protect students with disabilities from bullying and harassment and effective ways to address bullying behaviors that may be linked to a disability. Federal support to positive behavior interventions and supports should be broad enough to address bullying. Consideration should be given to incorporating bullying prevention as a priority within the IEP in the next re-authorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).
3. **Meaningful Accountability:** Merely prohibiting certain types of behavior and requiring training will not necessarily suffice to solve the bullying problem. Families must have a continuum of meaningful and effective enforcement options to protect their children. Federal agencies and Congress should consider a range of possible enforcement measures, including potentially a private right of action aimed at holding schools accountable for severe, persistent and pervasive bullying and harassment.

Recommendations across the Lifespan

4. **Eliminating Workplace Bullying:** Bullying is not limited to educational settings. Many youth and adults continue to face bullying, harassment and other forms of victimization during transition and within the workplace. The Employment Equal Opportunity Commission (EEOC) should be recognized and invited as a critical stakeholder in federal bullying prevention efforts and issues surrounding workplace bullying should be incorporated into our evolving national conversation on bullying. The Department of Labor should develop an infrastructure to address workplace

bullying through measures to facilitate public education, technical assistance and enforcement.

5. **Fighting Hate Crimes:** The Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation should work collaboratively with civil rights and community groups, including those in the disability community, to ensure effective and comprehensive implementation and enforcement of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act for both adults and youth.

Recommendations at the Federal Level

6. **Collaborating in Federal Research Program on Bullying Prevention:** Given that bullying prevention has implications for educational practice, civil rights and public health, research will play a crucial role in shaping anti-bullying efforts in the coming years. The executive branch should ensure that disability is included in federal research efforts on bullying through encouraging the involvement of disability-oriented agencies with mandated broad research and policy missions, like the National Institute for Disability and Rehabilitation Research (NIDRR) and the National Council on Disability (NCD), and in broader federal bullying prevention efforts such as the Federal Partners in Bullying Prevention Task Force.
7. **Technical Assistance:** The Department of Education should develop and implement, in collaboration with disability and other civil rights communities, an infrastructure for technical assistance to State and Local Education Authorities on bullying prevention to facilitate effective research to practice.
8. **Professional Development:** The Department of Education should place bullying prevention as a priority in existing personnel development grants for both general and special education. Congress should consider bullying prevention and reduction as a personnel preparation and development priority in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).
9. **Broadening Data Collection:** Disability must be included in all federal data collection around bullying, victimization, violence, harassment, and hate crimes.

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DEAR COLLEAGUE LETTER: BULLYING AND HARASSMENT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

October 26, 2010

Dear Colleague:

In recent years, many state departments of education and local school districts have taken steps to reduce bullying in schools. The U.S. Department of Education (Department) fully supports these efforts. Bullying fosters a climate of fear and disrespect that can seriously impair the physical and psychological health of its victims and create conditions that negatively affect learning, thereby undermining the ability of students to achieve their full potential. The movement to adopt anti-bullying policies reflects schools' appreciation of their important responsibility to maintain a safe learning environment for all students. I am writing to remind you, however, that some student misconduct that falls under a school's anti-bullying policy also may trigger responsibilities under one or more of the federal antidiscrimination laws enforced by the Department's Office for Civil Rights (OCR). As discussed in more detail below, by

limiting its response to a specific application of its anti-bullying disciplinary policy, a school may fail to properly consider whether the student misconduct also results in discriminatory harassment.

The statutes that OCR enforces include Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964¹ (Title VI), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin; Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972² (Title IX), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex; Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973³ (Section 504); and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990⁴ (Title II). Section 504 and Title II prohibit discrimination on the basis of disability.⁵ School districts may violate these civil rights statutes and the Department's implementing regulations when peer harassment based on race, color, national origin, sex, or disability is sufficiently serious that it creates a hostile environment and such harassment is encouraged, tolerated, not adequately addressed, or ignored by school employees.⁶ School personnel who understand their legal obligations to address harassment under these laws are in the best position to prevent it from occurring and to respond appropriately when it does. Although this letter focuses on the elementary and secondary school context, the legal principles also apply to postsecondary institutions covered by the laws and regulations enforced by OCR. Some school anti-bullying policies already may list classes or traits on which bases bullying or harassment is specifically prohibited. Indeed, many schools have adopted anti-bullying policies that go beyond prohibiting bullying on the basis of traits expressly protected by the federal civil rights laws enforced by OCR— race, color, national origin, sex, and disability—to include such bases as sexual orientation and religion. While this letter concerns your legal obligations under the laws enforced by OCR, other federal, state, and local laws impose additional obligations on schools.⁷ And, of course, even when bullying or harassment is not a civil rights violation, schools should still seek to prevent it in order to protect students from the physical and emotional harms that it may cause.

Harassing conduct may take many forms, including verbal acts and name-calling; graphic and written statements, which may include use of cell phones or the Internet; or other conduct that may be physically threatening, harmful, or humiliating. Harassment does not have to include intent to harm, be directed at a specific target, or involve repeated incidents. Harassment creates a hostile environment when the conduct is sufficiently severe, pervasive, or persistent so as to interfere with or limit a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the services, activities, or opportunities offered by a school. When such harassment is based on race, color, national origin, sex, or disability, it violates the civil rights laws that OCR enforces.⁸

A school is responsible for addressing harassment incidents about which it knows or reasonably⁹ should have known. In some situations, harassment may be in plain sight, widespread, or well-known to students and staff, such as harassment occurring in hallways, during academic or physical education classes, during extracurricular activities, at recess, on a school bus, or through graffiti in public areas. In these cases, the obvious signs of the harassment are sufficient to put the school on notice. In other situations, the school may become aware of misconduct, triggering an investigation that could lead to the discovery of additional incidents that, taken together, may constitute a hostile environment. In all cases, schools should have well-publicized policies prohibiting harassment and procedures for reporting and resolving¹⁰ complaints that will alert the school to incidents of harassment.

When responding to harassment, a school must take immediate and appropriate action to investigate or otherwise determine what occurred. The specific steps in a school's investigation will vary depending upon the nature of the allegations, the source of the complaint, the age of

the student or students involved, the size and administrative structure of the school, and other factors. In all cases, however, the inquiry should be prompt, thorough, and impartial.

If an investigation reveals that discriminatory harassment has occurred, a school must take prompt and effective steps reasonably calculated to end the harassment, eliminate any hostile environment and its effects, and prevent the harassment from recurring. These duties are a school's responsibility even if the misconduct also is covered by an anti-bullying policy, and regardless of whether a student has complained, asked the school to take action, or identified the harassment as a form of discrimination.

Appropriate steps to end harassment may include separating the accused harasser and the target, providing counseling for the target and/or harasser, or taking disciplinary action against the harasser. These steps should not penalize the student who was harassed. For example, any separation of the target from an alleged harasser should be designed to minimize the burden on the target's educational program (*e.g.*, not requiring the target to change his or her class schedule).

In addition, depending on the extent of the harassment, the school may need to provide training or other interventions not only for the perpetrators, but also for the larger school community, to ensure that all students, their families, and school staff can recognize harassment if it recurs and know how to respond.

A school also may be required to provide additional services to the student who was harassed in order to address the effects of the harassment, particularly if the school initially delays in responding or responds inappropriately or inadequately to information about harassment. An effective response also may need to include the issuance of new policies against harassment and new procedures by which students, parents, and employees may report allegations of harassment (or wide dissemination of existing policies and procedures), as well as wide distribution of the contact information for the district's Title IX and Section 504/Title II coordinators.¹¹

Finally, a school should take steps to stop further harassment and prevent any retaliation against the person who made the complaint (or was the subject of the harassment) or against those who provided information as witnesses. At a minimum, the school's responsibilities include making sure that the harassed students and their families know how to report any subsequent problems, conducting follow-up inquiries to see if there have been any new incidents or any instances of retaliation, and responding promptly and appropriately to address continuing or new problems.

When responding to incidents of misconduct, schools should keep in mind the following:

- The label used to describe an incident (*e.g.*, bullying, hazing, teasing) does not determine how a school is obligated to respond. Rather, the nature of the conduct itself must be assessed for civil rights implications. So, for example, if the abusive behavior is on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, or disability, and creates a hostile environment, a school is obligated to respond in accordance with the applicable federal civil rights statutes and regulations enforced by OCR.
- When the behavior implicates the civil rights laws, school administrators should look beyond simply disciplining the perpetrators. While disciplining the perpetrators is likely a necessary step, it often is insufficient. A school's responsibility is to eliminate the hostile environment created by the harassment, address its effects, and take steps to ensure that harassment does not recur. Put differently, the unique effects of

discriminatory harassment may demand a different response than would other types of bullying.

Below, I provide hypothetical examples of how a school's failure to recognize student misconduct as discriminatory harassment violates students' civil rights.¹²

In each of the examples, the school was on notice of the harassment because either the school or a responsible employee knew or should have known of misconduct that constituted harassment. The examples describe how the school should have responded in each circumstance.

Title VI: Race, Color, or National Origin Harassment

Some students anonymously inserted offensive notes into African-American students' lockers and notebooks, used racial slurs, and threatened African-American students who tried to sit near them in the cafeteria. Some African-American students told school officials that they did not feel safe at school. The school investigated and responded to individual instances of misconduct by assigning detention to the few student perpetrators it could identify. However, racial tensions in the school continued to escalate to the point that several fights broke out between the school's racial groups.

In this example, school officials failed to acknowledge the pattern of harassment as indicative of a racially hostile environment in violation of Title VI. Misconduct need not be directed at a particular student to constitute discriminatory harassment and foster a racially hostile environment. Here, the harassing conduct included overtly racist behavior (e.g., racial slurs) and also targeted students on the basis of their race (e.g., notes directed at African-American students). The nature of the harassment, the number of incidents, and the students' safety concerns demonstrate that there was a racially hostile environment that interfered with the students' ability to participate in the school's education programs and activities.

Had the school recognized that a racially hostile environment had been created, it would have realized that it needed to do more than just discipline the few individuals whom it could identify as having been involved. By failing to acknowledge the racially hostile environment, the school failed to meet its obligation to implement a more systemic response to address the unique effect that the misconduct had on the school climate. A more effective response would have included, in addition to punishing the perpetrators, such steps as reaffirming the school's policy against discrimination (including racial harassment), publicizing the means to report allegations of racial harassment, training faculty on constructive responses to racial conflict, hosting class discussions about racial harassment and sensitivity to students of other races, and conducting outreach to involve parents and students in an effort to identify problems and improve the school climate. Finally, had school officials responded appropriately and aggressively to the racial harassment when they first became aware of it, the school might have prevented the escalation of violence that occurred.¹³

- Over the course of a school year, school employees at a junior high school received reports of several incidents of anti-Semitic conduct at the school. Anti-Semitic graffiti, including swastikas, was scrawled on the stalls of the school bathroom. When

custodians discovered the graffiti and reported it to school administrators, the administrators ordered the graffiti removed but took no further action. At the same school, a teacher caught two ninth-graders trying to force two seventh-graders to give them money. The ninth-graders told the seventh-graders, “You Jews have all of the money, give us some.” When school administrators investigated the incident, they determined that the seventh-graders were not actually Jewish. The school suspended the perpetrators for a week because of the serious nature of their misconduct. After that incident, younger Jewish students started avoiding the school library and computer lab because they were located in the corridor housing the lockers of the ninth-graders. At the same school, a group of eighth-grade students repeatedly called a Jewish student “Drew the dirty Jew.” The responsible eighth-graders were reprimanded for teasing the Jewish student.

The school administrators failed to recognize that anti-Semitic harassment can trigger responsibilities under Title VI. While Title VI does not cover discrimination based solely on religion,¹⁴ groups that face discrimination on the basis of actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics may not be denied protection under Title VI on the ground that they also share a common faith. These principles apply not just to Jewish students, but also to students from any discrete religious group that shares, or is perceived to share, ancestry or ethnic characteristics (e.g., Muslims or Sikhs). Thus, harassment against students who are members of any religious group triggers a school’s Title VI responsibilities when the harassment is based on the group’s actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics, rather than solely on its members’ religious practices. A school also has responsibilities under Title VI when its students are harassed based on their actual or perceived citizenship or residency in a country whose residents share a dominant religion or a distinct religious identity.¹⁵

In this example, school administrators should have recognized that the harassment was based on the students’ actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic identity as Jews (rather than on the students’ religious practices). The school was not relieved of its responsibilities under Title VI because the targets of one of the incidents were not actually Jewish. The harassment was still based on the perceived ancestry or ethnic characteristics of the targeted students. Furthermore, the harassment negatively affected the ability and willingness of Jewish students to participate fully in the school’s education programs and activities (e.g., by causing some Jewish students to avoid the library and computer lab). Therefore, although the discipline that the school imposed on the perpetrators was an important part of the school’s response, discipline alone was likely insufficient to remedy a hostile environment. Similarly, removing the graffiti, while a necessary and important step, did not fully satisfy the school’s responsibilities. As discussed above, misconduct that is not directed at a particular student, like the graffiti in the bathroom, can still constitute discriminatory harassment and foster a hostile environment. Finally, the fact that school officials considered one of the incidents “teasing” is irrelevant for determining whether it contributed to a hostile environment.

Because the school failed to recognize that the incidents created a hostile environment, it addressed each only in isolation, and therefore failed to take prompt and effective steps reasonably calculated to end the harassment and prevent its recurrence. In addition to disciplining the perpetrators, remedial steps could have included counseling the perpetrators about the hurtful effect of their conduct, publicly labeling the incidents as anti-Semitic, reaffirming the school’s policy against discrimination, and publicizing the means by which students may report harassment. Providing teachers with training to recognize and address anti-Semitic incidents also would have increased the effectiveness of the school’s response. The school could also have created an age-appropriate program to

educate its students about the history and dangers of anti-Semitism, and could have conducted outreach to involve parents and community groups in preventing future anti-Semitic harassment.

Title IX: Sexual Harassment

Shortly after enrolling at a new high school, a female student had a brief romance with another student. After the couple broke up, other male and female students began routinely calling the new student sexually charged names, spreading rumors about her sexual behavior, and sending her threatening text messages and e-mails. One of the student's teachers and an athletic coach witnessed the name calling and heard the rumors, but identified it as "hazing" that new students often experience. They also noticed the new student's anxiety and declining class participation. The school attempted to resolve the situation by requiring the student to work the problem out directly with her harassers.

Sexual harassment is unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature, which can include unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, or other verbal, nonverbal, or physical conduct of a sexual nature. Thus, sexual harassment prohibited by Title IX can include conduct such as touching of a sexual nature; making sexual comments, jokes, or gestures; writing graffiti or displaying or distributing sexually explicit drawings, pictures, or written materials; calling students sexually charged names; spreading sexual rumors; rating students on sexual activity or performance; or circulating, showing, or creating e-mails or Web sites of a sexual nature.

In this example, the school employees failed to recognize that the "hazing" constituted sexual harassment. The school did not comply with its Title IX obligations when it failed to investigate or remedy the sexual harassment. The conduct was clearly unwelcome, sexual (*e.g.*, sexual rumors and name calling), and sufficiently serious that it limited the student's ability to participate in and benefit from the school's education program (*e.g.*, anxiety and declining class participation).

The school should have trained its employees on the type of misconduct that constitutes sexual harassment. The school also should have made clear to its employees that they could not require the student to confront her harassers. Schools may use informal mechanisms for addressing harassment, but only if the parties agree to do so on a voluntary basis. Had the school addressed the harassment consistent with Title IX, the school would have, for example, conducted a thorough investigation and taken interim measures to separate the student from the accused harassers. An effective response also might have included training students and employees on the school's policies related to harassment, instituting new procedures by which employees should report allegations of harassment, and more widely distributing the contact information for the district's Title IX coordinator. The school also might have offered the targeted student tutoring, other academic assistance, or counseling as necessary to remedy the effects of the harassment.¹⁶

Title IX: Gender-Based Harassment

Over the course of a school year, a gay high school student was called names (including anti-gay slurs and sexual comments) both to his face and on social networking sites, physically assaulted, threatened, and ridiculed because he did not conform to stereotypical notions of how

teenage boys are expected to act and appear (e.g., effeminate mannerisms, nontraditional choice of extracurricular activities, apparel, and personal grooming choices). As a result, the student dropped out of the drama club to avoid further harassment. Based on the student's self-identification as gay and the homophobic nature of some of the harassment, the school did not recognize that the misconduct included discrimination covered by Title IX. The school responded to complaints from the student by reprimanding the perpetrators consistent with its anti-bullying policy. The reprimands of the identified perpetrators stopped the harassment by those individuals. It did not, however, stop others from undertaking similar harassment of the student.

As noted in the example, the school failed to recognize the pattern of misconduct as a form of sex discrimination under Title IX. Title IX prohibits harassment of both male and female students regardless of the sex of the harasser—*i.e.*, even if the harasser and target are members of the same sex. It also prohibits gender-based harassment, which may include acts of verbal, nonverbal, or physical aggression, intimidation, or hostility based on sex or sex-stereotyping. Thus, it can be sex discrimination if students are harassed either for exhibiting what is perceived as a stereotypical characteristic for their sex, or for failing to conform to stereotypical notions of masculinity and femininity. Title IX also prohibits sexual harassment and gender-based harassment of all students, regardless of the actual or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity of the harasser or target.

Although Title IX does not prohibit discrimination based solely on sexual orientation, Title IX does protect all students, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) students, from sex discrimination. When students are subjected to harassment on the basis of their LGBT status, they may also, as this example illustrates, be subjected to forms of sex discrimination prohibited under Title IX. The fact that the harassment includes anti-LGBT comments or is partly based on the target's actual or perceived sexual orientation does not relieve a school of its obligation under Title IX to investigate and remedy overlapping sexual harassment or gender-based harassment. In this example, the harassing conduct was based in part on the student's failure to act as some of his peers believed a boy should act. The harassment created a hostile environment that limited the student's ability to participate in the school's education program (*e.g.*, access to the drama club). Finally, even though the student did not identify the harassment as sex discrimination, the school should have recognized that the student had been subjected to gender-based harassment covered by Title IX.

In this example, the school had an obligation to take immediate and effective action to eliminate the hostile environment. By responding to individual incidents of misconduct on an *ad hoc* basis only, the school failed to confront and prevent a hostile environment from continuing. Had the school recognized the conduct as a form of sex discrimination, it could have employed the full range of sanctions (including progressive discipline) and remedies designed to eliminate the hostile environment. For example, this approach would have included a more comprehensive response to the situation that involved notice to the student's teachers so that they could ensure the student was not subjected to any further harassment, more aggressive monitoring by staff of the places where harassment occurred, increased training on the scope of the school's harassment and discrimination policies, notice to the target and harassers of available counseling services and resources, and educating the entire school community on civil rights and expectations of tolerance, specifically as they apply to gender stereotypes. The school also should have taken steps to clearly communicate the message that the school does not tolerate harassment and will be responsive to any information about such conduct.¹⁷

Section 504 and Title II: Disability Harassment

Several classmates repeatedly called a student with a learning disability “stupid,” “idiot,” and “retard” while in school and on the school bus. On one occasion, these students tackled him, hit him with a school binder, and threw his personal items into the garbage. The student complained to his teachers and guidance counselor that he was continually being taunted and teased. School officials offered him counseling services and a psychiatric evaluation, but did not discipline the offending students. As a result, the harassment continued. The student, who had been performing well academically, became angry, frustrated, and depressed, and often refused to go to school to avoid the harassment.

In this example, the school failed to recognize the misconduct as disability harassment under Section 504 and Title II. The harassing conduct included behavior based on the student’s disability, and limited the student’s ability to benefit fully from the school’s education program (e.g., absenteeism). In failing to investigate and remedy the misconduct, the school did not comply with its obligations under Section 504 and Title II.

Counseling may be a helpful component of a remedy for harassment. In this example, however, since the school failed to recognize the behavior as disability harassment, the school did not adopt a comprehensive approach to eliminating the hostile environment. Such steps should have at least included disciplinary action against the harassers, consultation with the district’s Section 504/Title II coordinator to ensure a comprehensive and effective response, special training for staff on recognizing and effectively responding to harassment of students with disabilities, and monitoring to ensure that the harassment did not resume.¹⁸

I encourage you to reevaluate the policies and practices your school uses to address bullying¹⁹ and harassment to ensure that they comply with the mandates of the federal civil rights laws. For your convenience, the following is a list of online resources that further discuss the obligations of districts to respond to harassment prohibited under the federal antidiscrimination laws enforced by OCR:

- *Sexual Harassment: It’s Not Academic* (Revised 2008): <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/ocrshpam.html>
- *Dear Colleague Letter: Sexual Harassment Issues* (2006): <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/sexhar-2006.html>
- *Dear Colleague Letter: Religious Discrimination* (2004): <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/religious-rights2004.html>
- *Dear Colleague Letter: First Amendment* (2003): <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/firstamend.html>
- *Sexual Harassment Guidance* (Revised 2001): <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.html>
- *Dear Colleague Letter: Prohibited Disability Harassment* (2000): <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/disabharassltr.html>
- *Racial Incidents and Harassment Against Students* (1994): <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/race394.html>

Please also note that OCR has added new data items to be collected through its Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC), which surveys school districts in a variety of areas related to civil rights in education. The CRDC now requires districts to collect and report information on allegations of harassment, policies regarding harassment, and discipline imposed for harassment. In 2009-10, the CRDC covered nearly 7,000 school districts, including all districts with more than 3,000 students. For more information about the CRDC data items, please visit <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/whatsnew.html>.

OCR is committed to working with schools, students, students' families, community and advocacy organizations, and other interested parties to ensure that students are not subjected to harassment. Please do not hesitate to contact OCR if we can provide assistance in your efforts to address harassment or if you have other civil rights concerns.

For the OCR regional office serving your state, please visit:

<http://wdcrobcolp01.ed.gov/CFAPPS/OCR/contactus.cfm>, or call OCR's Customer Service Team at 1-800-421-3481.

I look forward to continuing our work together to ensure equal access to education, and to promote safe and respectful school climates for America's students.

Sincerely,

/s/

Russlynn Ali

Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights

SECRETARY OF EDUCATION BULLYING LAW AND POLICY MEMO

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

December 16, 2010

Dear Colleagues:

Recent incidents of bullying have demonstrated its potentially devastating effects on students, schools, and communities and have spurred a sense of urgency among State and local educators and policymakers to take action to combat bullying. The U.S. Department of Education (Department) shares this sense of urgency and is taking steps to help school officials effectively reduce bullying in our Nation's schools. Bullying can be extremely damaging to students, can disrupt an environment conducive to learning, and should not be tolerated in our schools.

Along with our partners from the Departments of Health and Human Services, Agriculture, Interior, Defense, and Justice, we are in the process of developing key strategies to support and encourage efforts to prevent bullying in our schools. Our ongoing work has included the first-ever Federal Bullying Prevention Summit in August, the launch of our interagency bullying-resource Web site, <http://www.bullyinginfo.org>, the continued support and growth of the Stop Bullying Now! campaign, and the development of research and guidance on bullying

prevention. The Department also awarded eleven Safe and Supportive Schools Grants to states to develop measurement systems to assess schools' conditions for learning, including the prevalence of bullying, and to implement programs to improve overall school safety.

Recent guidance includes a Dear Colleague Letter issued on October 26 by the Department's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) that explains how, under certain circumstances, bullying may trigger legal responsibilities for schools under the civil rights laws enforced by OCR and the Department of Justice that prohibit discrimination and harassment based on race, color, national origin, sex, disability, and religion.²⁰ Schools must protect students from bullying and harassment on these bases, in addition to any obligations under state and local law.

Numerous stakeholders, including the National Conference of State Legislatures, the National Association of School Boards, the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, individual State legislators, and local school districts, among others, have asked the Department to provide assistance in crafting effective anti-bullying laws and policies. In response, the Department has prepared the attached summary of examples that illustrate how some states have tried to prevent and reduce bullying through legislation. States and local school districts can use these examples as technical assistance in drafting effective anti-bullying laws, regulations, and policies. The Department will also be working to produce additional helpful resource information.

Forty-five states have already passed laws addressing bullying or harassment in school. Ultimately State officials will determine whether new or revised legislation and policies should be introduced to update, improve, or add bullying prevention provisions. It is our hope that this information will be of assistance to State officials and other interested stakeholders.

Though laws are only a part of the cure for bullying, the adoption, publication, and enforcement of a clear and effective anti-bullying policy sends a message that all incidents of bullying must be addressed immediately and effectively, and that such behavior will not be tolerated. State laws, and their related district- and school-level policies, cannot work in isolation, however. When responding to bullying incidents, schools and districts should remember that maintenance of a safe and equitable learning environment for all students, including both victims and perpetrators of bullying, often requires a more comprehensive approach.

If you wish to receive further technical assistance on addressing bullying, please do not hesitate to contact the Department's Office of Safe and Drug-Free Schools by visiting its Web site at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/osdfs/index.html> or by calling at 202-245-7896.

I look forward to continuing our work together to ensure equal access to education and to promote safe and respectful schools for all of our students.

Sincerely,

/s/

Arne Duncan

Attachment

ANTI-BULLYING POLICIES: EXAMPLES OF PROVISIONS IN STATE LAWS

In response to requests for assistance by state and local officials, educators, and policymakers, we summarize below examples of key components of state anti-bullying laws. This document serves as technical assistance for those stakeholders looking to develop or revise anti-bullying legislation or policies. The Department has organized the key components into eleven categories for convenience. We include citations to state laws that illustrate the key components we identified, but we do not endorse any particular laws. Additional examples are included at the end of the document, but these citations are not intended to be comprehensive. Many other state and local laws and policies may provide helpful guidance on developing effective anti-bullying policies. As part of our technical assistance effort to disseminate useful information on this important topic, we welcome other examples of laws and policies that may be working effectively to address bullying in schools. States and local educational agencies (LEAs) should seek the guidance of state and local legal officials to ensure that the legislation is consistent with all applicable federal and state laws. The Department also plans to release a compendium of all current state laws and a study of their implementation.

The following are examples of components found in current state laws on bullying:

I. Purpose Statement

- Outlines the range of detrimental effects bullying has on students, including impacts on student learning, school safety, student engagement, and the school environment.
- Declares that any form, type, or level of bullying is unacceptable, and that every incident needs to be taken seriously by school administrators, school staff (including teachers), students, and students' families.
- *Example*^{ix}:
 - **Oklahoma:** Okla. Stat. Ann. Tit. 70, § 24-100.3 (2009): "The Legislature finds that bullying has a negative effect on the social environment of schools, creates a climate of fear among students, inhibits their ability to learn, and leads to other antisocial behavior. Bullying behavior has been linked to other forms of antisocial behavior, such as vandalism, shoplifting, skipping and dropping out of school, fighting, and the use of drugs and alcohol. . . . Successful programs to recognize, prevent, and effectively intervene in bullying behavior have been developed and replicated in schools across the country. These schools send the message that bullying behavior is not tolerated and, as a result, have improved safety and created a more inclusive learning environment."

II. Statement of Scope

- Covers conduct that occurs on the school campus, at school-sponsored activities or events (regardless of the location), on school-provided transportation, or through

school-owned technology or that otherwise creates a significant disruption to the school environment.

- *Example^x*:
 - **Indiana:** Ind. Code Ann. § 20-33-8-13.5 (b) (2010), Disciplinary Rule Requirements: “The discipline rules [related to bullying]...must apply when a student is: (1) on school grounds immediately before or during school hours, immediately after school hours, or at any other time when the school is being used by a school group; (2) off school grounds at a school activity, function, or event; (3) traveling to or from school or a school activity, function or event; or (4) using property or equipment provided by the school.”

III. Specification of Prohibited Conduct

- Provides a specific definition of bullying that includes a clear definition of cyberbullying. The definition of bullying includes a non-exclusive list of specific behaviors that constitute bullying, and specifies that bullying includes intentional efforts to harm one or more individuals, may be direct or indirect, is not limited to behaviors that cause physical harm, and may be verbal (including oral and written language) or non-verbal. The definition of bullying can be easily understood and interpreted by school boards, policymakers, school administrators, school staff, students, students’ families, and the community.
- Is consistent with other federal, state and local laws. (For guidance on school districts’ obligations to address bullying and harassment under federal civil rights laws, see the Dear Colleague Letter: Harassment and Bullying, issued by the Department’s Office for Civil Rights on October 26, 2010, available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201010.pdf>.)
- Prohibited Conduct also includes:
 1. Retaliation for asserting or alleging an act of bullying.
 2. Perpetuating bullying or harassing conduct by spreading hurtful or demeaning material even if the material was created by another person (e.g., forwarding offensive e-mails or text messages).
- *Examples^{xi,xii}*:
 - **Florida:** Fla. Stat. Ann. 1006.147(3) (2010): “(a) ‘Bullying’ means systematically and chronically inflicting physical hurt or psychological distress on one or more students and may involve: (1) Teasing; (2) Social exclusion; (3) Threat; (4) Intimidation; (5) Stalking; (6) Physical violence; (7) Theft; (8) Sexual, religious, or racial harassment; (9) Public humiliation; or (10) Destruction of property. . . . (d) The definitions of ‘bullying’ and ‘harassment’ include: (1) Retaliation against a student or school employee by another student or school employee for asserting or alleging an act of bullying or harassment...[and] (2) Perpetuation of [bullying or harassing] conduct ... by an individual or group with intent to demean, dehumanize, embarrass, or cause physical harm to a student. . . .”
 - **Kansas:** Kan. Stat. Ann. § 72-8256.C.2 (2009): “‘Cyberbullying’ means bullying by use of any electronic communication device through means including, but not

limited to, e-mail, instant messaging, text messages, blogs, mobile phones, pagers, online games and websites.”

IV. Enumeration of Specific Characteristics

- Explains that bullying may include, but is not limited to, acts based on actual or perceived characteristics of students who have historically been targets of bullying, and provides examples of such characteristics.
- Makes clear that bullying does not have to be based on any particular characteristic.
- *Examples*^{xiii} :
 - **North Carolina:** N.C. Gen. Stat. § 115C-407.15(a) (2010): “Bullying or harassing behavior includes, but is not limited to, acts reasonably perceived as being motivated by any actual or perceived differentiating characteristic, such as race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, gender, socioeconomic status, academic status, gender identity, physical appearance, sexual orientation, or mental, physical, developmental, or sensory disability, or by association with a person who has or is perceived to have one or more of these characteristics.”
 - **Washington:** Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 28A.300.285.2 (2010): “Nothing in this section requires the affected student to actually possess a characteristic that is a basis for the...bullying.”

V. Development and Implementation of LEA Policies

- Directs every LEA to develop and implement a policy prohibiting bullying, through a collaborative process with all interested stakeholders, including school administrators, staff, students, students’ families, and the community, in order to best address local conditions.
- *Example:*
 - **Maryland:** Md. Code Ann., Educ. § 7-424.1(c) (2010): “[1] Each county board shall establish a policy prohibiting bullying, harassment, or intimidation. . . . [3] A county board shall develop the policy in consultation with representatives of the following groups: (i) Parents or guardians of students; (ii) School employees and administrators; (iii) School volunteers; (iv) Students; and (v) Members of the community”^{xiv}

VI. Components of LEA Policies

A. Definitions

- Includes a definition of bullying consistent with the definitions specified in state law.
- *Example*^{xv} :
 - **Oregon:** Or. Rev. Stat. § 339.356.2 (2009): “School districts must include in the policy...(b) Definitions of “harassment,” “intimidation,” or “bullying,” and of “cyberbullying” that are consistent with [this statute].”

B. Reporting Bullying

- Includes a procedure for students, students' families, staff, and others to report incidents of bullying, including a process to submit such information anonymously and with protection from retaliation. The procedure identifies and provides contact information for the appropriate school personnel responsible for receiving the report and investigating the incident.
- *Example*^{xvi}:
 - **Georgia**: GA. Code Ann. § 20-2-751.4(c) (2010): "Such ... policy shall include: . . . (5) A procedure for a teacher or other school employee, student, parent, guardian, or other person who has control or charge of a student, either anonymously or in such person's name, at such person's option, to report or otherwise provide information on bullying activity; (6) A statement prohibiting retaliation following a report of bullying...."
- Requires that school personnel report, in a timely and responsive manner, incidents of bullying they witness or are aware of to a designated official.
- *Example*^{xvii}
 - **Wisconsin**: Wis. Stat. § 118.46.1(a) (2009): "The [policy on bullying] shall include all of the following: . . . (6) A requirement that school district officials and employees report incidents of bullying and identify the persons to whom the reports must be made."

C. Investigating and Responding to Bullying

- Includes a procedure for promptly investigating and responding to any report of an incident of bullying, including immediate intervention strategies for protecting the victim from additional bullying or retaliation, and includes notification to parents of the victim, or reported victim, of bullying and the parents of the alleged perpetrator, and, if appropriate, notification to law enforcement officials.^{xviii}
- *Example*^{xix}:
 - **Massachusetts**: 2010 Mass. Adv. Legis. Serv. Ch. No. 71.370(g) (2010): "...Upon receipt of such a report, the school principal or a designee shall promptly conduct an investigation. If the school principal or a designee determines that bullying or retaliation has occurred, the school principal or designee shall (i) notify the local law enforcement agency if the school principal or designee believes that criminal charges may be pursued against a perpetrator; (ii) take appropriate disciplinary action; (iii) notify the parents or guardians of a perpetrator; and (iv) notify the parents or guardians of the victim, and to the extent consistent with state and federal law, notify them of the action taken to prevent any further acts of bullying or retaliation."

D. Written Records

- Includes a procedure for maintaining written records of all incidents of bullying and their resolution.^{xx}
- *Example*^{xxi}:
 - **California**: Cal. Educ. Code § 234.1 (2010): "The department shall assess whether local educational agencies have done all of the following: . . . (e) Maintained

documentation of complaints and their resolution for a minimum of one review cycle.”

E. Sanctions

- Includes a detailed description of a graduated range of consequences and sanctions for bullying.^{xxii}
- *Example*^{xxiii}:
 - **Alabama:** Ala. Code § 16.28B.5 (2010): “The model policy, at a minimum, shall contain all of the following components: . . . [4] A series of graduated consequences for any student who commits an act of intimidation, harassment, violence or threats of violence. Punishment shall conform with applicable federal and state disability, antidiscrimination, and education laws and school discipline policies.”

F. Referrals

- Includes a procedure for referring the victim, perpetrator and others to counseling and mental and other health services, as appropriate.
- *Example*^{xxiv}:
 - **Maryland:** MD. Code. Ann., Educ. § 7-424.1.b (2010): “[2] The model policy...shall include: . . . (viii) Information about the types of support services available to the student bully, victim, and any bystanders....”

VII. Review of Local Policies

- Includes a provision for the state to review local policies on a regular basis to ensure the goals of the state statute are met.
- *Example*^{xxv} :
 - **Illinois:** 105 Ill. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/27-23.7(d) (2010): “The policy must be updated every 2 years and filed with the State Board of Education after being updated. The State Board of Education shall monitor the implementation of policies created under [this subsection of the statute].”

VIII. Communication Plan

- Includes a plan for notifying students, students’ families, and staff of policies related to bullying, including the consequences for engaging in bullying.
- *Example*^{xxvi}:
 - **Arkansas:** Ark. Code Ann. § 6-18-514(b) (2009): “The policies shall: . . . [6] Require that notice of what constitutes bullying, that bullying is prohibited, and the consequences of engaging in bullying be conspicuously posted in every classroom, cafeteria, restroom, gymnasium, auditorium, and school bus in the district; and [7] Require that copies of the notice...be provided to parents, students, school volunteers, and employees.”

IX. Training and Preventive Education

- Includes a provision for school districts to provide training for all school staff, including, but not limited to, teachers, aides, support staff, and school bus drivers, on preventing, identifying, and responding to bullying.
- *Example*^{xxvii}:
 - **South Carolina**: S.C. Code Ann. § 59-63-140(E) (2009): “Information regarding a local school district policy against harassment, intimidation or bullying must be incorporated into a school employee training program. Training also should be provided to school volunteers who have significant contact with students.
 - **Massachusetts**: 2010 Mass. Adv. Legis. Serv. Ch. No. 92.3(d)-2010: “The plan...shall include a provision for ongoing professional development to build the skills of all staff members, including, but not limited to, educators, administrators, school nurses, cafeteria workers, custodians, bus drivers, athletic coaches, advisors to extracurricular activities and paraprofessionals, to prevent, identify and respond to bullying.”
- Encourages school districts to implement age-appropriate school- and community-wide bullying prevention programs.
- *Example*^{xxviii}:
 - **South Carolina**: S.C. Code Ann. § 59-63-140 (F) (2009): “Schools and school districts are encouraged to establish bullying prevention programs and other initiatives involving school staff, students, administrators, volunteers, parents, law enforcement, and community members.”

X. Transparency and Monitoring

- Includes a provision for LEAs to report annually to the state on the number of reported bullying incidents, and any responsive actions taken.
- *Example*^{xxix}
 - **New York**: N.Y. Educ. Law §15 (2010): “The Commissioner shall create a procedure under which material incidents of discrimination and harassment on school grounds or at a school function are reported to the department at least on an annual basis. Such procedure shall provide that such reports shall, wherever possible, also delineate the specific nature of such incidents. . . .”
- Includes a provision for LEAs to make data regarding bullying incidence publicly available in aggregate with appropriate privacy protections to ensure students are protected.^{xxx}
- *Examples*^{xxxi}:
 - **Iowa**: Iowa Code § 280.28.7 (2008): “The board of directors of a school district and the authorities in charge of each nonpublic school...shall report data collected...as specified by the department, to the local community.”
 - **Ohio**: Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 3313.666.10 (2010): “...the district administration... [shall] provide ... a written summary of all reported incidents and post the summary on its web site....”

XI. Statement of Rights to Other Legal Recourse

- Includes a statement that the policy does not preclude victims from seeking other legal remedies.
- *Example:*
 - **Oregon:** Or. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 339.364 (2009): “Victim may seek redress under other laws. ...[This statute] may not be interpreted to prevent a victim of harassment, intimidation or bullying or a victim of cyberbullying from seeking redress under any other available law, whether civil or criminal.”

End Notes

ⁱ Education support professionals include paraprofessionals, maintenance staff, clerical staff, school transportation staff, cafeteria staff, security staff, health staff, technical staff, and other non-teaching support staff.

ⁱⁱ In the mid-1990s, the NEA membership mandated that the Association create a training program for its members on student-to-student sexual harassment and bullying. The NEA developed and constantly updated training curricula on these topics and has continued to conduct such training since that time.

ⁱⁱⁱ The research-based NEA Bullying Survey was developed by a team of experts in this field from John Hopkins University (Bradshaw, Waasdorp, & O’Brennan, 2010a). Bullying was defined on the survey as “...*intentional and repeated aggressive acts that can be physical – such as hitting – verbal – such as threats, or name calling – or relational, such as spreading rumors, or influencing social relationships. Bullying typically occurs in situations where there is a power or status difference.*” The data were collected from a nationally representative sample of 5,064 NEA members, including 2,163 teachers and 2,901 ESPs, in April 2010 using web- and phone-based surveys. The sample was designed to allow for comparisons across grade level and job category, with particular emphasis on ESPs, who have been largely overlooked in previous research on bullying (Bradshaw, Waasdorp, & O’Brennan, 2010b). The weighted sample reflects the NEA population, with 82% professional staff (teachers 85%, special educators 4%, remedial/ESL 2%, librarians 2%, counselors 3%, and other 4%) and 18% ESPs (paraprofessionals 49%, maintenance 14%, clerical 10%, bus drivers 10%, cafeteria workers 7%, security 1%, health 2%, technical 2%, and other 6%). Women represented 80% of the sample and 89% self-identified as White (Black 5%, Hispanic 4%, and others 2%). The sample included staff employed in a variety of school locations (suburban 34%, small town 24%, urban 24%, and rural areas 18%). Approximately 39% worked with students in elementary, 19% middle, and 27% high schools, with the remaining 16% working across multiple grade levels. Certain variables were statistically adjusted for in the analyses (i.e., school level, school location, web vs. phone survey modality, and amount of time spent with students), as they may have influenced participants’ responses to survey questions.

^{iv} For a full report of the NEA Bullying Study findings, see Bradshaw, Waasdorp, O’Brennan, and Gulemetova (2011).

^v The writing of this report was supported by grants from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (K01CE001333-01 and 1U49CE 000728-011) and the Institute of Education Sciences (R305A090307). The opinions expressed are those of the authors, not of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention or the Institute of Education Sciences, and such endorsements should not be inferred. Correspondence regarding this report should be directed to Catherine Bradshaw at cbradsha@jhsph.edu.

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^{vii} Prepared by request for Kevin Jennings, Assistant Deputy Secretary of Education, Office of Safe and Drug Free Schools, U.S. Department of Education.

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- ^{ix} For additional examples of purpose statements, see: 105 Ill. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/27-23.7.a (2010); Iowa Code § 280.28.1 (2008); Md. Code Ann., Educ. § 7-424 (2010); Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 388.132 (2009); N.J. Stat. Ann. § 18A:37.13 (2010); Or. Rev. Stat. § 339.353 (2009); Tenn. Code Ann. § 49-6-1014 (2010); W. Va. Code Ann. § 18- 2C-1 (2009).
- ^x For additional examples of statements of scope, see: Ark. Code Ann. § 6-18-514.2 (2009); Ga. Code Ann. § 20-2-751.4 (2010); 105 Ill. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/27-23.7.a (2010); 2010 Mass. Adv. Legis. Serv. Ch. No. 92-2010 (Lexis Nexis 2010); Md. Code Ann., Educ. § 7-424 (2010).
- ^{xi} For additional examples of bullying definitions, see: Del. Code Ann. Tit. 14, § 4112D.a (2010); Kan. Stat. Ann. § 72-8256 (2009); 105 Ill. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/27-23.7(b) (2010).
- ^{xii} For additional examples of cyberbullying definitions, see: Iowa Code § 280.28.2 (a) (2008); Md. Code Ann., Educ. § 7-424.3 (2010); 2010 Mass. Adv. Legis. Serv. Ch. No. 92-2010 (Lexis Nexis 2010); N.J. Stat. Ann. § 18A 37.14.2 (2010); Okla. Stat. Ann. Tit. 70, § 24-100.3 (2009).
- ^{xiii} For additional examples of characteristic enumeration, see: 105 Ill. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/27-23.7.a (2010); Iowa Code § 280.28 (2008); Or. Rev. Stat. § § 339.351.3(2009).
- ^{xiv} For additional examples of requirements for LEA policies, see: Del. Code Ann. Tit. 14, § 4112D.b (2010); Fla. Stat. Ann. 1006.147 (2010); N.J. Stat. Ann. § 18A 37.15 (2010).
- ^{xv} For additional examples regarding definitions in LEA policies, see: Delaware Del. Code Ann. Tit. 14, § 4112D.b (2010); Fla. Stat. Ann. 1006.147 (2010); Iowa Code 280.28.3 (2008); Md. Code Ann., Educ. § 7-424.1 (2010); N.J. Stat. Ann. § 18A 37.15.b.2 (2010); N.C. Gen. Stat. § 115C-407.16.b.2 (2010); S.C. Code Ann. § 59-63-140 (2010).
- ^{xvi} For additional examples regarding requirements procedures for reporting bullying, see: Ariz. Rev. Stat. § 14-341 (2010); Fla. Stat. Ann. § 1006.147 (2010); Iowa Code § 280.28.3.c (2008); Md. Code Ann., Educ. § 7-424 (2010); Or. Rev. Stat. § 339.356.2.g (2009); S.C. Code Ann. § 59-63-140 (2010).
- ^{xvii} For additional examples regarding requirements for reporting of school staff, see: Alaska Stat. § 14.33.220 (2010); GA. Code Ann. § 20-2-751.4.c.2 (2010); W. Va. Code Ann. § 18-2C-3.4 (2009).
- ^{xviii} The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) contains provisions restricting release of information pertaining to disciplinary actions taken against students. State and local officials are encouraged to seek guidance to make sure any policies comply with these provisions.
- ^{xix} For additional examples regarding requirements for investigating and responding to bullying, see: GA. Code Ann. § 20-2-751.4.c.3 (2010); Iowa Cod § 280.28.3.f (2008); Or. Rev. Stat. § 339.356.2.h (2009).
- ^{xx} FERPA contains provisions regarding the appropriate safeguarding of privacy in educational records. State and local officials are encouraged to seek guidance to make sure any policies comply with these provisions.
- ^{xxi} For additional examples on requirements for maintaining written records, see: Md. Code Ann., Educ. § 7-424 (2010).
- ^{xxii} The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act contains provisions related to the use of disciplinary measures with students with disabilities. State and local officials are encouraged to seek guidance to make sure any policies comply with these provisions.
- ^{xxiii} For additional examples regarding sanctions, see: Connecticut Gen. Stat. Ann § 10-222d; Massachusetts St. 2010, c.92; New Mexico NIMAC § 6.12.7; Okla. Stat. Ann. Tit. 70, § 24-100.4 (2009).
- ^{xxiv} For additional examples regarding referrals, see: Fla. Stat. Ann. § 1006.147 (2010); Okla. Stat. Ann. Tit. 70, § 24-100.4 (2009).
- ^{xxv} For additional examples regarding review of policies, see: 24 Pa. Cons. Stat. Ann. § 13-1303.1-a (2009).
- ^{xxvi} For additional examples regarding communication plans, see: Del. Code Ann. Tit. 14, § 4123.a (2010); Fla. Stat. Ann. § 1006.147 (2010); Iowa Code § 280.28.3 (2008); N.J. Stat. Ann. § 18A 37.15.b.10-11 (2010).
- ^{xxvii} For additional examples regarding training of staff, see: Conn. Gen. Stat. § 10-222d (2010); Del. Code Ann. Tit. 14, § 4123.a (2010); Iowa Code § 280.28.3 (2008); Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 383.133 (2009); Or. Rev. Stat. § 339.359 (2009); Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 21-4-311 (2010).
- ^{xxviii} For additional examples regarding bullying prevention programming, see: Md. Code Ann., Educ. § 7-424 (2010); 2010 Mass. Adv. Legis. Serv. Ch. No. 92-2010 (Lexis Nexis 2010); Or. Rev. Stat. § 339.359 (2009).
- ^{xxix} For additional examples regarding reporting incidents to the State, see: Alaska Stat. § 14.33.210 (2010); Conn. Gen. Stat. § 10-222d (2010); Md. Code Ann., Educ. § 7-424 (2010);
- ^{xxx} FERPA contains provisions regarding the appropriate safeguarding of privacy in educational records. State and local officials are encouraged to seek guidance to make sure any policies comply with these provisions.
- ^{xxxi} For additional examples regarding requirements for reporting data to the public, see: Fla. Stat. Ann. § 1006.147 (2010); Iowa Code § 280.28 (2008).

End Notes for Dear Colleague Letter: Bullying and Harassment; Secretary of Education Bullying Law and Policy Memo

¹ 42 U.S.C. § 2000d *et seq.*

² 20 U.S.C. § 1681 *et seq.*

³ 29 U.S.C. § 794.

⁴ 42 U.S.C. § 12131 *et seq.*

⁵ OCR also enforces the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, 42 U.S.C. § 6101 *et seq.*, and the Boy Scouts of America Equal Access Act, 20 U.S.C. § 7905. This letter does not specifically address those statutes.

⁶ The Department's regulations implementing these statutes are in 34 C.F.R. parts 100, 104, and 106. Under these federal civil rights laws and regulations, students are protected from harassment by school employees, other students, and third parties. This guidance focuses on peer harassment, and articulates the legal standards that apply in administrative enforcement and in court cases where plaintiffs are seeking injunctive relief.

⁷ For instance, the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) has jurisdiction over Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. § 2000c (Title IV), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin by public elementary and secondary schools and public institutions of higher learning. State laws also provide additional civil rights protections, so districts should review these statutes to determine what protections they afford (*e.g.*, some state laws specifically prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation).

⁸ Some conduct alleged to be harassment may implicate the First Amendment rights to free speech or expression. For more information on the First Amendment's application to harassment, see the discussions in OCR's Dear Colleague Letter: First Amendment (July 28, 2003), available at <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/firstamend.html>, and OCR's *Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance: Harassment of Students by School Employees, Other Students, or Third Parties* (Jan. 19, 2001) (*Sexual Harassment Guidance*), available at <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.html>.

⁹ A school has notice of harassment if a responsible employee knew, or in the exercise of reasonable care should have known, about the harassment. For a discussion of what a "responsible employee" is, see OCR's *Sexual Harassment Guidance*.

¹⁰ Districts must adopt and publish grievance procedures providing for prompt and equitable resolution of student and employee sex and disability discrimination complaints, and must notify students, parents, employees, applicants, and other interested parties that the district does not discriminate on the basis of sex or disability. See 28 C.F.R. § 35.106; 28 C.F.R. § 35.107(b); 34 C.F.R. § 104.7(b); 34 C.F.R. § 104.8; 34 C.F.R. § 106.8(b); 34 C.F.R. § 106.9.

¹¹ Districts must designate persons responsible for coordinating compliance with Title IX, Section 504, and Title II, including the investigation of any complaints of sexual, gender-based, or disability harassment. See 28 C.F.R. § 35.107(a); 34 C.F.R. § 104.7(a); 34 C.F.R. § 106.8(a).

¹² Each of these hypothetical examples contains elements taken from actual cases.

¹³ More information about the applicable legal standards and OCR's approach to investigating allegations of harassment on the basis of race, color, or national origin is included in *Racial Incidents and Harassment Against Students at Educational Institutions: Investigative Guidance*, 59 Fed. Reg. 11,448 (Mar. 10, 1994), available at <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/race394.html>.

¹⁴ As noted in footnote seven, DOJ has the authority to remedy discrimination based solely on religion under Title IV.

¹⁵ More information about the applicable legal standards and OCR's approach to investigating complaints of discrimination against members of religious groups is included in OCR's Dear Colleague Letter: Title VI and Title IX Religious Discrimination in Schools and Colleges (Sept. 13, 2004), available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/religious-rights2004.html>.

¹⁶ More information about the applicable legal standards and OCR's approach to investigating allegations of sexual harassment is included in OCR's *Sexual Harassment Guidance*, available at <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.html>.

¹⁷ Guidance on gender-based harassment is also included in OCR's *Sexual Harassment Guidance*, available at <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.html>.

¹⁸ More information about the applicable legal standards and OCR's approach to investigating allegations of disability harassment is included in OCR's Dear Colleague Letter: Prohibited Disability Harassment (July 25, 2000), available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/disabharassltr.html>.

¹⁹ For resources on preventing and addressing bullying, please visit <http://www.bullyinginfo.org>, a Web site established by a federal Interagency Working Group on Youth Programs. For information on the Department's bullying prevention resources, please visit the Office of Safe and Drug-Free Schools' Web site at

<http://www.ed.gov/offices/OESE/SDFS>. For information on regional Equity Assistance Centers that assist schools in developing and implementing policies and practices to address issues regarding race, sex, or national origin discrimination, please visit <http://www.ed.gov/programs/equitycenters>.

- ²⁰ The Federal civil rights laws enforced by the Department include Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin; Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex; and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, which prohibit discrimination on the basis of disability. OCR's Dear Colleague letter on discriminatory harassment under these statutes is available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201010.html>. The Department of Justice has jurisdiction to enforce Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin.

Chapter 104

CORRELATES OF BULLYING VICTIMIZATION AMONG IN-SCHOOL ADOLESCENTS IN THE 2005 BOTSWANA GLOBAL SCHOOL-BASED HEALTH SURVEY

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ABSTRACT

Bullying victimization is a major public health problem among adolescents. It is associated with poor academic performance, anxiety, depression and suicidal behaviors. There are limited reports on victimization from bullying among Botswana adolescents. The purpose of this study was to determine the correlates for bullying victimization among school-going adolescents in Botswana. The 2005 Botswana Global School-based Health Survey (GSHS) data were obtained from the World Health Organization. A weighted analysis was conducted using statistical software (SPSS version 15.0). We estimated the prevalence of bullying victimization and conducted logistic regression analysis to estimate associations between the outcome (bullying victimization) and selected explanatory variables. Out of 2,165 in-school adolescents who participated in the study, 53.1% (54.2% males and 52.2% females; $p=0.086$) reported having been bullied in the last 30 days. In multivariate analysis, bullying victimization was positively associated with physical fighting (OR=2.17; 95% CI [1.73, 2.73]), truancy (OR=1.84; 95% CI [1.35, 2.50]), and

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alcohol drinking (OR=1.41; 95% CI [1.04, 1.91]). Victimization is prevalent among in-school adolescents in Botswana. Efforts to prevent and control bullying should take into consideration the factors identified in this study.

Keywords: Bullying victimization, physical fighting, truancy, alcohol, Botswana

INTRODUCTION

Where data are available, bullying victimization is prevalent globally with significant regional variations in the rates of victimization (1-2). In a study on bully victimization among in-school adolescents from five continents, Due et al (2) reported the highest 30 day prevalence for bullying victimization among boys was in Zimbabwe (70.2%), while Zambia had the highest prevalence for girls (67%). Adverse conditions positively associated with victimization from bullying include serious injuries (3), alcohol and drug use (4), truancy (5), depression (6) and suicidal behaviors (7).

Bullying victimization is common in Botswana among school going adolescents. Fleming and Jacobsen (4) report 30 day rates of being bullied as high as 53.0% with no sex difference (52.2% of females and 54.2% of males). They also considered factors (age, sex, symptoms of depression) associated with being bullied in their study but in their analysis they used the relative risk as a measure of the magnitude of association. Unfortunately the relative risk is not an appropriate measure of association in cross sectional studies. The purpose of this study was to re-analyze the data on correlates for bullying victimization among school-going adolescents in Botswana so that we may provide public health officers, school health and administration officials and other stakeholders with correct results for use in interventions.

METHODS

This study was based on a secondary analysis of data from the Botswana Global School-based Student Health Survey (GSHS) that was conducted in 2005. The 2005 Botswana GSHS was a school-based survey which included students in classes with the majority ages of 13-15 years. A two-stage cluster sampling design was used to produce data that were representative of students in the country. At the first stage, schools were selected with probability proportional to enrolment size. At the second stage, classes were randomly selected and all students in selected classes were eligible to participate. There was no replacement of students who were not available despite being in the selected schools. Students self-completed the questionnaires and the responses to questions were indicated on a computer scannable answer sheet.

In order to assess history of victimization from bullying, the question that was asked was: During the past 30 days, on how many days were you bullied? Possible responses included 0 days or any number of days. In terms of involvement in a physical fight, students were asked the question: During the past 12 months, how many times were you in a physical fight? Options included 0 times, one up to 12 or more times.

Ethical considerations

These data were obtained from the World Health Organization. The study was approved by the Botswana Ministry of Health. Parents were informed of the study through a letter, and students gave verbal consent to participate in the survey. To preserve individual confidentiality, the questionnaire was anonymously self-reported by the students.

Data analysis

Cases with missing values were not considered in the analysis. A weighting factor was used in the analysis to account for differences in the probability of selecting a school and classroom, and to account for differences in non response rates for various strata.

Data were first analyzed using SPSS version 11.5. Unweighted frequencies and their weighted percentages are reported. For the main outcome (bullying victimization), we recoded the responses in two categories: 0 for not having been victimized in the past 30 days, and 1 for having been victimized in the past 30 days. We conducted bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analyses in order to estimate associations between independent factors and the outcome variable. The hypotheses were "There were no significant associations between socio-demographic factors and bullying victimization". We report prevalence of bullying victimization within the past 30 days of the survey as well as the unadjusted odds ratios (OR) and adjusted odds ratios (AOR) together with their 95% confidence intervals (CI).

RESULTS

A total of 2,165 students participated in the 2005 Botswana GSHS; and 1829 had information on whether they were bullied or not. Overall, 42.4% were depressed; 22.5% consumed alcohol; and 8.7% had used illicit drugs. More than 1 in five (22.5%) participants reported having missed classes without permission. Altogether, 53.1% (54.2% of male and 52.2% of female) participants reported having been bullied in the previous 30 days to the survey. Further description of the sample by gender is shown in Table 1.

Table 2 reports associations between being bullied and selected factors. Being bullied was positively associated with having engaged in physical fighting (OR=2.17; 95% CI [1.73, 2.73]), self reported feelings of depression (OR=1.40; 95% CI [1.16, 1.77]); truancy (OR=1.84; 95% CI [1.35, 2.50]); and alcohol drinking (OR=1.41; 95% CI [1.04, 1.91]).

DISCUSSION

In a study of bullying victimization among in-school adolescents in Botswana, we found that 53.1% of the respondents were bullied in the last month. This prevalence is higher than the average (32%) for 66 countries and territories from five continents (2). In Africa, that prevalence is lower than 62.8% reported in Zambia (9), but higher than 40.1% in Ghana (8) and 39.6% in neighboring Swaziland (5).

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics and bullying victimization of the Botswana study sample, 2005

Factor	Male n (%)	Female n (%)	Total (%)
Age (years)			
< 14	78 (8.0)	131 (11.0)	209 (9.7)
14	190 (19.5)	302 (25.3)	492 (22.7)
15	319 (32.8)	372 (31.2)	6 (1.9)
16 +	385 (39.6)	388 (32.5)	773 (35.7)
Physical fight			
No	458 (47.1)	691 (58.3)	1149 (53.3)
Yes	514 (52.9)	494 (41.7)	1008 (46.7)
Parental supervision			
No	326 (34.5)	348 (30)	674 (32)
Yes	618 (65.5)	811 (70)	1429 (68)
Depression			
No	569 (59.6)	651 (55.7)	1220 (57.5)
Yes	385 (40.4)	518 (44.3)	903 (42.5)
Cigarette smoking			
No	817 (89)	1083 (95.2)	1900 (92.4)
Yes	101 (11)	55 (4.8)	156 (7.6)
Alcohol drinking			
No	596 (75.9)	795 (78.8)	1391 (77.5)
Yes	189 (24.1)	214 (21.2)	403 (22.5)
Drug use			
No	840 (86.3)	1138 (95.4)	1978 (91.3)
Yes	133 (13.7)	55 (4.6)	188 (8.7)
Truancy			
No	665 (70.2)	950 (80.3)	1615 (75.8)
Yes	282 (29.8)	233 (19.7)	515 (24.2)
Bullied			
No	377 (45.8)	481 (47.8)	858 (46.9)
Yes	446 (54.2)	525 (52.2)	971 (53.1)

We found that bullying victimization was positively associated with reported depression, having engaged in physical fighting, truancy, and alcohol drinking. In a study of the association between bullying and psychological health among senior high school students in Ghana, Owuso et al found that bullying victimization was positively associated with depression, suicide ideation, and loneliness (8). The association between bullying victimization and physical fighting was reported previously in other settings such as Zambia (9), Philippines (10) and China (11). In a study of the association between physical bullying victimization and physical fighting among Filipino school going adolescents, Rudatsikira et al reported a dose-response relationship between the two (10). Previous studies have reported the relationship between bullying victimization and alcohol use and other substances (12,13).

In this study, there was no significant gender difference in bullying victimization. Some studies have reported similar findings (8,10) while others have reported that males were more

likely to be bullied than females (9,11). What is consistent in the literature is the gender difference in the types of bullying victimization; males are more at risk for physical victimization while females are more at risk of relational or emotional victimization (14-15).

Table 2. Factors associated with being bullied among in-school adolescents in Botswana, 2005

Factor	Bullied n (%)	OR ¹ (95% CI ³)	AOR ² (95% CI)
Age (years)			
< 14	89 (9.2)	0.95 (0.67-1.35)	1.12 (0.76-1.67)
14	216 (22.3)	0.83 (0.59-1.16)	1.06 (0.79-1.43)
15	309 (31.9)	0.82 (0.59-1.14)	0.97 (0.74-1.28)
16+	355 (36.6)	1	1
Sex			
Male	446 (45.5)	1.08 (0.90-1.30)	0.92 (0.73-1.16)
Female	525 (54.5)	1	1
Physical fight			
No	409 (42.3)	1	1
Yes	557 (57.7)	2.89 (2.38-3.50)	2.17 (1.73-2.73)
Depression			
No	495 (52.2)	1	1
Yes	454 (47.8)	1.74 (1.44 - 2.10)	1.40 (1.16-1.77)
Cigarette smoking			
No	807 (88.8)	1	1
Yes	102 (11.2)	3.54 (2.31 - 5.40)	1.36 (0.77-2.40)
Drug use			
No	853 (88.1)	1	1
Yes	115 (11.9)	3.01 (2.06 - 4.42)	1.26 (0.7-2.26)
Truancy			
No	666 (69.1)	1	1
Yes	287 (30.1)	2.63 (2.10 - 3.33)	1.84 (1.35-2.5)
Parental supervision			
No	314 (33.1)	1	1
Yes	634 (66.9)	0.87 (0.70 - 1.10)	0.80 (0.85-1.37)
Alcohol drinking			
No	538 (69.7)	1	1
Yes	238 (30.7)	2.44 (1.90-3.13)	1.41 (1.04-1.91)

¹ OR Unadjusted odds ratio.

² AOR Adjusted odds ratio.

³ CI confidence interval.

Limitations and strengths of the study

The present study has several limitations and strengths. Data were collected through self-reports. To the extent that study participants mis-reported, intentionally or not, our findings

may be biased. The study design was cross sectional which limits us from ascribing causation between the outcome and explanatory variables. It is also important to note that different studies have defined bullying differently. For instance, Sourander et al (16) defined bullying as "an aggressive act embodying an imbalance of power in which the victims cannot defend themselves accompanied by an element of repetition." Our study only asked whether students had been bullied. However, the sample size was large thus improving precision of the effect measure estimates. That this study is a secondary analysis of existing data can be both a strength and a weakness. A strength in that the subjects' responses could be accurate as study participants may not have anticipated any links between outcome variable and explanatory variables, hence truthful reporting; and a weakness in that there are likely to be several unmeasured confounders that a primary study could have planned to measure.

CONCLUSION

In this study, we found that bullying victimization was prevalent among school-going adolescents in Botswana. Efforts to prevent and control bullying should take into consideration the factors identified in this study.

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Chapter 105

BULLYING BEHAVIOUR FOLLOWING STUDENTS’ TRANSITION TO A SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOL CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

This chapter investigated the prevalence and types of bullying behaviour that boarding students experienced during the transition to a secondary boarding school. Data on 76 male and 74 female boarding students in Grades 7, 8 and 9 was used from a larger longitudinal study of 3,462 students. An examination of the combined dataset prevalence figures found that boarding students reported experiencing significantly higher victimization and perpetration of bullying behaviours than non-boarders after their transition into secondary school. The victimization was found to predominantly take the form of verbal bullying. The increase in the prevalence of bullying behaviours over the course of the first year of secondary school suggests that prior to and during this transition period is the most critical time to implement bullying prevention programs. Due to the sustained nature of bullying behaviour over the first two years of secondary school it is recommended that boarding schools develop clear policies and consistent procedures and practices to address bullying and encourage help seeking behaviours. Similarly these students will need support to build positive relationships with their peers to seek assistance from others early and often if they are experiencing difficulties.

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INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is a developmental stage in life that is associated with major cognitive, emotional, physiological and social change. Adolescence coincides with the onset of puberty and is typically described by parents as a period in which they attune to their child's growing need for autonomy and greater desire to source social support from same aged peers. Many adolescents look forward to the transition to secondary school as it represents a period of possibilities; a time to master new academic, social, emotional and extracurricular activities (1). However, adapting to multiple formal and informal organizational and social relational structures that are inextricably linked with the high school environment can prove particularly daunting to transitioning students (2).

Transitioning from primary school to a secondary boarding school adds another layer of complexity to secondary school life, as students have to simultaneously adjust from a situation where home and school are separate, into a setting where a temporary new home and schooling are merged together. Although some boarding students have reported the transition to boarding school has given them a greater appreciation for family and home, other students have equally reported that the process of adapting to new boarding school duty of care rules and regulations can be difficult as they tend to reduce privacy and personal freedom. Moreover, it commands boarding students to almost instantly display high levels of self-reliance, life skills and independence (3)". Similarly, boarding school requires adjusting from a situation where contact with family members occurs on a daily face-to-face basis to a situation where for extended periods of time contact is limited to contact via telephone, Skype and other means of communication such as email and text messages. Others have also described this change as shifting from vertical relationships with parents to horizontal relationships with peers at school and within the boarding house (3).

Friendship and peer support are needed for the development of social, emotional and mental health and have been identified as important contributors to a successful school transition (4). Peers not only provide support, but information and guidance (5). However, a peak in bullying victimization occurs following the transition to secondary school (6) largely resulting from the pressure to attain high social status and the formalization of relationships and social roles in new social groups (7). The seriousness and negative impact of school bullying is well known contributing to significant physical, psychological and social wellbeing problems (8) which in turn effects academic performance (9).

In boarding schools, a significantly larger amount of time is spent with peers (24 hours a day, 7 days a week) compared to day students (6 hours a day, 5 days a week). Arguably, the residential boarding context provides greater opportunity for bullying to occur (10,11). Some have described bullying at boarding school as 'relentless' given that targets have fewer choices to minimize their exposure to bullying, with bullying often following the target from the day school setting into the residential setting (3). Evidence suggests bullying can become institutionalized into the culture of boarding schools that are not vigilant to its presence (11). Poynting and Donaldson (10) described peer-to-peer bullying in one Australian elite boys' only boarding school as endemic and entrenched, taking the form of ridicule and racial slurs, physical and sexualized assault, all contained within a culture of intimidation and non-disclosure. In these instances bullying has been justified through language that constructs it as a 'tradition' or 'initiation' and analogous with a normal a rite of passage (12).

The long term negative mental health and life trajectory implications for individuals that experience bullying and also perpetrate bullying while at school are increasing being acknowledged (13). Bullying at boarding school has been linked to high levels of shame, anxiety, thoughts of revenge, and experiencing relationship difficulties as adults (3). Despite these apparent harms, a dearth of current information on bullying behaviour in boarding schools exists. This paper uses quantitative data to examine the patterns of bullying behaviours in Australian boarding schools during the initial experience of transition and the year immediately following transition. The primary aim of this study is to determine whether a difference exists in the prevalence and type of bullying behaviours between boarding and non-boarding students and examines help seeking behaviours of those who have been bullied.

OUR STUDY

The data in this study were taken from a larger longitudinal study, the Supportive Schools Project (SSP) conducted in Perth, Western Australia (WA). SSP aimed to develop and implement whole-of-school strategies to reduce the prevalence of frequent bullying behaviours as well as positively influence common mediators of bullying. The study was approved by the ethics committee of the administering institution and the relevant Catholic Education school authorities.

Cohort data were collected during the Supportive Schools Project (SSP) from 3,462 students from 21 of the 28 Catholic secondary schools in WA. The seven schools that declined to participate in the study cited other priorities within their school and demanding staff workloads. All invited CEO schools were stratified according to the total number of students enrolled at the school and each school's Socio-Economic Status (SES) to help to control for the influence of these two factors on student bullying behaviour. These schools were randomly selected and randomly assigned to an intervention or comparison group. To collect data relating to their pre-transition experience, all Grade 7 students enrolled to commence in Grade 8 at each of the 21 participating secondary schools received a baseline survey while in Grade 7 at their respective primary schools. A combination of active and passive consent resulted in 93% of parents whose children were enrolled in the 21 recruited secondary schools consenting to their child participating in the study.

The student cohort was surveyed at the end of Grade 7 (mean age 12 years), the beginning and end of Grade 8 (mean age 13 years old) and the end of Grade 9 (mean age 14 years old). In total, 3,462 (92% of the total recruited) students completed questionnaires at least at one time point with 3,123 (90%) responding to at least three of the four data collection points. One half of the students surveyed were male and 70% attended a co-educational secondary school versus a single sex secondary school. A total of 5% of students (76 males, 74 females) identified themselves as living away from home to complete their secondary education at the secondary schools involved in the SSP.

Measures

Boarder Status. Students in Grades 8 and 9 were asked whether they were living away from home while going to school this year. Those who indicated they were living away from home in Grade 8 have been classified as 'boarders'.

Bullying victimization and perpetration. A global measure of victimization was obtained by asking students 'In the previous term, how often did another student or group of students bully you?' with the response options recorded on a 5 point scale (1=never, 2=only once or twice, 3=every few weeks, 4=about once a week, 5=most days). Similarly a global measure of perpetration was obtained. The type of bullying victimization was assessed using a nine-item categorical index adapted from Rigby and Slee (14), Olweus (15) and from the 2004 Youth Internet Survey (16). Students were asked how often they were bullied through physical (hit, kicked and pushed around; had money or other things broken or taken away from them; made to feel afraid they would get hurt), verbal (made fun of and teased in a hurtful way; called mean and hurtful names), relational (students ignored them, did not let them join in, or left them out on purpose; and students told lies about them and tried to make other students not like them) or cyber (were sent mean and hurtful text (SMS) messages; were sent mean and hurtful messages on the internet) means during the prior term at school. For each item students were asked how often they were bullied, rating each item on a 5 point scale (1=never, 2=only once or twice, 3=every few weeks, 4=about once a week, 5=most days). Frequent victimization was defined as every few weeks or more often. The type of perpetration was assessed using a similar nine-item perpetration index which asked students how often they were bullied by others in the different ways listed.

Students were also asked how often they were bullied by other students in various year levels. Those students who reported being bullied were also asked if they asked for help, from whom they asked for help (parents, friends, teachers, school staff) and if things got better after they asked for help.

Bystander behavior was assessed through the question 'If you saw a student being bullied, what did you do?' with the response choices being: I joined in the bullying; I watched the bullying; I walked away; and I tried to get help. Students were also asked whether they: thought the bullying was OK; thought it was none of their business; didn't know what to do; or thought they should help the student being bullied

Lastly, students were asked how serious they thought staff took bullying: they didn't know; not at all seriously; somewhat seriously; very seriously; or extremely seriously.

Statistical analysis

Analyses were conducted using SPSS v21. Chi-square analyses were used to determine differences in categorical variables with respect to boarders and non-boarders and gender.

FINDINGS

At the end of Grade 7, 65% of students reported they were not victimized, 25% reported they were victimized once or twice and 11% reported frequent victimization (every few weeks

or more often in the past 10 weeks) (Table 1). The majority of students (71%) reported they did not bully others, 26% reported they bullying others once or twice and 3% reported frequent perpetration (every few weeks or more often in the past 10 weeks).

Boarders vs non-boarders: Target of bullying

No significant differences were found for the frequency of bullying victimization between boarders and non-boarders at the end of Grade 7. However, after the transition to secondary school, significant differences were found for the frequency of victimization among students who were boarders and those who were day students only. Boarders reported more frequent victimization at the beginning of Grade 8 ($X^2=21.965$, $p<0.001$), the end of Grade 8 ($X^2=17.881$, $p<0.001$), and the end of Grade 9 ($X^2=14.316$, $p=0.001$) than non-boarders. While the increase in reported frequent victimization over the first two years of secondary school was similar for boarders and non-boarders, by the end of Grade 9 twice as many boarders were frequently victimised than non-boarders, with one in five boarders reporting frequent victimization compared to one in 10 non-boarders by the end of Grade 9.

Perpetrator of bullying

Similarly, significant differences were found between boarding and non-boarding students and the frequency of perpetration in which they engaged after their transition to secondary school. Boarders reported engaging in more frequent perpetration of bullying at the beginning of Grade 8 ($X^2=6.068$, $p=0.048$), the end of Grade 8 ($X^2=35.243$, $p<0.001$), and the end of Grade 9 ($X^2=10.567$, $p=0.005$) than non-boarders. By the end of Grade 9, 14% of boarders reported frequent perpetration compared to 8% of non-boarders.

Target/perpetrator of bullying

Similarly, boarders who were victimized and who also perpetrate (bully-victims) also reported they had more frequent involvement in bullying behavior at the beginning of Grade 8 ($X^2=15.004$, $p=0.001$), the end of Grade 8 ($X^2=26.427$, $p<0.001$), and the end of Grade 9 ($X^2=13.859$, $p=0.001$) than non-boarders.

Boarders, gender and bullying behavior

A significantly higher proportion of male boarders reported frequent victimization ($X^2=6.908$, $p=0.032$) at the end of Grade 9 compared to female boarders (27% compared to 14% respectively). A significantly higher proportion of male boarders also reported engaging in frequent perpetration at the beginning of Grade 8 ($X^2=13.847$, $p=0.001$) and end of Grade 9 ($X^2=7.576$, $p=0.023$) compared to female boarders (beginning of Grade 8: 11% compared to 0% respectively; end of Grade 8: 22% compared to 6% respectively). Similarly, a significantly

higher proportion of male boarders reported bully-victim behaviours at the beginning of Grade 8 ($X^2=6.073$, $p=0.048$) compared to female boarders (15% compared to 3% respectively).

Table 1. Frequency of victimization and perpetration of boarders and non-boarders.

	End of Grade 7		Beg of Grade 8		End of Grade 8		End of Grade 9	
%	Boarder	Non-boarder	Boarder	Non-boarder	Boarder	Non-boarder	Boarder	Non-boarder
Victimization by another student ^{abc}								
Not bullied	61.6	64.7	58.0	71.3	53.3	64.0	49.2	64.7
Once or twice	22.1	24.8	26.6	22.6	26.0	25.9	30.5	24.8
Frequently	16.3	10.5	15.4	6.2	20.7	10.0	20.3	10.5
Perpetration of another student ^{dbc}								
Not bullied	65.1	71.0	77.5	79.9	58.5	74.1	55.2	66.8
Once or twice	33.7	26.0	16.9	17.8	27.5	21.7	30.4	25.6
Frequently	1.2	2.9	5.6	2.3	14.1	4.2	14.4	7.6
Victimization and Perpetration ^{abc}								
Not bullied	53.0	52.9	52.1	63.1	39.4	52.7	34.4	50.4
Once or twice	36.1	40.2	38.6	33.3	44.4	41.3	50.8	41.0
Frequently	10.8	6.9	9.3	3.6	16.2	6.0	14.8	8.5

^a $p<0.01$ at beg of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^b $p<0.01$ at end of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^c $p<0.01$ at end of Grade 9 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^d $p<0.05$ at beg of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders.

Type of bullying experienced by boarders

The most frequently reported forms of bullying reported to be experienced by boarders at the beginning of Grade 8 was verbal (being made fun of and teased and called mean names) and relational means (being ignored and excluded and having lies told about them to make students not like them) (Table 2). Physical and cyber bullying became more prevalent at the end of Grades 8 and 9. All forms of bullying increased in prevalence over the first two Grades of secondary school.

With respect to boarders only, no significant differences were found between males and females and the types of victimization they experienced at the end of Grade 7 and the beginning of Grade 8. However, at the end of Grade 8, a significantly higher proportion of males reported verbal bullying than females. Similarly, by the end of Grade 9 a significantly higher proportion of males reported verbal, and physical bullying than females.

A significantly greater proportion of boarding students than non-boarding students reported verbal and relational bullying in both Grades 8 and 9. By the end of Grade 9 a significantly greater proportion of boarding students reported being physically bullied than non-boarding students.

Table 2. Frequency and type of victimization of boarders from the beginning of Grade 8 to the end of Grade 9

%		Beginning of Grade 8			End of Grade 8			End of Grade 9		
		Not bullied	Once or twice	Frequently bullied	Not bullied	Once or twice	Frequently bullied	Not bullied	Once or twice	Frequently bullied
I was made fun of and teased in a hurtful way ^{abc}	Boarder	87.0	6.2	6.8	85.9	5.4	8.7	78.6	7.6	13.7
	Non-boarder	95.3	2.9	1.8	92.6	4.1	3.2	90.2	4.8	5.1
I was called mean names ^{abc}	Boarder	86.2	7.6	6.2	86.6	8.1	5.4	80.9	6.1	13.0
	Non-boarder	95.5	2.5	1.9	92.1	4.8	3.1	89.9	4.8	5.3
Students ignored me, didn't let me join in, or left me out on purpose ^{abc}	Boarder	94.5	2.1	3.4	89.2	6.8	4.1	88.5	2.3	9.2
	Non-boarder	97.4	1.3	1.2	96.0	2.3	1.7	94.6	2.5	2.9
I was hit, kicked or pushed around ^c	Boarder	95.2	2.8	2.1	91.9	5.4	2.7	87.8	3.8	8.4
	Non-boarder	97.5	1.2	1.2	97.2	1.4	1.4	94.7	1.9	3.4
Students told lies about me and tried to make other students not like me ^{abc}	Boarder	93.2	3.4	3.4	91.3	4.7	4.0	86.2	3.8	10.0
	Non-boarder	96.4	1.7	1.9	95.4	2.4	2.2	93.2	2.8	4.0
I had money or other things broken or taken away from me	Boarder	97.9	0.7	1.4	93.3	2.7	4.0	88.5	2.3	9.2
	Non-boarder	99.1	0.3	0.7	98.5	0.7	0.8	96.8	0.8	2.4
I was made afraid that I would get hurt ^c	Boarder	97.9	0.7	1.4	93.9	2.0	4.1	88.5	1.5	10.0
	Non-boarder	98.4	0.7	0.9	98.0	0.9	1.1	96.2	1.0	2.8
I was sent a mean and hurtful text (SMS) message	Boarder	99.3	0.7	0.0	94.6	2.7	2.7	90.8	3.1	6.1
	Non-boarder	99.5	0.2	0.3	99.4	0.2	0.6	97.2	0.7	2.0
I was sent a mean and hurtful message on the internet	Boarder	99.3	0.7	0.0	95.9	1.4	2.7	93.1	0.8	6.1
	Non-boarder	99.2	0.4	0.4	99.0	0.5	0.5	96.5	1.2	2.3

^b $p < 0.01$ at beginning of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^b $p < 0.01$ at end of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^c $p < 0.01$ at end of Grade 9 for boarders vs non-boarder

Types of bullying perpetrated by boarders

The most frequent forms of bullying perpetration reported by boarders was verbal and relational bullying (Table 3). Perpetration of physical and cyber bullying became more prevalent at the end of Grades 8 and 9. All forms of bullying perpetration increased in frequency over the first two Grades of secondary school.

At the beginning of Grade 8, a significantly greater proportion of boarding students reported verbally and physically bullying others compared to non-boarding students. This pattern continued to the end of Grades 8 and 9 with a significantly greater proportion of boarding students than non-boarding students reporting verbal, physical, relational, and cyber bullying.

At the beginning of Grade 8, boarders reported being victimized by students in Grades 8, 9 and 10 (Table 4). However, by the end of Grades 8 and 9, boarders predominantly reported being victimized by students in their own grade levels.

Table 3. Frequency and type of perpetration by boarders from the beginning of Grade 8 to the end of Grade 9.

%		Beginning of Grade 8			End of Grade 8			End of Grade 9		
		Did not bully	Bullied Once or twice	Frequently bullied others	Did not bully	Bullied Once or twice	Frequently bullied others	Did not bully	Bullied Once or twice	Frequently bullied others
I made fun of and teased others in a hurtful way ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	73.1 79.4	20.0 18.6	6.9 1.9	61.8 71.1	26.4 23.9	11.8 5.0	66.4 64.8	19.2 26.1	14.4 9.0
I called others mean names ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	72.4 76.6	20.7 21.1	6.9 2.3	55.9 69.2	29.7 26.1	14.5 4.7	56.8 63.2	25.6 27.5	17.6 9.3
I ignored other students, didn't let them join in, or left them out on purpose ^{bc}	Boarder Non-boarder	79.9 83.4	16.0 14.7	4.2 1.9	59.2 76.4	27.5 19.8	13.4 3.8	62.1 72.1	25.8 21.0	12.1 6.8
I hit, kicked or pushed around others ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	84.1 91.0	15.2 7.8	0.7 1.1	81.3 88.6	8.3 8.7	10.4 2.6	84.0 85.4	7.2 10.0	8.8 4.6
I told lies about others and tried to make other students not like others ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	93.1 94.6	6.9 4.7	0.0 0.7	84.1 92.4	7.6 6.0	8.3 1.6	82.4 89.9	6.4 6.5	11.2 3.6
I took money or other things away from others	Boarder Non-boarder	97.9 98.3	2.1 1.5	0.0 0.2	89.7 96.7	3.4 2.3	6.9 1.0	91.2 93.9	1.6 3.2	7.2 2.9
I made others afraid they would get hurt ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	91.0 94.6	9.0 4.6	0.0 0.7	84.8 92.9	6.9 5.5	8.3 1.6	81.6 89.7	8.0 6.0	10.4 4.3
I sent others a mean and hurtful text (SMS) message ^c	Boarder Non-boarder	97.9 98.8	2.1 1.0	0.0 0.3	88.2 97.3	4.2 1.9	7.6 0.8	86.3 93.7	4.8 3.5	8.9 2.8
I sent others a mean and hurtful message on the internet ^{bc}	Boarder Non-boarder	100.0 97.2	0.0 2.6	0.0 0.3	87.6 95.2	6.2 3.8	6.2 1.0	87.8 91.7	3.3 5.1	8.9 3.2

^a $p < 0.01$ at beginning of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^b $p < 0.01$ at end of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^c $p < 0.01$ at end of Grade 9 for boarders vs non-boarders

Table 4. The context of bullying, help seeking and bystander behaviours of boarders.

%(n)	Beg of Grade 8	End of Grade 8	End of Grade 9
Who are they being bullied by?			
Grade 8	29.6(40)	47.6(68)	14.4(18)
Grade 9	20.6(26)	26.8(37)	42.4(53)
Grade 10	18.9(24)	25.9(36)	21.7(26)
Grade 11 or 12	15.4(20)	18.6(26)	17.4(21)
Don't know	9.4(10)	12.7(15)	13.2(14)
When bullied, asked for help	26.7(16)	29.4(20)	25.0(15)
Bystander behaviour			
Thought bullying was OK	0.7(1)	2.7(4)	4.0(6)
Thought bullying was none of my business	21.3(32)	21.3(32)	10.7(16)
Thought I should help student being bullied	54.7(82)	30.7(46)	18.0(27)

Help seeking and bystander behaviour and perceptions of staff

Over one-quarter of boarders who reported being bullied did not ask for help. The majority of boarders in Grades 7 and 8 who witnessed another student being bullied, thought they should help the student being bullied and tried to help. However, by the end of Grade 9, a greater proportion of boarders who witnessed others being bullied watched the bullying rather than tried to help and thought it was none of their business.

At the beginning of Grade 8, 49% of boarders thought staff took bullying very or extremely seriously, 9% somewhat seriously, 4% not at all seriously, and 39% did not know how serious staff took bullying.

DISCUSSION

This study found significantly higher bullying prevalence rates in boarders after their transition to secondary school. Given, longitudinal research shows that adolescents who are victimised are more likely to experience depression, anxiety, psychosomatic complaints and suicidal ideation (8), and that boarding students are found to have lower levels of mental and emotional wellbeing than non-boarders after the transition to secondary school (17), it seems critically important to prevent and manage these behaviours within the boarding school context.

Unlike non-boarding students whose reported prevalence data was similar to national prevalence data (6), boarders reported significantly higher victimization than the national data and this prevalence increased over time. The increase in prevalence of bullying behaviours following transition and then over time for boarders suggests that their transition to secondary school combined with their transition to boarding school is opportune to skill school staff and students to address bullying behaviours. A case study of an Australian boy's board school (10) found the school minimised and controlled the disclosure of bullying incidents, creating a culture that both tolerated and seemingly admired students who bullied. Students from this boarding school claimed the older students victimised those younger, creating a tradition of bullying within the school. The identification of indecent assaults, sexualised bullying and violence at this boarding school resulted in many Australian private boarding schools reviewing their duty of care and residential supervision practices and procedures (18). Likewise, in response, the Australian Boarding Schools Association (ABSA), which has over 95% of Australian boarding schools as members, developed a Duty of Care: A Certificate Course in Residential Education (19) which set minimal industry based standards (National Boarding Standards (NBS)) in professional training for staff at boarding schools. These standards enable students to be more socially responsible by encouraging pro-social behaviour, discouraging poor behaviour, providing effective anti-bullying policies, and encouraging responsible use of technology (20). While these standards and others developed since are important, a sustainable ongoing strategy of review by schools and governing bodies to prevent and manage bullying is required.

Boarding students in this study perpetrated more bullying than day students. Boarding school practices and policies need to clearly define what social behaviours it expects students to engage in and what constitutes bullying behaviour and relay this information to all staff and students. Boarding school policies developed in conjunction with boarding students which

discourage bullying behaviours, and identify consequences for bullying, need to be administered consistently. Negative outcome expectancies, including adults finding out and adult and peer disapproval, are strong motivational forces to prevent involvement in bullying behaviours (21). Students are less likely to engage in aggressive behaviours if they perceive there will be negative consequences (22). Less than a half of the boarding students in this study believed staff took bullying seriously, with a large proportion of boarders who were victimised not seeking help. Encouraging and enhancing the ability of adults to prevent, detect and intervene in bullying incidents, enabling students to support victimised students, and easy reporting of bullying, will help to reduce victimization (23).

This study showed that boarders who witnessed bullying in Grade 8 thought they should try to help, with this attitude decreasing over time. Participation in perpetration can also be discouraged through encouraging a pro-victim attitude (including support for the victim, empathy towards the victim and disapproval of bullying behaviours) (24). To increase pro-victim behaviour, supporters (those who comfort, support or stand up for those being victimized) need to be acknowledged as positive models for the peer group (25) with students encouraged to perceive all cases of bullying as severe and unjust.

Given, that students in this study were surveyed at the end of Term 1 (10 weeks into the school year) in Grade 8 and again in Term 4 of Grade 8, this six month period resulted in large increases in the prevalence of bullying behaviors for boarders. These changes may be related to changes in boarder attitudes towards bullying due to inconsistent enforcement or lack of bullying policies and procedures. Transition activities and organizational support by boarding schools tend to taper off after the first 10 weeks of the school year as students' are encouraged to take greater responsibility and to self-manage. The findings from this study suggest it may be necessary to provide mores sustained social support to boarders for the duration of Grade 8. This appears to be a critical time in particular to implement social development programs, clarify boarding house policies and procedures, consistently administer rules, and encourage help seeking behaviours. Preventative steps such as pre-transition seminars and forums for prospective families for new boarding students which outline bullying policies and procedures are also encouraged. The large difference in bullying prevalence between boarders and non-boarders, suggests further research is necessary to explore student socialization processes and staff practices in the residential context and the impact these have on boarding students social and emotional wellbeing and mental health during transition.

Strengths and limitations

There are several strengths of this study. The longitudinal nature of the quantitative research design over the transition from primary into secondary school enabled the investigation of bullying at a time that can be challenging for boarders and non-boarders alike. Moreover, these findings are robust due to the large proportion of boarders (89%) and non-boarders (90%) who completed questionnaires in at least three of the four data collection points. The limitations of this study include relying on student self-report of bullying victimization and perpetration. The quantitative research was conducted with a sample of Catholic secondary schools within the Perth metropolitan area which affects the generalizability of results, given they represent only 11% of all secondary schools (n=186) in Perth, Western Australia. School activities over the transition period will likely influence students' experiences. Students were

classified as 'boarders' in this study if they indicated they were living away from home while going to school.

These results, however, draw attention to the prevalence of bullying behaviour in boarder populations and suggest opportunities to intercede in the post transition period.

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Chapter 106

BULLYING, CYBERBULLYING, DEPRESSION AND SUICIDE IDEATION

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ABSTRACT

Data on bullying/cyberbullying and depression/suicide ideation among youth is usually collected via paper-and-pencil questionnaires delivered in classrooms. In recent years data collection methods for psychological questionnaires have seemingly shifted from the classical paper-and-pencil method to web-based questionnaires. There are numerous advantages to web-based methods; however, the exact circumstances in which this method affects data quality are not yet fully understood. In this chapter we address the question of whether the medium by which data is collected affects results, specifically concerning bullying, cyberbullying, depression and suicide ideation among adolescents. Study group: A total of 230 students participated in the study. Half (n=115) were recruited online and completed a web-based survey. The other half (n=115) were recruited from five different middle schools and high schools across Israel and completed a paper-and-pencil survey. The participants who completed the paper-and-pencil survey were matched to the online participants in terms of their age, gender and parental occupation status. Methods: Data from both samples were compared and significant differences were further investigated. Results: General cyber-victimization was more prevalent among participants who answered paper-and-pencil questionnaires. Being harassed in virtual chat rooms and suffering from rumors being spread online were the specific types of cyber-victimization that were more prevalent on paper-and-pencil questionnaires. Depression and harassment via e-mail were more prevalent among online participants. Conclusions: Recruiting participants online has many advantages but it is important to understand the limitations of this sampling method, especially the extent to which it is possible to generalize findings.

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INTRODUCTION

Bullying, cyberbullying, depression and suicide ideation are major concerns regarding adolescents, particularly given that suicide is the third leading cause of death among American adolescents (1). Moreover, depression and suicide ideation are risk factors for suicide completion (1) as studies show that roughly 1 out of 8 adolescents suffered from depression (2) and 15.8% of high school students seriously considered attempting suicide (3).

In a nationwide survey conducted in 2011, 20% of high school students reported being bullied and 16% reported being cyberbullied during the past 12 months (4). Most of the data for the research on bullying/cyberbullying and depression/suicide ideation among youth has been collected using classical paper-and-pencil self-report questionnaires. This method is expensive, complicated and time consuming; and therefore researchers are turning to more cost-effective alternatives (5). With the growing ubiquity of Internet access (6), an increasing number of researchers are finding ways to utilize the Internet in order to conduct research in their fields. Research on bullying/cyberbullying and depression/suicide ideation is no exception. Recent studies in this field have started collecting data using web-based questionnaires (7,8). In order to safely advance from paper-and-pencil to web-based research in this field, it is important to systematically compare the two.

The advantages of conducting web-based research are plentiful. Firstly, it provides access to larger and more diverse samples. In addition, data entry in web-based research is done indirectly by participants themselves (9). Lastly, it has been said to provide a heightened sense of anonymity (10) which is considered advantageous, as it encourages honesty when touching sensitive topics (11). However, this heightened sense of anonymity is becoming increasingly harder to assume. People are becoming more knowledgeable about the potential for infringing on anonymity in cyberspace. Therefore, this may theoretically interfere in truthful self-reporting.

The great advantages and promise that web-based research brings does not come without a price. Samples are still confined to participants who own a computer and have Internet access (12). In addition, recruitment techniques, such as advertising in blogs, forums, or web-sites, make it very difficult to achieve a random sample (13). Furthermore, participants are not in a controlled environment during the experiment, it is impossible to verify demographic information, it is difficult to estimate response rates, and finally, with no experimenter watching over participants, ethical problems may arise (13).

Many studies have compared data that were obtained online against data obtained in the lab and have mostly supported the notion that the quality of data (e.g., sample diverseness, responders seriousness, etc.), obtained online is as good as, if not better, than data obtained in the lab (14). Studies comparing data collected using web-based questionnaires and paper-and-pencil questionnaires on potentially sensitive personal matters drew the same conclusion (15). Computer based surveys may be preferable when targeting sensitive issues as the sense of anonymity increases and social desirability (i.e., a tendency to answer questionnaires in a socially acceptable or favorably viewed way) decreases (15,16). Furthermore, web-based questionnaires have been shown to reliably detect depressive disorders (17) and other mental disorders (18).

Comparing data collection methods among adolescents is necessary for several reasons. First, the popularity of web-based research among adolescents is rising as conducting paper-

based research consumes important school time which is also very hard to obtain. Second, adolescents are growing up surrounded by web-based interfaces and spend more time in front of screens, now more than ever (19). For adolescents, answering web-based questionnaires might be becoming more natural than the paper-based alternative.

To the best of our knowledge, most studies have not been conducted among adolescents and while some compared data on the topic of bullying, none have used an online self-selected sample nor have compared differences for cyberbullying.

OUR STUDY

A total of 230 Israeli middle school and high school students participated in the study. Half of the students ($n=115$) completed a web-based survey online and the other half completed a paper-based survey. The paper-based survey completers were matched to the online participants in the terms of their age, gender and parental occupation status. In this regard, the participants in both groups ranged in age from 14-17 years of age ($M=16.06$, $SD=1$); 122 were male (53%) and 108 were female (47%); 22 were in 9th grade, 42 were in 10th grade, 66 were on 11th grade and 100 were in 12th grade. Out of 230 participants, 198 (86.1%) reported that both of their parents were working.

Procedure

This study was approved by the institutional review board of the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya. Online participants were recruited via midgam.com, an Israeli web-based survey platform. When signing up to midgam.com, under-aged participants must obtain their parents signature in order to complete their registration. Before answering the questionnaires, all participants signed an online informed consent form. Subsequently, participants were requested to complete the questionnaire in one session and were also informed that the website allows only one entry per participant. All participants were reimbursed 20 NIS (around 6 USD) for their participation in the study.

A paper-and-pencil survey was conducted in 5 middle schools and high schools across Israel as part of a research on the same topic (20). After obtaining approval from a) the Chief Scientist of Israel's Ministry of Education and b) the school principals, all of the participants' parents were contacted via mail and e-mail. Parents were notified about the study and were asked to sign a form if they did not want their child to participate in the study. Students were asked for their consent in class. Of the 757 participants who completed the questionnaire, 115 were selected to statistically match the online participants in age, sex and parental occupation status.

Measures

Anonymous self-report questionnaires were used to assess participants' experience of bullying, cyberbullying, depression and suicide ideation.

The demographic questionnaire obtained information regarding age, gender and parental occupation status.

Bullying and cyberbullying behavior was assessed using a questionnaire which was previously used by Sourander and colleagues (21). Participants were asked about their involvement in bullying behavior during the past six months, both as a bully and as a victim. The four answer options were 1- never; 2- less than once a week; 3- more than once a week; and 4- almost every day. Participants were regarded as bullies if they reported bullying others during the past six months, either in or out of school, to any extent (i.e., any answer other than "never"). If participants reported being bullied by others during the past six months, in or out of school, they were regarded as victims. Similarly, participants were regarded as cyberbullies or cyber-victims if during the past six months they cyberbullied others or were cyberbullied by others, respectively. In addition to bullying and cyberbullying in general, more specific questions were asked concerning explicit acts of traditional bullying (e.g., hitting, name calling, stealing money, etc.) and cyberbullying (e.g., threatening, rumor spreading, ridiculing, etc.).

Depression was assessed using the Mood and Feelings Questionnaire (MFQ). This self-report questionnaire examines recent depressive symptoms. Participants are asked to mark how true 33 different statements are in accordance with how they have been feeling over the past two weeks (22). Participants can regard each statement either as 0- not true; 1- sometimes; or 2- true. MFQ scores may range between 0-66; this score positively correlates with the prevalence of depressive symptoms. The optimal cut-off point for depressive disorders has been established as 26 or more (23). This point was used to dichotomously differentiate participants as either depressive or non-depressive.

Suicide ideation. In assessing whether a participant had suicidal ideation, any answer other than "Not True" on items 16-18 of the MFQ was taken as indicating passive suicidal ideation. These items included the statements "I thought that life wasn't worth living", "I thought about death or dying" and "I thought my family would be better off without me". Any answer other than "Not True" on item 19 of the MFQ, which held the statement "I thought about killing myself" was regarded as having active suicidal thoughts.

Analysis

To evaluate whether data collected online was significantly different from data collected via paper-and-pencil questionnaires, a series of χ^2 tests for independence was conducted. The tests compared the prevalence of bullying behavior, victimization, cyberbullying, cyber-victimization, depression, passive suicide ideation and active suicide ideation, between the online and pen-and-paper participants. To better understand the difference between the samples in cyber victimization, an additional series of χ^2 tests for independence was conducted.

FINDINGS

Table 1 presents the differences between the online sample and the paper-and-pencil sample regarding prevalence of different behaviors. Bullying, victimization, cyberbullying,

passive suicide ideation and active suicide ideation were not significantly different. However, cyber-victimization and depression did significantly differ.

Table 1. Prevalence of behavior among participants in both surveys.

Type of behavior	Online Participants	Paper-and-pencil Participants	Sig of χ^2
Bullying	N=110; 18 (16%)	N=114; 23 (20%)	.286
Victimization	N=110; 24 (21%)	N=114; 36 (31%)	.067
Cyberbullying	N=107; 3 (3%)	N=115; 9 (8%)	.086
Cyber-victimization	N=107; 9 (8%)	N=114; 23 (21%)	.01
Depression	N=115; 21(18%)	N=115; 11(10%)	.043
Passive suicide ideation	N=106; 29 (27%)	N=114; 28 (25%)	.375
Active suicide ideation	N=106; 10 (9%)	N=114; 8(7%)	.342

Table 2 presents the comparison between specific cyber-victimization experiences. Participants who answered paper-and-pencil questionnaires reported suffering from rumors being spread about them online and being cyberbullied in virtual chat rooms more than did online participants. More online participants, however, reported being cyberbullied via e-mail. All other comparisons were not significantly different.

Table 2. Prevalence of different types of cyber-victimization among participants in both surveys.

Type of behavior	Online Participants	Paper-and-pencil Participants	Sig of χ^2
Ignored by others	N=107; 15 (14%)	N=115; 19 (17%)	.371
Disrespected by others	N=107; 14 (13%)	N=114; 18 (16%)	.353
Called names by others	N=102; 9 (9%)	N=103; 7 (7%)	.39
Had rumors spread by others	N=107; 10 (9%)	N=115; 21 (18%)	.042
Threatened by others	N=107; 4 (4%)	N=114; 5 (4%)	.54
E-mail bombed by others	N=107; 6 (6%)	N=115; 7 (6%)	.554
Picked on by others	N=107; 5 (5%)	N=115; 9 (8%)	.246
Ridiculed	N=107; 12 (11%)	N=115; 19 (17%)	.172
Scared for safety	N=115; 7 (6%)	N=115; 5 (4%)	.384
Virtual chat room	N=107; 12 (11%)	N=115; 24 (21%)	.038
Instant messaging service	N=107; 6 (6%)	N=115; 7 (6%)	.554
E-mail	N=107; 5 (5%)	N=115; 0 (0%)	.025
Phone text messaging	N=104; 2 (2%)	N=115; 0 (0%)	.224
Discussion group	N=107; 7 (7%)	N=115; 9 (8%)	.458
Chat room	N=107; 2 (2%)	N=115; 8 (7%)	.064

DISCUSSION

The current preliminary results indicate that the shift in the social sciences to web-based research must proceed with caution. Our results on bullying, victimization, cyberbullying and suicide ideation generally support previous studies (14) by indicating that web-based research is suitable for adolescents, but further analysis is required, specifically for depression and cyber victimization.

The finding that in the online sample more participants reported being depressed could be explained by the sample characteristics. One major disadvantage of web-based research is that currently there is no method to produce a random sample of Internet users (5). It is possible that adolescents who answer Internet questionnaires spend more time than average online. Intense Internet use has been found to correlate with major and minor depressive symptoms across age, gender and household income (24).

The finding that the online sample reported less cyber-victimization, however, is not consistent with studies indicating that intense Internet use is associated with an increased likelihood of suffering from cyber-victimization (25). According to the leverage-saliency theory of survey participation (26), participants tend to avoid surveys on negatively predisposed topics; hence, the finding that cyber-victimization prevailed less among online participants may be due to a biased sample in which cyber-victims were reluctant to participate in the current online survey. A study investigating cyber-victims' coping strategies found that after being cyberbullied, 20% reported staying offline for a period of time (8). This too, may affect the prevalence of cyber-victims in online studies. Other than sample characteristics, the medium by which data was collected may also play a part in explaining the differences. As suggested by a number of studies, web-based data collection methods may influence responses on computing related items (27,28). For example, Carini et al (29) found that students' responses to a questionnaire regarding the degree of engagement in their college experience were more favorable on web-based than on paper-and-pencil questionnaires. Notably, the largest effect they found was generated by the computing and information technology scale.

In our analysis of different types of cyber-victimization we found that more participants from the paper-and-pencil group reported that rumors were being spread about them. This may be due to the nature of this specific type of cyberbullying as it does not require an online interaction (in contrary to other types of cyber-victimization). In fact, one does not even have to have an Internet connection in order for rumors to be spread about them.

When asked about the different mediums where cyberbullying took place, the paper-and-pencil survey reported suffering from more cyber-bullying in virtual chat rooms than did online participants. This finding may support the notion that less cyber-victims answering web-based cyberbullying questionnaires. However, we found an opposite result when asked about cyber-victimization via e-mail. It is possible that cyber-victims' coping strategies like avoiding certain web-sites and discussion groups is very different from avoiding e-mail. First, e-mail is personally delivered and in many cases this is done passively and directly to one's smartphone. This is very different than actively logging into different chat rooms or online forums. Second, e-mail is harder to disconnect from as it is a more integral part of school than other online communication services. Third, the effect of the platform itself (e.g., computer, smartphone or paper-and-pencil) mentioned earlier may not have as strong an effect being that e-mail, especially among adolescents, is becoming primarily a phone application while web-based studies are still mainly answered using computers.

This is a preliminary study and has several limitations. Firstly, the sample is small. Second, only the online participants were reimbursed for their participation. This may call online participants' motives into question. Furthermore, the two samples might differ in their socioeconomic status, even though parental occupation was controlled for. Third, while the pen-and-paper and web-based groups were not identically controlled, this fits with the objective of the study, namely, to test for differences between a controlled and an uncontrolled environment.

Given these limitations, this study has important implications. Despite the growing popularity of web-based research on sensitive matters among adolescents, it is still uncertain to what extent it is possible to completely generalize findings regarding depression and cyberbullying from self-selected participants recruited online. We encourage future researchers in the field conducting web-based surveys to acknowledge the restraints of this data collection method. In order to maintain a random sample, surveys completers should not be recruited in a self-selected manner. One option is to continue sampling schools and have as many students of a selected school answer web-based questionnaires from home. This technique may provide many of the advantages of web-based research and strengthen ecological validity.

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Chapter 107

**ADDRESSING BULLYING OF STUDENT
NURSES ON CLINICAL PLACEMENTS:
THE ARRCa RESOLUTION MODEL**

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is a major problem in nursing. Baccalaureate nursing students can be exposed to this type of uncivil behaviour on clinical placement in healthcare facilities. Witnessing or experiencing bullying can cause psychological distress in students, negatively affecting their learning and possibly leading them to leave the nursing profession early. Universities have a duty of care to support students during their studies. Clear guidelines and processes

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are needed to manage incidents where students have been the victims of bullying while on clinical placement. This paper introduces the ARRCA (Acknowledgement, Recording, Referral, Conciliation and Action) Resolution Model. This model has been developed by the authors in response to increasing numbers of cases where students report bullying. The intention of creating the model was to facilitate a structured investigation of bullying claims, provide each party with the opportunity to reflect on what has occurred and direct an appropriate course of action. Universities, like other modern organisations, must assume zero tolerance to bullying, particularly in relation to students who are vulnerable in the clinical environment. The ARRCA Resolution Model can be applied in other contexts in which conflict or harassment occurs.

Keywords: Bullying; Clinical placement; Conflict resolution; Horizontal violence.

INTRODUCTION

Major changes have occurred in the healthcare environment in the past century. The nursing profession has been influenced and changed by new technology, advances in knowledge, changing scope of practice and diversity in skill mix.

Contemporary health care is complex and dynamic; one thing that has not changed is the culture of bullying in nursing. While the issue exists at all levels of practice, those people who are less equipped to deal with such behaviours – nursing students - are being subjected to bullying while on clinical placement. This paper highlights this unacceptable situation and describes the ARRCA (Acknowledgement, Recording, Referral, Conciliation, and Action) Resolution Model for the management of allegations of bullying.

BACKGROUND

The World Health Organization (Scabstein and Leventhal, 2010) considers bullying to be a major public health issue. It is well documented that nursing has, historically, been littered with episodes of bullying (Cleary et al., 2010; Croft and Cash, 2012; Goldberg, 2008; Hunt and Marini, 2012; Hutchinson, 2013; Johnston et al., 2010; Khadjehturian, 2012). The source of bullying (sometimes called workplace violence, aggression or incivility) in nursing can be other nurses, health professionals or patients and their families (Hutchinson et al., 2013; State of Victoria Government Department of Human Services, 2005). Nursing students are in a vulnerable position within the health care organisational structure, which can set them up to be victims of bullying. Bullying leads to high turnover of staff (ANF, 2009) and ultimately contributes to the shortage of nurses in the workforce (Laschinger et al., 2009).

Workplace bullying can be defined as, “verbal, physical, social or psychological abuse by your employer (or manager), another person or group of people at work” (Australian Human Rights Commission., 2013). A recent Australian study found that almost a third (32%) of nurses had experienced bullying in the workplace from colleagues or supervisors (Farrell and Shafiei, 2012). The consequences of this unacceptable workplace behaviour are distress and injury for the victim. In some cases the effects of bullying may lead to short or long term mental health issues such as anxiety, depression and, in severe cases, post-traumatic stress disorder in the victim (Gregor, 2004).

In Australia, declining funding and staff shortages in the healthcare system have led to more stressful workplaces for nurses and other staff which, in turn, may increase the likelihood of bullying taking place. Hutchinson et al. (2008) suggest specific organisational antecedents for this behaviour, including a culture of tolerance, reward and the misuse of authority, processes and procedures. In nursing, many of these risk factors are legacies of the traditional culture of the profession that has become entrenched and reinforced in a hierarchical health care system. The perpetrators of bullying are often in a position of power or authority over their victim in the organisation or workplace. Unfortunately nurses bully other nurses. Some authors (Duffy, 1995) explain the phenomenon using the 'oppressed group' behaviour theory (Friere, 1972), where the non-dominant group has lowered self-esteem and believes the dominant group is superior. Other authors (Hutchinson et al., 2006) argue that the issue of power differentials in the organisational culture and Foucault's (1977) concept of power provide a better understanding of bullying in nursing.

A glut of studies has investigated this bullying phenomenon in nursing. The Royal College of Nursing (2005) have produced a guide for student nurses to deal with bullying, such is the frequency and seriousness of the problem. Less is known, however, about the effect this behaviour has on nursing students. One study (Thomas and Burk, 2009) analysed nursing students' narratives about clinical placements. In their stories, students described being unwanted, ignored, unfairly blamed or publicly humiliated. Other studies found nursing students were excluded or treated in a dismissive manner on placements (Anthony and Yastik, 2011; Hutchinson et al., 2010). In one Australian study of 152 nursing students, 57% reported having seen or experienced horizontal violence while on clinical placement (Curtis et al., 2007). While this number is high, there is much anecdotal evidence to suggest that the true figure is higher and that much of this behaviour during clinical placements goes unreported.

The Nature of the Problem

Workplace incivility and aggression are known to harm the social, emotional and physical wellbeing of the student and, consequently, reduce the quality of the clinical placement (Siggins Miller Consultants, 2012). Nursing academics and managers of clinical placements are well aware of the consequences of bullying. The authors of this paper have first-hand experience of working with students whose exposure to bullying has led them to rethink their nursing career. Universities hand over the duty of care and responsibility for students to healthcare facilities in the process of providing clinical placements. Health care facilities are legally bound to provide students with a safe working environment in the same way that they do so for paid staff. Although the student is seen as a member of the facility in such circumstances, the university still owes the student a duty of care and is thus obligated to minimise the risk of students being exposed to bullying and to effectively manage situations once identified.

Bullying of students that takes place externally to a university is more challenging to manage than that which happens within the university. The student nurse may not know whether to go to staff at the university or within the clinical environment with a complaint. Also, the student will often be unaware of the appropriate channels to go through to get help. They might experience feelings of fear, particularly of retaliation, if they take action by reporting this unacceptable behaviour. In the following section a strategy is outlined for managing reports of bullying of students on clinical placement. The ARCCA Resolution Model

is a framework that represents a responsible and accountable approach to managing the potentially complex and difficult issues surrounding bullying of nursing student in health care facilities.

The ARCCA Resolution Model

The ARCCA Resolution Model has been developed to manage situations where a nursing student has reported bullying. Use of the model promotes clarity and affords each party the opportunity to reflect on what has occurred, while identifying an appropriate course of action with which to move forward. This approach enables organisations to meet their obligations to recognise, acknowledge and investigate issues of bullying, while directing an appropriate course of action that ensures fair treatment for all affected parties.

The strategy consists of the phases outlined in Figure 1.

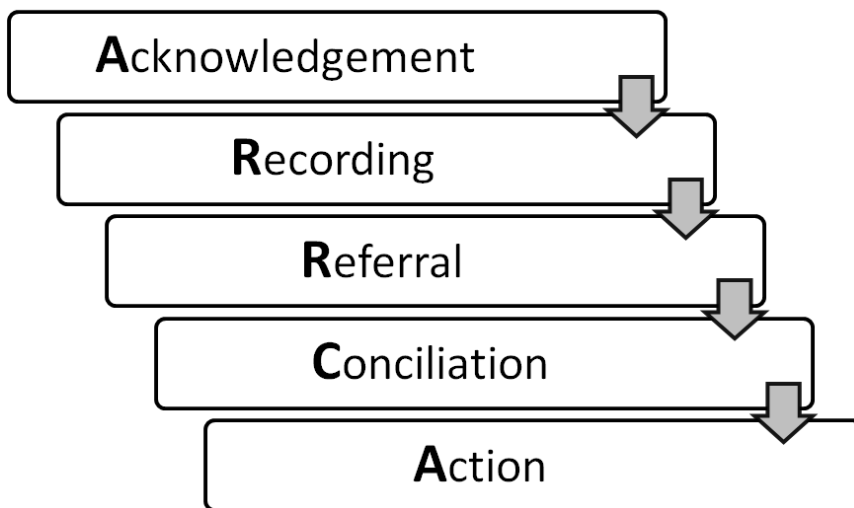


Figure 1. The ARCCA Resolution Model.

The phases of the ARCCA Resolution Model can proceed in a linear fashion but may also occur concurrently. Recording, for example, is undertaken throughout the entire process and discussions towards conciliation will inevitably commence early and continue throughout. As such, this model provides a functional and flexible framework for use by clinical placement managers and academics.

Acknowledgment refers to the need to recognise, either verbally, in writing, or in both forms, that a complaint has been received. Acknowledgement of a complaint does not imply agreement that there has been an incident of harassment or bullying, but provides the complainant with confirmation that the nature of the complaint is understood and will be investigated accordingly. Both the university and health care facility should provide acknowledgement that a complaint has been received.

Acceptance of the complaint requires *recording*, in accordance with the policy of the organisation. This process might involve incident reporting or the recording of the incident on a computerised risk management program. The student should be encouraged to prepare a

statement outlining their recollection of events surrounding the complaint as soon as possible. Where breach of confidentiality is not a concern, documentation should be shared with all parties concerned to promote transparency of the process.

Critically, from an early stage, efforts must be made to ensure prompt and appropriate *referral* of all parties involved in the issue to counselling and support services. Most universities and health care facilities have counselling and support services available for students and staff and efforts should be made to arrange for timely intervention for affected individuals. It may be necessary for access to these services to be negotiated on behalf of the staff and students.

As soon as practicable, a *conciliation* discussion should be arranged to enable all relevant facts to be gathered. Conciliation should involve the student, university representative, facility representative and the facilitator and/or staff member involved in the reported event. Provision should also be made for individuals to bring along support persons should they feel the need to do so. The intent of discussion is to promote transparency and inclusivity in the management of an allegation of harassment or bullying. The process is therefore both investigative and conciliatory, but should never be allowed to become adversarial or accusatory.

The final phase of the model is to identify an appropriate course of *action*. It is possible that the process of conciliation may resolve any issues that resulted from confusion or miscommunication and all that will be required is monitoring of the situation. In other circumstances, as determined by the evidence gathered, it may be necessary to intervene further. In such cases, one of three courses of action may be proposed:

1. Parties are referred for further mediation
2. Student performance issues are identified and addressed
3. A formal complaint is lodged with the facility

Whatever the course of action determined, a decision will need to be made in respect of whether the student should return to the clinical environment in which the situation arose. Whether the student should be placed back in that environment, in another setting or indeed, not at all, is first and foremost determined through establishing what is in the best interest of the patients, the student and the staff. Complete withdrawal of the student from placement may be essential when there are concerns about the ability of the student to practise safely. Similarly, where a particular environment is considered unsafe for the student, alternative placement arrangements may need to be made.

A summary of the responsibilities of each party in the use of the ARCCA Resolution Model is presented in Table 1.

Application of the AARCA Resolution Model

In order to understand the application of the ARCCA Resolution Model in practice, we present a hypothetical case study. Box 1 presents a situation that is a composite of many that the authors have seen over recent years.

Table 1. Summary of responsibilities of each party in the ARCCA Resolution Model

Phase	Student	University	Health care facility
1.Acknowledgment	Receives written or verbal acknowledgement	Provides written or verbal acknowledgement	Provides written or verbal acknowledgement
2.Recording	Documents the events	Documents reported events in accordance with university policy	Documents reported events in accordance with institutional policy and provides these to the university as appropriate
3.Referral	Student is provided with information about, or direct referral to, support services	Provides student and staff with written or verbal referral to support services and/or facilitates access as required	Provides student and staff with written or verbal referral support services and/or facilitates access as required
4.Conciliation	Attends conciliation meeting	Attends conciliation meeting and facilitates the discussion	Attends conciliation discussion and makes relevant staff available
5.Action	Participates in mediation as appropriate Complies with plan to address any identified performance issues Provides evidence as required for formal complaint processes if applicable	Arranges and participates in mediation as appropriate Prepares plan to address any identified student performance issues Facilitates formal complaint process as required Arranges alternative placement for student if necessary	Participates in mediation as appropriate Assists with the implementation of any plan to address any identified student performance issues Responds to formal complaint when received in accordance with institutional policy and prevailing law

Box 1. Case Study**Kellie's story**

Kellie is a third-year nursing student who is attending a regional hospital for an acute care clinical placement. The university has received a telephone call from Kellie reporting bullying by nurses at the hospital. The clinical facilitator has also rung advising that Kellie has been asked to leave the facility. The manager of the unit where Kellie has been placed has raised concerns about her performance and attitude over the preceding three weeks of her placement. The clinical facilitator informs the university's clinical placement manager that the student is alleging that she has been bullied by the unit manager and two other staff members in the facility.

In the hypothetical case study provided, it would be tempting for the recipient of the complaint of bullying to simply assume that Kellie is making the allegation in defence of questions raised about her performance. It is important for the clinical placement manager or academic who received the complaint to suspend judgement and treat the matter impartially. Unfortunately, students can also behave in a less than appropriate manner while on clinical placement (Anthony and Yastik, 2011). When this occurs the student may take a defensive stance and respond to negative feedback from the facility or facilitator by alleging that they have been subjected to harassment or bullying. The clinical placement manager or academic is therefore tasked with determining whether the student has in fact been bullied and unfairly treated or is simply raising a defence after claims of poor performance.

An investigation must be undertaken before making any assumptions or decisions about action. The clinical placement manager or academic who received the complaint should suspend judgement and treat the matter impartially. Kellie needs to be given clear *acknowledgement* of the complaint and an explanation of the process that will be followed. Her options in respect of any other courses of action should also be explained to Kellie. The clinical placement manager or academic should seek to make contact with the facility to advise them that a complaint has been made and to explain the processes that will be followed in investigating and managing the situation.

Recording of all events from the time of the first meeting with Kellie is important to ensure that all facts are documented contemporaneously. As much information as possible should be gathered about the circumstances leading to the complaint being made. Kelly should be encouraged to document events in accordance with her recollection. The facilitator should also be asked to provide a report of Kelly's performance. The manager and identified staff of the unit where Kelly was placed should also be asked to provide details about the concerns raised regarding Kellie's performance. Other evidence such as previous clinical reports relating to this student should also be gathered. Equally, it is important that all such documentation and subsequent correspondence is retained in a secure location. The health care facility may request copies of documentation and where corporate or personnel confidences are not at risk, these requests should be complied with.

Regardless of how the student may present, *referral* to support services should be arranged. Attention should also be paid to others involved in the situation. The manager and staff of the unit who have been accused of bullying are likely to be distressed. The health service has an obligation to ensure their wellbeing but the staff of the university must also be mindful of the impact that the allegation is likely to be having on these individuals. Furthermore the clinical facilitator/preceptor involved should be counselled about this situation as they may be feeling compromised, particularly if they are seconded to the role from the facility.

The *conciliation* discussion should be arranged as soon as possible and the student, their support person, the clinical facilitator, manager and staff of the unit should be given the opportunity to attend. Whether the clinical placement manager or academic manages mediation, or an external facilitator is brought in for this purpose, the forum should commence with the establishment of ground rules for how the session will proceed. Ensuring that all those in attendance are aware of appropriate behaviour from the outset can prevent problems as the conciliation discussions progress. Parties should be encouraged to deal in facts and objective information. Emotions should be acknowledged, but the focus must remain on finding an appropriate solution. From the perspective of the education provider and healthcare facility,

safety and wellbeing of patients, students and staff are paramount. This should remain at the forefront when seeking to identify a satisfactory outcome.

As can be seen from the case study example presented, the process provides each party with an insight into the others' perspectives. Kellie's performance in the clinical environment was not as expected for a third year student in that setting. The staff lacked skills in conveying to her their expectations and how best to address the issues at hand. A formal complaint was not lodged as each person involved developed a greater understanding of the reasons that underpinned the behaviour of others. Rather, the **action** taken in this instance was the development and implementation of a clinical learning contract to address Kellie's learning needs and deficits and she returned to the clinical placement with a greater level of support.

DISCUSSION

All organisations must promote a zero tolerance position on bullying, regardless of the environment (Queensland Nurses' Union, 2012). Universities placing students with external institutions must demonstrate that complaints of bullying will be taken seriously (Queensland Government, 2011) and provide a transparent management process. The objectives of the ARCA Resolution Model are to establish a procedure that enables the student to report such occurrences in a safe and understanding environment; ensure that these events are thoroughly investigated and documented; provide all stakeholders with the opportunity to respond from all perspectives of interaction in the clinical environment and follow an appropriate course of action. The success of this strategy relies on the ability of those that apply it to do so with objectivity and sensitivity. Nevertheless, as with any framework or guideline for practice, there are inherent advantages and disadvantages (Box 2). Awareness of these limitations enables the clinical placement manager or academic to employ the model to promote the best outcome.

Nursing is a demanding profession and the additional stress that results from the threat of bullying in the clinical environment has implications for the retention of nurses in the workforce (Clarke et al., 2012). Students have the right to be placed in a safe environment and to be confident that any issue that does arise will be handled appropriately. Bullying can manifest in many ways and often these can be subtle and disregarded. Conversely, not all behaviours that a student may respond to negatively can justifiably be labelled as bullying (Cleary et al., 2010). When such allegations are raised there is potential for confusion, further conflict and damage to relationships. The focus must therefore be on establishing the facts of the matter and ensuring a swift resolution. The ARCA Resolution Model is designed to facilitate such outcomes.

An issue of student bullying on clinical placement may be raised by the student themselves, the clinical facilitator or others who witness unacceptable behaviour, such as other students. Often these events are not reported at all where students fear reprisals (Cleary et al., 2010). This is particularly the case if they have time yet to serve in that clinical environment. Sadly, underreporting may also result from a tolerance amongst students who believe that it is just something they are expected to deal with in a nursing environment and that making a complaint would be a futile exercise.

Box 2. Advantages and disadvantages of the ARCCA Resolution Model

Advantages
Facilitates information sharing in a controlled environment
Increases individual self-awareness, inclusive of student, facilitator, facility representative and university representative
Allows insight from various sources and perspectives
Provides an avenue for coaching and mentoring for students, facilitators and facility staff resulting in improved performance
Alters the culture of incivility in nursing globally, by acting locally
Nursing students are taught not to accept bullying behaviour in the workplace
Future nurses gain experience of appropriate processes to follow when faced with this type of conflict and behaviour
Provides an avenue for behavioural management for all parties
Enables nurses already in practice an opportunity to self-reflect, modifying the attitude of self and those around them
Reduces attrition of nursing students by creating access to processes to manage bullying behaviour
Reduces the number of clinical educators lost from field work
Disadvantages
Participants have conflicting perspectives
Can be emotionally overwhelming and stressful for all individuals involved
If not managed well, has the potential to be an explosive conflict situation
Can be time-consuming
Organising availability of parties and compliance with attendance can be difficult

It is important to ensure that during the clinical placement briefing students are made aware of behaviours that are unacceptable and are provided with clear information about the reporting process should they have any concerns about their off-campus experience. Specific teaching strategies should also be incorporated into the curriculum to help build student resilience to assist them to deal with issues in the clinical setting and following graduation. The clinical facilitator should also be briefed about the university's policies and processes in respect of bullying and the importance of ensuring that all allegations are reported, regardless of how trivial they may be seem.

Irrespective of when or how a report of bullying comes to light, the situation must be approached sensitively and without prejudice. Each situation of bullying is different and should be considered carefully and individually to understand the specific circumstances. Emotions usually run high in cases where people feel that they have been treated badly and this has the potential to both inflame and cloud the issue. Both the university and the health care facility must be careful not to appear dismissive about any complaint made and recognise the impact that such a complaint has for all of those people involved. The ARCCA Resolution Model outlines a process that is practical and accessible to the student and others directly affected by the allegation.

CONCLUSION

Though the outcomes may vary, the aim of the ARCCA Resolution Model is to manage and ultimately change the culture of bullying behaviour that continues to exist in the healthcare industry. The use of a student-focused approach during clinical placement enables health care facilities and universities to ensure that nursing students on clinical placement are supported and provided with a safe environment. In the case of the bullied nursing student, application of the ARCCA Resolution Model will ensure that all parties take appropriate action. The outcome of this approach will be that students will no longer feel fearful of reporting bullying behaviour that occurs during their clinical placement. Nursing as a profession has the power to change past indoctrinated incivility. By empowering nursing students to report unacceptable workplace behaviours, universities and nursing students have the ability to change the culture of nursing into a positive working environment that facilitates lifelong learning. The AARCA Resolution Model is a generic framework for resolution of allegations of bullying. This model has application in both nursing and the healthcare environment more broadly and, potentially, in other industries where collegial incivility, harassment or conflict is an issue.

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Chapter 108

OCCUPATIONAL STRESS AS AN ANTECEDENT OF WORKPLACE BULLYING IN THE EDUCATION SECTOR

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this chapter is to analyze the relationship between occupational stress and workplace bullying in the educational sector. The data used for this research is obtained from the 5th European Working Conditions Survey, conducted in 2010 by the *European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions*. Given the objective of this work, it is collected a sub-sample of 261 education employees that includes a part of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-08) sub-group 23: teaching professionals. In order to test the research model and hypotheses this study relies on the use of partial least squares (PLS-SEM), a variance-based structural equation modeling method. The study describes a workplace bullying prevalence rate of 4.4% among education employees. This work summarizes an array of outcomes with the aim of proposing, in general, that workplace bullying may be reduced by limiting job demands and increasing job resources.

1. WORKPLACE BULLYING, A HETEROGENEOUS PHENOMENON

The workplace bullying has a detrimental effect on both individuals and organizations, e.g., managerial costs and turnover escalate and productivity declines (Gonzalez-Mulé et al., 2013). Other economic consequences, with a significant negative influence on profits, can sometimes

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be difficult to measure and hard to define clearly: e.g., quality reduction, negative impacts on the organization's reputation, the escalation of mistakes and absenteeism, and the deterioration of relationships with customers due to a lack of attention paid to their objectives and commitments (Gumbus and Lyos, 2011). This statement becomes even more significant for those organizations that are mainly composed by employees who provide particular assistance to citizens in a close and direct way, such as teachers. Teaching presents certain peculiarities nowadays –loss of social status, direct contact with customers who do not always wish to receive the service, rivalry and competition among colleagues, etc.– that generate a suitable breeding ground for the development and propagation of bullying. Bullying has become a true pandemic of harmful effects, which are accentuated by the greater vulnerability of many teachers who are subdued to the tyranny that the labor market dictates in a context of crisis and job instability. More precisely, this chapter is drawn up in accordance with former studies that have shed light on how workplace bullying among teachers has become a generalized phenomenon in the academic context. In this sense, some authors indicate the highest prevalence of workplace bullying in social and health sectors, public administration, and education (Zapf et al., 2003).

Scientific literature has explored bullying via different conceptions (Aquino and Lamertz, 2004): intimidation, harassment, victimization, aggression, emotional abuse, psychological harassment, or mistreatment at workplace. Despite the proliferation of definitions, there seems to be a common consent on the fact that bullying could be defined in terms of the intentionality of the behavior, its frequency (e.g., weekly) or duration (e.g., about six months), the targets' reaction(s) toward the situation, a perceived imbalance and misuse of power between perpetrator and target, inadequate support, and the target's inability to defend him/herself from such predicaments (Einarsen et al., 2011; Einarsen et al., 2003; Einarsen, 1999; Einarsen, 1996), having to face negative and constant social interactions (Einarsen et al., 2011), physical or verbal badgering, insults remarks (Einarsen et al., 2003), and intense pressure (Sandmark, 2009), among others.

With respect to the extent of its manifestation, there is a strong disagreement regarding bullying prevalence: from 4% to 5% in Northern European Countries (Nielsen et al., 2012; Nielsen et al., 2009) versus 15% in Southern European nations (Giorgi et al., 2011). Certain factors, such as cultural characteristics and societal changes, may contribute to explain variations in prevalence rates. Issues related to research methodology ought to be taken into consideration as well (Nielsen et al., 2009): studies on workplace bullying are performed utilizing an array of diverse measurement methods, instruments, and study designs (Agervold, 2007; Zapf et al., 2003), beyond what it seems reasonable to consider some methodological procedures as influences on observed prevalence rates (Nielsen et al., 2010). As will be shown in subsequent paragraphs, statistics paint a bleak picture of teachers' exposure to hostility, mostly because bullying at work, in the context of educational institutions, also includes interactions between co-workers, school administrators, students, parents, and others.

Although definitions have a propensity to converge persistence and duration as the key construct of the phenomenon, it is further substantiated in the present chapter that workplace bullying has a strong psychological component for its materialization. In fact, an essential condition of bullying is that the act itself has to be perceived by the target as a hostile circumstance (Einarsen, 1999; Einarsen and Skogstad, 1996). From this point of view, the pernicious effects of workplace bullying (anxiety, depression, absenteeism, lack of organizational commitment, etc.) will be externalized with a greater magnitude at the moment

the target perceives this objectionable situation, independently of the persistence or duration of the bullying act. Adopting this focus and taking into account that the academic environment has a number of organizational and work features that increase the likelihood of hostile interpersonal behaviors (Twale and De Luca, 2008; Neuman and Baron, 2003), the main objective of this research is to analyze the effect of the work stress-motivation relationship on the workplace bullying from the perspective of the Job Demands-Resources (JD-R) model (Demerouti and Bakker, 2011), in such a way that it is possible to anticipate the teachers' degree of well-being and job performance.

2. WORKPLACE BULLYING AMONG TEACHERS

The studies on harassment began in the decade of the eighties at the Nordic countries, as a result of the innovative investigations on school bullying at that time (Leymann, 1990; Matthiesen, Raknes and Røkkum, 1989). Precisely, Heinz Leymann (1990), a German psychiatrist, is currently considered as the pioneer in this type of works (Rayner et al., 2002). His initial interest in bullying was subsequently extended to the harassment at work (that he labeled "mobbing"), as he identified similar dynamics in adult patients (Lutgen-Sandvik, Tracy and Alberts, 2007).

Despite its origin, linked to the educational environment, and that occupations such as teaching have been suggested to be particularly susceptible to bullying (Randall, 2001), research on the workplace bullying experienced by teachers is not sufficiently developed, something that is confirmed by the significant prevalence rates obtained by different studies. Therefore, Keashly and Neuman (2010) carry out a review of the works on bullying at the University context and conclude that the rates of bullying seem relatively high when compared to those noted in the general population, which range from 2% to 5% in Scandinavian countries, 10% to 20% in the UK, and 10% to 14% in the United States (Keashly and Jagatic, 2010; Rayner and Cooper, 2006). Moreover, there is evidence of the high incidence of bullying within the education sector in many countries: Australia (McCarthy et al., 2003; Vickers, 2001), Finland (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994), the Netherlands (Hubert and van Veldhoven, 2001), the UK (Lewis, 2003; Hoel and Cooper, 2000), the USA (Price, 1995). Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that school teachers in China (McCormack et al., 2006), Ireland (O'Moore et al., 2003), the UK (Edelmann and Woodall, 1997; NASUWT, 1996) and the USA (Blase and Blase, 2003) have been targets of workplace bullying. In some countries, such as Turkey, research shows that 50% of the Turkish primary school teachers had experienced bullying (Cemaloğlu, 2007).

But, what is this higher incidence of bullying in the education sector due to? The causes must be sought in different areas:

At a *contextual level*, the teaching profession has experienced a deterioration of its traditional social status and prestige in western countries, which has resulted in a lower authority that converts teachers in victims much more vulnerable to potential bullying situations. This loss of credit and reputation comes from the establishment of post-materialist values in many of these societies, values that attach greater importance to individualism, independence or freedom, in contrast to more traditional ones like order, obedience, hierarchy, power and respect for authority (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005; Inglehart, 2003; Inglehart, 1997).

This situation of greater fragility has been accentuated by the severe economic crisis suffered by the European economy from several years ago and that has meant important budget cuts in sectors that are so critical to social welfare such as healthcare and education.

At the *Organizational level*, several investigations reveal that certain innate characteristics to the teaching profession and to the work environment in which this one develops, generate an ecosystem favorable to the arise of attitudes and behaviors that can derive in workplace bullying. In this way, in the academic context, ideological confrontation, professional rivalry, personal animosity, power struggles and antipathies between colleagues, etc., are more likely to occur. This conflict is emphasized by the deep network of social relations that are manifested in this type of institutions (some of which may play a pivotal role for the promotion and development of the teaching career), to the extent that some authors consider the quality of personal relationships as an important factor in retention of faculty (Norman et al., 2006). According to Korkmaz and Cemaloğlu (2010), workplace bullying is especially problematic when it occurs in places where social relations are dense, such as in educational institutions. In this sense, Keashly and Neuman (2010) warn that academia may be a particularly vulnerable setting for such persistent aggressions as a result of tenure, which has faculty and some staff in very long-term relationships with one another. To this must be added that the deeply rooted value of academic freedom may cause an adverse effect which hinders the authorities interference within the teachers' interpersonal disputes, even when circumstances so advise it in order to gain in transparency. For instance, at the departmental level, where people have "issues" with each other and are often in competition for scarce resources (money, equipment, space, power, high-caliber students, etc.), hidden agendas can abound (Higgerson and Joyce, 2007). This circumstance allows conflicts to escalate, resulting in a toxic climate and an increased likelihood of aggression and bullying (Keashly and Neuman, 2010). This atmosphere of labor relations deterioration within the education sector is even more intense at the University level, especially in those universities where a market-orientation philosophy is deeply imbued and, therefore, where the value of competitiveness is something not only accepted but also promoted by academic authorities. This competitiveness, encouraged by accreditation processes, which in turn determine the access to increasingly scarce jobs and the promotion on the hierarchical scale, creates a scenario conducive to the sprout of bullying actions. This issue is addressed by Zabrodska and Kveton (2013) who indicate that newly reformed neoliberal universities, with their micro-management of ever-increasing productivity, competitiveness, and individualization, create conditions that incite workplace bullying and other form of employee abuse. The competitiveness of the academic context is accompanied by a strong sense of hierarchy and high degrees of regulation and bureaucracy. As a result, some of the core causes of inappropriate behavior in academia are institutional norms, organizational structures, academic culture and systemic change (Twale and De Luca, (2008). In the same line, Hubert and van Veldhoven (2001) sustain that a possible explanation for the relatively high rate of workplace bullying among schoolteachers lies in the nature of teacher output; specifically, its quality and quantity are difficult to measure, resulting in a high emphasis being placed on interpersonal relationships with both colleagues and superiors in performance appraisals. In a similar way, both Keashly and Neuman (2010), and Tigrel and Kokolan (2009), consider that other potential bullying drivers are the high performance expectations typical of academia that are combined with subjective and vague criteria for performance evaluation. The ambiguity of evaluation processes may cause a feeling of injustice and, thus, a greater perception of harassment, especially because superiors have greater

opportunities to make decisions in an arbitrary manner that negatively influence their subordinates' lives. Even when evaluators operate with good intentions, commenting the performance of colleagues belonging to other fields of knowledge is complicated and contentious, and can generate a sense of injustice, real or imagined. It should not be forgotten that bullying in the educational environment, is possibly more indirect (prevent access to key resources, undermine the authority, damage the professional prestige, etc.) than direct (threats, physical assaults, insults...). Therefore, it is a subtler, less detectable, even questionable harassment. Within the academic culture of reasoned discussion and debate, such behaviors can be justified by the bully as normative, that is, part of the "cut and thrust" of academic discourse (Nelson and Lambert, 2001).

Finally, at the *individual level*, many academic workers aspire to work in a highly vocational profession, in which they have deposited great expectations about the level of autonomy available in their work-related activities, recognition, participation opportunities, power and influence, a strong sense of entitlement, etc. Accessing to the profession makes many of them to face a very different reality: academic hierarchies more rigid than expected, excessive bureaucracy, overexertion in coordination with the rest of the team mates (and even of subjugation to the dictates of the more veterans, that limits the possibilities of contributing with their own criterion), irregular distribution of the work time, that combines periods of overload, which generate conflict with personal life, with others of less activity, etc. When expectations are not matched, it may result in a breach of the psychological contract and the emergence of feelings of frustration, disappointment or injustice that, ultimately, and given the subjectivity component associated with the phenomenon investigated, may result in a greater sense of bullying among teachers.

The fact that workplace bullying is a problem with a higher prevalence among teachers than in other sectors seems to be a fact as unquestionable as worrying. Studying in depth this matter turns out to be critical, since teachers are erected in models, becoming the driving belt of values and conducts for the future generations. It is sure that the quality of service and the type of messages transmitted to students is affected by the teacher's level of well-being. Therefore, it is easy to imagine how complicated it must be to teach and transmit values when one feels harassed at its own workplace. Aware of this fact, this chapter deals with the problem of teachers' workplace bullying from a novel and little investigated approach, the Job Demands-Resources (JD-R) model.

The hypotheses that we will test are the following (see Figure 1):

Hypothesis 1. Certain work demands that teachers have to face will result in work stress.

Hypothesis 2. The resources available to teachers act as predictors of their motivation in the workplace.

Hypothesis 3. Resources can soften the impact of the demands on work-related stress, mitigating its harmful effects

Hypothesis 4. Work resources take on greater importance and have greater impact on motivation when demands are high

Hypothesis 5. Stress generates bullying sensation

Hypothesis 6. The teacher's degree of motivation contributes to reduce workplace bullying.

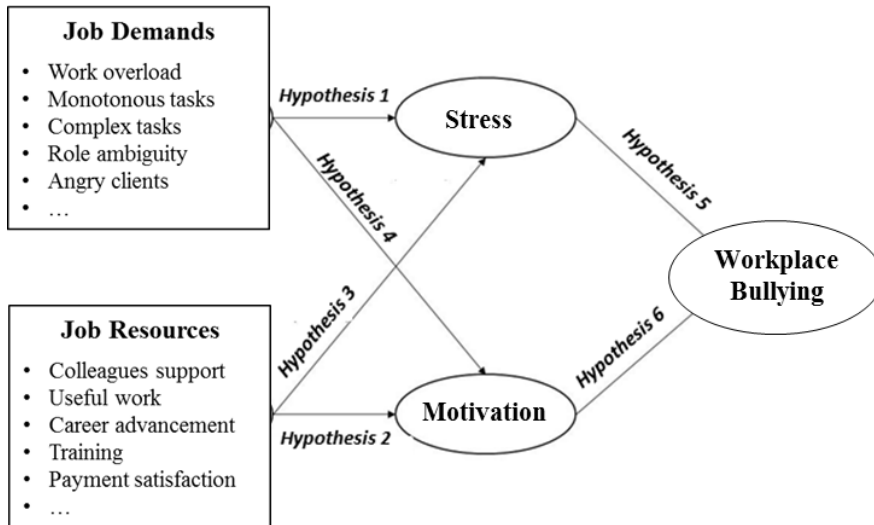


Figure 1. Research model and hypotheses

3. METHOD

3.1. Data Collection and Sample

The data utilized for this research is obtained from the 5th European Working Conditions Survey, conducted in 2010 by the *European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions*. This survey provides insight related to the working environment and employment situation of the 27 EU Member States, as well as Turkey, Croatia, Norway, Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania, and Kosovo. The target population under study comprises those aged 15 years and over (16 and over for the case of Spain, the UK, and Norway), employed and residing in the country being surveyed. The sample is a multi-stage and stratified random sample. The total number of interviews is over 43,000, being gathered in 2010. The study denotes a prevalence workplace-bullying rate of 4.4 % among teachers. Given the objective of this work, it is collected a sub-sample of 261 education employees that includes a part of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-08) sub-group 23: teaching professionals; 48.7% of these teachers report having experienced workplace bullying (N=127), while 51.3% indicate not considering themselves as bullied at work (N=134).

The sample comprised 211 teachers in government schools (80.8%) and 50 teachers in non-government schools (19.2%). It covered 181 females (69.3 per cent) and 80 males (30.7 per cent). There were 95 female teachers (74.8 per cent) and 32 male teachers (25.2 per cent) between workplace bullying participants while there were 86 female teachers (64.2 per cent) and 48 male teachers (35.8 per cent) between non-workplace bullying professionals. The average age of the participants was 41.7 years (standard deviation (SD) = 10.8 years). The average tenure was 12.3 years (SD = 10.3). For workplace bullying teachers, the average age

was 43.5 years ($SD = 10.6$), and the average tenure was 12.5 years ($SD = 10.1$). For non-workplace bullying teachers, the average age was 40.1 years ($SD = 10.9$), and the average tenure was 12.2 years ($SD = 10.6$).

3.2. Measures

The dependent variable of this analysis is bullying at work. Respondents are asked to answer just one question on their individual perception regarding the following matter: *Over the past 12 months, during the course of your work, have you been subjected to bullying/harassment?*

Bullied teachers are codified as 1, while those who claim not to have felt bullied are codified as 0. Two different approaches are mainly used in bullying research when questionnaires are implemented: the self-labeling and the operational approach; the limitations and advantages of these methods are discussed in Nielsen et al. (2011).

Workplace bullying is pondered in this work as a complex phenomenon that arises due to the dynamic interaction of work stress and motivation. Taking into account the Job Demands-Resources model, it is arranged two sets of independent variables grouped into two categories: Job Demands factors and Job Resources factors. The codes and classification of explanatory variables are presented below:

Job Demands: D1. Work overload (0: No; 1: Yes), D2. Working to tight deadlines (0: No; 1: Yes), D3. Work on weekends (0: No; 1: Yes), D4. Monotonous tasks (0: No; 1: Yes), D5. Complex tasks (0: No; 1: Yes), D6. Rotating tasks (0: No; 1: Yes), D7. Learning new things (0: No; 1: Yes), D8. You know what is expected of you at work (role ambiguity) (0: Yes; 1: No), D9. Your job involves tasks that are in conflict with your personal values (role conflict) (0: No; 1: Yes), D10. High emotional demand of the work (0: No; 1: Yes), D11. Handling angry clients (0: No; 1: Yes).

Job Resources: R1. Autonomy over the content of the work (0: No; 1: Yes), R2. Capacity to decide the timetable (0: No; 1: Yes), R3. Colleagues support (0: No; 1: Yes), R4. Supervisor support (0: No; 1: Yes), R5. Feeling of work well done (0: No; 1: Yes), R6. Feeling of doing useful work (0: No; 1: Yes), R7. Supervisor feedback (0: No; 1: Yes), R8. Expectation of career advancement (0: No; 1: Yes), R9. Organizational commitment (0: No; 1: Yes), R10. Training paid by the employer (0: No; 1: Yes), R11. Possibility of choosing the partners (0: No; 1: Yes), R12. Payment satisfaction (0: No; 1: Yes).

3.3. Data Analysis

In order to test the research model and hypotheses this study relies on the use of partial least squares (PLS-SEM), a variance-based structural equation modeling method. PLS is a suitable technique for use in this study due to the following reasons (Roldán and Sánchez-Franco, 2012): (1) the sample ($n = 261$ cases) is small; (2) the study is focused on the prediction of the dependent variables; and (3) the research model is considerably complex with regard to the type of relationships in the hypotheses. In order to perform the measurement and structural model analysis we used the SmartPLS software (Ringle, Wende and Will, 2005).

4. RESULTS

A PLS model is assessed and interpreted in two phases: (1) the evaluation of the reliability and validity of the measurement model (outer model), and (2) the evaluation of the structural model (inner model). This sequence guarantees that the constructs' measures are valid and reliable before attempting to obtain conclusions with regard to the relationships between constructs (Roldán and Sánchez-Franco, 2012).

Table 1. Measurement model

Construct/ indicator	VIF	Weight	Loading	Composite reliability (CR)	Average variance extracted (AVE)
Workplace Bullying (reflective construct)				1	1
WB			1		
Stress (reflective construct)				1	1
S			1		
Motivation (reflective construct)				1	1
M			1		
Job Demands (formative construct)				N.A.	N.A.
<i>D1. Work overload</i>	1.332	0.331			
<i>D2. Working to tight deadlines</i>	1.010	-0.157			
<i>D3. Work on weekends</i>	1.331	0.197			
<i>D4. Monotonous tasks</i>	1.114	0.201			
<i>D5. Complex tasks</i>	1.120	0.034			
<i>D6. Rotating tasks</i>	1.054	-0.031			
<i>D7. Learning new things</i>	1.067	0.047			
<i>D8. Role ambiguity</i>	1.030	0.167			
<i>D9. Role conflict</i>	1.029	0.322			
<i>D10. Emotional demand of the work</i>	1.020	0.235			
<i>D11. Handling angry clients</i>	1.075	0.542			
Job Resources (formative construct)				N.A.	N.A.
<i>R1. Autonomy over the content of the work</i>	1.053	-0.182			
<i>R2. Capacity to decide the timetable</i>	1.002	-0.032			
<i>R3. Colleagues support</i>	2.175	0.107			

Construct/ indicator	VIF	Weight	Loading	Composite reliability (CR)	Average variance extracted (AVE)
R4. Supervisor support	2.828	-0.023			
R5. Feeling of work well done	1.185	0.065			
R6. Feeling of doing useful work	1.165	-0.109			
R7. Supervisor feedback	1.778	0.441			
R8. Expectation of career advancement	1.212	0.146			
R9. Organizational commitment	1.333	0.097			
R10. Training paid for by the employer	1.004	0.044			
R11. Possibility of choosing the partners	1.208	0.288			
R12. Payment satisfaction	1.062	0.595			

N.A.: Not applicable.

4.1. Measurement Model

The assessment of formative measurement models involves the test for potential multicollinearity between items and the analysis of weights (Henseler et al., 2009). We used the IBM-SPSS software to perform a collinearity test. The maximum variance inflation factor (VIF) values for the manifest variables that shape the formative constructs JD and JR are well below the threshold of 3.3 (Diamantopoulos and Siguaw, 2006) (Table 1). On the other hand, weights provide information about how each item contributes to the construct measurement. Hence, they give rise to a ranking of these indicators according to their contribution (Henseler et al., 2009). Table 1 reveals that indicators D11 (*handling angry clients*; 0.542), D1 (*work overload*; 0.331), D9 (*role conflict*; 0.322), D10 (*emotional demand*; 0.235), D4 (*monotonous tasks*; 0.201) and D3 (*work on weekends*; 0.197) represent the most significant dimensions in the composition of the JD construct. R12 (*payment satisfaction*; 0.595), R7 (*supervisor feedback*; 0.441), R11 (*possibility of choosing the partners*; 0.288), R8 (*expectation of career advancement*; 0.146) and R3 (*colleagues support*; 0.107) represent in turn the most significant items while measuring the JR construct.

Evaluating reflective measurement models comprise assessing its reliability and validity. The results show that the measurement model meets all common requirements. First, all the reflective indicators are reliable because all standardized loadings surpass the 0.7 level (Table 1). Consequently, the individual item reliability is adequate (Carmines and Zeller, 1979). Second, all the reflective constructs –Workplace Bullying (WB), Stress (S) and Motivation (M)– meet the construct reliability requirement, since their composite reliabilities (ρ_c) are greater than 0.7 (Nunnally and Bernstein, 1994) (Table 1). In addition, these latent variables achieve convergent validity because their average variance extracted (AVE) measures are greater than 0.5 (Fornell and Larcker, 1981) (Table 1). Finally, all variables reach discriminant

validity. Confirmation of this validity comes from the comparison of the square root of AVE versus reflective latent variables correlations (Table 2). For satisfactory discriminant validity, the diagonal elements should be significantly greater than the off-diagonal elements in the corresponding rows and columns (Roldán and Sánchez-Franco, 2012).

Table 2. Discriminant validity

	WB	S	JD	JR	M
WB	1	0	0	0	0
S	0.2548	1	0	0	0
JD	0.3677	0.3456	N.A.	0	0
JR	-0.2683	-0.197	-0.296	N.A.	0
M	-0.2292	-0.0468	-0.3003	0.4688	1

Diagonal elements (bold) are the square root of variance shared between the constructs and their measures (AVE).

Off-diagonal elements are the correlations among constructs.

For discriminant validity, the diagonal elements should be larger than the off-diagonal elements.

Note: N.A.: not applicable.

4.2. Structural Model

Table 3 shows the explained variance (R^2) in the endogenous variables and the path coefficients for the hypotheses posited in the model under study. Bootstrapping (5,000 resamples) provides t-values that allow the evaluation of the statistical significance of the relationships included in the research model (Roldán and Sánchez-Franco, 2012). Therefore, for the current data sample H1, H2, H5 and H6 have proven to be significant, whereas we have failed to prove significance for H3 and H4 (Figure 2).

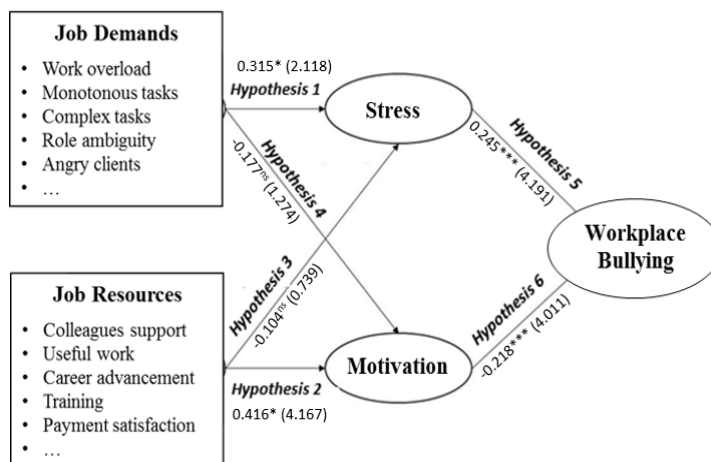


Figure 2. Structural model results.

Table 3. Structural Model Results

Relationships	Significance
	$R^2_{\text{Stress}} = 0.129$
	$R^2_{\text{Motivation}} = 0.248$
	$R^2_{\text{Workplace Bullying}} = 0.112$
H1: JD→S	0.315* (2.118)
H2: JD→M	-0.177 ^{ns} (1.274)
H3: JR→M	0.416*** (4.167)
H4: JR→S	-0.104 ^{ns} (0.739)
H5: S→WB	0.245*** (4.191)
H6: M→WB	-0.218*** (4.011)

t values in parentheses.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; ns: not significant (based on (4999), one-tailed test) $t(0.05, 4999) = 1.645$; $T(0.01, 4999) = 2.327$; $t(0.001, 4999) = 3.092$.

5. DISCUSSION

Bullying is a dangerous toxic gas that, similarly to the firedamp in mines, silently expands throughout the entire organization. The problem is that once it is detected it could be late, and their effects irreversible for the firm's health. Following to Giorgi and Majer (2009), once a workplace has an entrenched pattern of negative interaction, it can be difficult if not impossible to disrupt. For this reason, the advances in terms of the understanding of those previous circumstances that surround workplace bullying become of great importance in order to develop more effective lines of prevention and intervention (Saam, 2010; Einarsen and Hauge, 2006). The rates of bullying in the context of educational institutions seem relatively high when compared to those noted in the general population, which range from 2% to 14%. Our study denotes a prevalence workplace-bullying rate of 4.4% among teachers, a very different result from other studies. Likewise, Lewis (1999) finds that 18% of the lectures feels psychologically bullied at work, while Spratian (1995) concludes that 23% of the teachers at an American University admitted having feel bullied at work during the last ten months. Similarly, Björqvist et al. (1994) observe that 11% of University teachers feel bullied, a percentage that escalates up to 16% among those who combine teaching and researching duties. Jennifer, Cowie and Ananiadou (2003) place the rate of bullying among non-University teachers at 21.1%, while Herranz-Bellido et al. (2006) set it at 22.6% of University teachers. More recently, a study conducted at an American University by Keashly and Neuman (2008) found that as much as 32% of the respondents auto-identified themselves as bullying targets.

According to these results, it is estimated that workplace bullying rate for education employees arises larger than the predicted average when comparing the same parameter for the employees laboring in any other occupational activity or sector. In this sense, Zapf et al. (2003) provide a wide-ranging summary of European studies concluding that for public sector – service, health, education, and assistance– the prevalence of bullying arises higher than for private. A similar conclusion is reached by Hoel and Cooper (2000) in the United Kingdom who illustrate a more significant bullying incidence within public services, such as education or correctional assistances, and a lower prevalence in retail market and industrial sector.

Similarly, Soares' (2002) research shows that 4.4% of respondents out of a sample that included public education and health care employees, have been occasionally bullied by their patients or students in the exercise of their functions.

Academic literature is witnessing a prolific production of studies concerning bullying on specific types of occupations. On this subject, certain studies suggest that nursing staff members have been bullied 44.0% at some point of their working lives (Dellasega, 2009). Other occupations with bullying evidences include restaurant employees (Mathisen et al., 2008), teachers (Smith et al., 2003), university professionals (Mayhew et al., 2004; Bjorkqvist et al., 1994), healthcare workers (Ariza et al., 2013), business professionals (Salin, 2001), transportation workers (Mayhew et al., 2004), police officers (Waddington and Braddock, 1991) and managers (Ariza et al., 2014). Diverse explorations reflect multiple occupations just in the same study: blue collar workers, clerks and service workers, associate professionals, managers and professionals, etc. (Ortega et al., 2009; Niedhammer et al., 2007).

But which are really the causes that drive workplace bullying development within a concrete working cluster? Conceptualizing any organization as a whole entity results essential to conceive the phenomenon of bullying; it seems quite complicated to imagine one labor context as excessively independent or non-influential to trigger workplace bullying. Therefore, although early studies focused mainly on psychological characteristics of bullies and their victims, since the decade of the nineties several scholars have weighed more strongly the influence of some labor and structural characteristics of the organization on the individuals. In this line, the meta-analysis of Bowling and Beehr (2006) has pointed out certain organizational variables, as workplace bullying antecedents, worth to highlight: conflict and role ambiguity (Bowling and Beehr, 2006), work overload, stress, lack of autonomy, and absence of organizational fairness (Topa et al., 2007). Zapf et al.'s research (1996) evidences that monotonous and repetitive tasks happen to be more common among bullying victims.

Building upon the prior literature, this chapter develops a research model that links Job Demands, Job Resources, Work Stress, Motivation and Workplace Bullying. The most known and cited model of Job Demands-Resources (JD-R) in this research field is the one proposed by Demerouti and Bakker (2011), in which they theorize that the demands inherent to each job characteristics and the resources available for the employees are the drivers of two processes initially independent: ones that result in a general deterioration of health and others comprising a motivational incentive for the employee. Our model extends this idea by focusing on the effect of job resources on work stress and job demands on motivation. Additionally, as a core purpose of our study, we aim to assess the impact of both processes on the employees' overall welfare and their bullying perception.

After testing our hypotheses, the results reveal that teaching activity is under several tension focuses, which are rooted accentuated demands that teachers must face nowadays. These demands result in direct impacts on the employees' health, concretely on the stress level developed during their work (Hypothesis H1). Following our results, the main stressors within the academic environment are having to deal daily with angry customers that neither value nor respect the teacher's effort, the work overload, the performance of tasks that come into conflict with personal values, the high emotional demand of work, the accomplishment of monotonous tasks and having to take work to home during weekends. All of this generates feelings of anguish and frustration that, sooner or later, can lead to work-related stress. This conclusion is in line with the studies that adopt Organizational Health models as their core focus. These studies identified the defining characteristics of unhealthy schools: aggressions from the

pressure groups surrounding the school, incompetent school administrators, communication gaps between teachers, conflict, and low academic expectations (Hoy and Feldman, 1987). At the same time, our second hypothesis (H2) posited that the high vocational component of the teaching profession, coupled with the availability of certain resources that are unique and idiosyncratic of the teaching activity, generates among these a motivational process that can counterbalance the demands tied to it. In this way, our analysis indicates that job resources (such as perceiving a good salary, receiving feedback from the supervisor about the performance reached, the possibility of choosing the coworkers, career opportunities and the support from colleagues) have an important influence on motivation. As Nahrgang et al. (2011) indicate, job resources motivate employees towards engagement and mitigate burnout. By creating a supportive environment, organizations are not just achieving a safe workplace but are potentially increasing the motivation and health of their employees.

We could not find support for the impact of JR on work-related stress (Hypothesis 3), neither the effect of JD on the employees' motivation (Hypothesis 4). Therefore our results fail to provide evidence to support the view of Hakanen et al. (2006) who posited that certain resources such as support and recognition from superiors, innovation, and organizational climate may help teachers to face the exigent demands inherent to their jobs, to the extent that may soften the negative relationship between pupils' bad behavior and teachers' involvement.

On the other hand, we found support for the main focus of this research: the teachers' workplace-bullying perception. In this vein, as posited in hypotheses H5 and H6, When teachers are more stressed they are more likely to perceive a feeling of harassment, while among the more motivated ones this feeling gets reduced. From this perspective, bullying among teachers would result from an unstable set of balances between the stress experienced by these as a result of the demands that must be faced and the degree of intrinsic motivation that they raise due to the resources provided by the institution. The result of this dilemma is not random, but depends largely on the management carried out by academic authorities. School administrators are expected to act fairly and to be balanced towards teachers the creation of healthy school environments (Cemaloğlu, 2007). With regard to the purpose of this study, academic managers could incline the balance towards the side of the motivational processes, introducing changes in the design of jobs. For instance, they could reduce the working hours or avoid the most monotonous and complex tasks, by the demands side, either they could improve certain resources such as salary, feedback or interpersonal relationships among peers. The quality of interpersonal relations in educational organizations is such a critical issue that some authors assume that teachers' job satisfaction and their performance depend of it (Cemaloğlu, 2007). Performance evaluation systems could be also introduced in order to provide a clear and systematic feedback that helps to identify areas of improvement, or designing training policies and plans that allow employees acquire new technical skills and knowledge, thus expanding the catalogue of resources at its disposal to achieve a better performance of the functions and tasks in the workplace.

This research suggests that only those work environments in the education sector where resources have more weight than the demands can generate a healthy organizational environment conducive to reduce the negative effects of workplace bullying. For instance, Dollard and Bakker, (2010) found that psychological safety climate (PSC) was related to change in both job demands and resources overtime, and that work conditions respectively mediated the relationship between PSC and psychological health problems and work engagement. This way, it contributes to enhance the employees' welfare, which may in turn

improve service quality, efficacy, efficiency, and hence, organizational performance and productivity within a strategic and crucial sector for a nation's development such as education sector.

CONCLUSION

Workplace hostility stems as a serious and growing problem affecting a significant proportion of teachers. A victim of workplace bullying suffers in ways that may ultimately have serious consequences, such as depression; anxiety, fear or even panic when going to work; stress and, in some grave cases, could even lead to suicidal thoughts or acts (Campos et al., 2012). As a result of the severe negative consequences of workplace bullying on mental health and well-being of employees, and, hence, on the performance of the organization, it has evolved into a vital importance to understand the factors that contribute to its emergence and development (Bond et al., 2010). In this regard, the present study may contribute, with substantial implications, to the procurement of preventive measures against bullying in education.

The research model obtained in the present chapter is focused on the prediction of the dependent variable, in this case the workplace bullying among teachers. These findings sustain the much cited work environment hypothesis, which links bullying to a stressful work environment (e.g., Notelaers et al., 2010). Taking into account the Job Demands-Resources model, workplace bullying is pondered as a complex phenomenon that arises due to the dynamic interaction of work stress and motivation. Its findings enclose valuable implications to those organizations thriving and enhancing organizational performance. This work provides reasonable evidences that may be of significant applications for the responsible of human resource policy implementation; these school administrators might reduce organizational levels of workplace bullying by adjusting certain working conditions to those teachers especially susceptible to be bullied.

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Chapter 109

SPANISH PARENTING STYLES AND ADOLESCENT BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

In this chapter, family socialization and its influence on bullying in the school context is discussed, considering parenting styles as a possible protective factor for aggressive behavior among peers. Then, a study analyzing the influence of parenting on bullying in a sample of Spanish adolescents is discussed. Recent research has confirmed that, in Spain, adolescents raised by indulgent parents have a similar adjustment to that of adolescents raised by authoritative parents. This study confirms the role of indulgent and authoritative parenting, both characterized by acceptance/involvement, as protective factors for bullying. Furthermore, both styles of socialization –indulgent and authoritative– also act as prevention factors for other behaviors related to bullying that denote school maladjustment, such as antisocial behavior, disruptive or undisciplined behavior, academic indifference, perception of violence from teachers, and academic, family and social self-esteem.

Keywords: Parenting, Bullying, School maladjustment, Antisocial behavior, Disruptive behavior, Academic indifference, Perception of violence from teachers

FAMILY SOCIALIZATION STYLES AS PROTECTIVE OR RISK FACTORS FOR BULLYING

In recent decades, school violence has greatly increased its social impact due to its negative consequences for the agents involved in the aggressive situation, especially important physical

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and psychological consequences in both aggressors and victims and negative consequences for the educational system and for society.

Bullying or aggressive behavior among peers is one of the most important school violence problems. An extensive body of research has analyzed different personal, social and contextual factors related to the involvement in these maladjusted behaviors, in order to develop effective prevention and intervention programs aimed at avoiding or reducing the high incidence of this problem. For example, with regard to personal factors, on the one hand, demographic variables like sex and age or academic year have been identified by the empirical research, and several studies coincide in pointing out that adolescent boys are more likely to get involved in these aggressive behaviors (Carlyle and Steinman, 2007; Liang, Flisher, and Lombard, 2007; Wang, Iannotti, and Luk, 2012). On the other hand, different studies have concluded that other personal risk factors are high impulsiveness and, consequently, difficulty with self-control, low frustration tolerance, poor social and coping skills, low self-concept and some emotional disorders such as depression and anxiety (Carlyle and Steinman, 2007; Shetgiri, Lin, Avila, and Flores, 2012; Wang, Nansel, and Iannotti, 2011).

Other risk factors considered in the scientific research are those related to the social context where children are raised. For example, living in conflictive and violent neighborhoods, which could be characterized, among other things, by the presence of violent gangs and drug dealing, increases the likelihood of developing aggressive behaviors (Gracia, Fuentes, García, and Lila, 2012; Jansen et al., 2012; Shetgiri et al., 2012).

School factors, such as the school resources available, school climate and cohesion, problem-solving strategies, teacher competence and the relationships among teachers and between teachers and students, are also considered to be important factors (Debnam, Johnson, and Bradshaw, 2014; Eliot, Cornella, Gregorya, and Fan, 2010; Waasdorp, Pasc, O'Brennand, and Bradshaw, 2011).

Despite the relevance of all these factors, empirical research highlights the need to consider the family context as the first social context in children's development and the main socialization agent that will influence children's adjustment in the different developmental contexts and in society (Berns, 2011; Espino, 2013; Gavazzi, 2011, 2013). Thus, different variables like the socioeconomic status, family structure and cohesion, perceived quality of parent-child relationships, parental drug use or the presence of conflicts at home, both between the parents and between parents and children, have been widely studied in relation to the development of children's aggressive behavior. For example, low socioeconomic status, low family cohesion, living in a broken home, and the presence of parental violent behavior at home have been identified as risk factors (Espelage, Low, Rao, Hong, and Little, 2013; Jansen et al., 2012), while living with both biological parents, family cohesion, perceiving a good relationship between the parents and between parents and children, and parental support and involvement have been identified as protective factors for children's violent behavior (Melander, Hartshorn, and Whitbeck, 2013; Spriggs, Iannotti, Nansel, and Haynie, 2007; García and Gracia, 2009, 2010; Gracia et al., 2012).

Another important family variable in the empirical research is parental socialization and its relationship with the development of adjusted and maladjusted behaviors in children. In this sense, most studies emphasize that the values, beliefs and attitudes toward school and education that parents transmit to their children in the socialization process will significantly influence their school adjustment (Fuentes, Alarcón, Gracia, and García, 2015; Pears, Kim, Capaldi, Kerr, and Fisher, 2013; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, and Darling, 1992a). Traditionally, the

study of parental socialization and its influence on children's adjustment has been based on the classic theoretical model consisting of two orthogonal dimensions (acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition) and four typologies (Darling and Steinberg, 1993; Maccoby and Martin, 1983); each of them represents a particular pattern of parental behavior in their children's socialization: authoritative style (high acceptance/ involvement and high strictness/imposition), indulgent style (high acceptance/involvement and low strictness/imposition), authoritarian style (low acceptance/involvement and high strictness/imposition), and neglectful style (low acceptance/involvement and low strictness/ imposition) (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, and Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, and Dornbusch, 1994; Maccoby and Martin, 1983).

Despite the agreement in the scientific literature about the importance of considering parental socialization as a significant factor that affects children's adequate psychosocial adjustment, there are important inconsistencies regarding the parenting style that would act as a protective or risk factor for the development of maladjusted behaviors like children's aggressive behavior, mainly when considering the cultural and social background where this relationship develops (García and Gracia, 2014; White and Schnurr, 2012).

Thus, in studies carried out fundamentally in Anglo-Saxon cultures, the authoritative style, characterized by high acceptance/involvement and high strictness/imposition, is considered a protective factor, followed by the authoritarian style, characterized by low acceptance/involvement and high strictness/imposition. By contrast, the neglectful style, which is characterized by the lack of both parental affection and parental imposition (low acceptance/involvement and low strictness/imposition), and even the indulgent parenting style, characterized by high acceptance/involvement and low strictness/imposition, have been identified as risk factors (Baumrind, 1991, 2012; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1992a, 1994). Similar results have been obtained for psychosocial adjustment. Children from authoritative families showed better psychological adjustment (e.g., higher self-esteem, higher resilience, and better use of adaptive strategies), higher school achievement (e.g., better academic competence, higher grade point average) and lower probabilities of having behavior problems (e.g., lower drug use and delinquency), while children from neglectful families obtained the worst results, and children from authoritarian and indulgent families showed mixed results (Aunola, Stattin, and Nurmi, 2000; Bahr and Hoffman, 2010; Garg, Levin, Urajnik, and Kauppi, 2005; Im-Bolter, Zadeh, and Ling, 2013; Kritzas and Gliber, 2005; Montgomery, Fisk, and Craig, 2008).

Another set of studies conducted with ethnic minority groups from the US (Afro-American: Baumrind, 1972; Pittman and Chase-Lansdale, 2001; Asian-American: Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown, 1992b; Chinese-American: Chao, 1994, 2001), with Asian and Middle Eastern societies (Dwairy, 2008; Dwairy and Achoui, 2006; Dwairy and Menshar, 2006), and with families with low socioeconomic status (Hoff, Laursen, and Tardif, 2002) identified the authoritarian style as a protective factor and an adequate parenting style for optimal psychosocial adjustment. Children from authoritarian families showed, for example, adequate mental health and the best academic achievement.

Finally, in a broad group of studies carried out in different Southern European and Latin-American countries, even in some cultural backgrounds where previous studies have broadly concluded that another parenting style is more appropriate (Iran: Kazemi, Ardabili, and Solokian, 2010; Sweden and UK: Calafat, García, Juan, Becoña, and Fernández-Hermida, 2014), the indulgent style, characterized fundamentally by parental affection but not by parental

imposition (high acceptance/involvement and low strictness/imposition), has been identified as a protective factor for children's aggressive behavior, followed by the authoritative style (high acceptance/involvement and high strictness/imposition). By contrast, the authoritarian (low acceptance/Involvement and high strictness/ imposition) and neglectful (low acceptance/involvement and low strictness/imposition) styles are considered risk factors. With regard to psychosocial adjustment, children from indulgent families showed better psychological adjustment (e.g., higher self-concept, lower emotional instability, and lower emotional unresponsiveness), higher school achievement (e.g., higher grade point average, and better use of self-regulated learning strategies) and lower probability of having behavior problems (e.g., lower drug use and delinquency), or at least the same results, as children from authoritative families, while children from authoritarian and neglectful families showed the worst psychosocial adjustment (Brazil: Martínez, Camino, Camino, and Cruise, 2014; Martínez and García, 2008; Martínez, García, and Yubero, 2007; Germany: Wolfradt, Hempel, and Miles, 2003; Italy: DiMaggio and Zappulla, 2014; Portugal: Rodrigues, Veiga, Fuentes, and García, 2013; Turkey: Erden and Uredi, 2008; Turkel and Tezer, 2008).

These findings are consistent with results obtained in Spain. The indulgent style is identified as a protective factor for children's aggressive behavior and as the parenting style related to the best results (or at least the same results as the authoritative style) in children's psychosocial adjustment (better psychological adjustment, better school adjustment and lower behavior problems), whereas the authoritarian and neglectful styles are identified as risk factors for the development of aggressive behavior and also as the parenting styles related to the worst psychosocial adjustment (Alonso-Geta, 2012; Cerezo, Casanova, de la Torre, and Carpio, 2011; Fuentes, Alarcón, García, and Gracia, in press; Fuentes, García, Gracia, and Alarcón, 2015; Garaigordobil and Aliri, 2012; Gracia et al., 2012; Martínez, Fuentes, García, and Madrid, 2013).

Considering this cross-cultural variation in the parenting style related to children's best psychosocial adjustment, there is not enough empirical evidence about the relationship between the parenting style and bullying or aggressive behavior among peers at schools in the Spanish cultural context. Therefore, the main objective of this chapter is to analyze which parenting style would act as a protective factor and which as a risk factor for the development of this maladjusted behavior among Spanish children. According to the results obtained in previous research conducted in Spain and related cultural contexts, it was expected that the indulgent style would be identified (alone or along with the authoritative style) as a protective factor, while the authoritarian and neglectful styles would be identified as risk factors.

STUDYING THE INFLUENCE OF PARENTING STYLES ON BULLYING

To analyze the influence of parenting on bullying among adolescents, we used a sample of 1114 Spanish adolescents (49.9% females and 50.1% males) from middle-class backgrounds in a large metropolitan area in Spain with over one million inhabitants. In addition to bullying, other related variables, some of them denoting school maladjustment, were also considered as outcome variables. These variables were: antisocial behavior, disruptive or undisciplined behavior, academic indifference, perception of violence from teachers, academic self-esteem, family self-esteem and social self-esteem.

Parenting styles were assessed using the *ESPA29 Parental Socialization Scale* (Musitu and García, 2001). On this scale, adolescents report the frequency of several parental practices (father's and mother's practices were asked about separately) in different situations with significant impact on the parent-child relationship in Western culture, using a contextual (Darling and Steinberg, 1993) and situational (Smetana, 1995) perspective. The adolescents were asked a total of 212 questions, 106 for each parent. Twenty-nine situations were sampled, 13 teenage compliance situations (e.g., "If somebody comes over to visit and I behave nicely") and 16 teenage noncompliance situations (e.g., "If I break or ruin something at home") to assess parental practices on a 4-point scale (1 = never, 4 = always). In each of the 13 compliance situations, the offspring had to rate the parenting practices of affection ("he/ she shows warmth") and indifference ("he/she seems indifferent"). In each of the 16 noncompliance situations, the offspring had to rate the parenting practices of dialogue ("he/ she talks to me"), detachment ("it's the same to him/her"), verbal scolding ("he/she scolds me"), physical punishment ("he/she spans me"), and revoking privileges ("he/she takes something away from me"). The family score for the acceptance/involvement dimension was obtained by averaging the responses on affection, dialogue, indifference, and detachment practices of both the father and the mother (in the latter two practices, the scores were inverted because they are inversely related to the dimension). The family score for the strictness/imposition dimension was obtained by averaging the responses on practices of verbal scolding, physical punishment and revoking privileges, performed by both the father and the mother. Hence, two dimensions measured family parenting styles (see Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994), so that higher scores represent a greater sense of acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition (highest score on the two scales = 4). The factorial structure of the instrument has been confirmed in different studies (Martínez, García, Camino and Camino, 2011; Martínez, García, Musitu, and Yubero, 2012; Martínez, Musitu, García, and Camino, 2003).

The four parenting styles –authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful– were defined, after controlling for differences in sex and age, by dichotomizing the family scores on the acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition dimensions using the median split (50th percentile). Thus, authoritative families were those who scored above the median on both dimensions, indulgent families scored above the median on acceptance/involvement and below it on strictness/imposition, authoritarian families scored below the median on acceptance/involvement and above it on strictness/imposition, and neglectful families scored below the median on both dimensions (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994).

Bullying was assessed with the *Questionnaire on School Maladjustment Problems, QSMP* (Peralta, Sánchez, de la Fuente, and Trianes, 2007). This questionnaire was also used to evaluate other variables related to bullying and denoting school maladjustment, such as antisocial behavior, disruptive or undisciplined behavior, academic indifference and perception of violence from teachers. The QSMP has two versions, one for students and one for teachers. In this study, the students' version was used. The original version of the QSMP includes 66 items, scored on a scale from 1 (never) to 4 (always).

Finally, the academic, social and family dimensions of self-esteem in adolescents were evaluated with the *Multidimensional Self-Esteem Scale AF5* (García and Musitu, 1999). In this instrument, self-esteem is understood as multidimensional, hierarchically-ordered, and increasingly differentiated with age, based on Shavelson and colleagues' theoretical model (Byrne and Shavelson, 1996; Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton, 1976). This 30-item scale assesses self-esteem in five domains: academic (e.g., "I do my homework well"), social (e.g.,

"I make friends easily"), emotional (e.g., reverse scored, "Many things make me nervous"), family (e.g., "I feel that my parents love me"), and physical (e.g., "I take good care of my physical health"). Each domain is measured with 6 items (99-point scale). Its factorial structure has been confirmed with both exploratory (García and Musitu, 1999, Martínez, 2003) and confirmatory (Fuentes, García, Gracia, and Lila, 2011a, 2011b; García, Gracia, and Zeleznova, 2013; García, Musitu, and Veiga, 2006; García, Musitu, Riquelme, and Riquelme, 2011; Murgui, García, García, and García, 2012) factor analyses, and no method effect appears to be associated with negatively worded items (Tomás and Oliver, 2004).

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The analysis of variance of the relationship between parenting styles and bullying or aggressive behavior among peers shows that adolescents with indulgent and authoritative parents tend to participate less in these behaviors than adolescents from authoritarian and neglectful homes. The same results were found for the other behaviors analyzed reflecting school maladjustment problems (antisocial behavior, disruptive or undisciplined behavior, academic indifference and perception of violence from teachers). No differences were found between adolescents from indulgent and authoritative homes on any of these behaviors (see Figure 1), showing that both styles of socialization –indulgent and authoritative– can act as prevention factors for bullying and the other related behaviors analyzed. With regard to self-esteem, adolescents raised in indulgent and authoritative homes show higher academic, social and family self-esteem than adolescents raised in authoritarian and neglectful homes (see Figure 2). In line with other results analyzing the relationship between parenting and self-esteem in Spanish adolescents, indulgent parenting has similar or better results than authoritative parenting when children's self-esteem is considered (e.g., Fuentes et al., 2015; Martínez and García, 2007).

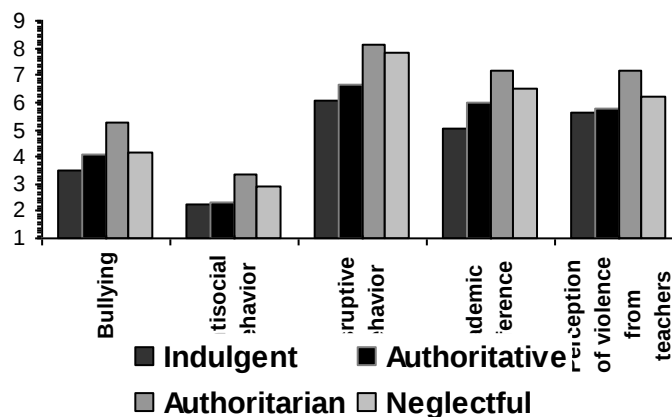


Figure 1. Parenting Style Groups across Bullying and Related Behaviors.

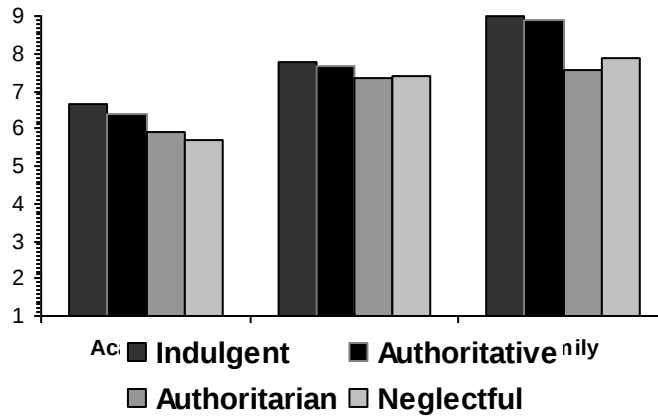


Figure 2. Parenting Style Groups across Academic, Social and Family Self-esteem.

CONCLUSION

The results from previous research studying the different personal, social and contextual prevention and risk factors for the development of school violence, especially bullying or aggressive behaviors among peers, are presented in this chapter. Among these factors, the family context as children's first developmental context and main socialization agent is highlighted.

In this sense, empirical research has repeatedly shown the important influence of the different parental behaviors in the socialization process on the optimal psychosocial adjustment of children (Baumrind, 2012; Becoña et al., 2012; García and Gracia, 2014; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). Different studies have concluded that the values, beliefs and attitudes toward school and education that parents transmit to their children will significantly influence their school adjustment (Fuentes, Alarcón, Gracia et al., 2015; Pears et al., 2013; Steinberg et al., 1992a).

Thus, the main aim of this chapter was to analyze the relationships between parental socialization styles (authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian and neglectful) and aggressive behavior among peers at school, as well as other related variables (antisocial behavior, disruptive behavior, academic indifference, perception of violence from teachers, and the academic, family and social dimensions of self-esteem), in order to examine which parenting style would act as a protective factor and which would act as a risk factor in the Spanish context.

According to the results obtained in previous empirical research on children's psychosocial adjustment, it was expected that the indulgent style, characterized fundamentally by parental affection but not by parental imposition (high acceptance/involvement and low strictness/imposition), would be identified (alone or along with the authoritative style, characterized by high acceptance/involvement and high strictness/imposition) as a protective factor. By contrast, it was expected that the authoritarian style (low acceptance/involvement and high strictness/imposition) and the neglectful style (low acceptance/involvement and low strictness/imposition) would be identified as risk factors.

The results obtained were in line with those expected. Both the indulgent and authoritative styles were identified as protective factors for bullying because children from indulgent and authoritative families showed the least likelihood of getting involved in aggressive behaviors among peers. The authoritarian and neglectful styles were identified as risk factors because children raised in these homes showed the greatest likelihood of behaving aggressively toward their peers at school. Similar results were obtained for the other variables analyzed. On the one hand, children from indulgent and authoritative families obtained the lowest scores on the other school maladjustment criteria and the highest scores in the academic, social and family dimensions of self-esteem. On the other hand, children from authoritarian and neglectful families scored higher on the different school maladjustment criteria and lower on the self-esteem dimensions assessed.

These findings are consistent with previous research conducted in the Spanish cultural context (Alonso-Geta, 2012; Cerezo et al., 2011; Garaigordobil and Aliri, 2012; Fuentes, Alarcón, García et al., in press; Fuentes et al., 2015; García and Gracia, 2009, 2010; Martínez et al., 2013), and in related cultural contexts (DiMaggio and Zapulla, 2014; Martínez et al., 2014; Martínez et al., 2007; Martínez and García, 2008; Rodrigues et al., 2013). These studies have concluded that the indulgent parenting style is associated with the best psychosocial adjustment in adolescents, or that it offers at least the same results in children's adjustment as the authoritative style.

Both parenting styles, indulgent and authoritative, are characterized by high parental affection in the socialization process (high acceptance/involvement). However, only the authoritative style is also characterized by high parental imposition (high strictness/imposition).

Children from indulgent families obtained at least the same scores on all the adjustment and maladjustment criteria assessed as the children whose parents were characterized by the authoritative parenting style.

This result suggests that the high use of parenting practices pertaining to the acceptance/involvement dimension, such as parental warmth and affection, parental support and involvement in children's socialization, and the use of dialogue and reasoning with children, are essential for the optimal psychological and social adjustment of Spanish children.

However, a high use of parenting practices pertaining to the strictness/imposition dimension, such as parental control, supervision or firm discipline, is unnecessary or even harmful, unless these practices are accompanied by parental affection. In fact, the authoritarian style was identified as a risk factor for the development of bullying, and as the parenting style related to the worst results in the other criteria analyzed.

Therefore, it is important to consider the family context in the different prevention and intervention programs aimed at avoiding or reducing school violence problems, especially bullying, work on the educational strategies of parents in the socialization process, and encourage the adequate use of parenting practices related to children's optimal psychological and social adjustment.

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Chapter 110

**PEER-TO-PEER VIOLENCE AND BULLYING:
EXAMINING THE FEDERAL RESPONSE***

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

The President
The President of the Senate
The Speaker of the House

On behalf of the United States Commission on Civil Rights I am pleased to transmit this report, *Peer-to-Peer Violence and Bullying, Examining the Federal Response*, pursuant to Public Law 103-419. The purpose of the report is to examine the role played by the U.S. Departments of Education and Justice in addressing peer-to-peer discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, religion, disability, sex and/or LGBT status.

To that end, the Commission gathered enforcement data from the Departments of Education and Justice and convened a day-long briefing on the subject of peer-to-peer violence and bullying. Twenty presenters participated in the briefing. Among the panelists invited to the briefing were: current and former federal government officials, academics, and representatives from a diverse set of advocacy organizations. In addition, the Commission received numerous written submissions from the public, academics, and advocacy organizations.

Based on the evidence gathered by the Commission, we conclude that despite the harm that peer-to-peer bullying and harassment due to a student's membership in certain classes, such as race, religion, or sexual orientation, current federal laws (and the laws of many states) do not fully protect all students from peer-to-peer bullying and harassment resulting from animus toward their group status.

Specifically, the Commission's findings, by majority vote, are:

* This is an edited, reformatted and augmented version of a report issued September 2011.

- 1) Bullying and harassment, including bullying and harassment based on sex, race, national origin, disability, sexual orientation, or religion, are harmful to American youth.
- 2) Current federal civil rights laws do not provide the U.S. Department of Education with jurisdiction to protect students from peer-to-peer harassment that is solely on the basis of religion.
- 3) The current federal civil rights laws do not protect students from peer-to-peer harassment that is solely on the basis of sexual orientation.

To better record the incidence of harassment based solely on sexual orientation or solely on religion, we recommend that the Departments adopt more detailed tracking methods regarding the complaints they receive. To better assist state and local officials to comply with their responsibilities under federal law, we recommend that the Department of Education strive to use consistent language and provide concrete examples in the guidance documents that it produces.

On August 12, 2011, the Commission approved this report. The vote was as follows: Commissioners Achtenberg, Castro, Thernstrom and Yaki supported the approval of the report; Commissioners Gaziano, Heriot and Kirsanow opposed the approval of the report; Commissioner Kladney abstained from voting on the report due to the fact that August 12th was his first Commission meeting.

For the Commissioners,
Martin R. Castro Chairman

SECTION 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report focuses on the government's efforts to enforce federal civil rights laws with respect to peer-to-peer violence based on race, national origin, sex, disability, religion, and sexual orientation or gender identity.

The Commission examined the nature and incidence of peer-to-peer violence in public K-12 schools and studied the types of peer-to-peer violence faced by students, as well as the effects of such violence. The Commission further reviewed the policies and procedures employed by the United States Departments of Education and Justice in enforcing prohibitions against peer-to-peer violence.

The Commission, by majority vote, concluded that bullying and harassment, including bullying and harassment based on sex, race, national origin, disability, sexual orientation, or religion, are harmful to American youth, and developed findings and recommendations to address the problem, including the following recommendations:

- The U.S. Departments of Education and Justice should track their complaints/inquiries regarding sexual harassment or gender-based harassment by creating a category that explicitly encompasses LGBT youth.

- The U.S. Departments of Education and Justice should track complaints that they receive regarding harassment based solely on sexual orientation that are closed for lack of jurisdiction.
- The U.S. Department of Education should track complaints that it receives regarding harassment based solely on religion that are closed for lack of jurisdiction.
- The U.S. Department of Education should consider issuing a new Dear Colleague Letter regarding the First Amendment implications of anti-bullying policies. The new Letter should provide concrete examples to clarify the guidance that the Department of Education previously provided in its Dear Colleague Letter on the First Amendment dated July 28, 2003.

SECTION 2. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Peer-to-Peer Violence in K-12 Public Schools

On March 11, 2011, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, by majority vote, selected peer-to-peer violence and bullying as the topic for its annual, statutorily mandated enforcement investigation.¹ The Commission elected to explore the federal enforcement of civil rights laws with respect to peer-to-peer violence based on race, national origin, sex, disability, religion, and sexual orientation or gender identity.²

On May 13, 2011, the Commission held a day-long briefing on peer-to-peer violence and bullying. Twenty panelists, including government officials, academics, attorneys, and advocates participated. Key elements of the briefing are included in this report.

This report examines the work of the United States Departments of Education (ED) and Justice (DOJ) in enforcing prohibitions against discrimination and harassment as they relate to bullying and other peer-to-peer violence in public K-12 schools. This Section provides information on the incidence of peer-to-peer violence as well as the unique problems associated with peer-to-peer violence as it relates to various demographic groups. It also provides background information on relevant legal protections, highlighting statutes enforced by ED and DOJ. Sections Three and Four set forth the processes employed by ED and DOJ, respectively, in monitoring and enforcing prohibitions against peer-to-peer violence and provide data regarding ED and DOJ's enforcement activities. Section Five is an overview of ED's October 2010 Dear Colleague Letter addressing the legal obligations of schools related to bullying and harassment. Section Six discusses jurisdictional issues related to ED and DOJ's use of existing laws to combat peer-to-peer violence where the victims are in part targeted based on their sexual orientation or gender identity, or based on their religion. Section Seven explores other concerns related to the current federal response to peer-to-peer violence, including critiques based on the enforcement standards used by ED, the appropriateness of a large-scale federal response versus the need for state and local control, and the First Amendment.

What Is Bullying?

Although the Commission declines to endorse a single and authoritative definition of "bullying," several entities have put forth definitions that are informative as to the nature and variance of the issue. For example, the National Center for Education Statistics and the Bureau of Justice Statistics have described bullying to include "being made fun of; being the subject of rumors; being threatened with harm; being pushed, shoved, tripped, or spit on; being pressured into doing things [one] did not want to do; excluded [sic] from activities on purpose; and having property destroyed on purpose."³ Similarly, the American Psychological Association describes bullying as follows:

Commonly labeled as peer victimization or peer harassment, school bullying is defined as repeated physical, verbal or psychological abuse of victims by perpetrators who intend to cause them harm. The critical features that distinguish bullying from simple conflict between peers are: intentions to cause harm, repeated incidences of harm, and an imbalance of power between perpetrator and victim. Hitting, kicking, shoving, name-calling, spreading of rumors, exclusion and intimidating gestures (e.g., eye rolling) by powerful peers are all examples of behaviors that constitute abuse that is physical, verbal or psychological in nature.⁴

In addition, the National Education Association has defined bullying as:

[I]ntentional and repeated acts of a threatening or demeaning nature that occur through direct verbal (e.g., threatening, name calling), direct physical (e.g., hitting, kicking), and indirect (e.g., spreading rumors, influencing relationships, cyberbullying) means that typically occur in situations in which there is a power or status difference.⁵

What Harassment Is Subject to Federal Jurisdiction?

Bullying triggers federal civil rights laws where it meets the heightened legal standard for "harassment." That is, it targets students based on a protected classification, it creates a hostile environment, and schools have notice of the conduct but fail to address it. As described by ED's Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights Russlynn Ali:

[S]chool districts violate the federal civil rights laws that OCR enforces when harassment based on race, color, national origin, sex, or disability is sufficiently serious to create a hostile environment, and school employees encourage, tolerate, do not adequately address, or ignore the harassment.⁶

Likewise, according to Jocelyn Samuels, Senior Counselor to DOJ's Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, "[DOJ]'s authority goes to harassment which is physical or verbal or other conduct that is sufficiently severe or pervasive to create a hostile environment that interferes with a student's ability to learn."⁷

Because federal case law establishes a high bar for school liability for incidents of student-on-student harassment,⁸ not all forms of bullying are subject to federal jurisdiction, and ED and DOJ do not get involved in typical schoolyard bullying and teasing. As Ms. Samuels explains, "We do not have jurisdiction and would not take action against single incidents of playground

taunting absent something like physical conduct that made a single incident sufficiently severe or pervasive to create a hostile environment."⁹

It is important to keep these distinctions in mind while reviewing this report. Federal civil rights laws—and the federal government's enforcement of those laws—are limited to heightened incidents of harassment that do not include typical schoolyard bullying unless that bullying creates a hostile environment. As such, incidents of bullying reported in surveys and statistical studies in this report do not necessarily meet the threshold for federal jurisdiction.

Peer-to-Peer Violence Generally¹⁰

Acts of bullying, violence, and harassment are widespread in K-12 schools. The School Survey on Crime and Safety (SSCS), sponsored by ED's National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), found that 25 percent of schools reported that bullying took place amongst their students on a daily or weekly basis.¹¹ Likewise, the School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey (SCS-NCVS), sponsored by DOJ's Bureau of Justice Statistics, found that about 32 percent of students aged 12 to 18 reported having been bullied in their schools during the 2007 school year.¹² Twenty-one percent of the bullied students said that they experienced bullying once or twice per month, 10 percent said they were bullied once or twice per week, and 7 percent responded that they were bullied on a nearly daily basis.¹³ Only 36.1 percent of the bullied students responded that they had notified an adult at school about the incident or incidents.¹⁴ Similarly, the Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS), sponsored by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), found that 19.9 percent of high school students reported being bullied on school property during the prior 12 months.¹⁵

Studies conducted by the private sector have found an even higher prevalence of bullying. A recent study of 43,000 students by the Josephson Institute of Ethics found that 47.1 percent of American high school students reported having been bullied, teased, or taunted in the previous year in a way that seriously upset them.¹⁶ The study also found that 49.8 percent of high school students admitted to having bullied, teased, or taunted someone within the past year,¹⁷ and that 33.4 percent of high school students believed that physical violence, such as fighting, bullying, and intimidation, was a big problem at their school.¹⁸

A 2011 study by the National Education Association found that 87 percent of school staff reported witnessing bullying. Specifically, 25 percent of school staff reported witnessing bullying once per month, 21 percent reported witnessing bullying 2 to 3 times per month, 16 percent reported witnessing bullying once per week; 15 percent reported witnessing bullying several times per week; and 9 percent reported witnessing bullying on a daily basis.¹⁹ Of the staff surveyed, 43 percent perceived bullying to be a moderate or major problem.²⁰

Furthermore, in recent years, the advent and widespread use of new technologies such as the Internet²¹ and cellular phones²² has led to new methods of bullying, often called "cyberbullying." Cyberbullying has been defined to include incidents in which classmates post hurtful information about a student on the Internet or make unwanted contact through instant messaging or text messaging that threatens or insults the student.²³ The recent growth of popularity of social networking sites (such as Facebook and MySpace) and video-sharing websites (such as YouTube) has led to increased reports of cyberbullying.²⁴ Though estimates do vary, one study found that about 20 percent of students that are 11 to 18 years of age indicate they have been a victim of cyberbullying at some point in their life.²⁵

Cyberbullying can have several negative effects on victims; many students have reported feeling sad, depressed, angry, and frustrated because of cyberbullying, while many expressed they were afraid or embarrassed to attend school.²⁶ Indeed, there are three factors that can make cyberbullying even more devastating than traditional bullying: (1) because cyberbullies can be anonymous or use false names, victims do not always know who is targeting them or why,²⁷ (2) the viral nature of cyberbullying enables the bully to reach a large audience in a short amount of time or involve a large group of bullies in the behavior,²⁸ and (3) cyberbullying can be substantively more cruel because it typically takes place from a distant location where the bully does not see the immediate impact of his or her actions.²⁹

While all bullying is harmful to America's youth, some experts believe that bullying based on students' identities—such as their sex, race, ethnicity or national origin, disability, sexual orientation or gender identity, or religion—can be particularly damaging.³⁰ Unfortunately, these forms of bullying are all too common in American schools. The SCS-NCVS found that 9.7 percent of students ages 12 to 18 reported being targeted by "hate-related words" in the 2007 school year.³¹ Two percent of all students reported being targeted based on gender, 4.6 percent based on race, 2.9 percent based on ethnicity, 1.0 percent based on disability, 1.0 percent based on sexual orientation, and 1.6 percent based on religion.³²

A 2007-2009 survey of California students, called the California Healthy Kids Survey (CHKS) and funded by the California Department of Education, found higher rates of identity-based bullying. The study found that 27 percent of all students in grades 7, 9, and 11 reported being subjected to identity-related bullying or harassment.³³ Eleven percent reported harassment based on gender (male or female), 18 percent based on race, ethnicity, or national origin, 9 percent based on physical or mental disability, 12 percent based on actual or perceived sexual orientation, and 11 percent based on religion.³⁴ This report addresses each category of bullying in turn.

Sex

Bullying based on sex takes many forms. It includes sexual harassment, which is unwanted conduct of a sexual nature. Some examples can include sexual propositions, pressuring for sexual favors, touching of a sexual nature, sexual gestures, telling sexual or dirty jokes, or spreading sexual rumors.³⁵ Sex-based harassment likewise includes sexual violence such as rape, sexual assault, sexual battery, and sexual coercion.³⁶ And finally, sex-based bullying includes bullying, harassment, and violence that is not sexual in nature, but is instead due to the individual's sex and/or non-conformity to sex stereotypes.³⁷ Examples can include harassment of a girl for participating in a sport that is considered unfeminine;³⁸ bullying a girl for being pregnant;³⁹ or harassing a boy for his effeminate mannerisms.⁴⁰ Sex-based bullying, harassment, and violence can involve boys targeting girls, girls targeting boys, and members of the same sex targeting each other.⁴¹

While statistics on sex-based bullying in K-12 schools are somewhat limited, a 2001 study by the American Association of University Women (AAUW) found that 81 percent of students in grades 8 to 11 reported experiencing sexual harassment, including 83 percent of girls and 79 percent of boys.⁴² Twenty-seven percent of the students surveyed, including 30 percent of girls and 24 percent of boys, said that they were sexually harassed often.⁴³ Seventy-six percent of students reported that they experienced nonphysical harassment often, occasionally, or rarely,⁴⁴

while 58 percent reported experiencing physical harassment often, occasionally, or rarely.⁴⁵ And 44 percent of girls and 20 percent of boys reported that they were afraid of being sexually harassed at school.⁴⁶

In addition, in the School Survey on Crime and Safety (SSOCS), sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics, schools reported 800 incidents of rape and 3800 incidents of sexual battery not involving rape in the 2007-2008 school year.⁴⁷ The AAUW study found that 12 percent of boys and 9 percent of girls in grades 8 to 11 reported that they had been forced to do something sexual other than kissing.⁴⁸

Such sexual harassment causes students' education to suffer. According to the AAUW study, 24 percent of students subjected to sexual harassment reported that the harassment made them less likely to talk in class; 20 percent reported that the harassment made it difficult for them to pay attention in class; 22 percent of the students reported that the harassment made them not want to go to school; and 16 percent reported that, as a result of the harassment, they actually stayed home from school or cut a class.⁴⁹ In addition, 11 percent of students subjected to sexual harassment reported that the harassment caused them to make a lower grade in a class than they thought they otherwise would have.⁵⁰

Sex-based bullying can harm both female and male students in other ways as well. According to the AAUW study, of the students—boys and girls—who reported being subjected to sexual harassment, 47 percent reported feeling very or somewhat upset about the incident.⁵¹ In addition, 32 percent reported that they felt self-conscious, 43 percent reported that they felt embarrassed, 23 percent reported that they felt afraid or scared, 24 percent reported feeling less sure of themselves and less confident, 17 percent reported feeling confused about who they are, and 19 percent reported doubting whether they can have a happy romantic relationship.⁵² These feelings were particularly salient amongst girls. Of the *girls* who reported being subjected to sexual harassment, 44 percent reported that they felt self-conscious, 53 percent reported that they felt embarrassed, 33 percent reported that they felt afraid or scared, 32 percent reported feeling less sure of themselves and less confident, 22 percent reported feeling confused about who they are, and 25 percent reported doubting whether they can have a happy romantic relationship.⁵³ Where the sexual harassment was physical, even more students reported these emotional responses. Of those students—boys and girls—subjected to *physical* harassment, 38 percent reported that they felt self-conscious, 48 percent reported that they felt embarrassed, 28 percent reported that they felt afraid or scared, 28 percent reported feeling less sure of themselves and less confident, 21 percent reported feeling confused about who they are, and 23 percent reported doubting whether they can have a happy romantic relationship.⁵⁴

Race/National Origin

The California Healthy Kids Survey conducted in 2007-2009 found that when youth in California were bullied or harassed on school property, the most common specific reason cited was because of their race or national origin, with about 18 percent of students in grades 7, 9, and 11 reporting at least one bullying incident in the past year for this reason.⁵⁵ The problem is not limited to one specific racial or ethnic group. When results from 9th and 11th grade students are broken down by race and ethnicity, African-American students reported being bullied or harassed due to their race or ethnicity at the highest rate—23 percent.⁵⁶ Twenty-two percent of Asian-American students, 22 percent of Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander students, and 20

percent of Native American students reported being harassed due to their race, ethnicity, or national origin as well.⁵⁷

Examples of racial harassment include ethnic slurs and derogatory ethnic comments, ethnic jokes, and criticisms of behaviors or physical features typically attributed to a certain race or ethnicity. For instance, a form of intra-racial bullying occurs when an African-American student is accused by another African-American student of “acting white,” because the student exhibits certain behaviors,⁵⁸ such as showing enthusiasm for schoolwork, studying too much, or maintaining certain cultural patterns of behavior including dress, speech, and music choice.⁵⁹ A recent study of 166 gifted African-American students in Ohio found that 66 percent reported knowing someone who was ridiculed for doing well in school.⁶⁰

Although statistical research on race- and national-origin-based harassment has been somewhat limited, DOJ activity provides anecdotal evidence of the kinds of race-based harassment that has occurred. For instance, in 2010, DOJ reached a settlement agreement with the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania School District, addressing harassment of Asian-American students at South Philadelphia High School that, in December 2009, led to a day-long attack by roving groups of students against the school’s Asian-American student population; by the end of the day, more than two dozen Asian-American students were attacked, and 13 of them were sent to the emergency room.⁶¹ And in April 2011, DOJ reached a settlement agreement with a school district in Owatonna, Minnesota, resolving an investigation into the race- and national-origin harassment of Somali Americans that led to a fight among 11 white and Somali-American students.⁶²

Disability

Incidents of bullying, harassment, and teasing of students with disabilities are also widespread.⁶³ Because bullies tend to target peers who appear vulnerable, students with disabilities are especially susceptible to physical or verbal attacks.⁶⁴ Indeed, research has shown that children with disabilities are bullied more often than children without disabilities. Though research regarding the connection between bullying and disability is fairly limited (a review of United States research in 2009 stated that only 10 studies had been conducted in the United States on the subject), such research seems to indicate that students with disabilities are two to three times more likely than students without disabilities to be victims of bullying.⁶⁵

In a 2009 study of parents of children with Asperger Syndrome, 94 percent reported that their children had been bullied.⁶⁶ Additionally, 65 percent reported that their children had been victimized by peers within the past year, while 50 percent reported that their children were scared by their peers.⁶⁷

Peer-to-peer bullying of students with disabilities tends to be persistent.⁶⁸ In one study, parents of children on the autism spectrum reported that nearly 39.6 percent of their children had been bullied for more than a year, with another 20.4 percent reporting that bullying took place over several months.⁶⁹

Disability harassment and bullying are of special concern because students with disabilities could have a difficult time responding to bullying behavior if they have difficulty understanding social cues and norms.⁷⁰ Further, because some students with disabilities have difficulty communicating, their victimization by bullies sometimes goes unreported.⁷¹

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT)⁷²

At least one study has found that, after physical appearance, many students report that actual or perceived sexual orientation is the most common reason for bullying, name-calling, or harassment in schools.⁷³ Many believe that anti-LGBT bullying results from general animus toward LGBT students and a stigmatization of homosexuality.⁷⁴

Surveys report that anti-LGBT bullying is rampant in American schools. According to a 2009 survey by the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN 2009 Survey), 84.6 percent of LGBT youth were verbally harassed, 40.1 percent were physically harassed, 18.8 percent were physically assaulted at school in the previous year because of their sexual orientation,⁷⁵ and 52.9 percent of LGBT students suffered from cyberbullying.⁷⁶ The same survey found that 61.1 percent of LGBT students reported that they felt unsafe at school because of their sexual orientation;⁷⁷ similarly, a 2005 survey by GLSEN and Harris Interactive found that LGBT students were three times as likely as non-LGBT students to feel unsafe at school.⁷⁸

Surveys of students in California have found similarly high results. In a 2003 student survey by the California Safe Schools Coalition and the Gay-Straight Alliance Network, called the Preventing School Harassment (PSH) survey, 65 percent of LGBT students reported being harassed or bullied based on their actual or perceived sexual orientation.⁷⁹ The same report found that 91 percent of students surveyed reported having heard others make negative remarks based on sexual orientation.⁸⁰ The 2007-2009 California Healthy Kids Survey found that 12 percent of all 7th, 9th and 11th grade students in California's total student population reported being harassed or bullied because they were gay or lesbian, or because someone thought they were gay or lesbian.⁸¹ In the PSH study, 46 percent of students, asked whether their schools were safe for LGBT students, reported that this statement was "not at all true" or "a little true."⁸²

Similarly, Professor Mark Friedman, of the University of Pittsburgh Graduate School of Public Health, found that "sexual minority youth were 170 [percent] more likely [than heterosexual students] to be assaulted at school," and that 40 percent of lesbians, 44 percent of bisexual females, 43 percent of gay males and 50 percent of bisexual males had been assaulted at school.⁸³ This finding was based on a meta-analysis, comparing aggregate data from a number of independent studies.⁸⁴

Several studies have shown that LGBT students' academics suffer as a result of bullying based on sexual orientation. The GLSEN 2009 Survey found that LGBT students subjected to high levels of anti-LGBT bullying were about three times as likely to have been absent from school in the previous month.⁸⁵ It also found that LGBT students achieved lower grades when they were subjected to more frequent victimization,⁸⁶ and that a correlation exists between victimization and LGBT students' plans not to pursue post-secondary education.⁸⁷ A report by the California Safe Schools Coalition and the 4-H Center for Youth Development at the University of California, Davis likewise found that students in California who were harassed based on actual or perceived sexual orientation were more than three times as likely to have skipped at least one day of school in the previous month because they felt unsafe, and that 24 percent of students who were harassed based on actual or perceived sexual orientation reported usual grades of Cs or lower (compared to 17 percent of students who were not harassed).⁸⁸ Similarly, Professor Friedman's meta-analysis concluded that "sexual minority youth were ... 240 [percent] more likely [than heterosexual youth] to miss school due to fear that they would be unsafe at school or on [their] way to or from school," and that 16 percent of lesbian females,

23 percent of bisexual females, 14 percent of gay males, and 23 percent of bisexual males missed school for this reason.⁸⁹

Bullying based on sexual orientation can be extremely traumatic for students—perhaps even more so than bullying that is not based on a student's identity (*i.e.*, their sex, race, ethnicity, national origin, disability, sexual orientation, or religion).⁹⁰ Research shows that this is the case even though LGBT students do not have inherent vulnerabilities that would lead to such psychological stress.⁹¹ Numerous studies have found a mental-health impact resulting from anti-LGBT harassment.⁹² According to the California Safe Schools Coalition report, students in California that were harassed based on actual or perceived sexual orientation were more likely to report smoking, drinking alcohol, and drug use,⁹³ and were nearly four times more likely than non-harassed students to have carried a weapon to school in the previous year.⁹⁴ In addition, the GLSEN 2009 Survey found that LGBT students subjected to bullying were more likely to suffer from depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem.⁹⁵ Tragically, numerous studies have also found that LGBT students are more likely to consider⁹⁶ or attempt⁹⁷ suicide⁹⁸—a statistic that is borne out by anecdotal evidence as well.⁹⁹ The psychological effects of anti-LGBT bullying have been found to last long after adolescence.¹⁰⁰

Religion

Bullying based on students' religion is also a problem in America's schools. Recent media reports give demonstrative, albeit largely anecdotal, evidence of the issue.

Bullying of Muslim students has reportedly increased since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.¹⁰¹ In one incident during the 2009-2010 school year, a middle school student in Staten Island, NY was taunted, teased, and ultimately attacked by his classmates because he was Muslim.¹⁰² The student told the *New York Post*, "They punched me. They spit in my face. They tripped me on the floor. They kicked me with their feet and punched me And as they were kicking and laughing, they kept saying, 'You f---ing terrorist, f---ing Muslim, you f-- -ing terrorist.'"¹⁰³ Sikh children have also reported an increase of bullying incidents since September 11. Although the Sikh religion is distinct from Islam, students purportedly target Sikh students out of confusion stemming from Sikhs' visible religious articles such as turbans and uncut hair.¹⁰⁴ A 2010 survey by the Sikh Coalition, conducted in the San Francisco Bay Area in California, found that 47 percent of local Sikh youth were subjected to bullying.¹⁰⁵ Of the boys who wear turbans (or patkas), 74 percent reported being subjected to bullying.¹⁰⁶ The survey found bullying to be most prevalent in Alameda County, where 86 percent of Sikh boys reported being targeted.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, a 2007 Sikh Coalition survey of Sikh youth in New York City found that 58.4 percent of local Sikh students had been subjected to bullying.¹⁰⁸ The survey found that 62.2 percent of boys who wear turbans (or patkas) reported that they were bullied and 42 percent reported being physically hit or involuntarily touched.¹⁰⁹ In the borough of Queens, as high as 77.5 percent of boys reported being bullied.¹¹⁰

Religion-based bullying is not limited to Muslims and Sikhs. Media reports in recent years describe students in numerous schools engaging in a so-called "Kick a Jew Day," where groups of students target and kick their Jewish classmates.¹¹¹ And the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights has received complaints of students being harassed for their Christian faith.¹¹²

Legal Protections

This report addresses federal efforts to enforce prohibitions on peer-to-peer violence rooted in discrimination that takes place in public K-12 schools. Several civil rights statutes protect students from such harassment, including Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act.¹¹³

These statutes apply to private suits for damages, ED's administrative enforcement, and both private and DOJ suits for injunctive relief. As a background to ED and DOJ's enforcement efforts, this section discusses the legal standards developed by courts in the context of private suits for damages. Both ED and DOJ use somewhat different legal standards in their administrative enforcement and suits for injunctive relief, respectively.¹¹⁴

Title IX

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Title IX) prohibits public and private schools that receive federal financial assistance from discriminating on the basis of sex.¹¹⁵

Schools in violation of Title IX can be subject to termination of their federal funding or other administrative remedies,¹¹⁶ or to civil suit for damages or injunctive relief.¹¹⁷

Courts treat sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination prohibited by Title IX, though the statute does not reference it directly. In *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools*, the Supreme Court held that teacher-on-student sexual harassment qualifies as sex-discrimination under Title IX.¹¹⁸ The Court expanded that holding in *Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education* to include student-on-student sexual harassment as well.¹¹⁹ In addition to sexual harassment, courts have also defined sex discrimination to include sexual violence¹²⁰ and sex-stereotyping.¹²¹

In private suits for damages, courts have set a high bar for school liability for peer-to-peer harassment under Title IX.¹²² First, the harassment at issue must be "so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive that it can be said to deprive the victims of access to the educational opportunities or benefits provided by the school."¹²³ Second, school officials "with the authority to take corrective action to end the discrimination"¹²⁴ must have actual knowledge of the conduct.¹²⁵ And finally, those officials must have been "deliberately indifferent" to the sexual harassment.¹²⁶

Title VI

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VI) prohibits public and private schools that receive federal financial assistance from discriminating on the basis of race, color, or national origin.¹²⁷ As with Title IX, schools in violation of Title VI can be subject to termination of their federal funding or other administrative remedies,¹²⁸ or to civil suit for damages or injunctive relief.¹²⁹ Because the language of Titles VI and IX is nearly identical, courts have generally applied the same standards to peer-to-peer harassment under Title VI that the Supreme Court developed regarding peer-to-peer harassment under Title IX.¹³⁰ As with Title IX, in private suits for damages the race-, color- or national-origin-based harassment must be "so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive" that it deprives students of educational opportunities or benefits;¹³¹ school officials must have actual knowledge of the conduct;¹³² and the officials must be "deliberately indifferent" to the harassment.¹³³

Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act

Courts have also found that both Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (Section 504) and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (Title II) protect students from peer-to-peer harassment based on disability. Section 504 prohibits public and private schools that receive federal financial assistance from discriminating against students due to disability.¹³⁴ Likewise, Title II¹³⁵ prohibits public entities, including state or local governments, from discriminating against individuals due to disability.¹³⁶ Both statutes state that violators are subject to the same remedies as under Title VI,¹³⁷ which include loss of federal funding, or civil suit for damages or injunctive relief.¹³⁸ Because they are so similar, courts generally analyze Section 504 and Title II together when addressing claims related to peer-to-peer violence.¹³⁹

Furthermore, because the texts of Section 504 and Title II mirror the language used in Titles IX and VI, several courts have analyzed peer-to-peer harassment of students with disabilities under the framework set forth by the Supreme Court in *Davis*.¹⁴⁰ In order to make a claim in private suits for damages, students must allege that, due to their disability, they have suffered from harassment "so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive"¹⁴¹ that it deprives them of educational opportunities or benefits; that school officials had actual knowledge of the conduct;¹⁴² and that the officials were "deliberately indifferent" to the harassment.¹⁴³

SECTION 3. FEDERAL ENFORCEMENT EFFORTS: THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) plays the dominant role in evaluating complaints alleging discrimination based on race/national origin, sex, and disability in schools. From 2005 to March 21, 2011,¹⁴⁴ OCR received 4,433 complaints alleging harassment based on race/national origin, sex, and disability.¹⁴⁵

In addition to complaints processing, OCR is involved in a number of other activities related to combating bullying and other forms of peer-to-peer violence. In these efforts, ED has joined the Departments of Health and Human Services, Justice, Defense, Agriculture, and Interior, as well as the National Council on Disability and the Federal Trade Commission, as members of the Federal Partners in Bullying Prevention Steering Committee. In addition to holding a summit in August 2010, the Steering Committee participated in a White House-sponsored Conference on Bullying, and launched StopBullying.gov, a website that provides information on preventing bullying.¹⁴⁶ ED also works with the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, and the Office of National Drug Control Policy, as part of the National Forum on Youth Violence Prevention, which supports the creation of youth-violence prevention initiatives in six communities in the United States.¹⁴⁷

The Department of Education's Civil Rights Complaint Processing System

OCR enforces Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Age Discrimination

Act of 1975, Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, and the Boy Scouts of America Equal Access Act.

Titles VI and IX, Section 504, and the Age Discrimination Act grant OCR jurisdiction over institutions that receive federal financial assistance from ED, as well as other institutions for which other federal agencies have delegated authority to OCR.¹⁴⁸ Title II grants OCR jurisdiction over public elementary and secondary education systems and institutions, public institutions of higher education and vocational education (other than schools of medicine, dentistry, nursing, and other health-related schools), and public libraries, even if these institutions do not receive federal financial assistance.¹⁴⁹ The Boy Scouts Act grants OCR jurisdiction over public elementary schools, public secondary schools, local educational agencies, and state educational agencies that receive funds through ED.¹⁵⁰

Evaluation of Complaints

OCR generally uses three factors to evaluate whether a complaint will be investigated. In order for a complaint to be investigated it must:

- Allege a violation of one or more of the laws that OCR enforces;¹⁵¹
- Be timely filed within 180 calendar days of the alleged discrimination, or be granted a request for waiver of the timeliness requirement;¹⁵² and
- Contain sufficient details for OCR to infer that a violation may have occurred.¹⁵³

In addition to these general requirements, OCR may dismiss a complaint after evaluation if its allegations have been resolved;¹⁵⁴ if the complainant's allegations have already been investigated by another federal, state, or local civil rights agency or through a school's internal grievance procedures, including due process proceedings;¹⁵⁵ if its allegations against the school are already being addressed in state or federal court;¹⁵⁶ if the allegations are preempted by federal courts, the U.S. Secretary of Education, ED's Civil Rights Reviewing Authority, or OCR policy determinations;¹⁵⁷ or if OCR is unable to complete the investigation due to difficulty contacting the complainant or lack of cooperation from the complainant or injured party.¹⁵⁸ OCR may also close a complaint if the same allegations have been filed against the same school by someone other than the complainant.¹⁵⁹

Investigation of Complaints

Once OCR opens a complaint for investigation, it issues letters of notification to the complainant and to the complainant's school.¹⁶⁰ During the investigation, OCR serves as a neutral fact finder, evaluating whether there is sufficient evidence that the school has acted in noncompliance with its legal obligations.¹⁶¹ An OCR investigation may include interviewing witnesses, conducting site visits, and reviewing documentary evidence.¹⁶²

Early Complaint Resolution

OCR also has an Early Complaint Resolution (ECR) process designed to facilitate voluntary resolution of disputes as soon as an investigation is opened. Though the agency encourages parties to utilize ECR early in the investigation, ECR may take place at any time during the investigative process.¹⁶³ Both parties must agree to participate and the details of the ECR, including any records related to the process, are confidential.¹⁶⁴ If the ECR is successful, the parties sign a statement indicating that the allegation has been resolved.¹⁶⁵ OCR will then

notify the parties in writing of the resolution.¹⁶⁶ In the event that the ECR is unsuccessful, OCR will proceed with its investigation.¹⁶⁷ Although OCR does not monitor agreements reached between parties in ECR, the complainant may file another complaint with OCR if the school does not comply with the terms of the agreement.¹⁶⁸

Resolution of Complaints

If, after conducting its investigation, OCR determines that there is *insufficient* evidence to determine that the school violated its legal obligations, OCR will issue a Letter of Finding(s) to the parties, which includes:

- A description of the issues raised by the complaint;
- A description of OCR's jurisdiction over the complaint; and
- A discussion of the relevant legal standard and factual analysis.¹⁶⁹

If OCR determines that a preponderance of evidence supports a determination that the school failed to comply with its legal obligations, OCR will attempt to negotiate a Voluntary Resolution Agreement with the school.¹⁷⁰ A Voluntary Resolution Agreement is a written agreement with the school that describes the remedial actions that the school agrees to take to resolve its noncompliance.¹⁷¹ OCR subsequently monitors the school's compliance with the agreement.¹⁷²

If the school does not immediately agree to negotiate a Voluntary Resolution Agreement, OCR gives the school 30 days to state its intent to resolve its noncompliance voluntarily.¹⁷³ If the school fails to so notify OCR, then OCR will issue a Letter of Finding(s) to the parties explaining OCR's legal and factual basis for any finding of noncompliance.¹⁷⁴ Likewise, if negotiations reach an impasse, OCR will issue its Letter of Finding(s) within 10 days of the impasse, unless the parties reach a resolution agreement during that time.¹⁷⁵

Initiating Enforcement Actions

If the school persists in its refusal to voluntarily resolve its noncompliance, OCR issues a Letter of Impending Enforcement Action.¹⁷⁶ If the school still refuses to negotiate an agreement, OCR may suspend, terminate, or refuse to grant federal financial assistance to the school through administrative proceedings, or it may refer the case to DOJ for court proceedings.¹⁷⁷

OCR Complaint Processing System: Statistical Data by Calendar Year

OCR receives thousands of complaints each year.

Total number of complaints received by OCR, by year:¹⁷⁸

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
5,671	5,771	5,963	6,242	6,637	7,043	1,647

OCR's complaint tracking system does not perfectly align with the inquiry of this report. OCR tracks complaints related to "harassment," which it defines to include both peer-to-peer

harassment as well as harassment of students by staff and third parties.¹⁷⁹ As a result, no mechanism currently exists for isolating data related solely to OCR's work on peer-to-peer incidents.¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, with this caveat, OCR's data provides an indication of the volume of harassment-related complaints that OCR receives compared to its entire complaint workload, as well as a comparison of the quantity of complaints filed by protected class.

Total number of harassment complaints received by OCR, by year:¹⁸¹

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
523	527	610	790	774	1,016	193

Race/National Origin

Of those complaints received generally, the following represent complaints related to race or national origin by year:¹⁸²

Calendar Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total Number of Complaints Received	2,229	2,251	2,278	1,772	1,919	2,013	346
Black, Not Hispanic	1,006	994	1,076	1,089	1,089	1,197	202
Hispanic	253	255	231	202	233	262	51
Asian or Pacific Islander	79	82	87	74	90	89	8
American Indian or Alaskan Native	45	40	44	56	33	42	7
All of the Above/Class Action	45	54	40	52	130	36	8
Other/Unknown	945	993	940	216	269	332	67
Minority White	67	63	72	53	37	41	5
Non-Minority White	114	117	142	83	77	70	11

Of those complaints based on harassment, the following represent complaints related to race or national origin by year:¹⁸³

Calendar Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total Number of Complaints Received	232	231	255	339	361	438	86
Black, Not Hispanic	156	155	173	214	221	273	54
Hispanic	33	31	31	37	43	49	10
Asian or Pacific Islander	16	13	9	21	16	23	2
American Indian or Alaskan Native	10	9	7	15	10	15	3
All of the Above/Class Action	2	2	1	3	1	2	3
Other/Unknown	0	0	1	26	47	57	12
Minority White	10	10	16	11	9	7	1
Non-Minority White	11	13	19	17	14	14	2

Sex

Of those complaints received generally, the following represent complaints related to sex, by year:¹⁸⁴

Calendar Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Number of Complaints Received	651	659	732	762	824	936	282

Of those complaints based on harassment, the following represent complaints related to sex by year:¹⁸⁵

Calendar Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Number of Complaints Received	150	153	184	231	220	304	54

Disability

Of those complaints received generally, the following represent complaints related to disability:¹⁸⁶

Calendar Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Number of Complaints Received	3,447	3,543	3,659	3,847	3,913	4,164	731

Of those complaints based on harassment, the following represent complaints related to disability by year:¹⁸⁷

Calendar Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Number of Complaints Received	196	193	233	318	284	399	79

Sexual Orientation/Gender Identity & Religion

ED has not historically tracked complaints alleging discrimination based solely on sexual orientation or gender identity, or based on religion.

Because ED does not have jurisdiction to address complaints of discrimination based solely on sexual orientation or gender identity, it has never tracked complaints alleging discrimination or harassment on that basis.¹⁸⁸ When ED has received complaints based solely on sexual orientation or gender identity, those complaints have been closed for lack of jurisdiction without ever being coded as “harassment.”¹⁸⁹ As a result, there is no mechanism for determining how many such complaints OCR has received.¹⁹⁰ Where ED has processed complaints based on sexual harassment or gender-based harassment of LGBT students, those complaints have been tracked as sex-based harassment cases, without distinguishing whether the student identifies as LGBT.

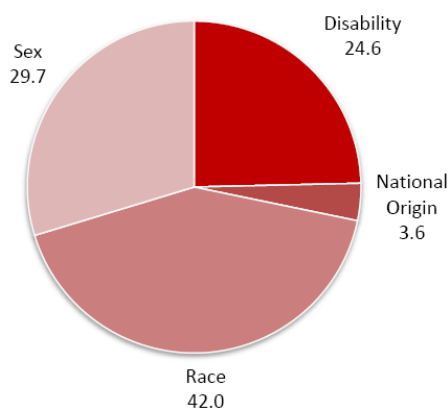
Likewise, because ED does not have jurisdiction to address complaints of discrimination based solely on religion, it has never tracked complaints alleging discrimination or harassment on that basis either.¹⁹¹ When ED receives such complaints, it closes those complaints for lack of jurisdiction without ever coding them for “harassment.”¹⁹² As with harassment based on sexual orientation, there is no means for tracking how many complaints ED has received based solely on religion.

Beginning on October 1, 2010, ED began coding complaints based on “shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics.”¹⁹³ ED has coded 12 complaints alleging discrimination generally based

on shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics.¹⁹⁴ Of those, 5 complaints were coded as racial harassment.¹⁹⁵ Prior to October 1, 2010, when ED processed complaints based on shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics of students that belonged to a religious group, those complaints were tracked as race-based harassment cases, without any reference to religion.¹⁹⁶

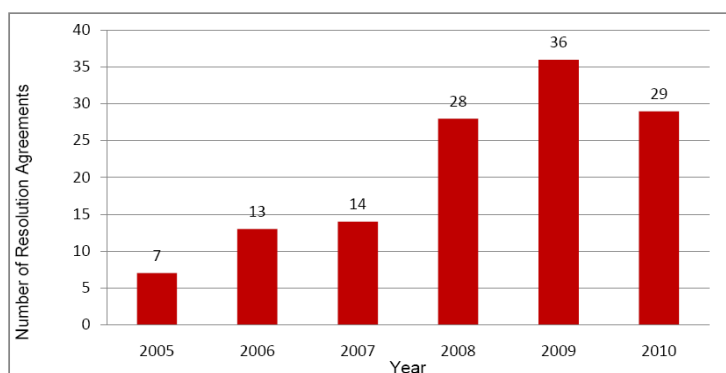
While the data collected by OCR does not distinguish between staff-to-student and student-to-student (peer-to-peer) harassment, the Commission was able to extract a small sample of strictly student-to-student harassment for analysis. We obtained copies of all OCR voluntary resolution agreements (and accompanying Letters of Finding) related to harassment issued between 2005 and March 2011. From this set of 292 agreements, we culled 138 related only to peer-to-peer harassment in K-12 schools.

Of the 138 resolution agreements, the following represents the percentage that involved allegations of harassment based on race, national origin, disability, and sex:



Source: Data compiled and analyzed by U.S. Commission on Civil Rights from resolution agreements and associated documents provided by the U.S. Department of Education.

Figure 3.1. Percent of Resolution Agreements Involving Peer-to-Peer Harassment in Elementary and Secondary Schools, 2005 to March 21, 2011, by the Primary Civil Rights Basis.



¹The U.S. Department of Education also negotiated 11 resolution agreements in January to March 2011. They are not included in the figure because they represent only part of the year.

Source: Data compiled and analyzed by U.S. Commission on Civil Rights from resolution agreements and associated documents provided by the U.S. Department of Education.

Figure 3.2. Number of Resolution Agreements Involving Peer-to-Peer Harassment in Elementary and Secondary Schools by Year, 2005 to 2010.¹

The above represents the number of resolution agreements related to peer-to-peer harassment per year, from 2005 to 2010.

The following represents the number of resolution agreements by state, from 2005 to March 2011:

Table 3.1. Number of Resolution Agreements Involving Peer-to-Peer Harassment in Elementary and Secondary Schools by State (Including the District of Columbia), 2005 to March 21, 2011

State	Number	State	Number	State	Number
California	18	Maryland	2	New Hampshire	1
Missouri	17	Michigan	2	New Mexico	1
Illinois	9	Minnesota	2	Rhode Island	1
Georgia	7	Mississippi	2	Vermont	1
Colorado	6	North Carolina	2	Washington	1
Ohio	6	Oregon	2	West Virginia	1
Oklahoma	6	South Dakota	2	Arkansas	0
Texas	6	Tennessee	2	Delaware	0
Pennsylvania	5	Utah	2	Indiana	0
Arizona	4	Alaska	1	Iowa	0
Connecticut	4	District of Columbia	1	Nebraska	0
Kansas	4	Florida	1	New Jersey	0
Massachusetts	4	Hawaii	1	North Dakota	0
Kentucky	3	Idaho	1	South Carolina	0
New York	3	Maine	1	Virginia	0
Alabama	2	Montana	1	Wisconsin	0
Louisiana	2	Nevada	1	Wyoming	0

Source: Data compiled and analyzed by U.S. Commission on Civil Rights from resolution agreements and associated documents provided by the U.S. Department of Education.

SECTION 4. FEDERAL ENFORCEMENT EFFORTS: THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The Department of Justice enforces federal statutes that prohibit discrimination in public K-12 schools. Through the Educational Opportunities Section (EOS) of its Civil Rights Division, the Department has opened more than 300 inquiries into complaints of discrimination and harassment from 2001 to April 18, 2011.¹⁹⁷ Beyond responding to complaints, EOS has engaged in a number of activities to address what it has termed a “bullying pandemic,” including participating in an inter-agency taskforce to develop a federal response to bullying in schools, participating in the planning of national bullying summits and a youth summit on a variety of issues facing the LGBT community, including bullying, and conducting community outreach to educate groups on EOS’s jurisdiction and possible collaboration with advocacy groups to assist students who have been subjected to harassment in their schools.¹⁹⁸

Educational Opportunities Section Investigation Process

Generally, EOS enforces laws including Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, and Titles II and III of the Americans with Disabilities Act. EOS may also initiate enforcement activities upon receiving a referral from other agencies to enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Further, EOS may intervene in private litigation that alleges violations of the Equal Protection Clause or relevant education-related antidiscrimination statutes as listed above, as well as participate in such litigation as *amicus curiae*.¹⁹⁹ EOS receives complaints by mail, email, telephone, and in person, and it also monitors incidents of harassment through media and other reports. "After an initial inquiry into a complaint, EOS will determine, based on the information available and subject to resource constraints, whether to open an investigation."²⁰⁰ EOS reports that it has not received a referral from ED's Office of Civil Rights since at least 2001.²⁰¹

Available Complaint Information by Calendar Year

Because of its different jurisdictional mandates and complaint/referral mechanisms, DOJ handles far fewer peer-to-peer harassment matters per year than ED. The below data represents those complaints and referrals which resulted in DOJ opening an investigation, as described above. Unlike ED's data discussed above, DOJ's data tracks back to 2001 and attempts to isolate inquiries involving only peer-to-peer harassment.²⁰²

Total EOS opened inquiries:²⁰³

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
26	22	23	38	29	34	51	29	38	26	6

Total EOS opened inquiries related to peer-to-peer harassment, where such violence may be attributable to the students' race, national origin, religion, disability, or sex:²⁰⁴

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
4	8	4	14	13	14	33	14	14	5	3

Race/National Origin

Of those complaints received generally, the following represent opened inquiries related to race or national origin by year:²⁰⁵

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
10	13	11	22	13	14	21	17	23	19	3

Of those complaints received based on peer-to-peer harassment, the following represent opened inquiries related to race or national origin by year:²⁰⁶

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
2	5	2	6	3	2	13	9	8	4	1

Sex

Of those complaints received generally, the following represent opened inquiries related to sex by year:²⁰⁷

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
7 (2 SH)	4 (2 SH)	2 (1 SH)	6 (4 SH)	1 (1 SH)	3 (1 SH)	5 (4 SH)	3 (1 SH)	8 (3 SH)	2 (1 SH)	2 (1 SH)

Of those complaints received based on peer-to-peer harassment, the following represent opened inquiries related to sex by year:²⁰⁸

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
2	2	1	3	1	1	5	3	4	1	2

Disability

Of those complaints received generally, the following represent opened inquiries related to disability by year:²⁰⁹

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
9	4	3	0	2	4	7	0	5	5	2

EOS did not track peer-to-peer violence based on disability prior to March 2011.²¹⁰

Religion

EOS reports that it tracks complaints related to religion-based harassment separately from harassment based on shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics (i.e., national origin) under Title IV.²¹¹

Of those complaints received generally, the following represent opened inquiries related to religion by year:²¹²

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
1	3	8	13	14	15	24	13	4	0	0

Of those complaints received based on peer-to-peer harassment, the following represent opened inquiries related to religion by year:²¹³

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
1	2	3	8	10	11	18	5	3	0	0

Sexual Orientation/Gender Identity

Although EOS does not maintain information on the sexual orientation and gender identity of its complainants, it has opened inquiries into sex-based discrimination based on sex

stereotypes. The Section reports that it opened four such inquiries in 2009, two in 2010, and one to date in 2011.²¹⁴

SECTION 5. THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION'S DEAR COLLEAGUE LETTER

The U.S. Department of Education issues Dear Colleague Letters as policy guidance under the laws that it enforces. Generally, a Dear Colleague Letter offers guidance to help schools fully understand their legal responsibilities and appreciate the extent of their lawful authority.²¹⁵ It is ED's position that, "when school officials understand their legal duties and the extent of their authority, they are in the best position to prevent peer harassment and to respond effectively when it occurs."²¹⁶ To date, ED has released seven Dear Colleague Letters regarding harassment and three other guidance documents regarding sexual harassment and racial harassment.²¹⁷ The guidance documents range in topic, discussing harassment and bullying generally,²¹⁸ sexual violence,²¹⁹ sexual harassment,²²⁰ disability harassment,²²¹ racial harassment,²²² harassment of Muslim and Arab students,²²³ religion-based harassment,²²⁴ and First Amendment rights.²²⁵ On October 26, 2010, ED issued a Dear Colleague Letter to schools that provided guidance regarding their obligations with respect to bullying and harassment.²²⁶ In addition to outlining schools' general obligations under federal civil rights laws, the Letter provided a series of hypotheticals and advised schools on how best to respond to them. According to Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights Russlynn Ali, while the legal standards discussed in the Letter were not new,²²⁷ the Letter was the "first time ... that Department of Education has put forth such comprehensive guidance on bullying and harassment across all of its statutes. It is the first time that [they] have presented it in these very real-life hypothetical ways."²²⁸

The Letter was intended as a reminder to schools "that some student misconduct that falls under a school's anti-bullying policy also may trigger responsibilities under one or more of the federal antidiscrimination laws enforced by the Department's Office for Civil Rights."²²⁹ ED explained that OCR enforces Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.²³⁰ It noted, however, that "[w]hile this letter concerns [schools'] legal obligations under the laws enforced by OCR, other federal, state, and local laws impose additional obligations on schools."²³¹ ED said that "harassing conduct" can come in many forms, including verbal acts and name-calling, graphic and written statements (including statements via electronic media such as mobile phones or the Internet), and other conduct that may be physically threatening, harmful, or humiliating.²³² Where the harassment is based on race, color, national origin, sex, or disability, and where such conduct creates a "hostile environment" —i.e., "when the conduct is sufficiently severe, pervasive, or persistent so as to interfere with or limit a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the services, activities, or opportunities offered by a school" —it triggers the civil rights laws enforced by OCR.²³³

The Letter further said that a school must address harassment incidents "about which it knows or reasonably should have known."²³⁴ A school has such notice where "a responsible employee knew, or in the exercise of reasonable care should have known, about the harassment."²³⁵ ED advised that, "[w]hen responding to harassment, a school must take

immediate and appropriate action to investigate or otherwise determine what occurred."²³⁶ The steps of this investigation will differ depending on the circumstances.²³⁷

According to ED, where the investigation shows that unlawful harassment has taken place, "a school must take prompt and effective steps reasonably calculated to end the harassment, eliminate any hostile environment and its effects, and prevent the harassment from recurring."²³⁸ Depending on the circumstances of the harassment, responses can include: "separating the accused harasser and the target"; "providing counseling for the target and/or harasser"; "taking disciplinary actions against the harasser"; providing "training or other interventions ... for the larger school community"; providing "additional services to the student who was harassed in order to address the effects of the harassment"; "issu[ing] new policies against harassment and new procedures by which students, parents, and employees may report allegations of harassment (or wide dissemination of existing policies and procedures)"; or "wide distribution of the contact information for the district's Title IX and Section 504/Title II coordinators."²³⁹ Finally, the Letter advised that the school should take steps to prevent harassment or retaliation against persons who made the initial complaint or assisted the school's investigation: "[a]t a minimum, the school's responsibilities include making sure that the harassed students and their families know how to report any subsequent problems, conducting follow-up inquiries to see if there have been any new incidents or any instances of retaliation, and responding promptly and appropriately to address continuing or new problems."²⁴⁰

When responding to incidents, the Letter advised that obligations under federal civil rights laws are triggered by the "nature of the conduct itself," rather than by the "label used to describe the incident (e.g., bullying, hazing, teasing)"²⁴¹ Furthermore, when these laws are implicated, the Letter encouraged schools to "look beyond simply disciplining the perpetrators [because] the unique effects of discriminatory harassment may demand a different response than would other types of bullying."²⁴²

The Dear Colleague Letter then provided five hypotheticals to illustrate incidents of race, color, or national origin harassment, sexual harassment, gender-based harassment, and disability harassment. After each hypothetical, ED described how the incident would trigger obligations under federal civil rights laws, where the hypothetical school erred in its response, and how the school should have responded.²⁴³

Of note, one of the hypotheticals involved harassment of Jewish students; the Letter said, "[H]arassment against students who are members of any religious group triggers a school's Title VI responsibilities when the harassment is based on the group's actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics, rather than solely on its members' religious practices."²⁴⁴ Another hypothetical involved a student who was gay and who did not conform to masculine stereotypes; the Letter reasoned, "Although Title IX does not prohibit discrimination based solely on sexual orientation, Title IX does protect all students, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) students, from sex discrimination."²⁴⁵ In the press release issued by ED to announce the Dear Colleague Letter, ED explained that this guidance "makes clear that while current laws enforced by the department do not protect against harassment based on religion or sexual orientation, they do include protection against harassment of members of religious groups based on shared ethnic characteristics as well as gender and sexual harassment of gay, lesbian, bi-sexual, and transgender individuals."²⁴⁶

In closing the Letter, Assistant Secretary Ali wrote, "I encourage you to reevaluate the policies and practices your school uses to address bullying and harassment to ensure that they comply with the mandates of the federal civil rights laws."²⁴⁷

SECTION 6. JURISDICTION: PEER-TO-PEER VIOLENCE RELATED TO LGBT STATUS AND RELIGION

The Departments of Education and Justice have been both lauded and criticized for addressing peer-to-peer student violence related to LGBT youth and members of religious groups.²⁴⁸ Although Title IX grants jurisdiction to ED and DOJ to enforce prohibitions against sex discrimination, it does not mention discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity; and although Title VI grants jurisdiction to ED and DOJ to enforce prohibitions against discrimination based on race, color, or national origin, it does not mention discrimination based on religion. Critics have asserted that ED and DOJ's legal interpretations amount to an attempt to "bootstrap" unprotected groups into Titles IX and VI protection.²⁴⁹ This Section will address each issue in turn.

Title IX and Peer-to-Peer Violence Related to Sexual Orientation or Gender Identity

While Title IX does not prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation,²⁵⁰ its prohibitions against sex discrimination and sexual harassment protect all students, including those who are LGBT or perceived to be LGBT. Title IX also protects against sex discrimination and harassment of students who do not conform to gender stereotypes. Both ED and DOJ enforce Title IX in this regard.

In January 2001, ED issued a document titled *Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance: Harassment of Students by School Employees, Other Students, or Third Parties*.²⁵¹ While the guidance addressed sexual harassment generally, with respect to LGBT students it stated, in part:

Although Title IX does not prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, sexual harassment directed at gay or lesbian students that is sufficiently serious to limit or deny a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the school's program constitutes sexual harassment prohibited by Title IX under the circumstances described in this guidance.²⁵²

The guidance further explained that:

[G]ender-based harassment, which may include acts of verbal, nonverbal, or physical aggression, intimidation, or hostility based on sex or sex-stereotyping, but not involving conduct of a sexual nature, is also a form of sex discrimination to which a school must respond, if it rises to a level that denies or limits a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the educational program.²⁵³

ED re-circulated this guidance to schools in January 2006, enclosed with a Dear Colleague Letter issued by then-Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights Stephanie Monroe.²⁵⁴

In September 2008, ED again issued guidance on sexual harassment, which addressed sexual harassment of LGBT students. In a pamphlet titled *Sexual Harassment: It's Not*

Academic, ED posed the question, “Are gay and lesbian students protected from sexual harassment?”²⁵⁵

The pamphlet answered:

Title IX prohibits harassing conduct that is of a sexual nature if it is unwelcome and denies or limits a student’s ability to participate in or benefit from a school’s program, regardless of whether the harassment is aimed at gay or lesbian students or is perpetrated by individuals of the same or opposite sex. *Title IX* does not address discrimination or other issues related to sexual orientation.²⁵⁶

ED once again issued guidance to schools in the Dear Colleague Letter released by Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights Russlynn Ali on October 26, 2010.²⁵⁷ In its discussion of gender-based harassment, ED explained:

Title IX prohibits harassment of both male and female students regardless of the sex of the harasser—*i.e.*, even if the harasser and target are members of the same sex. It also prohibits gender-based harassment, which may include acts of verbal, nonverbal, or physical aggression, intimidation, or hostility based on sex or sex-stereotyping. Thus, it can be sex discrimination if students are harassed either for exhibiting what is perceived as a stereotypical characteristic for their sex, or for failing to conform to gender stereotypical notions of masculinity or femininity. Title IX also prohibits sexual harassment and gender-based harassment of all students, regardless of the actual or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity of the harasser or target.²⁵⁸

Further elaborating on Title IX protections of LGBT students, ED stated:

Although Title IX does not prohibit discrimination based solely on sexual orientation, Title IX does protect all students, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) students, from sex discrimination. When students are subjected to harassment on the basis of their LGBT status, they may also ... be subjected to forms of sex discrimination prohibited under Title IX. The fact that the harassment includes anti-LGBT comments or is partly based on the target’s actual or perceived sexual orientation does not relieve a school of its obligation under Title IX to investigate and remedy overlapping sexual harassment or gender-based harassment.²⁵⁹

On January 3, 2011, DOJ filed an amicus brief in *Pratt v. Indian River Cent. Sch. Dist.*²⁶⁰ that provided a legal argument for this Title IX analysis.²⁶¹ *Pratt* is an ongoing private civil suit, filed by a student who alleges that he has been targeted for harassment by classmates and school staff because he does not conform to masculine stereotypes and because of his sexual orientation; the student asserts that his school violated his rights under Title IX and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The DOJ participated in the case as amicus curiae.

The DOJ based its analysis on two U.S. Supreme Court cases, *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*²⁶² and *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Svcs., Inc.*²⁶³ Although both cases concerned allegations of sex discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,²⁶⁴ which prohibits discrimination in the employment context, “[c]ourts examine Title VII precedent when analyzing discrimination ‘on the basis of sex’ under Title IX.”²⁶⁵

Price Waterhouse involved the allegation that an accounting firm subjected a female employee to sex discrimination based on evidence that the firm declined to promote her due to her nonconformity with feminine stereotypes. A plurality of the Court concluded that, "[a]s for the legal relevance of sex stereotyping, we are beyond the day when an employer could evaluate employees by assuming or insisting that they matched the stereotype associated with their group"²⁶⁶ It reasoned further, "An employer who objects to aggressiveness in women but whose positions require this trait places women in an intolerable and impermissible catch 22: out of a job if they behave aggressively and out of a job if they do not. Title VII lifts women out of this bind."²⁶⁷ Likewise, agreeing with the plurality in concurrence, Justice O'Connor noted that "[t]here has been a strong showing that the employer has done exactly what Title VII forbids"²⁶⁸

Oncale involved allegations of male-on-male sexual harassment in the workplace. While working on an oil platform, the plaintiff was "subjected to sex-related, humiliating actions," "physically assaulted ... in a sexual manner [and] threatened ... with rape," and "'picked [on] ... all the time ...' and called ... a name suggesting homosexuality."²⁶⁹ The Court found that same-sex sexual harassment is cognizable under Title VII. It held, "[N]othing in Title VII necessarily bars a claim of discrimination 'because of ... sex' merely because the plaintiff and the defendant (or the person charged with acting on behalf of the defendant) are of the same sex."²⁷⁰

In its amicus brief in *Pratt*, DOJ asserted that harassment based on nonconformity with sex stereotypes is a cognizable claim under Title IX and the Equal Protection Clause. To support this statement, DOJ cited *Price Waterhouse*, noting that the Court held that "harassment based on sex stereotyping constitute[s] discrimination on the basis of sex under Title VII."²⁷¹ The DOJ said further that "[t]he standards for proving gender-based harassment under Title VII that were enunciated [by the Supreme Court] in *Oncale* are often cited by courts reviewing similar claims under Title IX."²⁷²

The DOJ then listed several district-court cases that have found claims of harassment based on nonconformity with sex stereotypes to be cognizable under Title IX:

See, e.g., Doe v. Brimfield Grade Sch., 552 F. Supp. 2d 816, 823 (C.D. Ill. 2008) ("Discrimination because one's behavior does not 'conform to stereotypical ideas' of one's gender can amount to actionable discrimination 'based on sex'"); *Riccio v. New Haven Bd. of Educ.*, 467 F. Supp. 2d 219, 226 (D. Conn. 2006) ("The language set forth in the OCR Guidance and the holding in *Oncale* clearly support the conclusion that a female student, subjected to pejorative, female homosexual names by other female students, can bring a claim of sexual harassment under Title IX"); *Theno v. Tonganoxie Unified Sch. Dist. No. 464*, 377 F. Supp. 2d 952, 964-65 (D. Kan. 2005) (recognizing that a gender stereotyping claim may be used to establish that same-sex harassment is based on sex under Title IX); *Montgomery v. Indep. Sch. Dist. No. 709*, 109 F. Supp. 2d [1080,] 1090-93 [D. Minn. 2000] (relying on *Price Waterhouse*, *Oncale*, *Davis*, and the relationship between Title VII and Title IX to hold that the plaintiff had stated a cognizable harassment claim for nonconformity with sex stereotypes under Title IX).²⁷³

The DOJ next stated that the presence of sexual orientation harassment does not defeat a claim of sex stereotyping harassment.²⁷⁴ As the brief explained, "[B]eing gay does not deny a student his right to be free from sex-based discrimination pursuant to Title IX and the Equal Protection Clause."²⁷⁵ In response to the assertion that the sex stereotyping claim is a means of "somehow trying to 'bootstrap protection for sexual orientation' into Title IX," DOJ said that

the U.S. Supreme Court in *Oncale* "cautioned against drawing such superficial, perfunctory conclusions about sex-based harassment"²⁷⁶ It then quoted *Oncale*:

"In same sex (as in all) harassment cases, that inquiry requires careful consideration of the social context in which particular behavior occurs and is experienced by its target. ... The real social impact of workplace behavior often depends on a constellation of surrounding circumstances, expectations, and relationships which are not fully captured by a simple recitation of the words used or the physical acts performed."²⁷⁷

As an example of such "careful consideration," DOJ quoted at length the district court's decision in *Montgomery v. Indep. Sch. Dist. No. 709*:

"Plaintiff contends that the students engaged in the offensive conduct at issue not only because they believed him to be gay, but also because he did not meet their stereotyped expectations of masculinity. The facts alleged in plaintiff's complaint support this characterization of the students' misconduct. He specifically alleges that some of the students called him 'Jessica,' a girl's name, indicating a belief that he exhibited feminine characteristics. Moreover, the Court finds important the fact that plaintiff's peers began harassing him as early as kindergarten. It is highly unlikely that at that tender age plaintiff would have developed any solidified sexual preference, or for that matter, that he even understood what it meant to be 'homosexual' or 'heterosexual.' The likelihood that he openly identified himself as gay or that he engaged in any homosexual conduct at that age is quite low. It is much more plausible that the students began tormenting him based on feminine personality traits that he exhibited and the perception that he did not engage in behaviors befitting a boy. Plaintiff thus appears to plead facts that would support a claim of harassment based on the perception that he did not fit his peers' stereotypes of masculinity."²⁷⁸

Likewise, DOJ also approvingly described the district court's interpretation of *Oncale* in *Riccio v. New Haven Bd. of Educ.* In response to the defendants' assertion that a female plaintiff did not suffer sexual harassment where her ridicule contained anti-gay slurs, the *Riccio* court stated:

"In *Oncale*, the plaintiff was a male being harassed physically and verbally by other males. The derogatory language directed at Mr. Oncale was homosexual in its nature, as in [the plaintiff's] case. Despite the language being of a homosexual nature in *Oncale*, the Supreme Court concluded that the harassment constituted sexual harassment."²⁷⁹

The DOJ concluded, "Because the case law establishes that a plaintiff can concurrently assert claims for sex-based harassment and sexual-orientation-based harassment (even if the latter claims are not cognizable under the same laws), [the plaintiff] should be given an opportunity to prove that the alleged harassment is based on sex under Title IX and the Equal Protection Clause."²⁸⁰

Although ED and DOJ enforce Title IX to protect LGBT students where they are sexually harassed or harassed based on sex stereotyping, a gap remains in their enforcement: federal civil rights law does not protect against harassment based on sexual orientation or gender identity.²⁸¹ Thus, students are not protected by federal law if they are harassed based solely on their sexual orientation or gender identity without accompanying sexual harassment or sex-stereotyping. ²⁸² Such a dichotomy may create a perverse incentive for alleged discriminators

to evade Title IX liability by asserting that students' harassment is based entirely on homophobic animus.²⁸³ Advocates have urged Congress to pass legislation to address this issue²⁸⁴ and, to this end, several relevant bills have been introduced in the 112th Congress. The Student Non-Discrimination Act is designed to address "the significant gap in protection" for LGBT students who, under Title IX, "lack protection against bullying based on sexual orientation."²⁸⁵ In addition, a more general anti-bullying bill, the Safe Schools Improvement Act, enumerates sexual orientation as one of several protected groups.²⁸⁶

Title VI and Peer-to-Peer Violence Related to Religion

Although Title VI does not prohibit discrimination on the basis of religion, it does forbid discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin. Both ED and DOJ²⁸⁷ have taken the position that Title VI prohibits discrimination on the basis of actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics, regardless of whether those groups share a common faith.²⁸⁸

On September 19, 2001—eight days after the September 11 terrorist attacks—Secretary of Education Rod Paige issued a Dear Colleague Letter expressing concern about "increasing news reports of incidents of harassment and violence directed at persons perceived to be Arab Americans or of Middle Eastern or South Asian origin, including children."²⁸⁹ Secretary Paige noted that harassment "can take many forms, from abusive name calling to violent crimes directed at a student because of his or her race or ancestry, the country of origin of the student's family, or the student's cultural traditions."²⁹⁰ He continued, "I take this opportunity to highlight our responsibilities under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI prohibits discrimination based on race, color, or national origin by recipients of federal financial assistance."²⁹¹ He further stated:

Racial or ethnic harassment is unlawful. It can deny or limit a student's ability to receive or participate in the benefits, services, or opportunities in a school's program—simply speaking it denies students the right to an education free of discrimination. The existence of a racially hostile environment that is encouraged, accepted, or tolerated by a school, college, or university constitutes different treatment of students on the basis of race.

In response to last week's events specifically, I urge you to make sure that assemblies, classroom discussions, and other school activities held to honor victims of the tragedies do not inadvertently foster the targeting of Arab-American students for harassment or blame.²⁹²

In September 2004, ED issued guidance further elaborating on its enforcement of Title VI with respect to members of religious groups. In a Dear Colleague Letter by Kenneth L. Marcus, then-Acting Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights, ED explained, "Although OCR's jurisdiction does not extend to religious discrimination, OCR does aggressively enforce Title VI, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race or national origin In OCR's experience, some cases of religious discrimination may also involve racial [or] ethnic ... discrimination."²⁹³ The Letter warned, "[W]e must remain particularly attentive to the claims of students who may be targeted for harassment based on their membership in groups that exhibit both ethnic and religious characteristics, such as Arab Muslims, Jewish Americans and Sikhs."²⁹⁴ It continued:

Groups that face discrimination on the basis of shared ethnic characteristics may not be denied the protection of our civil rights laws on the ground that they also share a common faith.^[295] Similarly, the existence of facts indicative of religious discrimination does not divest OCR of jurisdiction to investigate and remedy allegations of race or ethnic discrimination. OCR will exercise its jurisdiction to enforce the Title VI prohibition against national origin discrimination, regardless of whether the groups targeted for discrimination also exhibit religious characteristics. Thus, for example, OCR aggressively investigates alleged race or ethnic harassment against Arab Muslim, Sikh and Jewish students.²⁹⁶

On September 8, 2010, in a letter from Assistant Attorney General Thomas Perez to Assistant Secretary Russlynn Ali, DOJ endorsed the approach to Title VI outlined in the 2004 Dear Colleague Letter. Asked to address “whether, and under what circumstances, discrimination against persons belonging to discrete religious groups may violate Title VI,” DOJ quoted the 2004 Dear Colleague Letter at length.²⁹⁷

It then concluded:

We agree with that analysis. Although Title VI does not prohibit discrimination on the basis of religion, discrimination against Jews, Muslims, Sikhs, and members of other religious groups violates Title VI when that discrimination is based on the group’s actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics, rather than its members’ religious practice. Title VI further prohibits discrimination against an individual where it is based on actual or perceived citizenship or residency in a country whose residents share a dominant religion or a distinct religious identity.²⁹⁸

ED subsequently issued similar guidance to schools in its Dear Colleague Letter of October 26, 2010. After providing a hypothetical involving anti-Semitic harassment in a middle school, ED explained:

While Title VI does not cover discrimination based solely on religion, groups that face discrimination on the basis of actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics may not be denied protection under Title VI on the ground that they also share a common faith. These principles apply not just to Jewish students, but also to students from any discrete religious group that shares, or is perceived to share, ancestry or ethnic characteristics (*e.g.*, Muslims or Sikhs). Thus, harassment against students who are members of any religious group triggers a school’s Title VI responsibilities when the harassment is based on the group’s actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics, rather than solely on its members’ religious practices. A school also has responsibilities under Title VI when its students are harassed based on their actual or perceived citizenship or residency in a country whose residents share a dominant religion or a distinct religious identity.²⁹⁹

Although ED enforces Title VI with respect to harassment of members of religious groups based on their shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics, Title VI itself leaves a hole in ED’s enforcement. That is, Title VI does not protect against harassment of students based solely on their religious faith, nor does it protect against harassment of students who belong to religious groups that do not have shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics.³⁰⁰ As a result, ED cannot protect students from the “peculiar harms created by religious bigotry.”³⁰¹ Furthermore, under current law, religious groups with shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics receive certain protections that religious groups without shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics do not

receive;³⁰² and would-be discriminators can evade Title VI liability by claiming that students harass based solely on religious bigotry.³⁰³

Advocates urge Congress to close this "loophole" by passing legislation that protects against harassment of students based on their religion.³⁰⁴ Even the current OCR policy, of enforcing Title VI to prohibit harassment of religious groups based on shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics, has not always been followed consistently and may not be followed in the future without a clearer statutory framework.³⁰⁵

Two recent bills before Congress have addressed harassment based on religion. The Safe Schools Improvement Act lists religion as one of several groups enumerated for protection from bullying and harassment.³⁰⁶ And in the 111th Congress, the legislature considered a bill to "amend Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit discrimination on the grounds of religion in educational programs or activities."³⁰⁷

SECTION 7. ADDITIONAL CONCERNS RELATED TO THE FEDERAL RESPONSE

Aside from jurisdiction, concerns regarding the federal response to harassment have focused on enforcement standards, issues of federalism/local control, and the First Amendment.

Enforcement Standards

Some commentators have criticized ED due to the scope of its anti-harassment policy. They contend that the legal standards set forth in ED's Dear Colleague Letter, and elsewhere, are more expansive than the legal standards established by case law.³⁰⁸ The DOJ applies these same standards when it seeks injunctive relief in court. There are three specific standards at issue:

- Notice Requirement. The Dear Colleague Letter instructs that a school "is responsible for addressing harassment incidents about which it *knows or reasonably should have known*."³⁰⁹ This differs from the Supreme Court's statement in *Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education* that schools are liable for damages "only where they are *deliberately indifferent* to [harassment], of which they have *actual* knowledge"³¹⁰
- Hostile Environment, Prong I. The Dear Colleague Letter says that harassment "creates a hostile environment when the conduct is sufficiently severe, pervasive or persistent"³¹¹ *Davis*, however, says that damages are available "only where the behavior is so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive"³¹²
- Hostile Environment, Prong II. The Dear Colleague Letter further states that a hostile environment exists where, in part, the harassment "interfere[s] with or limit[s] a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the services, activities, or opportunities offered by a school."³¹³ *Davis*, meanwhile, says that a hostile environment requires that the harassment "can be said to deprive the victims of access to the educational opportunities or benefits provided by the school."³¹⁴

ED has defended its notice standard on grounds that, whereas *Davis* involved a private suit for monetary damages, OCR standards are part of their administrative enforcement:

The Supreme Court in *Gebser* [*v. Lago Vista Indep. School Dist.*] and *Davis* was explicit that the liability standards established in those cases are limited to private actions for monetary damages. The Court was concerned with the possibility of a monetary damages award against a school for harassment about which it had not known. In contrast, the process of OCR's administrative enforcement requires OCR to make schools aware of civil rights violations and to seek voluntary corrective action to achieve compliance before pursuing fund termination or other enforcement mechanisms.³¹⁵

Because of this distinction, ED says that it may apply a different notice standard in its administrative enforcement than courts apply in private suits for money damages.³¹⁶

Specifically, ED cites the Supreme Court in *Gebser*, which notes the distinction between standards used in administrative enforcement and private suits for damages:

[T]he failure to promulgate a grievance procedure does not itself constitute "discrimination" under Title IX. Of course, the Department of Education could enforce the requirement administratively: Agencies generally have authority to promulgate and enforce requirements that effectuate the statute's nondiscrimination mandate, even if those requirements do not purport to represent a definition of discrimination under the statute. We have never held, however, that the implied private right of action under Title IX allows recovery in damages for violation of those sorts of administrative requirements.³¹⁷

ED has further stated that the hostile-environment standards it uses are consistent with *Davis*, even if they include different terms:

Although the terms used by the Court in *Davis* are in some ways different from the words used to define hostile environment harassment in OCR's guidance documents, the definitions are consistent. As we explained in our 2001 Sexual Harassment Guidance: "Both the Court's and the Department's definitions are contextual descriptions intended to capture the same concept—that under Title IX, the conduct must be sufficiently serious that it adversely affects a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the school's program. In determining whether harassment is actionable, both *Davis* and the Department tell schools to look at the 'constellation of surrounding circumstances, expectations and relationships,' and the Court in *Davis* cited approvingly the underlying core factors described in the 1997 guidance for evaluating the context of the harassment."³¹⁸

Finally, ED has stated that the standards outlined in the Dear Colleague Letter are not new, but are instead a restatement of standards that OCR has used for nearly 20 years:

They are the same standards that were set forth by OCR in its 1994 guidance on racial harassment, 1997 guidance on sexual harassment, 2000 guidance on disability harassment, 2001 revised guidance on sexual harassment, which was reissued with an accompanying Dear Colleague Letter in 2006, and a 2008 pamphlet on sexual harassment.³¹⁹

Nevertheless, critics have expressed concerns with the standards OCR uses. At the Commission's Briefing on May 13, 2011, one panelist, Professor John Eastman, of Chapman University School of Law, criticized ED's use of standards that differ from *Davis*. He interpreted *Gebser* more narrowly than OCR does,³²⁰ and asserted that "[a]n agency can impose

regulations that are ancillary to the enforcement of a statute authorized by an enumerated power, such as rules requiring the reporting of certain data that is necessary to determine compliance with the underlying statute, but it cannot make up new prohibitions and substantive requirements that are not part of the relevant statute."³²¹ He concluded that "[t]he latitude given to the agencies is narrow, and the deviations between the Department's 'Dear Colleague' letter last October and the reasonable interpretation of the relevant civil rights statute are large"³²² Professor Eastman expressed specific concerns regarding the Dear Colleague Letter's discussions of the notice standard, the kinds of conduct that constitute harassment, and remedial requirements.³²³ Critiques have been made regarding each of OCR's enforcement standards. One criticism, for instance, focuses on the breadth of OCR's notice standard. Critics state that, whereas OCR holds schools accountable for harassment about which they "know or reasonably should have known," this is looser than the *Davis* requirement that schools only be liable for damages for harassment about which they have "actual knowledge" and are "deliberately indifferent." Under this reasoning, OCR's notice standard could, at least in theory, include conduct that a school is not actually aware of, or that it knows about but does not treat with deliberate indifference; under *Davis*, the same school would not be liable for damages in a private suit. OCR, however, has disagreed with this critique, drawing a distinction between retrospective liability addressed in *Davis* and prospective remedies in OCR's administrative-enforcement proceedings.³²⁴ OCR asserts that no school would be punished in such a manner because OCR provides schools with notice of their violation and an opportunity to correct it before it pursues termination of federal funding.³²⁵

Another critique of OCR's standards centers on the first part of the "hostile environment" standard, that the conduct be "sufficiently severe, pervasive, or persistent." By using a disjunctive standard ("or persistent"), OCR might find a single incident to rise to the level of a civil rights violation where it is "sufficiently severe" but not pervasive or persistent.³²⁶ Jocelyn Samuels, of the U.S. Department of Justice, noted this in her testimony to the Commission.³²⁷ This standard differs from the conjunctive *Davis* standard ("so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive"), which precludes a single incident from triggering damages liability.³²⁸ Critics have said that this difference risks overstepping by the federal government³²⁹ and violations of students' free speech rights,³³⁰ and may misinterpret Supreme Court precedent.³³¹ A second critique of ED's hostile-environment standard has involved the potential breadth of the second prong. Whereas the Dear Colleague Letter states that harassment creates a hostile environment where it, in part, "interfere[s] or limit[s] a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the services, activities, or opportunities offered by a school," *Davis* says the harassment must "deprive the victims of access to educational opportunities or benefits provided by the school." The Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, for instance, criticized the standard's potential breadth in its Public Comment, saying, "This is problematic because 'limit' is a broad term that could encompass effects of widely varying severity, setting a far lower bar for conduct that constitutes harassment."³³²

Others have pointed out that the terms used in the 2010 Dear Colleague Letter's hostile-environment standard differ from those used in previous guidance issued by OCR. Specifically, OCR uses the phrase "interfere with or limit" rather than the phrase from the 2001 Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance, "denies or limits."³³³ Critics claim that the word "interfere"—instead of "deny"—shifts the standard away from the standard in *Davis*. OCR has maintained, meanwhile, that the 2010 definition "is neither new nor inconsistent with *Davis*."³³⁴ Although the words in the 2001 Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance were put forth soon after the *Davis*

decision, and were more similar to the *Davis* standard than previous standards (it changed the previous term, "limit,"³³⁵ to "denies or limits"), ED explicitly stated at the time that it did not intend its 2001 guidance to change its standards in response to *Davis*. Indeed, in its November 2000 Notice of Proposed Revised Guidance, ED said:

[I]n the proposed revised guidance the definition of conduct that creates a hostile environment is substantively the same as in the 1997 guidance, but the discussion contains several revisions to clarify that the *Davis* definition and the guidance definition are consistent. ... Although the terms used by the Court in *Davis* are in some ways different from the words used to define hostile environment harassment in the 1997 guidance, the definitions are consistent. The Court's definition, like the Department's 1997 guidance, is a contextual description intended to capture the same concept—that under Title IX the conduct must be sufficiently serious that it adversely affects a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the school's program.³³⁶

Because insertion of the word "deny" into the 2001 guidance was not intended to alter OCR's standard or match the standard enumerated in *Davis*, replacing the word with "interfere"—a term that had been used to describe the hostile environment standard pre-*Davis*³³⁷—does not necessarily alter the standard either. However, even if the differences between the terms used in OCR's guidance documents are not substantive, this critique highlights that OCR's use of different terms in different documents can be confusing, particularly where it does not explain the changes that it is making. In addition to these targeted critiques, Francisco M. Negrón, Jr., General Counsel of the National School Boards Association, has also offered a broader criticism of OCR's use of stricter standards than those set forth in *Davis*, suggesting that the approach may confuse local school officials. "[N]uanced legal distinctions," he said, "can create confusion that detracts from an understanding of the requirements of the law and could have the unwelcome effect of chilling educators' actions for fear of legal liability under federal civil rights laws."³³⁸ He also feared that The Dear Colleague Letter's standards could lead to additional litigation if courts adopt OCR's standards for private suits that do not involve damages.³³⁹ Mr. Negrón further believed that, while the standards articulated in the Dear Colleague Letter are not new, "[t]he tone of the 2010 [Dear Colleague Letter] is significantly different from that of past guidance."³⁴⁰ Instead of using "a relatively hands-off approach," he reasoned, the 2010 Letter's discussion of examples, mistakes, and remedies "is creating an expectation that school officials are to respond to each and every offensive incident as if it were a civil rights violation."³⁴¹

Federalism

Several commentators have also expressed concerns related to federalism—that is, whether, and in what contexts, peer-to-peer violence is best addressed by states, local school boards, and local officials, rather than by the federal government. In her response to such critiques, Assistant Secretary Russlynn Ali has agreed that "[n]o universal, one-size-fits-all approach will be right for every school or all students"³⁴² She has explained:

[T]he remedies in the [Dear Colleague Letter] may not be required or appropriate in every case. Each case is fact-specific, and OCR will make individual determinations based

on the particular circumstances at a school. The [Dear Colleague Letter] does not change this. ... The DCL does not diminish the importance of administrators' professional judgment; rather it provides examples of appropriate remedies to help inform administrators' decisions.³⁴³

Likewise, at the Commission's Briefing on May 13, 2011, Assistant Secretary Ali said:

[O]ur policy guidance does not attempt to mandate [a one-size-fits-all approach]. Keeping the schools free from harassment is primarily a local responsibility. Teachers' and school administrators' good judgment, common sense, and knowledge of the school community are critical to crafting an effective response to harassment. And parents and community organizations play no less important a role. We therefore encourage and support community-based approaches to addressing peer harassment and changing the school climate so that it does not recur.³⁴⁴

According to Assistant Secretary Ali, "[E]ach school has the ultimate responsibility to create a safe learning environment and to ensure that its policies, practices, and procedures protect all students from discrimination based on race, national origin, sex, and disability. OCR will step in when necessary to ensure that schools fulfill their legal duties."³⁴⁵

When OCR does "step in," she explained, its role can be somewhat limited:

[O]ur administrative enforcement procedures require us to give schools notice of alleged civil rights violations and to seek voluntary corrective action before we can even consider pursuing fund termination or referring the matter to the Department of Justice for litigation. We take full advantage of the opportunity that our procedures afford to educate school officials about their obligations under the civil rights laws, and to help them develop policies to prevent and appropriately respond to harassment.³⁴⁶

Despite OCR's assurances, several critics remain skeptical about the federal government's role in anti-bullying efforts, as well as the use of federal civil rights laws to combat bullying generally.

Some advocates assert that OCR's and DOJ's active roles in combating bullying make it more difficult for schools to address this issue because schools' conduct will be driven by fear of litigation rather than on-the-ground needs. For instance, Francisco Negrón warned that addressing school bullying through civil rights laws at all "will tend to federalize every instance of bullying and harassment by causing school leaders to over-identify every incident of teasing and name-calling as possible harassment."³⁴⁷ Civil rights law, he asserted, "is considerably too blunt an instrument to address the problem of bullying."³⁴⁸ He explained, "What school leaders need, instead of an overly heightened awareness of potential liability and an overly broad definition of bullying, is recognized discretion to exercise professional judgment about the situations on the ground."³⁴⁹ What "[s]chools do not need," however, is "the specter of protracted litigation, money damages, or federal enforcement to inform their choices about school safety."³⁵⁰ He feared that "a school district may adopt, for instance, a more strict enforcement standard following the [Dear Colleague Letter's] guidelines and then somehow adopt for itself some sort of legal liability."³⁵¹

Mr. Negrón and others likewise believed that bullying incidents are most effectively addressed both at the local level and within local schools' discretion. "A bullying incident is best addressed by local entities taking into account the characteristics and priorities of the

communities,"³⁵² he reasoned, and "educators should be free to use whatever tools exist in their professional arsenal to address any conflict between students, including bullying[,which] could mean using the lowest level of intervention necessary."³⁵³ Mr. Negrón suggested that "the first thing we need to do is make sure that our policies empower educators. Educators know that they have the ability to act, to correct whatever situation comes before them, whether it's bullying or harassment."³⁵⁴ "But also," he warned, "we need to not chill their ability to do that. We need teachers not to believe that there will be an impending federal lawsuit if they do not treat a specific set of circumstances as a federal civil rights violation."³⁵⁵

Other critics have averred that the line-drawing involved in anti-bullying efforts—such as determining the distinctions between free speech and unlawful harassment, sex-stereotype harassment and sexual-orientation harassment, and hostile and non-hostile environments—are best left to local authorities.³⁵⁶ As Roger Clegg, President and General Counsel of the Center for Equal Opportunity, stated:

[T]he question is where and how to draw the line and who should draw it. The line-drawing in this area will not always be easy—there are gray areas between argument and teasing and harassment, between threats and horseplay and assault—and certainly the line, even if rightly drawn in theory, will often be crossed by politically correct government bureaucrats in Washington and the lawsuit-shy educators who are intimidated by them.³⁵⁷

"This kind of nuanced line-drawing," Clegg reasoned, "is something where reasonable people can differ, and where people are going to draw the lines differently, depending on local circumstances."³⁵⁸ Panelists also argued that addressing bullying locally, rather than federally, would allow schools to develop and implement a variety of solutions,³⁵⁹ and do so based on local characteristics and individualized circumstances.³⁶⁰

When confronted with these federalism arguments, other advocates responded that active federal involvement in peer-to-peer violence is necessary because, in their experience, localities are failing to adequately address the issue on their own. Eliza Byard, Executive Director of GLSEN, reasoned, if "schools responded when conduct crossed the line into bullying and physical violence, we would not be here today. That is not what is happening. Schools are not responding in a way sufficient to protect the educational access, physical well-being and emotional well-being of young people who are facing violence and harassment every day."³⁶¹

Ms. Byard and others believe that federal intervention is a necessary backstop where local schools and communities fail to act to protect their students, particularly students targeted due to their membership in an unpopular identity group.³⁶² Rajdeep Singh, Director of Law and Policy at the Sikh Coalition, for instance, noted that although New York City has adopted a strong anti-bullying regulation, the policy has not been implemented or enforced effectively.³⁶³ He proffered, "[W]here children's civil rights are being repeatedly violated, and where school officials take a casual approach toward their obligations to protect children from harm, federal intervention becomes a moral imperative."³⁶⁴

Similarly, Helen Gym, of Asian Americans United, discussed her own experiences regarding racial tensions and violence at South Philadelphia High School in Philadelphia, PA, reasoning that federal intervention was necessary to address the conflict. She said, "As appalling as the December 2009 attacks were, it was the egregious conduct of school officials

in the months leading up to that day and in the months following that warranted federal intervention. It is this experience which has shaped our firm belief in the necessity of federal intervention in bias-based harassment at schools."³⁶⁵ She also praised DOJ, which addressed the incident, for its "collaboration with communities to implement at South Philadelphia High School what we hope is a groundbreaking settlement agreement to address bias in schools across the country."³⁶⁶

Although 45 states³⁶⁷ and countless localities have anti-bullying policies, these advocates asserted that the current legal patchwork is inadequate to protect all students nationwide.³⁶⁸

As Paula Goldberg, Executive Director of the PACER Center, said, "[W]e have 45 states that have their own laws, but it is not working. We wouldn't be here today, you wouldn't have this hearing today, if it was working. It's not working. Therefore, we need something consistent."³⁶⁹

First Amendment

Finally, commentators have expressed concerns that ED and DOJ's response to peer-to-peer violence and bullying, and public schools' anti-bullying policies generally, might conflict with protections guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.³⁷⁰ Specifically, these concerns involve students' rights to free speech, including religious speech.³⁷¹

According to Assistant Secretary Ali, "very little of the harassment that [ED sees] involves any protected speech."³⁷² She explained:

Physical harassment, violence, and threats are *never* constitutionally protected. Nor is harassment the same thing as unpopular or offensive speech. ... [S]tudent-on-student harassment violates federal civil rights laws only if it is sufficiently serious to create a hostile environment that interferes with or limits a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the services, activities, or opportunities that the school offers. The First Amendment's Free Speech Clause does not give students license to say whatever they want, whenever they want, without regard to the effect of their speech on other students. Schools cannot tolerate discriminatory harassment that interferes with providing a safe, nurturing learning environment for all students.³⁷³

Even when certain speech is constitutionally protected, Assistant Secretary Ali explained, "schools have other means, apart from disciplining wrongdoers, to ameliorate the harms."³⁷⁴ She noted that schools may provide training or other educational programs to teachers, students, and parents, as well as counseling services and medical resources to harassment victims.³⁷⁵

ED acknowledged First Amendment concerns in its Dear Colleague Letter, stating that "[s]ome conduct alleged to be harassment may implicate the First Amendment rights to free speech or expression."³⁷⁶ ED had previously addressed harassment and the First Amendment in a Dear Colleague Letter issued on July 28, 2003.³⁷⁷ The 2003 Letter said that, to implicate federal civil rights laws, alleged conduct must involve more than mere political incorrectness:

Harassment, ... to be prohibited by the statutes within OCR's jurisdiction, must include something beyond the mere expression of views, words, symbols or thoughts that some person finds offensive. Under OCR's standard, the conduct must also be considered sufficiently serious to deny or limit a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the

educational program. Thus, OCR's standards require that the conduct be evaluated from the perspective of a reasonable person in the alleged victim's position, considering all the circumstances, including the alleged victim's age.³⁷⁸

The Letter elaborated:

OCR has consistently maintained that the statutes that it enforces are intended to protect students from invidious discrimination, not to regulate the content of speech. Harassment of students, which can include verbal or physical conduct, can be a form of discrimination prohibited by the statutes enforced by OCR. Thus, for example, in addressing harassment allegations, OCR has recognized that the offensiveness of a particular expression, standing alone, is not a legally sufficient basis to establish a hostile environment under the statutes enforced by OC R.³⁷⁹

The Letter further advised that "schools in regulating the conduct of students and faculty to prevent or redress discrimination must formulate, interpret, and apply their rules in a manner that respects the legal rights of students and faculty, including those court precedents interpreting the concept of free speech."³⁸⁰ It explained, "OCR's regulations and policies do not require or prescribe speech, conduct or harassment codes that impair the exercise of rights protected under the First Amendment."³⁸¹ Likewise, "[t]here is no conflict between the civil rights laws that this Office enforces and the civil liberties guaranteed by the First Amendment."³⁸² ED provided similar guidance in its *Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance* issued in January 2001.³⁸³

Addressing First Amendment implications of alleged discrimination under Title IX, including sexual harassment, ED explained:

Title IX is intended to protect students from sex discrimination, not to regulate the content of speech. OCR recognizes that the offensiveness of a particular expression as perceived by some students, standing alone, is not a legally sufficient basis to establish a sexually hostile environment under Title IX. In order to establish a violation of Title IX, the harassment must be sufficiently serious to deny or limit a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the education program.³⁸⁴

The guidance advised that, "in regulating the conduct of its students and its faculty ... a school must formulate, interpret, and apply its rules so as to protect academic freedom and free speech rights."³⁸⁵

Nevertheless, critics remain concerned. For instance, several advocates have expressed fear that anti-bullying policies could be used by schools and the federal government as a form of viewpoint discrimination. As Hiram Sasser, Director of Litigation at the Liberty Institute, explained, "[t]he rights of students to express their views on issues, even from a religious viewpoint, are clearly established in the law."³⁸⁶ They worried that schools might use anti-bullying policies to unconstitutionally prevent students from expressing their beliefs on issues such as the morality of homosexuality, and that such school practices could be exacerbated by expansive federal intervention. Mr. Sasser, for instance, noted several recent court cases involving schools disciplining students for religious expression at school.³⁸⁷ He said that, "what is really at issue here, is are we going to use the government to stamp out thoughts and beliefs and speech with which the government disagrees."³⁸⁸ Roger Clegg, likewise, said, "I think that part of what's going on here, part of what's being pushed, is an agenda that seeks

to use the power of the federal government to vilify and marginalize people who believe that gay sex is a sin. And they don't want that kind of thought to go unpunished."³⁸⁹ Mr. Sasser worried, similarly, that anti-bullying policies can be a form of government indoctrination,³⁹⁰ and that they may be used by schools to intimidate and harass religious students.³⁹¹

In response to these critiques, several advocates disagreed that the bullying and harassment addressed in ED's Dear Colleague Letter—or even in this report by the Commission—involved constitutionally protected speech; they believed that the viewpoint-discrimination arguments were essentially a red herring.³⁹² “Let me be very clear here,” said Eliza Byard, the words faggot and dyke are not part of any religious creed. And harassment and assault are crimes.”³⁹³ Ms. Byard elaborated that bullying and harassment involves “behavior, not belief,”³⁹⁴ and “ugly speech ... [does] not unto [itself] constitute bullying or harassment. ... There is a context.”³⁹⁵ She further noted that, on the state level, a definition for bullying and harassment has emerged that “includes the concept that the student has a reasonable fear of physical harm, as a result of what they are facing, and even a word as ugly as faggot or dyke ... has to be used in a context where it produces that expectation in a student in order to constitute bullying, or to constitute harassment.”³⁹⁶

Other panelists agreed with Ms. Byard's assessment. For example, Professor Ilan Meyer, of Columbia University, explained:

[N]othing in my testimony [and in others' testimony] is about speech at all. What I was talking about is about schools supporting affirmatively a gay student ... against the types of evidence that I have quoted about being injured, about physical assault, about rape, about being threatened, about having their property stolen, about being threatened with a knife or a weapon. So these are not issues about whether somebody, as Mr. Clegg referred to before, one student thinking it's a sin and another student thinking that it's not a sin.³⁹⁷

Professor Gregory Herek, of the University of California, Davis, concurred:

[W]hat we are talking about is children and youth who aren't simply having a reasoned discussion or disagreeing about a philosophical or religious point. What we are talking about is kids who are feeling that their safety—that they are not safe. They are feeling that they are going to be subjected to physical violence and in fact sometimes have been subjected to physical violence, and that this is something that pervades their life. ... [T]his is something that often ends up being very pervasive and it's something that confronts them on a frequent basis, sometimes on a daily basis, and so that just requires huge amounts of psychological resources to respond to.³⁹⁸

Responding to these assertions that bullying and harassment are not constitutionally protected speech, Professor Eugene Volokh, of UCLA School of Law, disagreed:

I wish that were true, but it seems to me that if you look at what the actual material—for example, the Dear Colleague Letter from the Department of Education says, it really is in considerable measure about speech. That what is labeled bullying and harassment are capacious enough to include speech, including speech that is protected by the First Amendment [I]f you look at the Dear Colleague Letter, it specifically talks about how harassment was defined to include verbal acts. That's lawyer speak for speech or statements.³⁹⁹

Professor Volokh expressed further concerns regarding the risk of over breadth of anti-bullying and anti-harassment policies generally. Noting that a “school might have considerable constitutional authority to restrict such speech if the specific statements pose a substantial risk of materially disrupting the school,”⁴⁰⁰ he warned, there is “[n]o categorical ‘harassment exception’ to the First Amendment.”⁴⁰¹

He asserted: A policy that threatens students with disciplinary action for [speech that creates a “hostile or offensive environment”] is likely to deter a good deal of speech that speakers think *might* be found by the [school] administration to create a “hostile or offensive environment,” and not just speech that is indeed ultimately found (after protracted litigation) to actually create a hostile or offensive environment.⁴⁰²

Professor Volokh also suggested that a First Amendment conflict could exist with respect to the Dear Colleague Letter’s definition of harassment, which does not require the conduct to be directed at a specific target or involve repeated incidents. According to Professor Volokh, “This means that political or religious statements ... could be treated as ‘harassment’ if they are seen as ‘severe’ enough by an administrator, or if they aren’t even severe but are seen as ‘pervasive’ or persistent.”⁴⁰³

Even if the federal government only focuses on harassment that is “the most egregious” and that usually includes violence, Professor Volokh noted, ED and DOJ “also seek[] school policies that are much broader than the particular cases that are the most egregious cases,” and urge schools to stop harassment before it becomes “egregious.”⁴⁰⁴

If “you put all this together,” he reasoned, “there’s a hard to deny First Amendment problem.”⁴⁰⁵

Some public commenters, however, have downplayed many of the First Amendment concerns expressed by Professor Volokh and others where the harassment in question, for instance, disrupts a school’s educational environment, or is discriminatory.⁴⁰⁶ Dean Erwin Chemerinsky, of the University of California, Irvine School of Law, stated in a Public Comment that “[t]he line between protected speech and harassment ... is not settled with regard to schools,”⁴⁰⁷ and where tension does exist, “courts are very likely to defer to the judgment of school officials as to how to best educate their students.”⁴⁰⁸ He reasoned:

Schools may prohibit all conduct, including speech, that constitutes harassment or threats on the basis of characteristics such as race, gender, religion, and sexual orientation. The more speech is simply the expression of ideas, even offensive ideas, the greater the likelihood that it is protected by the First Amendment. However, courts recognize the need for schools to protect their students from harassment and courts are thus likely to be very deferential to school officials in deciding when speech is harassment or threats that can be prohibited and punished. Those who advise the Commission of greater limits on schools, such as in some of the testimony the Commission received, are expressing their views about what they want the law to be; they are not describing the law as it exists.⁴⁰⁹

Similarly, Professor Stuart Biegel, of UCLA Graduate School of Education & Information Studies and UCLA School of Law, stated that “[local] [e]ducation officials have broad power [under the First Amendment] to restrict expressive activity that is reasonably likely to lead to material and substantial disruption or to interference with the rights of others.”⁴¹⁰ He noted that the 7th Circuit has recently “affirmed the right of school officials to draw reasonable boundaries in this area, and ... rejected the notion that First Amendment absolutist arguments should be

controlling in a K-12 education setting"⁴¹¹ with respect to school-climate policies. Professor Biegel quoted an opinion by Judge Richard Posner at length:

"Severe harassment ... blends insensibly into bullying, intimidation, and provocation, which can cause serious disruption of the decorum and peaceable atmosphere of an institution dedicated to the education of youth. School authorities are entitled to exercise discretion in determining when student speech crosses the line between hurt feelings and substantial disruption of the educational mission, because they have the relevant knowledge of and responsibility for the consequences."⁴¹²

In addition to these broad concerns, Professor Volokh and others were also troubled by the Dear Colleague Letter's suggestion that anti-bullying and anti-harassment policies should apply to interactions and statements that occur off-campus, including via email, websites, or social-networking sites.⁴¹³ Describing such policies as "attempt[s] at 24-7 control of student speech,"⁴¹⁴ Volokh reasoned, "[A]ny restrictions on off-campus speech ... would pose especially serious constitutional problems—and, in my view, would be unconstitutional— even if the [school] administration argues that they are 'severe or pervasive' enough to create an on-campus 'hostile or offensive environment.'"⁴¹⁵

ED, in response to such concerns related to off-campus conduct, has asserted that the Dear Colleague Letter does not implicate the First Amendment in this way:

[T]he [Dear Colleague Letter] notes that there are many remedial measures that schools can employ to respond to harassment that cannot be resolved by discipline or otherwise prevented. In some such cases, a school may be able to effectively remedy a hostile environment by, for example, making available counseling services and resources, and educating the school community on civil rights laws and expectations of tolerance—all of which do not implicate the First Amendment.⁴¹⁶

It is clear that the constitutionality of a given school's anti-bullying or anti-harassment policy is complicated, heavily fact-driven, and situation-specific.⁴¹⁷ But for this reason, Professor Volokh concluded that, on First Amendment issues, ED's Dear Colleague Letter is confusing. He did not believe that its mention of the First Amendment in a footnote or reference to prior guidance "suffice[d] to limit the scope of the proposed restrictions, or clarify their vagueness."⁴¹⁸ Instead, he said, the footnote is "not terribly helpful to school districts ... if they need to know what exactly it is that they should be protecting under the First Amendment." Professor Volokh explained:

They're generally not lawyers. Here they have this long letter with all of these examples of mostly conduct, physical violence, that needs to be restricted but also with statements, well, yes, analogous kinds of speech should be restricted, too, and occasional general references to things posted on websites and so on and so forth.⁴¹⁹

He continued:

[The Dear Colleague Letter contains] no meaningful examples of "Here are things that you shouldn't be restricting" or "Here are things that whether or not you should be restricting we don't mean to cover." "Here are the kinds of political or religious or social

or personal commentary on campus or off campus that should be _protected." It just is not offering any real guidance to the school districts. ...⁴"

... [W]hen there's a very big hammer out there, the threat of federal investigation, then that has a disproportionate impact—as opposed to perhaps a threat of a civil lawsuit for vindication of First Amendment rights. So my worry is that with letters like this, approaches like this, that do not really acknowledge the First Amendment issue and don't chart out examples and specific exclusions of what kind of speech should be protected, the inevitable effect is that there will be substantial deterrence of constitutionally protected speech.⁴²¹

While reasonable minds differ on the precise limits of the First Amendment, detailed guidance could indeed be useful to schools as they develop their anti-bullying policies.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings

- 1) Bullying and harassment, including bullying and harassment based on sex, race, national origin, disability, sexual orientation, or religion, are harmful to American youth.
[Commissioners Castro, Thernstrom, Achtenberg & Yaki voted in favor; Commissioners Gaziano, Heriot & Kirsanow voted against; Commissioner Kladney abstained.]
- 2) Current federal civil rights laws do not provide the U.S. Department of Education with jurisdiction to protect students from peer-to-peer harassment that is solely on the basis of religion.
[Commissioners Castro, Thernstrom, Achtenberg & Yaki voted in favor; Commissioners Gaziano, Heriot & Kirsanow voted against; Commissioner Kladney abstained.]
- 3) Current federal civil rights laws do not protect students from peer-to-peer harassment that is solely on the basis of sexual orientation.
[Commissioners Castro, Thernstrom, Achtenberg & Yaki voted in favor; Commissioners Gaziano, Heriot & Kirsanow voted against; Commissioner Kladney abstained.]

Recommendations

- 1) The U.S. Departments of Education and Justice should track their complaints/inquiries regarding peer-to-peer harassment separately from complaints/inquiries regarding staff-to-student harassment.
[Commissioners Castro, Thernstrom, Achtenberg & Yaki voted in favor; Commissioners Gaziano, Heriot, Kirsanow & Kladney abstained.]
- 2) The U.S. Departments of Education and Justice should track their complaints/inquiries regarding sexual harassment or gender-based harassment by creating a category that explicitly encompasses LGBT youth.

- [Commissioners Castro, Thornstrom, Achtenberg & Yaki voted in favor; Commissioners Gaziano & Heriot voted against; Commissioners Kirsanow & Kladney abstained.]
- 3) The U.S. Departments of Education and Justice should track complaints that they receive regarding harassment based solely on sexual orientation that are closed for lack of jurisdiction.
[Commissioners Castro, Thornstrom, Achtenberg, Gaziano, Heriot, Kirsanow, Kladney & Yaki voted in favor.]
- 4) The U.S. Department of Education should track complaints that it receives regarding harassment based solely on religion that are closed for lack of jurisdiction.
[Commissioners Castro, Thornstrom, Achtenberg, Gaziano, Heriot & Yaki voted in favor; Commissioners Kirsanow & Kladney abstained.]
- 5) The U.S. Department of Education should consider issuing a new Dear Colleague Letter regarding the First Amendment implications of anti-bullying policies. The new Letter should provide concrete examples to clarify the guidance that the Department of Education previously provided in its Dear Colleague Letter on the First Amendment dated July 28, 2003.
[Commissioners Castro, Thornstrom, Achtenberg & Yaki voted in favor; Commissioners Gaziano, Heriot & Kirsanow voted against; Commissioner Kladney abstained.]
- 6) The U.S. Department of Education should strive to use consistent language when it articulates legal standards, such as its enforcement standards, in its Dear Colleague Letters and guidance documents. When the Department of Education uses different, even if consistent, terms in its Dear Colleague Letters and guidance documents, it should explain the reasoning behind its use of different wording.
[Commissioners Castro, Thornstrom, Achtenberg, Gaziano, Heriot, Kirsanow, Kladney & Yaki voted in favor.]

COMMISSIONER STATEMENTS AND REBUTTALS

Statement of Chairman Martin R. Castro

"Bullying can have destructive consequences for our young people and it's not something we have to accept. As parents and students, as teachers and members of the community, we can take steps—all of us—to help prevent bullying."

--President Barack Obama

March 2011

Introduction

President Obama is right: We all can do something to prevent the destructive consequences of bullying. That is why I am proud that this briefing on "Peer-to-Peer Violence and Bullying" is the first briefing I conducted as Chair of the Commission. As I said at the briefing, this is an extremely important issue for us all. Every one of us has children in our lives that we love and care for, whether they are our own children, grandchildren, nieces, nephews, students, godchildren, or neighbors. We all want those children to have safe, happy, and long lives and

reach their full potential. Not only is this a personal desire, but I also believe it is a civil and human right.

As I also stated at the briefing, I know that each of us, regardless of our Party affiliation or our political ideology, wants to have communities and schools that are safe for our children, regardless of their race, national origin, sex, religion, disability status or sexual orientation. Where we may differ is how to accomplish that goal. I hope that this Statutory Enforcement Report is viewed as a constructive contribution to the discussion on how our Constitution and laws do and *should* protect the most vulnerable among us—our children.

I want to thank our staff, especially our Office of the General Counsel, for their extraordinary work in the organization of the briefing and the preparation of our Report. I also wish to commend my fellow Commissioners for the bi-partisan manner in which we conducted the briefing and for the fact that we were even able to promulgate some findings and recommendations unanimously. I also wish to thank our distinguished panelists and all of those individuals and organizations that provided voluminous written testimony to the Commission. While every submission may not be included in the Report, every submission was important to our effort to address this important issue.

I am very proud of the Report. This Statement will highlight some points I consider to be of special importance.

Why Is the Commission Concerned About Peer-to-Peer Violence and Bullying?

When student violence, harassment or bullying is motivated by race, national origin, religion, disability, gender, gender identity and gender stereotypes, it falls within the Commission's mandate to shine a light on the issue in an effort to remedy the wrong. As the Third Circuit Court of Appeals said in the *Sypniewski* case, "there is no constitutional right to be a bully."¹

While the Report contains a "disclaimer" that some "critique the usefulness or accuracy" of data presented by state and federal agencies, academics and interests groups about the scope of the bullying problem, there can be no doubt that what is being reported in the data is real—that our youth are being bullied on the basis of race, national origin, disability, gender, religion, or sexual orientation. Whether the number of students is in the tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands is certainly fertile ground for further empirical studies, but no one should be able to deny that this is a problem in the United States.

During our briefing, in the written submissions, and in virtually daily news accounts, we see uncontroverted evidence that American youth are being bullied, harassed and having violence perpetrated against them by their peers, in whole or in part, because of their membership or perceived membership in certain protected or demographic classes. When that happens, I believe the Federal government has an important role to play. I applaud the U.S. Departments of Justice and Education for their efforts to address these types of cases of bullying, violence and harassment. That is why I also am a strong proponent of giving them the additional jurisdiction they need to fully address the instances of the type of conduct that infringe on students' Constitutional rights to life, liberty and happiness.

While there are 45 states with anti-bullying laws, the current state-level anti-bullying laws neither protect all students nationwide nor provide all students with equal and consistent levels of protection from state to state. As our Report points out, existing federal laws leave loopholes

that do not protect students who are being bullied solely because of their religion or sexual orientation. Therefore, I believe Congress should enact and the President should sign into law both the Safe Schools Improvement Act and the Student Non-Discrimination Act. In addition, Congress should amend Title VI to prohibit discrimination on the basis of religion and the President should sign such a bill into law. These laws will close loopholes and give federal agencies the tools they need to fully and equally protect students when and where state laws or school districts can't or won't.

A Comprehensive, Consistent Approach Is Needed

However, we cannot merely legislate and litigate these issues away. We must also educate and train. Only through a holistic approach can we ever hope to overcome the destructive consequences of peer-to-peer violence, harassment and bullying.

That's why I support the thoughtful recommendations of organizations such as the American Bar Association ("ABA"), the National Education Association ("NEA"), the Anti-Defamation League, and others, which call for the regular training of administrators, teachers and students in how to identify and respond to instances of bullying.

I applaud the NEA for providing free anti-bullying training through its National Bullying and Sexual Harassment Prevention and Intervention Program and for incorporating anti-bullying strategies into its school transformation campaign.

Furthermore, as the ABA points out in its Report in support of its anti-bullying Resolution of February 14, 2011:

“Effective anti-bullying programs are known to include the following: ‘target known risk factors in youth violence; involve youth, parents, teachers and community members; monitor the implementation of the program components; use culturally-relevant, gender-specific and developmentally appropriate strategies; establish high standards and expectations for staff and participants; and provide comprehensive and ongoing interventions.’”²

I also agree with the ADL's recommendation regarding the interrelationship of the enforcement of anti-bullying efforts and the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act.³

This type of comprehensive approach, coupled with strong federal anti-bullying protections will help to holistically begin to address this problem.

Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Protections for Limited English Proficient Persons

It is difficult enough to discern whether your child is the victim of bullying, harassment or violence at school, let alone know what your rights are and how to navigate the system to enforce them and protect your child. Now imagine trying to do all of this with limited English language proficiency and/or cultural barriers. In addition, students with language barriers may also find it more challenging to report incidents of bullying, harassment or violence, or suffer a chilling effect in reporting these situations to a school system that is not linguistically or culturally accessible. For example, as Ms. Helen Gym of Asian Americans United testified at our briefing regarding the violence perpetrated against Asian students in Philadelphia: “Staff members... failed to investigate reported complaints, or worse, refused to file incident reports unless students spoke English to them, and who failed to call for translation assistance for

concerned parents and families.”⁴ Ms. Gym further testified, “The district failed to translate documents or provide students and families with interpretation. Students reported that school security did not offer translation assistance to students who made complaints, and therefore, did not investigate them, or only heard the perspective of the English-speaking student.”⁵

Therefore, school districts should provide to Limited English Proficient student victims and their families information in their respective languages about how to report incidents of violence, harassment and bullying, and how to enforce their rights under existing district policies and applicable state and federal laws. School districts should also make reasonable efforts to have spoken-language translators available to students and families to assist in this dissemination of information and in the accurate reporting of complaints of bullying, violence or harassment. It is not just enough to have bilingual staff. The staff must be trained in interpretation and be knowledgeable about the anti-bullying policy of the school. As the ABA states in its report, “Without taking into consideration the cultural and linguistic differences among youth, it is unlikely that any [anti-bullying] program will be successful.”⁶

Neutrality Policies Are Anything But Neutral

“Neutrality” policies in schools require staff to take a neutral position when it comes to matters of sexual orientation in the school’s curriculum. However, in practice, these neutrality policies, also known as Sexual Orientation Curriculum Policies, are being erroneously applied in areas beyond curriculum, with devastating results, as we heard from Tammy Aaberg. Ms. Aaberg was the mother of Justin, a 15 year old who committed suicide last year after experiencing bullying and harassment due to his sexual orientation. When it was reported to Justin’s school, which had a neutrality policy, the school allegedly failed to take action because, as his mother testified, the neutrality policy “confuses teachers and staff and they feel like their hands are tied, as they don’t know what should or shouldn’t be considered neutral. I believe this is what happened with the Counselor. Once she heard the word gay, she didn’t ask Justin’s friend any further questions and I never received a phone call.”⁷ The results were tragic for the Aaberg family. We should not allow this tragedy to continue to be repeated in schools across the country.

While Ms. Aaberg presented her story, the story of one family, of one child, that should not diminish the impact of her request for help for other children like Justin who are persecuted solely because of their sexual orientation. Or for that matter, for other students who are also bullied, harassed and have violence perpetrated against them because of their race, national origin, gender, disability or religion. Therefore, school districts should rescind these neutrality policies that lead to instances of bullying, harassment and violence going unaddressed.

I was very moved by Ms. Aaberg’s testimony about the loss of her son. I believe her words best summarize why we must take every step possible to ensure that existing laws are enforced fully, and new laws enacted to protect ALL of our children:

“These children are dead, my son is dead. Justin is gone from this earth and I will never be able to give him a hug, see his smile, hear his beautiful Cello playing or tell him I love him. Because some people believed he deserved fewer protections than others. All of these children and too many others across the country all died too young as a result of bullying and harassment.”⁸

It is time for us to make certain that our Constitution and laws are interpreted and enforced in a manner that provides the necessary protections against bullying, harassment and violence inflicted on students on the basis of their race, national origin, gender, disability religion or sexual orientation—for all of our children's sake.

Statement of Vice Chair Abigail Thernstrom

Data

I am disturbed by the self-reported nature of the data presented in this report. Perceptions of discrimination are not reality. Of course the testimony of people who believe they have been victims must be taken seriously, but it is essential to verify those claims. They do not accurately register the frequency of incidents unless we are willing to say, if you feel you have been bullied, you have been bullied.

In addition, the data upon which we relied were, in many cases, collected by advocacy organizations with a clear agenda; again, the numbers need verification. Some of these organizations characterize conduct as “harassment” that doesn’t qualify as such under federal law. Readers should take definitional problems into account when looking at questions of how federal agencies enforce anti-harassment laws.

School Culture

Before moving on to other concerns I have with the report, I should say, as a preliminary matter, that I do not believe that controlling unacceptable student behavior in schools is – as the cliché runs – rocket science. I have spent much time in both orderly and disorderly schools. In those that are well run and have a culture truly devoted to education, no student even thinks of harassing peers or teachers – the latter often being a serious problem. The inmates do not run the asylum where there are clear messages about who is in charge, and about acceptable and unacceptable behavior. In orderly, disciplined schools, there is no running in the halls, fights between students, disrespectful language used in talking to other students or to teachers.

The secret to creating such schools is very simple: The messages about expectations with respect to behavior and language are communicated by every teacher in every setting, and by administrators as well. No principal locks himself or herself behind a closed door, letting bedlam occur out of sight and thus out of mind. Students face consequences when they are late to school, when food is thrown in the lunchroom, when they dress in a slovenly manner, when they use their fists to settle disagreement, and when their language violates rules of respect and self-respect. Slovenly language and slovenly dress are like James Q. Wilson’s famous “broken windows” in a city. If not repaired, they send a signal that no one cares about disorder, and that signal is a slippery slope to a community in which fear is ever-present.

Why don’t more schools – particularly those in the inner city – fit the description above? In too many schools, civility is not regarded as integral to education. It should be seen as equally, if not more important, than the three Rs. A student’s employment prospects in life will depend on it. And yet often teachers and administrators with whom I have discussed the importance of a school culture tell me that they would be imposing middle class values on their students if they listened to me – although “middle class” jobs are precisely that they should be making their disadvantaged students eligible for.

A Federal Fix?

School culture is something that only schools can set. Values cannot be imposed from above or outside. It is very difficult to see how the federal government can play a major role in stopping bullying in hundreds of thousands of schools across the land. As one of our witnesses, Dr. John Eastman testified,

There are lots of problems in society that are beyond the authority of the national government to address. The kinds of interactions between children on school playgrounds that have existed since we had schools would seem to be near the top of the list. And even if we could find constitutional authority for the federal government to intervene in this quintessentially local setting, do we really think that bureaucrats in Washington, D.C. should be crafting a national, one-size-fits-all policy on how to manage the interactions of children on the playground?¹

First Amendment Issues

Witnesses at the briefing explored other important issues. For instance I have First Amendment concerns that would arise with federal intervention regulating student speech, even when that speech is perceived as harassment. Here is an issue on which perhaps there can be consensus. I hope we can all agree that *"a school must formulate, interpret, and apply its rules so as to protect academic freedom and free speech rights,"* as the OCR Guidelines of January 19, 2001 stated.²

In addressing the First Amendment question, panelist Eugene Volokh cited the Supreme Court's *Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education* decision³ that "suggests that Title IX (and, by extension, Title VI) [did] require schools to ban certain forms of harassment." It was a case, however, that involved "physical touching and unwanted vulgar sexual references," he noted. Prof. Volokh was thus not sure "its holding would apply in a case based on politically or religiously themed speech." Moreover, he noted, "liability could only be imposed "where the behavior [was] so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive that it denie[d] its victims the equal access to education . . ." Volokh concluded:

schools should be encouraged to craft policies in terms such as these, rather than using terms such as "bullying," "harassment," or the creation of a "hostile or offensive environment" through "severe or pervasive" conduct.⁴

Religion

While the scope of our report included student-on-student harassment and bullying based on religion, Congress has not enacted legislation to prohibit religious discrimination in programs and activities which receive federal funds such as public schools and colleges. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination based on race, color, and national origin. Subsequent legislation also prohibits discrimination based on sex, disability, and age. But there is no law prohibiting religious discrimination by recipients of federal funds.

However, over the years OCR has issued policy guidance regarding discrimination based upon shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics which may overlap or coincide with a victim's religious practices or beliefs. The most recent such guidance was contained in OCR's Oct. 26, 2010 "Dear Colleague" letter:

While Title VI does not cover discrimination based solely on religion, groups that face discrimination on the basis of actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics may not be denied protection under Title VI on the ground that they also share a common faith.⁵

Since this protection is articulated in a guidance document it may not survive changes in administrations, does not have the same force as law, and only indirectly protects against religious discrimination. Moreover, the discrimination must be based on “perceived, shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics” of a religious group.⁶

Insofar as bullying and harassment based on enumerated protected characteristics is a problem requiring federal intervention in our local schools – and I’m not certain that is the case – Congress might consider enacting legislation specifically prohibiting religious harassment and discrimination in federally funded education programs.

Statement of Commissioner Roberta Achtenberg

Introduction¹

The breadth and depth of the record in this inquiry demonstrate that students target each other for peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence due to identity-based animus, all too frequently. The numerous, complex short and long-term negative consequences of such victimization underscore the urgency of careful monitoring, proactive intervention, and access to enforcement of rights by targeted students and their families.

Each demographic class of students examined -- those identified by race or national origin, sex, disability, sexual minority or gender non-conforming youth status, or religion -- suffers a serious and pervasive level of victimization. Needless to say, all children deserve to be protected from such targeting so that they may learn and grow in safety, regardless of what negative beliefs may persist about their status or identifying characteristics.

I concur with each of the Findings and Recommendations contained in the body of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights’ 2011 statutory enforcement report, “Peer-to-Peer Violence and Bullying: Examining the Federal Response”² This Statement puts forth the additional findings and recommendations that I believe the multi-faceted and credible record supports.

Findings

Finding #1: Peer-to-peer violence, bullying, and harassment based upon animus toward students’ race, national origin, sex, religion, disability, and/or sexual orientation or gender non-conformity occur at high rates. These actions constitute serious and pervasive problems which negatively affect schools, students and their families.

The USCCR Report finds first that “[b]ullying and harassment, including bullying and harassment based on sex, race, national origin, disability, sexual orientation or religion, are harmful to American youth.” This is an important conclusion drawn from the Commission’s inquiry. Yet, it does not go as far as the record supports to underscore the severity of the underlying problems. In view of the depth and breadth of the Commission’s record, it is appropriate to characterize the scope of the problem in more serious terms, as well as to make more particularized findings and recommendations.

Finding #2: Up to one-quarter of racial and ethnic minority students are targeted for peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence.

The numbers of complaints alleging race-based harassment made to the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education demonstrate the continuing seriousness of the problem. Complaints alleging racial or national origin discrimination represent a significant percentage of overall complaint statistics in each of the years that the Commission examined, 2005 through 2011. In some years, more complaints alleging racial or national origin harassment were made than those asserting that other types of animus-based harassment had been perpetrated.³ As the USCCR Report notes,

[t]he California Healthy Kids Survey conducted in 2007-2009 found that when youth in California were bullied or harassed on school property, the most common specific reason cited was because of their race or national origin, with about 18 percent of students in grades 7, 9, and 11 reporting at least one bullying incident in the past year for this reason. The problem is not limited to one specific racial or ethnic group. When results from 9th and 11th grade students are broken down by race and ethnicity, African-American students reported being bullied or harassed due to their race or ethnicity at the highest rate — 23 percent. Twenty-two percent of Asian-American students, 22 percent of Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander students, and 20 percent of Native American students reported being harassed due to their race, ethnicity, or national origin as well. [citations omitted].⁴

Finding #3: Disabled students are at significantly higher risk of targeting for peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence than are non-disabled students.

As the USCCR Report indicates, “[t]hough research regarding the connection between bullying and disability is fairly limited ..., such research seems to indicate that students with disabilities are two to three times more likely than students without disabilities to be victims of bullying.”⁵ The paucity of studies in this area is of particular concern in light of the wide range of physical and mental health disabilities which affect students⁶ and the differing ways in which peer-to-peer student bullying, harassment, and violence pertain to each, and in view of the fact that “[t]he limited research on bullying in special education has indicated that special education students are more likely to be victimized.”⁷ Specifically with regard to students with learning disabilities, there has been:

very little research [citations omitted]. ... [However, b]ased on the research to date and on the characteristics common to children with [learning disabilities] and children who are bullied, there is reason to believe that children with [learning disabilities] are at greater risk of peer victimization [citations omitted].⁸

This is of particular concern where “the co-occurrence of peer victimization and [learning disabilities] for children and youth may have separate and additive effects, substantially heightening these children’s chance of experiencing social and emotional problems [citation omitted]....”⁹ Disabled students’ heightened risk of being targeted has been demonstrated with regard to students with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (hereinafter “ADHD”). Specifically:

[m]iddle-school students who reported taking medications for ADHD were ... more likely to report being bullied [than students not taking such medication]. ... 34% of the

students who reported taking ADHD medication, in comparison to 22% among other students, reported that bullies victimized them at least 2 or 3 times a month.¹⁰

Also, the Commission has learned that:

[i]n a 2009 study of parents of children with Asperger Syndrome, 94 percent reported that their children had been bullied. [citation omitted.] Additionally, 65 percent reported that their children had been victimized by peers within the past year, while 50 percent reported that their children were scared by their peers.¹¹

Finding #4: Over three-quarters of all students experience sex-based bullying, harassment, or peer-to-peer student violence.

As the USCCR Report indicates, “statistics on sex-based bullying in K-12 schools are somewhat limited.”¹² Nonetheless, the USCCR Report presents good data from the Commission’s record. Specifically,

a 2001 study by the American Association of University Women (AAUW) found that 81 percent of students in grades 8 to 11 reported experiencing sexual harassment, including 83 percent of girls and 79 percent of boys. Twenty-seven percent of the students surveyed, including 30 percent of girls and 24 percent of boys, said that they were sexually harassed often. Seventy-six percent of students reported that they experienced nonphysical harassment often, occasionally, or rarely, while 58 percent reported experiencing physical harassment often, occasionally, or rarely. And 44 percent of girls and 20 percent of boys reported that they were afraid of being sexually harassed at school. [citations omitted.]

In addition, in the School Survey on Crime and Safety (SSOCS), sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education’s National Center for Education Statistics, schools reported 800 incidents of rape and 3800 incidents of sexual battery not involving rape in the 2007-2008 school year. The AAUW study found that 12 percent of boys and 9 percent of girls in grades 8 to 11 reported that they had been forced to do something sexual other than kissing. [citations omitted.]¹³

Finding #5: Students of different religions, including Sikhs, Jews, Muslims, and Christians, report being targeted for bullying, harassment, or peer-to-peer student violence. For example, rates of Sikh student victimization range from roughly half to over three-quarters.

Issues of the targeting of students for peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence based upon religious animus raises civil liberties issues that are a bit more complex than the victimization of students in other classes. As panelist Kenneth Marcus testified,

[i]ntuitively, one would expect children victimized by religious hate to enjoy the apex of protections afforded under our constitutional system. Structurally, they are victimized at the convergence of the First and Fourteenth Amendments, denied not only the Constitution’s “first freedom” [citation omitted] but also the very interest in equal educational opportunity that has been constitutionally preeminent since *Brown v. Board of Education*. [citation omitted].¹⁴

Unfortunately, in this era of escalating religious intolerance, such legal subtleties are not being observed in the nation’s classrooms. According to a study of youth survey data in California, 9.1% of students report being targeted for peer-to-peer harassment due to their religion.¹⁵ By way of illustration, the Report demonstrates that, in addition to Muslim,

Christian, and Jewish students, Sikh students in the United States are targeted for animus-based peer-to-peer problems. Of particular note,

[a] 2010 survey by the Sikh Coalition, conducted in the San Francisco Bay Area in California, found that 47 percent of local Sikh youth were subjected to bullying. Of the boys who wear turbans (or patkas), 74 percent reported being subjected to bullying. The survey found bullying to be most prevalent in Alameda County, where 86 percent of Sikh boys reported being targeted. Likewise, a 2007 Sikh Coalition survey of Sikh youth in New York City found that 58.4 percent of local Sikh students had been subjected to bullying. The survey found that 62.2 percent of boys who wear turbans (or patkas) reported that they were bullied and 42 percent reported being physically hit or involuntarily touched. In the borough of Queens, as high as 77.5 percent of boys reported being bullied. [citations omitted.]¹⁶

Finding #6: Data shows that forty to fifty percent (40 to 50%) of sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth are targeted for peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, or violence.

Leading institutions and researchers, including the Institute of Medicine of the National Academies, have recognized that peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence against sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth is so serious and pervasive as to constitute a public health problem of the highest order.

The recent report of aggregated data by the Institute of Medicine concluded that “[c]ompared with heterosexual youth, LGBT youth report experiencing higher levels of harassment, victimization, and violence, including verbal, physical, and sexual abuse.”¹⁷ The recent work of Dr. Mark Friedman of the University of Pittsburgh¹⁸ is also a relevant aggregation of studies. Dr. Friedman’s meta-analysis “included only studies that compared sexual minority and sexual non-minority (heterosexual) youth.”¹⁹ Further, and critically, his work “included ... only school-based studies that used probability (sometimes referred to as random) samples of youth. That is, youth assessed in these studies represent the populations of youth attending high schools in the communities where the studies were conducted.”²⁰ Simply put, Dr. Friedman’s work is a meta-analysis of probability studies. Its relevant conclusions should, therefore, be assigned particular validity and credibility. Dr. Friedman concludes that his “research, using state of the art methodology, has confirmed that bullying victimization of sexual minority youth (i.e., youth who are sexually attracted to same-sex youth, self-labeled as gay, lesbian or bisexual) is a major public health problem.”²¹ Dr. Friedman found that much peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence toward sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth tends to be expressed through physical violence. Specifically,

[o]ver the aggregate of all the studies that qualified to be included in the meta analysis, compared to heterosexual youth, ... [s]exual minority youth were 170% more likely to be assaulted at school”²² and that “40% of lesbians 44% of bisexual females, 43% of gay males and 50% of bisexual males were assaulted at school....”²³

Finding #7: Sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth do not have an intrinsically heightened vulnerability to negative outcomes from peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence. Rather, ongoing societal stigmatization of homosexuality, as opposed to any inherent weakness, makes these youth particularly susceptible to negative outcomes resulting from identity-based harassment.

Homosexuality has long been understood to be a normal variation of human sexuality.²⁴ A cornerstone of this knowledge is the fact that the American Psychiatric Association (APA) concluded almost forty years ago, in 1973, that "homosexuality in and of itself implies no impairment in judgment, stability, reliability, or vocational capabilities,"²⁵ and that "homosexuality is not considered a mental disorder in APA's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV-TR)."²⁶

The American Psychological Association expressed its support for the American Psychiatric Association's change in viewpoint in 1975.²⁷ A wide array of professional mental health groups have subsequently endorsed the position that homosexuality is normal, as evidenced by their support for the American Psychiatric Association's recommendation against "any psychiatric treatment, such as 'reparative' or 'conversion' therapy, that is based upon the assumption that homosexuality per se is a mental disorder or is based on the a priori assumption that the patient should change his or her homosexual orientation."²⁸

Numerous studies, both meta-analyses and individual investigations, have demonstrated that sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth upon whom animus-based peer harassment is perpetrated suffer an array of serious, negative outcomes. Among other results, "experiences [of peer-to-peer student violence] are related to increased substance use, ... mental health problems, and sexual risk-taking behavior."²⁹ The Institute of Medicine reports that sexual minority youth who are targeted by peers are also at risk for suffering academic outcomes, such as diminished school attendance and low grades.³⁰

Sexual minority youth appear to engage in an array of risky behaviors at higher rates than do their heterosexual peers. The June, 2011 analysis of multi-state, multi-year Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System high school student data performed by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that, "[c]ompared with students who are not sexual minorities, a disproportionate number of sexual minority students engage in a wide range of health-risk behaviors."^{31,32} Sexual minority youth, as the CDC Report indicates, also face heightened risk of substance use and abuse, including tobacco,³³ alcohol,³⁴ and illegal drugs.³⁵ In addition, as did the Institute of Medicine, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that sexual minority youth appear to engage in risky sexual behavior at disproportionate rates.³⁶

The research fails to show a link between any *per se* weakness in a homosexual orientation and a particular vulnerability to negative outcomes from peer-to-peer student violence. Rather, as discussed in detail by Drs. Herek and Meyer, it appears that the extra pressure created by structural stigma is responsible for such disparate outcomes to the extent that they appear to exist.³⁷

Stigma impacts both the stigmatized and the stigmatizer. The Institute of Medicine reports that:

[c]ontemporary health disparities based on sexual orientation and gender identity are rooted in and reflect the historical stigmatization of [lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender] people. Most [lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender] people encounter stigma from an early age, and this experience shapes how they perceive and interact with all aspects of society.... Likewise, heterosexual people ... have been socialized in a society that stigmatizes sexual and gender minorities, and this context inevitably affects their knowledge and perceptions of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender] people.³⁸

Unfortunately, the structural stigma which fuels much of the school-based harassment that sexual minority youth experience may compound their vulnerability to negative outcomes when it emanates from within the student's home. Structural stigma can be expressed as family rejection of the youth's minority identity. Family rejection theory appears to be validated by meta-analysis which shows that sexual minority youth are 1.2 times more likely than their heterosexual peers to be physically abused by their parents.^{39, 40} The heightened risk for parental abuse and other manifestations of family rejection appear to fuel the alarmingly high rate of homelessness among sexual minority youth.⁴¹

Sexual minority youth are also apparently at particularly high risk of re-victimization by schools and the legal system. Such students also appear to be:

1.25 to 3 times more likely than their heterosexual peers to receive punishment from schools, police or courts. ... [T]his greater likelihood of punishment is not explained by greater engagement in troublesome behaviors and suggest that LGB youth may be targeted for punishment or that mitigating factors such as self-defense may be overlooked.⁴²

Recent statistics indicate that roughly thirteen percent of youth responding to an anonymous survey study in juvenile detention facilities in six cities were sexual minority and gender-nonconforming youth.⁴³

The most egregious impact of animus-based peer-to-peer harassment, obviously, is the possible fueling of victims' suicidal ideation and behavior.⁴⁴ The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's recent analysis of behaviors related to suicidality indicates that gay, lesbian, and bisexual high school students are roughly two to three times more likely than their heterosexual peers to have "seriously considered attempting suicide",⁴⁵ or to have "made a suicide plan."⁴⁶ This analysis further found that gay, lesbian and bisexual are approximately three to four times more likely than their heterosexual peers to have actually attempted suicide,⁴⁷ and that sexual minority youth are in the range of three to four times more likely than heterosexual students to have "made a suicide attempt that resulted in an injury, poisoning, or an overdose that had to be treated by a doctor or nurse."⁴⁸ The reasons that sexual minority youth may experience suicidal ideation and/or acts in response to victimization are not entirely clear. Nonetheless, social stigma may well drive some number of these experiences.⁴⁹ According to the Institute of Medicine, "[f]amily rejection due to sexual orientation may also be associated with increased risk of suicidality."⁵⁰ The need to intervene as fully as possible to diminish peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence against sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth is not driven only by the need to improve targeted students' short-term quality of life and academic success, but also by indications that the negative consequences of such acts can follow the target students into at least young adulthood.⁵¹

Finding #8: Peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence targeted toward sexual minority youth who are also racial or ethnic-origin minorities are serious, pervasive, and involve unique complexities which merit further, careful study.

Sexual minority youth who are also members of racial or ethnic-origin minorities, according to research, face particular vulnerability to peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence and to their negative outcomes. The Commission has been advised that, "[i]n addressing the experiences of sexual minority students of color, it is important to recognize the intersectionality of identities and to avoid using an additive approach, i.e., examining race and

sexuality separately without addressing their intersection.”⁵² According to the Institute of Medicine, “[a]s highlighted by the concept of intersectionality, the experience of being a sexual minority is influenced by an individual’s other identities. Thus, the experience of being lesbian, gay, or bisexual appears to vary according to the racial or ethnic group with which one identifies.”⁵³

Given the limitations in obtaining probability samples of sexual minority youth and racial minority overall, as discussed in Finding #9 below, it is reasonable to assume that obtaining such samples of sexual minority youth who are also racial minorities would be particularly difficult. Therefore, given the absence in its record of probability studies or a meta-analysis regarding this specific population, it is reasonable to rely upon carefully-crafted non-probability studies conducted by highly-credentialed researchers and published in highly-respected journals. The studies of this nature which are in the Commission’s record demonstrate the heightened need to protect, as appropriate under the law, such youth.

One relevant study demonstrates that, as compared with white non-Latino/a peers and Latina sexual minority youth peers, young sexual minority Latinos face the highest rates of family rejection to disclosure of their sexual orientation. This high-rate rejection appears to be tied to sexual minority Latino youth, as compared to sexual minority white non-Latino/a peers and sexual minority Latina peers, having the highest rates of current depression, suicidal ideation, suicide attempts, heavy drinking, substance abuse-related problems, unprotected sexual activity, and diagnoses of sexually transmitted diseases.⁵⁴

Finding #9: The USCCR Report utilizes social science data which is rooted in conventional and legitimate research standards.

As self-report data collection techniques were first being developed, social scientists questioned their baseline reliability. Nonetheless, “[d]uring the 1960s, researchers began to recognize the true potential of the self-report methodology.”⁵⁵ Motivated by this understanding, researchers have since then discerned and implemented many ongoing improvements in the realm of self-reporting data collection. “[C]onsiderable attention has been paid to the development and improvement of the psychometric properties of the self-report method.”⁵⁶ Thereby, “[t]he self-report methodology [thereby] continues to advance, both in terms of its application to new substantive areas and the improvement of its design.”⁵⁷ This evolution has lead to researchers’ increased confidence in the reliability and validity of data collected by self-report.⁵⁸

Given the increased understanding that has lead to ongoing refinements of self-report data collection methodologies, it is now the case that:

the self-report method appears to behave reasonably well when judged by standard criteria available to social scientists. By these criteria, the difficulties in self-report instruments currently in use would appear to be surmountable; the method of self-reports does not appear from these studies to be fundamentally flawed. Reliability measures are impressive and the majority of studies produce validity coefficients in the moderate to strong range.⁵⁹

Whether the data is generated by self-report or otherwise, the methodology of the study creates different tiers of reliability of data.

Probability studies (those based upon as random a sample pool as possible) published in peer-reviewed journals with rigorous pre-publication standards are, overall, considered to be more reliable than studies based upon non-probability (non-random) sample pools published under the same circumstances. The Institute of Medicine explains that “peer-reviewed journals are the gold standard for the reporting of research results,”⁶⁰ and that “every effort [should be made] to consult works published in major research journals.”⁶¹ Within the realm of such studies, one should give “the greatest credence to such sources that report... research employing rigorous methods, were authored by well-established researchers, and were generally consistent with scholarly consensus on the current state of knowledge.”⁶²

Probability sampling among the some of the youth populations under examination by the Commission is particularly difficult to utilize. According to the Institute of Medicine,

[o]btaining a probability sample of a relatively small population, such as a racial, ethnic, religious, sexual, or gender minority, requires considerably more resources than are required for sampling the population as a whole. This is the case because a large number of potential participants must be screened to obtain a sample of minority group members large enough for statistical analysis. Still more resources are required to collect samples that permit study of subpopulations within these groups, such as socioeconomic, age, and geographic groupings, and comparisons of respondents according to health-related characteristics. Lacking such resources, relatively few studies designed specifically to examine LGBT individuals have been able to utilize large probability samples.⁶³

Therefore, most specifically with regard to sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth, “[p]robability sampling has seen limited use in the study of LGBT health. ... [T]he relatively small size of LGBT populations, the lack of research funding, and the sensitivity of questions relating to sexual behavior and gender expression have been barriers to effective probability sampling.”^{64,65} Despite the difficulties inherent in conducting probability studies about the sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth populations, however, relevant and reliable research is still possible to conduct and valid conclusions are still possible to draw.⁶⁶ Overcoming the inherent potential shortcomings in non-probability studies, aggregation of studies and meta-analysis are valid:

approach[es] to obtaining a national probability sample with a sufficient number of sexual- and gender-minority respondents involves combining data across studies. For ongoing studies that recruit new probability samples on a regular basis, it can be possible to combine sexual- and gender-minority respondents across years to produce a sample that is sufficiently large for analysis, provided that the studies all include comparable measures of key variables.⁶⁷

The Institute of Medicine notes further that:

[c]ombining data from multiple samples can be helpful in researching groups (like sexual and gender minorities) that represent a small domain in part of a larger survey. Because the numbers of these small groups often are not sufficiently large for analysis, combining data from multiple samples allows researchers to generate more accurate estimates.⁶⁸

Finding #10: The Commission found that “[c]urrent federal civil rights laws do not provide the U.S. Department of Education with jurisdiction to protect students from peer-to-peer harassment that is solely on the basis of religion,” and that “current federal civil rights laws do not protect students from peer-to-peer harassment that is solely on the basis of sexual orientation.” In addition, current state-level anti-bullying laws neither protect all students nor provide them with equal and consistent levels of protection.

The Anti-Defamation League has argued that, although most states have some form of anti-bullying statute in place, these statutes are very different in content. Further, none appear to address all identified areas in which coverage would be appropriate to fully protect students across the country. Such dimensions of an ideal law would include the required creation of school district policy, provision of a model policy, addressing the unique questions presented by cyberbullying, listing enumerated categories of protected students, mandating the definition and implementation of reporting procedures, implementing of parental notification requirements, provision of staff training, and imposition of accountability regarding districts’ reporting to the states.⁶⁹

The Anti-Defamation League has drafted a comprehensive model statute in this domain entitled “Cyberbullying Prevention Law.” Culling the best provisions from existing state laws across the country, this law seeks to address, in concise fashion, the relevant concerns.⁷⁰

Finding #11: A school district “neutrality policy,” “sexual orientation curriculum policy,” or any directive which precludes staff from discussing issues related to homosexuality, inappropriately chills school staff members’ ability to communicate with students and their families about peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence related to students’ real or perceived sexual minority or gender non-conforming status. By doing so, such a policy facilitates the unchecked perpetration and negative impact of such peer-to-peer behavior.

Commission witness Ms. Tammy Aaberg provided detailed and compelling testimony regarding the July, 2010 suicide of her fifteen year-old, openly gay son Justin Aaberg.⁷¹ According to Ms. Aaberg, Justin’s suicide was fueled by the verbal and physical anti-gay harassment to which peers subjected him at school.

Justin Aaberg attended school in Minnesota’s Anoka-Hennepin School District No. 11, which has in place a “Sexual Orientation Curriculum Policy,” which is known colloquially as the “neutrality policy.” This directive states that:

[t]eaching about sexual orientation is not a part of the District adopted curriculum; rather, such matters are best addressed within individual family homes, churches, or community organizations. Anoka-Hennepin staff, in the course of their professional duties, shall remain neutral on matters regarding sexual orientation.⁷²

Reportedly, serious and pervasive problems of peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence pervade District No. 11’s high schools as a result of the discriminatory implementation of this policy. In *Doe, et al. v. Anoka-Hennepin School District No. 11*, federal court plaintiff students and former students allege suffering years’ worth of unrelenting verbal and physical harassment from multiple student perpetrators due to the implementation of the Sexual Orientation Policy and a policy which preceded it.⁷³

In addition to the pending federal court action, Anoka-Hennepin’s Sexual Orientation Curriculum Policy is facing federal executive branch scrutiny as well. The U.S. Department of

Education and the U.S. Department of Justice are investigating allegations of discriminatory peer-to-peer harassment based upon gender non-conformity as related to the Sexual Orientation Curriculum Policy and Title IX.⁷⁴

The number and degree of reported acts of peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence perpetrated against sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth, in tandem with the wide-ranging and serious consequences suffered by the targeted students, certainly raise questions about the implementation of Anoka-Hennepin District No. 11's Sexual Orientation Curriculum Policy. If, in fact, the policy and/or the manner in which it is implemented facilitate the creation of an illegally hostile environment for sexual minority and gender nonconforming youth, this situation exemplifies an unacceptable outcome to the failure of state and local authorities to control peer-to-peer harassment problems. If this is true, the situation underscores the need for students in Minnesota and across the country to have meaningful and consistent protections such as those proposed by the ADL Model Statute discussed above.

Finding #12: Potential federal tools for the further amelioration of peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence have been introduced into the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. The Safe Schools Improvement Act, the Student Non-Discrimination Act, and a proposed amendment to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 seek to close gaps in existing law and provide strong, viable protections for students at risk of victimization due to their sexual minority or gender non-conforming status or their religion.

As the Commission found, students targeted for peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence only on the basis of their sexual minority or gender non-conforming status, or only to their religious affiliation, do not have the benefit of federal protections. The underlying problems are serious and pervasive. Further, the lack of consistency among state laws demonstrates the need for federal legal protections. The Commission's record and Report make clear that specific federal legislative protection for these students is warranted.

The Safe Schools Improvement Act (hereinafter "SSIA") is a cogent, targeted bill that seeks to ameliorate this gap for students targeted due to religion and sexual minority and gender non-conforming status that has recently been introduced into the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. The SSIA would amend the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act. With bipartisan backing in both chambers, it seeks to address the targeting of students based upon, among other characteristics, race, national origin, sexual orientation, gender identity, sex, and religion. The SSIA would require federally-funded local educational agencies to adopt specific anti-bullying and anti-harassment prohibitions. It would further mandate that schools notify students, families, and school staff about prohibitions, incident reports, and complaint-registering information, and require that states collect and report to the U.S. Department of Education data regarding the nature and extent of the problems.⁷⁵

U.S. Representative Linda T. Sanchez (D-CA), lead U.S. House of Representatives sponsor of the SSIA, notes that "[t]he widespread nature of this [peer-to-peer student bullying and harassment] problem justifies federal action, especially where different schools, districts, and states have failed to address it."⁷⁶ The SSIA, if enacted, would,

help school personnel meaningfully address bullying and harassment and would ensure that States and [school] districts maintain and report data regarding incidents of

bullying and harassment in order to inform the development of effective federal, state, and local policies that address these issues.⁷⁷

A second relevant pending bill, the Student Non-Discrimination Act (hereinafter “SNDA”), is tailored more specifically to address the needs of sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth and those who associate with them. This Act, which enjoys bipartisan support in the U.S. House of Representatives, seeks to ban the exclusion of sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth from any activity receiving federal dollars. The SNDA would grant a cause of action to those who assert violation of their rights under the Act, and would waive states’ Eleventh Amendment immunity from such suits.⁷⁸

U.S. Senator Al Franken (D-MN), lead sponsor of the SNDA in the Senate, believes that:

[e]qual protections are needed for [lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender] youth, and they are especially warranted in the realm of education, which, according to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education*, is arguably the most important governmental function. For parents of [lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender] students, public schools are currently failing to meet their most fundamental obligation to them: to keep their children safe. To combat the urgent problem of anti-[lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender] bullying, the government and public must strive to provide a safe and secure environment for all students, an environment in which all students have an opportunity to reach their academic potential without being held back by fear.⁷⁹

The SNDA does not seek to invent a new rubric for the recognition and protection of the right of sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth. Rather, as Sen. Franken notes,

the SNDA would provide meaningful remedies (potential loss of federal funding and a private right of action) for discrimination in public schools. Fifty years of civil rights history shows that similar laws that contain such remedies are often effective in preventing discrimination from occurring in the first place. Like other civil rights laws, SNDA would prompt schools to avoid liability by taking proactive steps to prevent the discrimination and bullying of students protected by the bill.⁸⁰

The lead co-sponsors of the SNDA in the U.S. House of Representatives, Rep. Jared Polis (D-CO) and Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, believe that in-school discrimination against sexual minority youth and those who associate with them is “a civil rights matter of great importance requiring an urgent, cooperative response from the federal government,”⁸¹ and that, given the scope, complexities, and importance of the issues, “school districts must be motivated to end discrimination and harassment against [sexual minority] students.”⁸²

Finally, H.R. 6216, as introduced into the 111th Congress, sought to amend Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964⁸³ by adding the provision that “[n]o person in the United States shall, on the ground of religion, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under, an educational program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.”⁸⁴ This protection against religious discrimination, clearly, would be more appropriately expansive than the protections which the Safe Schools Improvement Act seeks to provide solely in the educational context.

Recommendations

Recommendation #1: Involved federal agencies, including the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education, should provide funding for additional research into the seriousness, pervasiveness, and impact of peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence, including cyberbullying, targeted toward students due to their race, national origin, sex, disability, religion, and/or sexual minority or gender non-conforming status in schools in the United States.⁸⁵

Recommendation #2: Additional scholarly research should examine with as much specificity as possible the issues of seriousness, pervasiveness, and impact of peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence for students targeted due to their race, national origin, sex, disability, religion, and/or sexual minority or gender non-conforming status.

Recommendation #3: The U.S. Department of Education and other relevant agencies should assist school districts in providing information to students and their families about the modalities, including cyberbullying, through which students target each other for bullying, harassment, or violence due to race, national origin, sex, disability, religion, and/or sexual minority or gender non-conforming status.⁸⁶

Recommendation #4: As the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services recommend, “[e]ffective state and local public health and school health policies and practices should be developed to help reduce the prevalence of health-risk behaviors and improve health outcomes among sexual minority youths. In addition, more state and local surveys designed to monitor health-risk behaviors and selected health outcomes among population-based samples of students in grades 9-12 should include questions on sexual identity and sex of sexual contacts.”⁸⁷

Recommendation #5: Federal law enforcement agencies should collaborate with state and local law enforcement to ensure that the protections afforded under the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act to victimized students are, in fact, utilized fully and appropriately (including the requirement for collection of data regarding hate crimes both perpetrated by and against juveniles).⁸⁸

Recommendation #6: State governments should consider, as appropriate, either enacting anti-bullying statutes of the type put forth in the Anti-Defamation League’s Model Statute “Cyberbullying Prevention Law” or amending their existing anti-bullying statutes to conform with the parameters of this Model Statute. Localities and school districts would be well-advised to contemplate the comprehensive facets of this Model Statute when considering their own laws, regulations, and policies.⁸⁹

Recommendation #7: School districts should ensure that they are in compliance with federal laws and U.S. Department of Education guidance documents regarding the protection of students targeted for discriminatory peer-to-peer violence.

Recommendation #8: School districts should ensure appropriate training to enable staff to recognize and act to minimize students' animus-based behaviors toward each other.

Recommendation #9: School districts should provide to student victims and their families information about how to report incidents of violence, harassment and bullying, and how to enforce their rights, in a manner which is not unduly complicated, and which is written at a level (and in a language) easily comprehensible to students and their families.

Recommendation #10: School districts should ensure that the families of students are informed, in a timely manner and one which is respectful of student safety,⁹⁰ when their children are subject to violence, harassment and bullying at school. Such parental notice may be especially important with regard to disabled students who are victimized, as these students may be unable to report the abuse to their families if unaided by school officials. This notice should be in language and manner comprehensible to the family, especially in the case of Limited English Proficiency families.

Recommendation #11: School districts should rescind existing "neutrality policies," "sexual orientation curriculum policies," and any directives which preclude or chill staff from discussing issues regarding homosexuality with students and their families, thereby allowing peer-to-peer violence, bullying, and harassment against sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth to go unaddressed.

Recommendation #12: Congress should enact, and the President should sign into law, the Safe Schools Improvement Act for the benefit of students targeted for peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence due to race, national origin, sex, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, or religion.

Recommendation #13: Congress should enact, and the President should sign into law, the Student Non-Discrimination Act for the benefit of students targeted for peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence due to their sexual minority or gender nonconforming status.

Recommendation #14: Congress should enact, and the President should sign into law, an amendment Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit discrimination on the basis of religion.

Conclusion

There can be no doubt that peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence against students due to their race, national origin, sex, disability, religion, and/or sexual minority or gender non-conforming status are serious and pervasive problems in the United States. Anti-minority stigma, which allows bias to linger in society, appears to complicate and compound the issues.

I commend the efforts of the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education to enforce existing federal civil rights laws for the benefit of targeted students who fall under their protection. The federal government should extend these protections to students targeted due to their religion or sexual minority or gender non-conforming status by enacting bills such as the Safe Schools Improvement Act, the Student Non-Discrimination Act, and amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Overall, the problems of peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence exact far too high a cost. All of us, government officials, social scientists, educators, and families alike, must put forth our best efforts to continue to define, understand, and resolve the issues at hand. Honoring the memories of Justin Aaberg and the other youth whom we have lost requires no less.

Dissent and Rebuttal Statement of Commissioners Gaziano and Kirsanow, with Which Commissioner Heriot Concurs

Overview

Rather than undertake a critical analysis of what the U.S. Departments of Education (ED) and Justice (DOJ) are doing right, wrong, or could do better with respect to their enforcement of federal civil rights laws regarding peer-to-peer harassment, the report gets lost in the emotion over K-12 "bullying" generally. The report quotes a number of advocates and even some federal agency officials about the supposed bullying "pandemic" sweeping K-12 schools, but that type of rhetoric is to be expected from those who believe it is their job to promote the issue.

Unfortunately, there is no data whatsoever in the Commission's report that relates to K-12 schools' observance of or failure to follow the federal laws that deal with the subject, so there is no data whatsoever in the report that would support any change in law. There is also no serious analysis of the legal and policy issues raised by the agencies' current enforcement efforts. The cursory discussion of whether ED's recent guidance and DOJ's current interpretation of the relevant anti-discrimination provisions are unlawful and/or misguided does not fairly capture the competing arguments nor come to any conclusions.¹ Even in the absence of any data on the federal enforcement effort, we think some of ED's and DOJ's enforcement positions are inconsistent with law and seriously mistaken as a matter of civil rights policy.

An Analysis-Free Report

Pursuant to the Commission's organic statute, the purpose of its annual enforcement report is to study and critique the effectiveness of federal agency efforts to enforce one or more of the existing civil rights laws, but no serious attempt was made to critique the effectiveness of ED's or DOJ's efforts in the Commission report. The apparent purpose of this report is to condemn social behavior that includes teasing, eye-rolling, and exclusion among K-12 students. Yet, even if the report was an attempt to describe the negative social behavior of 6- 18 year-old students that it often misleadingly labels "bullying," its uncritical reliance on flawed surveys, advocacy group claims, and a mish-mash of contradictory statistics does more to mislead than cast light on the matter. Congress expects the Commission to exercise a higher level of professionalism in the social sciences. We regret that the Commission failed to live up to this expectation.

Since its creation, a central purpose of the Commission has been to "gather facts instead of charges" and "sift out the truth from the fancies" in the hopes of providing findings and recommendations "which will be of assistance to reasonable men."² To do so requires the Commission to be a careful and neutral arbiter of the competing (and sometimes complex) facts, issues and policy considerations at work. It can only accomplish this goal by avoiding the hype that the broader topic of bullying evokes (even if the enforcement agencies have not been as careful). Responsible and critical analysis is necessary to avoid ill-conceived policy recommendations or enforcement actions that have negative, unintended consequences.

The general topic of student teasing, bullying, and social exclusion is not within this Commission's jurisdiction. Even so, the Commission's report provides no reliable indication of whether any such behavior is on the rise, has declined, or has stayed about the same over time. The advent of social technologies alone is not an indicator that bullying is on the rise. Even if it is, the only matter relevant to the Commission's study of federal civil rights laws is whether K-12 schools are responding as they should when they learn of severe and pervasive acts of bullying on the basis of protected classes that rises to the level of legally actionable harassment under the civil rights laws enforced by ED's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) and DOJ.

There also are significant statutory, First Amendment, and practical issues worthy of more careful and detailed discussion throughout the report rather than the cursory fashion in its last chapter. The issues involved in student-on-student harassment are not simple. Though it is emotionally appealing for some to join the chorus that a larger federal role would somehow bring the number of bullying incidents among 55 million K-12 students significantly down, the Commission must refrain from doing so absent more careful, detailed analysis.

Irrelevant, Unreliable, and Conflicting Data

Putting aside the heated rhetoric about a bullying "pandemic," there is no data at all in the Commission's report on the subset of school bullying that is covered by federal law, *i.e.*, that which rises to the level of legally-prohibited harassment of federally protected classes. Thus, there is no data on the central issue for a federal civil rights enforcement report, namely, whether K-12 schools are adequately addressing their responsibilities under federal law, or for that matter, bullying more generally. Instead, many pages of the report are devoted to reciting highly questionable and conflicting studies and surveys to suggest that teasing and bullying generally is "widespread." It has been so for centuries, but the data in the report probably does more to mislead than illuminate policymakers regarding its nature, seriousness, or frequency.

To identify potentially relevant data, it is first necessary to understand what is and is not prohibited under federal law. Schools that accept various types of federal funding are themselves forbidden from discriminating on the basis of race, color, national origin, gender, and disability, but their liability for peer-to-peer conduct is understandably more limited. Although the relevant legal standards are not discussed in detail until Section 7 of the Commission's report, student conduct only creates liability for schools under federal law if: (1) they have actual notice of and are deliberately indifferent to (2) severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive conduct on the basis of race, color, national origin, gender, or disability (3) that creates a hostile environment having the effect of depriving victims of the educational opportunities of the school.³

Putting aside for now the conflicting interpretations of the civil rights statutes at issue, it is undisputed that schools are not liable under federal law for trivial student-to-student insults, acts of exclusion, or speech protected by the First Amendment, even if motivated by the victim's race, color, national origin, gender or disability. Moreover, K-12 schools are not generally liable under federal civil rights law even for severe and pervasive taunts or bullying that focus on the victim's weight, attractiveness, or other non-federally protected categories. Any decent school would try to prevent all types of harmful bullying, but K-12 schools simply are not liable under federal law for all bad, or even objectively cruel and persistent, student conduct.

Surveys or studies that lump all incidents of student teasing, acts of exclusion, spreading rumors, and other protected speech with more serious and sustained conduct that is violent or might constitute physical threats are not helpful in assessing a school's responsibility under federal law for two reasons. First, most conduct in such global surveys is not covered by federal law. Second, it is even less clear whether the schools responded appropriately to any or all of the conduct at issue. If schools are responding reasonably, there is no federal issue.

Unfortunately, there is absolutely no data in the report on the following critical matters relevant to the enforcement of the federal civil rights laws:

- (a) the frequency or amount of student-to-student bullying based on federally protected criteria that is severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive enough to constitute prohibited harassment under federal law for any relevant time period (*i.e.*, that which denies the relevant students' educational opportunities);

- (b) the frequency or amount of such federally prohibited peer-to-peer harassment in subparagraph (a) that K-12 schools did know (or should have known) about and took, or were alleged to have taken, insufficient action to address;

- (c) the frequency or number of claims captured in subparagraph (b) that were meritorious for any relevant time period;

- (d) the frequency or number of instances of harassment in subparagraph (b) in which federal enforcement agencies played more than a tangential role in resolving.

The above data would be critical in assessing even a snapshot of the relevant student conduct at issue, whether K-12 schools are responding appropriately, and the federal enforcement agencies' current efforts or involvement in enforcing the federal laws. However, policymakers might want even more data before venturing to change federal law. For example, policymakers might want data on the following:

- (e) a breakdown of such data for subparagraphs (a) and (b) for each class of students protected under federal law (e.g., severe and pervasive bullying that constitutes prohibited harassment based on race, color, national origin, gender, disability, failure to conform to stereotypes regarding the same); and

- (f) data that show changes in subparagraphs (a), (b), (c) and (d) over relevant time periods (e.g., five- or ten-year intervals or any other relevant time periods).

The actual data from ED and DOJ in the Commission's report does little or nothing to shed light on relevant questions for a federal enforcement investigation. The type and number of complaints received by OCR (set forth in Section 3 of the report) conveys no helpful information about schools' compliance with federal law as it relates to peer-to-peer conduct. The report concedes that the percentage of such complaints that involve peer-to-peer conduct is unknown. Even assuming the peer-to-peer complaints were identified, there is no information on what percentage of complaints were meritorious, or even marginally well supported. There is also no information on how many of the well-supported claims involved serious and pervasive conduct such that they might have constituted federally prohibited harassment. Finally, for the unknown subset that might be serious, meritorious complaints of peer-to-peer harassment, it is unclear whether the schools had taken or were already taking appropriate action.

The Commission's own review of OCR voluntary resolution agreements between 2005 and March 2011 is also virtually meaningless, for similar reasons. It is perhaps interesting but

hardly significant to learn that 138 of the 292 agreements examined relate to peer-to-peer conduct. But the Commission's examination of these voluntary agreements did not disclose anything else of particular value. For example:

- There is no analysis of the variation in the cases per year, which peak at 36 nationwide in 2009 and decline to 29 in 2010.
- There is no evaluation of how many complaints were either serious or meritorious. It is not very telling to voluntarily resolve a non-meritorious complaint.
- There is no information indicating how many of the roughly 23 schools per year that were the subject of such voluntary resolution agreements were already taking action on their own to resolve the dispute before OCR became involved.
- Assuming the schools at issue were not already taking action to resolve the dispute, there is no evaluation of whether the schools at issue responded immediately and voluntarily to claims brought to their attention or whether OCR played a more substantial role in resolving the dispute.
- There is no context to suggest how many thousands of schools are covered by federal law, the ratio of meritorious to non-meritorious complaints, or their relation to the actual incidence of serious bullying.
- Reliable estimates suggest there are approximately 55 million students enrolled in K12 schools in any given year.⁴ Yet, California and Missouri were the only states with more than ten resolution agreements with OCR over the six year period. The vast majority of states and DC had schools with two or fewer such agreements over the six-year period: Alabama, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Utah (with 2 each); Alaska, DC, Florida, Idaho, Maine, Montana, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, and West Virginia (with one each); and Arkansas, Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, North Dakota, South Carolina, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming (with none).
- Thus, the above listed states and DC had, at most, one or two of their schools or school districts enter into a voluntary resolution agreement with OCR in the six-plus year period. Many of the complaints may have lacked merit and were resolved for that reason. The report does not say. Some schools might have already been investigating and resolving the incident. The report does not say. Some schools might have been happy to learn of the complaint and voluntarily taken appropriate action. The report does not say.

Although the Commission's review of voluntary resolution agreements tells us nothing about the seriousness or merit of the complaints or anything about the schools' voluntary responses thereto, it does undercut DOJ's and other activists' hyperbole about a "pandemic" of bullying. Even if all were serious and meritorious complaints, zero, one, or two incidents in a given state over six years is probably not what most people would consider a "pandemic."

The Commission's report does not disclose what effort, if any, was undertaken to obtain the relevant data described above, despite our frequent requests for it. Yet the report should at least have disclosed that in response to questions from several commissioners at the briefing on May 13, expert witnesses expressed their belief that no reliable data exists on the most contested issues, including peer-to-peer harassment on the basis of sexual orientation or

failure to live up to a perceived gender stereotype, and accordingly, that no consistent frame of reference exists of this type of conduct over time.⁵ This is an inconvenient truth that should be honestly reported.

The final bit of relevant information that the Commission should have tried to obtain and analyze is what efforts K-12 schools are taking to comply with their obligations under federal law, or more generally, what they are doing to respond to all types of bullying. No serious discussion or analysis exists in the Commission report regarding these state and local efforts. Forty-nine states and the District of Columbia, and many more local jurisdictions, have formal anti-bullying laws and policies.⁶ Moreover, all states punish violence or threats of violence that advocates claim they are most concerned about, and every school likely has policies against other types of bullying, even if they are not contained in "anti-bullying" laws.

On pages 74 and 76, the report recites two activists' claims that the states' anti-bullying laws are "not working," but there is not even a casual examination of this assertion. Do the advocates think all teasing or bullying must stop for the laws to "work?" If so, what makes them think more federal laws would work? For example, every state prohibits theft with severe penalties, but thefts still occur. Does that mean state theft laws are "not working?" Would a general federal theft law prevent them?

The advocates' dismissal of state and local efforts to combat bullying deserves more attention than a he-said/she-said, few-sentence coverage in the report. It goes to the heart of the federal government's jurisdiction and the practical question of whether schools are doing a reasonable job enforcing the federal civil rights laws. Unfortunately, there is no quantitative or other objective evidence in the Commission's report that state and federal laws are not adequate.

Instead of highlighting the failure of ED and DOJ to keep or provide relevant data, the report attempts to mask this serious shortcoming with a plethora of irrelevant, unreliable, and oddly conflicting survey data on mean student behaviors. The Commission has the responsibility to sort the "truth from the fancies" and place them in context. The Commission should not simply re-publish unreliable and misleading statistics gathered from whatever source. The Commission should have investigated competing factual claims and analyzed conflicting data. Instead, the report too often recites various statistics, many of which are unreliable, misleading, or inherently suspect. Accordingly, the report is more hortatory than analytical.

To add injury to this social science insult, the report declines to endorse any definition of bullying, see page 2, yet quotes three that may be mistakenly understood as Commission-endorsed definitions.⁷ Even worse, it expressly refuses to evaluate the validity of any of the surveys or studies it cites (see the report at footnote 10). During our initial review of the draft report in May, we urged the Commission staff to evaluate all the surveys and studies cited in the report and delete all those that were irrelevant or unreliable or to at least note the deficiencies in those that are cited. Instead of doing so, the disclaimer appeared in the final draft report that the Commission did not "independently verify the data" and that some experts "critique the usefulness and accuracy of this data." Indeed.

Here are just a few examples of the problems with the data cited in the report.

- 1) Many of the surveys suffer from serious self-selection bias, as well as other obvious biases, including that the students could volunteer to respond to poll questions on an advocacy group or other website.⁸ As one study cited in the report notes about

sampling, "in contrast to probability samples, the sampling error associated with population estimates derived from nonprobability samples cannot be computed, and the extent to which the sample represents the population from which it was drawn cannot be known."⁹

- 2) The report cites one study that not only used a self-selected sample gathered from community-based groups and internet sites for LGB youths, but the students surveyed were from the United States, *Canada and New Zealand*.¹⁰ Citing a study of foreign students illustrates the throw-anything-against-the-wall approach to data in the report.
- 3) Different surveys relied on inconsistent definitions of the bad student behavior at issue, and none attempted to isolate the conduct covered by federal civil rights laws. Some surveys included exclusion "from activities on purpose," "spreading rumors," "influencing relationships," mild forms of teasing, and other conduct protected by the First Amendment.¹¹
- 4) Surveys administered in schools may not have the same selection biases, but are unreliable for other reasons. For one thing, self-reporting, particularly with broad and ambiguous categories, is notoriously problematic, as pointed out by an expert whose work is relied upon in the Commission report.¹² Moreover, many such school surveys are not voluntary; when adolescents and teens are forced to do something, they often rebel. In short, students who are repeatedly required to answer such surveys have a tendency to make things up, especially when the subject relates to sexual behavior.¹³
- 5) Due to a combination of such problems, the survey results were wildly contradictory, at least as set forth in the report. For example, 2% of the students in the SCS-NCVS survey supposedly reported being subject to hate-related words based on gender in a given year. Report at 8. The AAUW survey of students in grades 8-11 reported that 81% of students reported experiencing sexual harassment. Report at 11. Another survey of sexual harassment cited on page 8 claims the figure is 11%. No explanation is given for this wide divergence.
- 6) The AAUW survey also reported that boys were 33% more likely than girls (12% versus 9%) to claim that they had been forced to do something sexual other than kissing. That result seems, at best, counterintuitive. Report at 10. There are several possible explanations for the discrepancy, including poorly designed questions, selection bias, and boys who like to confound researchers with poor survey controls.

There are many other examples of irrelevant and unreliable data. After pages of citation to such data, it is not enough that there is a sentence admitting that some of the student behavior cited is not "necessarily" covered by federal civil rights laws. Report at 5. The Commission should have examined every factual claim and study, eliminated misleading or unreliable data, and retained only that which was reliable and has a close connection to our examination of ED/DOJ enforcement of the federal civil rights laws.¹⁴

Moreover, repeating and crediting others who claim that bullying is widespread or a "pandemic" without any quantitative support is misleading. How widespread? What constitutes a pandemic? What does Gregory Herek mean by "pervasive," which has a legal meaning? The Commission should have either credited or refuted such conclusions after carefully analyzing the reliable data or not used such loaded and contested terms.

Finally, even for the broader category of mean behavior, there is no reliable data that the relevant conduct is increasing, decreasing, or remaining about the same. It is necessary to have

a baseline and consistent data over time to form any meaningful conclusions about whether there is a bullying "pandemic." Trends relating to ill-defined behavior in nonscientific polls are not helpful. Even more important, we want to know if schools are more or less responsive to such incidents over time. The Commission report contains no information on that whatsoever.

OCR's Attempt to Expand Its Authority Through Creative Interpretation

Title IX prohibits schools receiving federal funds from discriminating on the basis of sex. Because students are not agents of the schools and the schools cannot exert the same control over them that even employers can exercise over their employees, the Supreme Court has made it clear that schools are not responsible under Title IX and analogous civil rights laws for all student acts. In *Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education*, the Court held that private damages actions may be brought against schools under Title IX for failure to remedy student-on-student sexual harassment, but "only where [the schools] are *deliberately indifferent* to sexual harassment, of which they have *actual knowledge*, that is so severe, pervasive, and *objectively offensive* that it can be said to *deprive* the victims of access to educational opportunities or benefits provided by the school."¹⁵ The Court's limitations on school liability was a logical and reasonably necessary interpretation of Title IX because students are not themselves state actors whom Congress can directly regulate and schools exercise only limited control over them, during specific times and settings, and do not know everything students do and say.¹⁶

ED's Dear Colleague Letter of October 2010 reads Title IX and other civil rights provisions in a manner that would greatly expand the scope of school liability compared to the legal standard in *Davis*. For example, ED changes the first prong of what constitutes prohibited harassment that schools are responsible for preventing from that which is "severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive" to that which is "severe, pervasive, or persistent."¹⁷ *Davis* uses the conjunctive "and" to require that all three conditions be met: that the conduct be serious, common, and offensive to an objective person. The Supreme Court specifically stated that one incident cannot give rise to liability.¹⁸ Under OCR's and DOJ's interpretation, including Jocelyn Samuels's testimony before the Commission, schools can be in violation of Title IX based on a single student act if the government believes it is sufficiently severe.¹⁹ OCR's formulation could also cover mild but "persistent" teasing by one student of another. OCR's interpretation might also capture dozens of different playground comments by dozens of different children if that rendered them "pervasive." Thus, the intentional switch from the Supreme Court's conjunctive phrasing to the disjunctive phrasing by OCR and DOJ broadens schools' potential liability enormously.²⁰

Further, OCR omits the term "objectively offensive" from its formulation of the legal standard, potentially removing a "reasonable person" protection. The Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) warns in its public comment:

The loss of the crucial "reasonable person" standard means that a school's most sensitive students effectively determine what speech is prohibited. The "reasonable person" standard is a critical guard against punishing speech based solely on subjective (and possibly unreasonable) listener reaction— something that courts have repeatedly held unconstitutional over the years.²¹

OCR's answer to this charge—that its policy is to "consider the conduct from both a subjective and objective perspective"—is not reassuring.²² It is unclear why OCR omitted the "objectively offensive" factor, but OCR has not issued any further clarification since FIRE and others have pointed out the problem.

In the second harassment prong, OCR replaces the Supreme Court's requirement that the harassment "*deprive* the victims of access to educational opportunities or benefits provided by the school" with the almost infinitely broad "*interfere with or limit* a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the services, activities, or opportunities offered by a school."²³ The *Davis* standard is closer to the work-place harassment definition, which requires a fundamental transformation of work conditions;²⁴ the new OCR definition includes almost any slight. What range of teasing does not "interfere with" a student's "ability to ... benefit from [some specified] service, activit[y], or opportunit[y]" the school offers?²⁵

OCR also changes the notice requirement from "actual knowledge" to "knows or reasonably should have known."²⁶ The "actual knowledge" requirement recognizes that the antidiscrimination law is not directed at students but at schools, and schools without knowledge of the harassment cannot be responsible for it.²⁷ OCR essentially argues that since its enforcement actions are only prospective, it provides the necessary notice to the affected school districts and it would not threaten the loss of federal funding if the school agrees to take remedial action it deems appropriate. Although there is some logic to this distinction in theory, the guidance letter itself is not clear that prior unknown incidents cannot result in a loss of federal funding by themselves. Indeed, the "reasonably should have known" formulation implies otherwise. We also are concerned with the degree of leverage the "should have known" formula allows OCR in practice to insist on remedies it deems appropriate for such previously unknown incidents.

OCR and DOJ defend their many deviations from the legal standards articulated by the Supreme Court by distinguishing between a private suit for damages, as in *Davis*, and OCR's administrative enforcement actions, in which no damages are sought. OCR argues that the "standards established" in *Gebser* and *Davis* "are limited to private actions for monetary damages."²⁸ Quite true, but that doesn't mean that "anything goes" in the administrative enforcement setting. Moreover, the only meaningful administrative power ED has is to deny school districts federal money. It seems counterintuitive to argue that the courts read a statute narrowly to protect a school district from paying a one-time money damage award that is remedial, but allow ED to read the same law as expansively as it wants, based on the same conduct, when the consequence could be the permanent loss of all federal money.

Professor John Eastman's testimony before the Commission questioned the lawfulness of ED's and DOJ's interpretation in the Dear Colleague Letter. He explained that an administrative agency does have some discretion to implement a statute but that such discretion is not without limit: "An agency can impose regulations that are ancillary to the enforcement of a statute authorized by an enumerated power, such as rules requiring the reporting of certain data that is necessary to determine compliance with the underlying statute, but it cannot make up new prohibitions and substantive requirements that are not part of the relevant statute." He further explained that "the deviations between [ED's] 'Dear Colleague' letter last October and the *reasonable* interpretation of the relevant civil rights statute[s] are large."²⁹ In essence, an agency cannot vastly expand the reach of the statute in the guise of administering it.

Another of ED's purported distinctions is that the money damages in litigation are for retrospective wrongs. Since the administrative remedy is for a prospective failure to take the

remedial action OCR deems appropriate, ED argues no school actually has to lose its federal money. All it has to do is change its conduct. Yet, that doesn't quite answer the underlying substantive question either. If a robber says, "Give me your money or your life," that is a prospective choice. No one needs to lose his money, because he can give his life, and vice versa. But the robber doesn't have the substantive right to ask anyone to make that choice, prospective or not. Thus, if OCR has no statutory right to ask for certain actions/remedies based on the underlying conduct (perhaps because it was based on a single incident), it hardly matters that the threat to turn off the flow of money is prospective.

OCR does not indicate what the limits on its enforcement standards are if it is not bound by *Davis*. Pursuant to regulation, could ED condition funding on school districts agreeing to prevent harassment based on a child's weight or perception of what an ideal body mass index should be? The regulation would arguably be in furtherance of enforcing anti-discrimination laws, especially if OCR argued that many perceptions of ideal body mass were linked to gender stereotypes. Yet, we believe such a hypothetical regulation would be an unreasonable interpretation of Title IX, which doesn't cover "lookism" directly or indirectly. Such an unreasonable interpretation would not be entitled to deference by the courts under prong one of the *Chevron* doctrine.³⁰ Professor Eastman's conclusion that OCR's current interpretation of Title IX is unreasonable seems equally correct, and thus is unlikely to be granted deference or upheld by the Supreme Court.³¹

Gebser v. Lago Vista Independent School District is not to the contrary. Agencies have authority under comparable funding laws to investigate compliance and establish procedures consistent with due process for its revocation, but they have no authority from Congress to change the underlying substantive standard of what constitutes discrimination the state entity must follow.³²

When the National School Boards Association pointed out in a letter to OCR how far it had departed from the *Davis* standards, OCR could have answered that the standards are meant to be identical or that it would change them to mirror *Davis*. But it did not do so. Instead, OCR argued that its harassment standards are "consistent" with *Davis*, even if the "terms" and "words" are "in some ways different." According to OCR, the Supreme Court's and OCR's "definitions are contextual descriptions intended to capture the same concept."³³ It is risible to argue that standards that are "in some ways different" are still "consistent" as long as both are "contextual" standards. Under that postmodern reasoning, any standard that is "contextual" is "consistent" with any other "contextual" standard. What about the following harassment standard: "under all the facts and circumstances, might some kids feel bad"? And if the standards are consistent, then why does OCR take pains to argue that its administrative standards defining harassment can be different from the standards in private suits for damages?³⁴

Finally, OCR argues that the legal standards set forth in the Dear Colleague Letter of October 26, 2010 are nothing new, and are essentially the same standards set forth in guidance since 1994.³⁵ This is not a defense if the guidance was never consistent with a reasonable interpretation of the statute. Moreover, Section 7 shows that OCR guidance has not been consistent over the years, hewing closer to *Davis* in 2001 (shortly after *Davis* was handed down), then departing further by 2010. The report acknowledges that "OCR's use of different terms in different documents can be confusing."³⁶ There is an easy way to resolve any confusion and maintain consistency, however, and that is simply for OCR to accept the *Davis* standard.

Serious First Amendment Concerns

For all of this report's limitations, it does at least acknowledge that OCR's Dear Colleague Letter poses thorny First Amendment questions that OCR does not satisfactorily answer. Both the report and a recommendation adopted by the Commission call for OCR to provide greater clarity to address the First Amendment concerns.³⁷ But the report notes these serious concerns only belatedly—this important discussion is relegated to the last 10 pages of the report—and in a way that gives far too much credit to OCR's assurances that very little of the harassment it sees implicates protected speech.³⁸

The Dear Colleague Letter does not engage the free speech questions everyone else notices. Its only references to the First Amendment are buried in footnote 8 and in its last pages, where the reader is simply directed to a link to OCR's 2003 Dear Colleague Letter on the subject. All the 2003 guidance document does is affirm quite generally that OCR does not intend for schools to restrict students' constitutionally protected speech. Neither it nor the current Dear Colleague Letter addresses how schools are to negotiate real-world conflicts.

As briefing testimony and public comments revealed, the threat ED's guidance poses to constitutionally protected speech is not hypothetical. The guidance will quite predictably lead school districts to overreact and trample students' freedom of expression by adopting various zero-tolerance approaches to curb "offensive" speech in an effort to avoid lawsuits and compliance investigations by OCR.³⁹ The guidance also creates an incentive for school districts to single out for special disfavor certain kinds of speech because of its unpopularity or political incorrectness.⁴⁰ These concerns are worthy of far greater exposition, far earlier in the report⁴¹ and with far less deference to ED's presumed good intentions.

As a preliminary matter, no one seriously disputes that schools have broad authority to restrict (or that they should restrict) unruly conduct, including some speech, in school when that conduct or speech either has created actual disruption of school activities or is likely to cause a "substantial disruption of or material interference with school activities."⁴² Schools should attempt to prevent and punish threats of violence and acts of vandalism. Particularly as it relates to classroom discussion, schools can also bar the use of vulgar, lewd or indecent terms⁴³ as part of their pedagogical mission, as well as speech that advocates illicit drug use.⁴⁴ While they cannot penalize students based on the viewpoints they articulate, schools can insist that students take care to express themselves appropriately and constructively, without profanities or epithets, for example. As Professor Volokh noted, schools may even express criticism of or condemn rude and hurtful (albeit constitutionally protected) speech.⁴⁵

Schools *should* control substantially disruptive behaviors both to ensure that no student is denied educational benefits and to further the educational purpose of guiding students to become decent human beings who can interact in a civilized fashion with others—even those they disagree with or dislike.⁴⁶ These are settled propositions and nothing in this statement should be construed to suggest otherwise. The problem with the Dear Colleague Letter (and with ED's and DOJ's attempt to federalize the issues of bullying and harassment more broadly) is that its proscriptions extend far beyond the type of classroom settings referenced above, and it ignores that even offensive speech in the classroom may be protected by the First Amendment.⁴⁷

It is much less likely that schools can establish that non-threatening student speech uttered between classes, during lunch, or before or after school (even if unkind) is as likely to cause a disruption of the educational mission—and thus is subject to the same degree of regulation—as classroom discussion. The Supreme Court has rejected arguments that certain topics at

certain settings are so sensitive that they may be subject to broad viewpoint regulation.⁴⁸ This is true regardless of the age of the speakers involved.⁴⁹ It has also rejected blanket bans by schools on all "offensive speech."⁵⁰ It is even less likely that schools can make the case that student speech outside the school (on the Internet, for example) poses the same risk of disruption to the school's activities, and thus, is subject to constitutional regulation.⁵¹

OCR's guidance acknowledges none of these important distinctions. Indeed, it applies a standard of liability to schools that would allow ED compliance reviewers to make after-the-fact determinations that schools "should have known" (rather than had actual notice) that student exchanges in these non-classroom settings were somehow contributing to a hostile environment. ED has adopted a view that essentially requires schools to be hyper-vigilant arbiters of any instances of student interaction that might give rise to hurt feelings.

Throughout the course of the briefing, various proponents of ED's aggressive approach sought to reassure us that the free speech problems identified by no less than five witnesses (and a fair number of additional public comments) were a "red herring."⁵² They insisted that the only conduct they are really concerned with does not actually involve speech at all, except when it amounts to physical threats or creates a reasonable fear of physical harm.⁵³ Instead, they asserted that their (and by extension ED's and DOJ's) focus is on actual physical harm like assault, rape, or other violence⁵⁴ that are outside the scope of First Amendment protection.

To paraphrase a line from Professor Volokh's oral testimony before the Commission, we wish that were true.⁵⁵ The Dear Colleague Letter also covers a broad array of non-threatening speech. The advocates' assurances that it does not cover such protected speech ring hollow for the reasons identified by Professor Volokh in his written and oral testimony, which is even summarized in the body of our report.⁵⁶ If the advocates were correct that liability for verbal harassment was essentially limited to physical threats, Assistant Secretary Ali should have said so when she responded to the NSBA letter from Mr. Negron, or in written or oral testimony provided to the Commission. We find it significant that she did not do so and that no one at OCR or DOJ has disavowed the broad language of the guidance letter that explicitly includes non-threatening speech.

Moreover, those few who attempt to defend the OCR's legal position seem fixated on two extreme positions on the First Amendment, neither of which we endorse. The first is the fictitious, First Amendment absolutist position that kids always have a right to say whatever they want in school,⁵⁷ which is a straw man. It has not been taken by any of us or anyone we are aware of who has participated in this debate. The second extreme position is the one actually taken by some school districts: that students have *no* First Amendment rights. For example, the two school principals sued in *Morgan v. Swanson* and their government-funded attorneys took the position in court (still pending) that the Constitution "does not prohibit viewpoint discrimination against religious speech in elementary schools" and that First Amendment free speech claims could not be brought by elementary school students.⁵⁸ They maintain these positions through years of litigation even though the Supreme Court has consistently held since *Barnette*, in 1943, that the First Amendment applies to public school children,⁵⁹ and that public school students do not "shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate."⁶⁰ OCR's Dear Colleague Letter fails to address the real problem of school officials, like these in Texas, who misunderstand what the Constitution requires. Our concern is that the short shrift given to the First Amendment in the Dear Colleague Letter will actually lead to more illegal censorship like that in *Morgan*.

We find the Dear Colleague Letter's imposition of responsibility on schools to police cyberbullying to be quite revealing of OCR's position on the potential scope of school liability for non-threatening student speech. "Cyber-bullying" has no set meaning beyond what its detractors declare it to mean. As best we can surmise, it seems nothing more than a derogatory label for electronic speech that someone else doesn't like. This open-ended "cyber-bullying" largely occurs off-campus and after school hours, in such electronic media as private Facebook postings, emails, text messages, G-chats, and YouTube videos. Its potential to create school liability is a stark example of OCR's policy overreach and lack of concern for First Amendment freedoms.

As the General Counsel for the National School Boards Association observed:

If schools are to be held accountable for all bullying behavior that may constitute harassment under federal civil rights laws, including that which takes place in cyberspace but makes its way onto campus overtly or by effect, schools will understandably feel the need to patrol electronic communications by students. But taking on this burden may be an act of futility, for how can a school patrol private internet sites with any measure of effectiveness? And yet the "should have known" standard would suggest that schools must police such venues to avoid liability under the OCR enforcement standard. The current confusion among courts as to what off-campus behavior can be regulated by schools, combined with the OCR enforcement position, results in an untenable expectation that schools police off-campus online behavior while ultimately facing liability for conduct over which they have no control.⁶¹

It is highly unlikely, though admittedly not impossible, that a bully would transmit an actionable physical threat via email, chat or text, because even teenagers are aware that creating a record of such a physical threat could result in their arrest or other serious punishment. Instead, our record reflects that the "cyber-bullying" concern is that electronic means would be used to perpetrate the following categories of conduct the anti-bullying activists want to stamp out: "spreading rumors," "interfering with relationships," and disparaging the target's physical or personality traits in an attempt to make them feel badly about themselves. We do not condone such conduct, but the First Amendment does not only protect speech most people like.

The First Amendment problems with ED's guidance are only exacerbated by its expansive theory of school liability and multiple examples of conduct that it asserts constitute actionable harassment under the civil rights laws. (See the previous section of this statement for more on OCR's erroneous legal standard of liability.) "OCR is creating an expectation that school officials are to respond to each and every offensive incident as if it were a civil rights violation."⁶² The practical effect of the Dear Colleague Letter is that Title IX will be used to foist a federally-imposed general civility code on schools and students across the country.

Consider ED's application of its erroneous standard that any "severe, pervasive or persistent" conduct could create a hostile environment. Although single-incidents could not create an actionable hostile environment under the legal standard articulated by the Supreme Court, under ED's current enforcement stance, it is possible for "one-offs" to create liability if they are sufficiently severe.⁶³ Thus, it is not difficult to imagine how administrators could think that even pure expression, if deeply offensive, might contribute to a hostile environment and so try to regulate it.

Similarly revealing of the intended scope of ED's guidance is its imposition of liability on schools for not sufficiently addressing a "hostile environment" or "hostile school climate." ED's

current guidance defines harassment to include speech such as graphic and written statements, and such statements need not be directed at a specific target. Thus, ED's definition of harassment is not restricted to insults directed at a particular individual. It also includes general statements, such as statements critical of homosexual conduct or particular religions.

Drs. Herek and Meyer testified about their theory that the mental health of gay students is negatively affected by the stigma and prejudice of society towards homosexuality, which will at times be expressed in the form of speech. General derogatory statements by students will be taken as evidence by OCR that a school has permitted an environment hostile to gay youth. Taken logically, that means that constitutionally protected speech expressing or contributing to "stigma" must be regulated by schools to avoid liability for the allegedly hostile environment.⁶⁴ It might be very difficult for a school district to satisfy OCR's standards without proscribing all speech that can be construed as hostile to gay youth. Similar examples have been borne out in litigation.⁶⁵ ED must be aware that the issuance of such guidance will put schools in a catch-22. Yet, it also knows that schools are more likely to accept the risk of potential private lawsuits over the suppression of student free speech for nominal damages than they will be to cross regulators who control the purse strings of their federal dollars.⁶⁶

A number of witnesses at the Commission's May 13 briefing identified the difficult definitional and line-drawing problems the Dear Colleague Letter forces upon school districts.⁶⁷ Francisco Negron, General Counsel of the National School Boards Association, testified to the schools' very real concern over "the tension . . . between student freedom of expression and the regulation of hostile environment."⁶⁸ Unfortunately, schools have a track record of outrageous violations of students' freedom of speech. Hiram Sasser's testimony contains troubling examples of schools that are already taking a heavy-handed approach to non-disruptive speech involving students' belief in God and similar expressive conduct.⁶⁹ Such non-disruptive speech is routinely censored based on fear that it might cause offense to someone, somewhere.

The facts of *Morgan v. Swanson*⁷⁰ are just one example of the heavy-handed censorship many administrators already exercise to deny student speech. In that case, two principals were sued for clear religious viewpoint discrimination, and the students ultimately were vindicated, even though their claim for money damages has dragged on for many years, with the principals refusing to admit they did anything wrong after years of litigation. One principal prohibited kids from distributing "goodie bags" at a "winter break" party because the bags contained items with religious references, including pencils bearing the message, "Jesus is the reason for the season," and candy-cane pens with information regarding the Christian origin of the symbol. Another child was not permitted to give her friends tickets to a free Christian drama production at her church, even though she attempted to do so during non-curriculum time and with no material or substantial disruption to the school. The principal confiscated the tickets to the play, threatened to kick the child out of school and even threatened to have the child's parent arrested over the attempted distribution of such material, not because gift giving was inappropriate but because the play was religious in nature.

These are not isolated examples. Schools have attempted to prevent a Muslim student from wearing her hijab in class, have banned all religious items and certain Valentine's Day and Christmas cards because they were religious, and have even tried to prevent a kindergartner from praying over her snack with two classmates.⁷¹ In *Harper*, a high school student was interrogated and chastised by school personnel and security personnel, including one wearing a sidearm, that he "had to leave his faith in the car" because he wore a T-shirt with a Bible verse expressing his views against homosexuality during the school's "day of silence."⁷² The Dear

Colleague Letter, which lacks any accompanying guidance to schools regarding speech that they should not forbid, will only lead to more wrongful censorship and more litigation.

The Dear Colleague Letter's reference to system-wide training to combat a perceived hostile climate might also conflict with students' First Amendment rights. For example, it explains that it is insufficient for a school to recognize and respond to individual incidents on a case-by-case basis and only by punishing individual harassers. "Instead, school district [sic] must recognize and respond to a 'hostile environment' with a 'systemic response' 'reasonably calculated to end the harassment and prevent its recurrence.'"⁷³ The "systemic and comprehensive" actions the guidance contemplates include "training or other interventions not only for the perpetrators, but for the larger school community."⁷⁴ As Hiram Sasser noted in his testimony, to the extent that such training induces participants to affirm or agree with propositions that are contrary to their personal beliefs, such actions constitute compelled speech in violation of the First Amendment.⁷⁵

The report cites public comments by Erwin Chemerinsky and Stuart Biegel, who argue that those who have expressed concern about students' First Amendment rights should be comfortable with deferring to the judgment of school officials about how best to handle and classify offensive speech.⁷⁶ Yet, the enforcement agenda announced by ED and DOJ will chill most rational educators from instituting anything other than what the federal government instructs.⁷⁷ The hypotheticals will not be construed as optional "best practices"; they will become requirements. For schools that already censor too much student speech, the guidance will only add to the denial of student rights.

For all ED's protestations that its approach hews closely to established precedent and that it does not seek to supplant the judgment of school administrators, but to work closely and cooperatively with them, the policy's over-breadth betrays ED's true intent. Its efforts are likely to produce the precise effect on school districts that Justice Kennedy warned about in his dissent in *Davis*:

The only certainty flowing from the majority's decision is that scarce resources will be diverted from educating our children and that many school districts, desperate to avoid Title IX peer harassment suits [or compliance investigations], will adopt whatever federal code of student conduct and discipline the Department of Education sees fit to impose upon them. The Nation's schoolchildren will learn their first lessons about federalism in classrooms where the Federal Government is the ever-present regulator.⁷⁸

Unfortunately, we do not share some of our colleagues' confidence that ED's issuance of a new Dear Colleague Letter containing First Amendment guidance will be sufficient to cure the earlier Letter's infirmities or to stem the practical threats to protected speech. In part, that is because we do not think that protected speech is merely an accidental casualty here.⁷⁹ Treating all student taunts as potential civil rights violations may score political points with various favored constituencies, but it creates a host of thorny legal tangles that school districts and their attorneys, administrators, and students have to wade through. "Civil rights laws [and by extension the agencies that enforce them] do and should regulate conduct, barring employers or school officials from engaging in discriminatory practices. . . . But laws can't make people like each other; and laws can't force people to speak politely, civilly, or inoffensively, unless we aim for a world in which everyone is equal and no one is free."⁸⁰

Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation Is Effectively Covered under Title IX

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits public and private schools that receive federal money from discriminating “on the basis of sex.”⁸¹ In the employment context, the Supreme Court has held that discrimination-based sex stereotyping can violate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, such as where an accounting firm would not promote a woman to partner because of her aggressiveness even though aggressiveness is a requirement for the job. This placed the woman in an “intolerable and impermissible catch 22” and thus constituted discrimination because of sex.⁸² The Supreme Court has also held that sexual harassment violating Title VII can occur where the harasser and victim are of the same sex.⁸³

ED acknowledges that “Title IX does not prohibit discrimination based *solely* on sexual orientation.”⁸⁴ This is a proper reading of the statute based on Congress’s original intent. As Roger Clegg put it, “‘sex’ does not mean ‘sexual orientation,’ and it certainly did not mean that in 1972.”⁸⁵ ED and DOJ further state that Title IX prohibits both offensive sex stereotyping, which includes harassment of boys or girls who don’t measure up to some notion of masculinity or femininity, respectively, and other forms of sexual harassment regardless of the students’ actual sexual orientation or perceived sexual orientation. Whether or not Title IX was intended to cover sex stereotyping, several lower courts have so held.⁸⁶

The analogy to *Hopkins* and *Oncale* is logical, and the courts are unlikely to narrow their interpretation of what has come to constitute sex stereotyping under Title IX.

Yet the report concludes that there is a gap in federal civil rights enforcement because harassment that is solely based on sexual orientation or gender identity is not prohibited, even though harassment based on sex stereotypes is prohibited. Report at 55. The report raises the specter that this “dichotomy may create a perverse incentive for alleged discriminators to evade Title IX liability by asserting that students’ harassment is based entirely on homophobic animus.” *Id.* But the report points to no evidence that schools are successfully avoiding liability by claiming that the harassment is based on sexual orientation.⁸⁷

ED told the Commission that it does not track complaints alleging discrimination or harassment based solely on sexual orientation, yet there is no evidence from ED or DOJ that there has ever been a complaint that presents a pure “sexual orientation” claim to track. Instead, ED claims it does not distinguish between sex harassment claims of heterosexual and LGBT students and whether they involve sex stereotyping. Report at 35. Thus, given the broad legal precedents, the likely student harassment scenarios, and the lack of contrary evidence, it seems quite doubtful there is a “gap” in federal enforcement authority as a practical matter, at least in the real world.

Unfortunately, four commissioners defeated attempts to clarify a finding that “federal civil rights laws do not protect students from peer-to-peer harassment that is solely on the basis of sexual orientation.” Such a finding can only mislead readers about the state of the law. Four commissioners rejected an amendment that would have added language at the end of the finding informing readers that ED, DOJ, and the courts have nevertheless interpreted federal civil rights laws “as protecting students from peer-to-peer harassment that is based on conforming, or failing to conform, to stereotypical notions of masculinity and femininity.”⁸⁸ The three of us voted for adding the clarifying language, with Gaziano noting that there is no evidence in the report of a single instance in which a harassment claim failed because it was based “solely” on the student’s sexual orientation. The three commissioners supporting the clarification did not propose to strike the finding adopted by the majority, but simply urged that it be made reasonably complete.

As adopted, the Commission's finding is highly misleading about ED's enforcement efforts and the current state of the law, even if a few instances of non-enforcement based "solely" on sexual orientation can be found. The current finding strongly implies there is *no* federal protection for students who are harassed or subjected to violence based on their nonconformity to sexual stereotypes, when all such sex stereotyping claims are cognizable, and there is no reason to think that many sexual minority students can make out one claim but not the other. No sensible reason was provided by the commissioners who rejected the clarification, and no substitute amendment was offered by them that would make the finding less misleading. As it is written, however, the finding serves the political agenda of those who seek to argue that an intolerable "gap" exists in the federal civil rights protection that must be filled with new legislation.

Even so, the pending bills mentioned in the report and most strongly supported by the advocates to address this issue do not merely close this alleged enforcement "gap." Instead, they impose many new requirements and cover much new ground that would have significant unintended consequences.⁸⁹ Such legislation should be evaluated on its own merits, or lack thereof. The supposed "gap" in Title IX coverage should not be used as an excuse to promote or disguise something much broader.

Rebuttal to Statements by Other Commissioners

As Commissioner Heriot explained in her accompanying dissent, three of us voted against the decision by the Commission's majority to abruptly cancel our ongoing enforcement report project for FY 2011, which was to investigate the DOJ's use of *cy pres* agreements. Given the Commission's sensible past practice in which a new majority sets the course for future studies but continues ongoing projects (especially those more than half-way completed), the cancelation of the *cy pres* study was highly unusual and inappropriate, regardless of the preference the new majority had to study something more to its liking this fiscal year.⁹⁰

We also objected to the decision in March of this year to launch and attempt to complete a competent investigation of the student bullying topic generally and the federal agencies' enforcement efforts relating thereto. We maintained that this particular topic could not be adequately investigated in a few months before the draft report had to be produced for review. We also objected to (and voted against) some of the timetables and procedures adopted to produce the draft report in such a short time frame. Our predictions that nothing meaningful could be completed on this topic in the time allotted have been proven correct, although our foresight was probably due more to our years on the Commission rather than anything else.

Putting aside those significant objections, however, we concur in Chairman Castro's description of the collegiality in which the briefing in May was organized, the constructive efforts (under the circumstances) of our career staff to deal with the short deadlines dictated by the shift in topic, and the fair-minded way in which Chairman Castro conducted the briefing. The failure of our career staff to conjure data that does not exist is understandable. Notwithstanding the serious substantive concerns with the report expressed in this statement, we especially appreciate the efforts Commissioners Achtenberg and Castro made to try to turn a sow's ear of an investigation into a silk purse report. That we believe their well-meaning efforts largely failed to produce what they hoped should not be interpreted as a lack of respect

for them personally. Indeed, we regret the necessity of pointing out several of our continuing disagreements with them below.

Is Greater Federal Involvement in K-12 Bullying Helpful or Counterproductive?

A. Leaps of Logic in the Concurring Statements

The accompanying statements by Commissioners Achtenberg, Castro and Yaki contain certain common assertions that incorporate a non sequitur and a related leap of logic. The non sequitur is that because bullying of various types is harmful (ignoring for now that there is absolutely no evidence whether the level of bullying has changed since the dawn of time), there is a need for greater federal involvement to solve the problem. The related leap of logic is that because various anti-bullying efforts at the state and local level are not uniform, there is naturally a great need for uniform national standards.

The concurring statements make no, or almost no, attempt to connect the dots on these non sequiturs and logical fallacies, yet their favored policy recommendations of increasing the federal government's involvement and passing more national laws do not logically follow from either premise. For example, Chairman Castro writes that there is evidence that students are being bullied because of their membership in protected classes, and "[w]hen that happens, I believe the Federal government has an important role to play."⁹¹ This is an illogical leap for several reasons. Students are not themselves state actors. Many instances of peer-to-peer bullying may not be known to school officials. More importantly, if the schools take adequate and appropriate steps to address bullying they reasonably become aware of, there is no federal issue. The Fourteenth Amendment prohibits state actors from denying equal protection of the laws to their citizens; it does not empower the national government to right all wrongs in the first instance, no matter how real. At a minimum, there must be substantial evidence in the record that states are systematically ignoring the rights of students in certain protected classes before greater federal intervention would be warranted. There is no such evidence.

There are many more serious crimes that occur "nationwide" that most people, even intuitively, know should not be federalized with uniform, national prohibitions. Murder and sexual assaults are devastating crimes, but states vary in countless significant ways regarding how they define the different levels of homicide, the type of sexual assault offenses, the age of consent for statutory rape, the penalties for each, and the criminal procedures for proving those different offenses and various defenses (insanity, for example). It's highly doubtful that federal preemption of homicide and sexual assault offenses would prevent more of them (for many of the same reasons we explain below relating to bullying), but it would be unconstitutional for the national government to try. For similar reasons, it probably would not help if Congress were able to supplement state laws with general, federal homicide and sexual assault statutes.

Unless one naively believes that all instances of teasing and mean behavior can be stopped among the 55 million American students, it is necessary to seriously analyze the efforts the schools are taking to address the issue. No attempt was made to do so in the Commission's report or the concurring commissioner statements. It also would be necessary to carefully analyze any additional efforts that might arguably improve the situation before leaping to the conclusion that the federal government could naturally do a better job. Better than what? What is the baseline? Assuming, *arguendo*, that it is simply a matter of increased resources and effort that is needed, why can't the local schools do more with those extra resources? Indeed, dealing

with DOJ and OCR attorneys and the rest of the federal bureaucracy, for example, will diminish the time principals, teachers, and administrators spend making their schools better.

Commissioners Castro, Achtenberg, and Yaki seem to assume that national, uniform standards are always better, without any explanation. They call for federal anti-bullying statutes because, as Commissioner Castro writes, “current state-level anti-bullying laws neither protect all students nationwide nor provide all students with equal and consistent levels of protection from state to state.”⁹² Yes, but so what? Most students only go to school in one state at a time. Why isn’t it enough that the state where any given student lives has laws that protect him or her? Moreover, the same legal characterization is true for murder, rape, and theft laws; there is no reason to fear that the lack of uniformity would cause a problem in prosecuting any particular case.

The District of Columbia and 47 states now have anti-bullying statutes, and two of the remaining three states have statewide anti-bullying regulations.⁹³ All states prohibit violence and threats of violence, regardless of the motive involved, which is what the anti-bullying activists and our fellow commissioners claim they are either exclusively or most concerned about. (That is also the most common understanding regarding their repeated references to “student safety.”) Moreover, the schools of every state and territory have the inherent ability and institutional history of addressing student bullying that pre-dates and supplements these specific anti-bullying laws and regulations. There is absolutely no evidence that particular states are deficient in enforcing such laws, regulations, and practices.

If the claim was that one or more of the states had deficient laws, regulations, or policies, that might support an argument for the particular state or states to reform their laws and practices. But neither the Commission’s report nor our fellow concurring commissioners’ statements analyzed the state enforcement record or made that argument. As the previous section of this joint dissent explains, we suspect the disconnect is at least partly because those who favor new federal legislation do so not out of a love of uniformity per se—or a coherent argument that uniformity provides better protections for students who go to school in only one state at a time—but because they want to provide additional power and responsibility to the national government for other reasons. Perhaps they have sincerely come to believe that the national government is the best, most effective level of government there is. We don’t share that view, but we think there are additional reasons to believe that increased federal intervention is likely to be counterproductive in this area that ED has admitted is “primarily a local responsibility.”

B. Reasons Why Greater Federal Intervention May Be Counterproductive

We previously noted that there is no relevant data relating to violations of the federal civil rights laws concerning student-on-student harassment; no relevant data, evidence, or analysis of ED’s or DOJ’s effectiveness in enforcing the relevant federal laws; and no helpful information or analysis regarding the efforts K-12 schools are undertaking to enforce either the federal laws or otherwise respond to student bullying or harassment generally. Yet OCR is attempting to greatly expand its authority in this area with legally erroneous “guidance,” which Commissioners Achtenberg, Castro and Yaki seem to support. We now offer a brief reflection on whether such expansion of federal authority is likely to help or hurt.

In addressing the question, we do not mean to impugn federal officials’ subjective motives for attempting to expand their power. It is human nature for federal officials, or anyone for that matter, to believe that expanding their power will do a world of good. Indeed, the vast majority

of individuals enter government service with the best of intentions, but it is also human nature for such officials to increasingly come to believe that the common good coincides with their self interest. The public choice literature shows that whatever serves to increase bureaucratic authority is a powerful predictor of what bureaucrats will seek, but it is not surprising that they rationalize their behavior and sincerely come to believe that they know what is best.

A serious study of *relevant* data on student-on-student harassment and schools' responses thereto might be necessary to definitively answer the question of whether more federal involvement would help or hurt in preventing bullying, but the following reasons should counsel against the lazy assumption that greater federal involvement is always better. And with regard to what even Assistant Secretary of Education Russlynn Ali conceded is "primarily a local responsibility," our analysis suggests that more federal involvement is quite likely to be counterproductive.

- First, increased federal pressure will inevitably increase the number of "zero tolerance" responses to alleged harassment with ridiculous results. As Commissioner Heriot pointed out in her accompanying dissenting statement, kids in preschool and kindergarten are already suspended or arrested too often for trying to hug their teachers or kiss their classmates.⁹⁴ But things can get worse. Even the Antioch College conduct code ridiculed on Saturday Night Live would not go far enough for current activists' tastes. At least the Antioch College code permitted one student to ask another whether he could hold hands, hug, or kiss his romantic interest.⁹⁵ Some activists now purport to define bullying to include "unwelcome" flirting,⁹⁶ which is hardly an aggressive act, and in any event, is preliminary to asking for a date. Will K-12 schools have to pass comprehensive new speech codes that prohibit "unwanted" date requests unless a student's Facebook status expressly welcomes all new date invitations? What other restrictions on sexual innuendo will be required? As Professor Volokh noted: "Romantic problems occasionally cause suicide. We don't go out there and start pervasively regulating romance because of that danger including a danger to teenagers."⁹⁷ Volokh's first point is undoubtedly correct, but a lot of activists would like to prove him wrong on his second point.
- Second, expanded federal authority to investigate incidents of K-12 school bullying will divert federal attention from the rare but serious cases in which a particular school or school district really is indifferent to protected-class-based violence. The troubling racial violence in a South Philadelphia high school explored by the Commission in its May 2011 briefing is a potent example.⁹⁸ It seems to us that DOJ should have been quicker to respond, especially since serious injury and potential loss of life was at play. Almost all schools do want to stop all forms of bullying, and it is not just because they fear liability for damages, although that is surely an additional incentive to follow the law. The massive resistance to desegregation in the 1950s-70s is not an apt analogy to instances of student-on-student harassment because there is no evidence that schools in general are indifferent to the serious incidents of harassment of any of their students. Nevertheless, the existing federal law, properly understood, provides an important backstop for race or similar class-based violence that a few schools might ignore. Helen Gym's testimony about the un-checked violence in Philadelphia at our briefing is cited as proof that the federal government should intervene to stop violence. We agree, but her testimony actually supports our view that there is a critical role for

federal officials when schools are deliberately indifferent or contribute to serious racial violence. Our fear is that this critical, but limited, role might get diluted or “defined down.” When DOJ and ED are busy policing offensive “eye rolling” or taking depositions about the tone of voice in which a compliment was offered, they divert resources and undermine respect for the more serious incidents of violence and harassment.

- Third, greater federal regulatory involvement to prevent teasing and the like that doesn’t rise to the level of what the Supreme Court defined as prohibited federal harassment will undercut the accountability local school officials and state legislators have to parents and students to prevent and address all types and degrees of bullying. The more the federal government acts as the savior, no matter how well meaning that may be, the more attention will be directed to Washington. It is hardly surprising that activists of all stripes focus their energy on federal action, but few consider whether that will backfire if the federal government is really unable to make a difference. Since few acts of bullying do rise to the level of a federal civil rights violation, this diffusion of responsibility will have a sadly counterproductive result. Local officials who should be responsible can partially evade their accountability by playing the blame game: “we are complying fully with the federal guidelines, and the feds haven’t provided enough money to combat the problems that overwhelm our schools.” This is hardly a trivial concern. Given the many thousands of local school officials involved, even a slight dilution in local accountability can have a larger impact than a corresponding increase in responsibility at the national level.
- Fourth, as Commissioner Heriot demonstrated in her accompanying dissent and we explained during the Commission’s May 13 briefing, 800-pound gorillas from Washington, DC tend to get their way, but their ways are not always best. One-size-fits-all rules and wrongheaded ideas from Washington may have various counterproductive effects. One unfortunate example is the recent, federal “school discipline” agenda, that could require less discipline for certain types of students who deserve it to prevent a “disparate impact.”⁹⁹ Moreover, 800-pound gorillas may not like local experimentation and local solutions.
- Fifth, one of the zero tolerance responses worthy of special note is that the “anti-bullying” indoctrination called for by many of the activists may violate freedom of conscience and actually teach intolerance, instead of meaningful tolerance of differing opinions.¹⁰⁰ One frequent reply to this concern is that sensitivity training need not require students to affirm anything they don’t believe. That is true in theory, but testimony from Hiram Sasser at our briefing suggests that forced indoctrination and intolerance are already too common in such supposedly “tolerance” building programs. For example, in *Harper v. Poway Unified School District*, 445 F.3d 1166 (9th Cir. 2006), *judgment vacated for other reasons*, 549 U.S. 1262 (2007) (mem.), a high school student was prohibited from wearing a T-shirt expressing his opposition to homosexuality since it ran counter to the school-sponsored “day of silence.” Judge Kozinski in dissent explained that the particular “Day of Silence” program was “a political activity that was sponsored or at the very least tolerated by school authorities.” The majority even quotes school administrators saying they were especially concerned about the T-shirt because it was being worn the day after the Day of Silence. In short, the student’s speech was banned because it was contrary to the schools’ recent program

of indoctrination on "tolerance." OCR's call for more of this training is likely to make matters worse.

Thus, on one side of the ledger is the absence of any evidence, or even a coherent argument, that greater federal involvement in preventing student-on-student bullying or harassment will help. Our thoughts above provide some important reasons to believe greater federal involvement will backfire, particularly as it undermines local accountability to address the real problems and leads to ridiculous results and increased denials of student freedoms.

Problems with the Data Cited in Concurring Commissioner Statements

According to the Commission's statute, our annual enforcement report is supposed to "monitor *Federal* civil rights enforcement efforts in the United States."¹⁰¹ Thus, this report should have focused almost exclusively on whether ED and DOJ are correctly interpreting the relevant federal anti-discrimination statutes, such as Title IX and Title VI, and whether they are taking appropriate actions against schools that are actually violating those statutes. The time spent in the report and concurring commissioner statements discussing the frequency of teasing, acts of exclusion, rumor mongering, and undefined bullying that does not violate federal law is largely off point, since those discussions tell us nothing about the federal government's enforcement of the relevant federal anti-discrimination laws, and whether schools are following federal law.

Another problem is that many of the studies cited in the report and relied upon by other commissioners combine survey terms such as "bullied, teased, or taunted"¹⁰² or "threatens or insults."¹⁰³ In each case, the less serious conduct is likely to be much more common, but the report treats them as if they are describing "violence" or, at the least, "bullying."¹⁰⁴ Even the use of the word "harassment" has a markedly different meaning depending on the context of the question and the type of respondent. A typical teenager might say "my parents harass me constantly to clean my room and get good grades" or "my teacher is always harassing me to do better in school." To a lawyer who litigates workplace sexual harassment cases, harassment has a technical, legal meaning. When teens are asked about harassing conduct by fellow students, it is very important to review how that question is asked, and no matter how the question is posed, teens are not likely to give the word "harassment" its legal meaning. For example, the California Healthy Kids Survey, relied on in the Commission's report for data on "verbal harassment on school property," asked students if there were any "mean rumors" or "lies spread about" them, or if they were "made fun of because of [their] looks" or the "way" they "talk."¹⁰⁵ Thus, as Commissioner Thornstrom points out, we must be very careful to look at the type of questions asked in these surveys and not jump to conclusions when the survey summary uses terms like "bullying," "harassment," and the like.

Commissioner Achtenberg dismisses such concerns for precision and our federal jurisdiction with a somewhat sweeping, general claim: "There can be no doubt that peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence against students due to their race, national origin, sex, disability, religion, and/or sexual minority or gender non-conforming status are serious and pervasive problems in the United States" (emphasis added).¹⁰⁶ We have a sense that bullying is a serious issue for some schools, as it has been for decades, but exactly how serious and whether it is "pervasive" in any meaningful sense is entirely unclear. For example, there is no reliable data in the report or commissioner statements whether it is more or less pervasive in rural, suburban, or urban schools. We can venture a guess, but it would be just that. Do some states

do a much better job, such that bullying is not "pervasive" (which is itself a legally loaded term) in any of its districts? The report and concurring commissioner statements offer no clue on that important question.

The data cited in the report and in the concurring commissioner statements are so inconsistent and biased, based on self-reports and self-selecting non-probability samples, that we cannot often distinguish the possible reliable factoid from the worthless dross. That is why we urged the Commission to verify the studies it cited. As part-time commissioners, we did not have the time to do this ourselves, but the more we examine studies brought to our attention, the higher the percentage of worthless and misleading studies we think exists. Unfortunately, some of our fellow commissioners seem to have been too trusting, and by relying on the studies cited in the report and by advocacy witnesses, they have unwittingly undermined their own positions.

Commissioner Thernstrom's statement contains many of the same data criticisms that we document, and Commissioner Heriot not only concurs in this statement, her own dissenting statement raises similar criticisms. Thus, four commissioners—Gaziano, Kirsanow, Heriot and Thernstrom—have expressed serious concerns about the reliability and relevance of the data cited in the report. Even Commissioner Yaki acknowledges that the report suffers from an "inability to thoroughly scour the literature" and a "rushed timeline."¹⁰⁷ Commissioner Titus resigned from the Commission before the report or its findings were voted on, and her replacement, Commissioner Kladney, understandably abstained from voting on the report and almost all of its findings. Accordingly, only two of eight commissioners seem to express great confidence in the report's data, with double that number expressing grave doubts about its reliability and Commissioner Yaki staking out a middle ground. That level of distrust is telling in itself.

Despite Commissioners Achtenberg and Castro's efforts to sidestep the issue, there still is no data on whether bullying has increased or decreased over the past five, ten, twenty, or 10,000 years. Professor Eastman testified that bullying has gone on as long as there have been schools, and we bet it pre-dated the creation of schools by many millennia. Before policymakers increase federal intervention in this area, they should know whether bullying has increased or decreased over time. And if any increase is shown to be unrelated to the degree of federal intervention or negatively correlated, this would seriously undermine the case for more federal intervention.

Concurring commissioners' citation of the number of complaints received by OCR and DOJ adds nothing to nothing. OCR does not distinguish between peer-to-peer harassment and harassment by teachers or administrators. Thus, we do not know how many of the complaints relate to peer-to-peer harassment. We also have no idea how many complaints are meritorious. While OCR received 4,433 harassment complaints of all kinds from 2005 through 2011—out of approximately 55 million K-12 students—there were only 138 voluntary resolution agreements related to peer-to-peer harassment during this same six-year period. And a voluntary resolution agreement does not mean the school was deficient: a school may have adequately addressed the problem, and the agreement merely conforms to what the school has done.

We cannot address all our concerns with the other data relied upon in the concurring commissioner statements, but we will focus on a few areas of special concern. Commissioner Kirsanow offered the motion that added disability to the scope of the report, and we agree there is reason to suspect that disabled students may be more vulnerable to bullying and less likely to report it. Thus, the lack of reliable data with regard to bullying of disabled students is

particularly disappointing to us. Commissioner Achtenberg acknowledges “there has been ‘very little research’” with regard to bullying of students with learning disabilities,¹⁰⁸ yet the studies she cites are still highly problematic.

The report’s claim that 94% of parents of children with Asperger Syndrome report that their children had been bullied, citing a 2009 article by Susan Carter, is highly misleading. The 94% figure actually comes from an article by Little (2002) which is merely cited in the 2009 Carter article. Most importantly, the Little study reported on frequencies of bullying by “siblings and/or peers.”¹⁰⁹ Such a study tells us nothing valuable about peer-to-peer bullying in schools because the figures may be mostly describing more frequent sibling behavior in the home. (Despite our loving relationships with our siblings today, while growing up, few weeks would pass without bullying among our siblings. We would expect reports of 99% bullying by siblings who are close in age.)

The further claim that 65% of parents of children with Asperger Syndrome reported that their children had been victimized by peers, with 50% reporting their children were scared by peers, though this time produced by the Carter study, are still highly misleading. The Carter study, like the Little research, included bullying committed by “a brother or sister.”¹¹⁰ Sibling behavior in the home is beyond the control of schools. Such incidents do not implicate federal jurisdiction. The Commission should have carefully analyzed the details in this and the other studies before citing them in the report.

The report’s explicit disclaimer that much of the data cited in it are questionable does not absolve the Commission or commissioners for citing unreliable or misleading studies. Even given the rushed nature of the report, it is still surprising how many errors and misleading uses of data are contained in a couple of sentences in the report describing the Carter study, which we reviewed because another commissioner mistakenly relied upon the report’s citation to it. Such errors call into doubt claims made throughout the report about the frequency and severity of peer-to-peer bullying.

Even on its own terms, the Carter study has a number of limitations. The author herself noted several serious issues: Only 34 parents participated in the study, a “relatively small” sample size. The parents were not randomly selected, but were instead recruited “online, in clinics, and at autism conferences,” and “may not be representative of the true population.” Moreover, “parents may have exaggerated their child’s experiences of victimization and shunning.” Finally, “the reliability and validity of the both [sic] measures used are still being determined.”¹¹¹ Indeed, the Carter study from 2009 found significantly less victimization of students suffering from Asperger Syndrome than the Little study from 2002.¹¹²

In the first portion of this joint dissent, we also noted the dramatically contradictory surveys cited in the report on sexual harassment. Commissioner Achtenberg relies heavily on only one of them, the 2001 AAUW study in which 81 percent of students in grades 8 to 11 supposedly reported experiencing sexual harassment. The California Healthy Kids Survey of the California Department of Education, also cited prominently in the report, is administered to hundreds of thousands of public school students in grades 7, 9, and 11 in that state. Eleven percent of the respondents in the 2007-2009 survey reported being subject to harassment based on gender.¹¹³ The report cites both numbers as equally valid, even though the difference is a factor of seven. And only two percent of students reported in another study being targeted by “hate-related words” on the basis of gender.¹¹⁴ Such wildly divergent percentages should call all of them into question, but we previously noted other reasons to doubt the AAUW study.

The report and one of the concurring commissioners also claim that 800 incidents of rape or attempted rape and 3800 incidents of sexual battery that were not rape were reported by schools in the 2007-08 school year, according to ED's National Center for Education Statistics.¹¹⁵ Rape and sexual battery are serious crimes in all states and jurisdictions, and we hope all appropriate cases were the subject of a successful criminal investigation and prosecution, as warranted. Yet, as serious as those crimes are, some corrections and perspective are in order. The report wrongly says there were 800 incidents of rape reported by schools, when the underlying study it cites says there were actually 800 rapes *or attempted rapes* reported by schools.¹¹⁶ It would be helpful to know how broadly "attempted rape" is defined for this purpose. However it is defined, this mischaracterization of attempted rape as rape is yet another example of the rushed and erroneous way data is handled in the report. Second, given the number of preschool and kindergarteners who were cited for sexual harassment for hugging and attempted kissing in some school districts (see Commissioner Herriot's dissenting statement), we also wonder what type of conduct schools reported under "sexual battery." And finally, we need some baselines to put all such figures in perspective. There are about 55 million primary and secondary students. The rate of reported rape and *attempted rape* in the ED report was less than .05 per 1000 students and roughly 0.1 per 1000 students for sexual battery that was not rape,¹¹⁷ which is, according to our review of DOJ's Bureau of Justice Statistics website, a tiny fraction of these crimes for teens overall.

With regard to another category of students, Commissioner Achtenberg proposes to find that forty to fifty percent of sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth are subject to peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, or violence, citing the public comment of Professor Mark Friedman. As an initial matter, forty percent is half the 81 percent of all students reporting sexual harassment in the AAUW study. Moreover, the comparison of figures in Friedman's underlying article is not as striking as his comment to the Commission in which he summarized the results. Both the Friedman public comment and our report left out the results for heterosexual males and females, which put the numbers in some context.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the usual caveats about studies based on retrospective self-reporting apply, as even Friedman admits they "may be biased."¹¹⁹

But whatever the actual level of teasing, harassment, bullying, or other "bad" conduct, neither the report nor concurring commissioner statements show that local school districts across the country are failing to deal with such issues appropriately. If schools are acting reasonably, there is no need for an expanded federal role. There remains a need for the federal government to act swiftly, as in the South Philadelphia high school case where school officials appear to have been grossly negligent in the face of racial violence. Thankfully, such cases seem to be quite rare.

Sexual Minority Stress Theory

The minority stress theory, as described by Professors Herek and Meyer, is as follows: Sexual minority youth have no inherent physical or mental health problems relative to other youth. Yet, they have worse health outcomes, particularly mental health outcomes, which are most likely caused by societal stigmatization of homosexuality.¹²⁰ This theory may have some validity, though it has been questioned by other scholars. Ritch Savin-Williams (Department Chair, College of Human Ecology, Cornell University) has noted the significant, positive change in attitude of the American public toward gay individuals since 1995, which has greatly reduced social stigmatization of homosexuality.¹²¹ Lisa M. Diamond (Department of

Psychology, University of Utah) has questioned the importance of gay-related stress, pointing to “[e]vidence suggest[ing] that the average sexual-minority youth spends as much time ruminating about normative adolescent concerns such as love and romance as about gay-specific stressors such as hate crimes or familial rejection.”¹²²

Even if true, the minority stress theory is beside the point. Most of the examples cited by Commissioner Achtenberg, which certainly are troubling, are beyond the control of any school. She quotes from a report that “[c]ontemporary health disparities based on sexual orientation and gender identity are rooted in and reflect the historical stigmatization of [LGBT] people.”¹²³ Commissioner Achtenberg notes that families may reject a child due to his or her sexual identity and the structural stigma of homosexuality; there is a heightened risk of parental abuse; there is a higher rate of homelessness; gay youth face “heightened risk of substance abuse, including tobacco, alcohol, and illegal drugs;” police and courts might be biased against them (although could any disparities in punishment be due to their using alcohol and illegal drugs more?); and gay youth “appear to engage in risky sexual behavior at disproportionate rates.”¹²⁴ As cruel as parental rejection is, let alone parental abuse and the risky behaviors described above, this may easily swamp what goes on at school. The simple truth is that there is no study that reliably measures whether bullying at school on the basis of sexual orientation causes any particular, measurable degree of harm. It would be a very difficult effect to study, but perhaps in time there will be a way to measure it.¹²⁵

Moreover, students may disassociate themselves from others for all sorts of wrongheaded and mean reasons, but that does not by itself constitute “bullying” unless it is defined downward to include “acts of exclusion” that some activists are pushing for. It certainly does not implicate federal civil rights laws, and for a good reason. Neither the state nor the federal government is responsible for policing friendships. Government must not discriminate in its own right, but it is not liable for the historical stigmatization or bigotry held by individuals in society.¹²⁶

The Supreme Court in *Davis* held that for a school district to be responsible for peer-to-peer harassment, it must “retain substantial control over the context in which the harassment occurs” and “exercise significant control over the harasser.” Usually the misconduct must occur “during school hours and on school grounds.”¹²⁷ Thus, schools have a role to play, but under federal law, they are only responsible for addressing “severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive” conduct that they are aware of that denies an equal opportunity to certain students to learn or benefit from school programs. All people of good will should work to reduce irrational societal stigmatization. Yet to cast all bigotry as “bullying” is inaccurate and not productive to that end.

“Neutrality” Policies

Commissioners Achtenberg, Castro, and many public commenters (including one witness cited from our May briefing) are critical of what they refer to as school district “neutrality” policies, though they only refer to one: the “Sexual Orientation Curriculum Policy” in Minnesota’s Anoka-Hennepin School District No. 11. They express concern that this policy discourages or prohibits teachers and administrators from talking about bullying based on sexual orientation, but the policy says nothing of the sort. The Anoka-Hennepin policy only governs what should be taught as part of the district’s official curriculum, and it specifically contemplates that staff may need to address issues relating to sexual orientation. It requires neutrality when they do so and further stresses that “it is important that staff do so in a respectful

manner that is age-appropriate, factual, and pertinent to the relevant curriculum." The policy is worth quoting in full:

It is the primary mission of the Anoka-Hennepin School District to effectively educate each of our students for success. District policies shall comply with state and federal law as well as reflect community standards. As set forth in the Equal Education Opportunity Policy, it is the School District's policy to provide equal educational opportunity and to prohibit harassment of all students. The Board is committed to providing a safe and respectful learning environment and to provide an education that respects the beliefs of all students and families.

The School District employs a diverse and talented staff committed to serving students and families from diverse backgrounds. The School District acknowledges that one aspect of that diversity regards sexual orientation. Teaching about sexual orientation is not a part of the District adopted curriculum; rather, such matters are best addressed within individual family homes, churches, or community organizations. Anoka-Hennepin staff, in the course of their professional duties, shall remain neutral on matters regarding sexual orientation including but not limited to student led discussions. If and when staff address sexual orientation, it is important that staff do so in a respectful manner that is age-appropriate, factual, and pertinent to the relevant curriculum. Staff are encouraged to take into consideration individual student needs and refer students to the appropriate social worker or licensed school counselor.

Whatever one thinks of the actual policy, it is nothing like the caricature of it that appears in the press and elsewhere.¹²⁸ The policy acknowledges the need to "prohibit harassment of all students." The district's goal is a "safe and respectful learning environment" and to respect "the beliefs of all students and families." The policy acknowledges that the diversity of students, families, and staff includes "sexual orientation." And it is not a general neutrality policy but a "curriculum" policy: extended teaching about sexual orientation is not part of the curriculum, but the district goes to some pains to explain that this policy shall not be read to cut off discussion of sexual orientation when appropriate to the regular curriculum.

The district has other policies addressing bullying and LGBT issues.¹²⁹ Its "Harassment, Violence and Discrimination Policy" notes that sexual orientation is one of the protected classifications set forth in the district's Equal Educational Opportunity Policy. The district "prohibits any form of discrimination including sex, race, religion, disability or any other protected classification [which includes sexual orientation]." It is a violation of the policy "for any student or District personnel through conduct or communication to harass; inflict, threaten to inflict or attempt to inflict violence; or discriminate against a pupil or other District personnel on the basis of sex, race, religion, disability or any other protected classifications set forth in . . . the District's Equal Educational Opportunity Policy [which includes sexual orientation]."

The district also has a comprehensive anti-bullying policy protecting all students. The district has issued anti-bullying training and support programs for staff and students, which notes that "we have a number of board policies designed to prevent harassment or bullying for any reason, including sexual orientation or gender." One of the materials provided is a power point presentation for staff, "Sexual orientation and Harassment: A Guide for Protocol and Response," "on how to respond to anti-GLBT language and harassment and how to assist students who come out." The district has a number of other GLBT-specific trainings and programs as well.

Certainly the general description of the policy by its critics seems quite mistaken. Commissioner Achtenberg also writes in her statement that the implementation of the curriculum policy was problematic, citing the plaintiffs' allegations in a lawsuit filed against the school district, among other things. That issue is still the subject of litigation,¹³⁰ so the court may determine if it was implemented in a manner inconsistent with law. Whatever the result, however, there is no support for the conclusion that all curriculum policies of this sort are problematic.

Religion

Although prohibitions on national origin discrimination may sometimes overlap with religious bigotry, discrimination based on religion is not itself banned by Title VI. We voted for a motion to amend finding number two, clarifying that ED "interprets federal civil rights laws to provide it with jurisdiction to protect students from peer-to-peer harassment that is based on the student's actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic identity rather than on the students' religious practices."¹³¹ Congress may want to go further than ED's interpretation and consider prohibiting all discrimination on the basis of religion in government-run schools, but it should consider the appropriate remedies for this prohibition and a number of exemptions for religious institutions if the law applies beyond government-run schools. The contours of such exemptions are difficult to draw,¹³² and the implications of additional liability in this area should be carefully weighed.

Commissioner Yaki's Statement

Commissioner Yaki argues that there is a compelling governmental interest in protecting LGBT students from bullying, which overrides students' free speech interests. His citation of Supreme Court authority for this proposition is extremely curious. We have previously explained why even the most well-settled government interests do not trump all student speech rights and justify whatever anti-discrimination or anti-harassment policy well-meaning bureaucrats dream up.¹³³

In any event, ED cannot, as Commissioner Yaki urges, withhold federal funding from schools on whatever basis it or he thinks proper while awaiting Congress to ratify that authority. Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment grants Congress the power to enforce the Amendment's terms, not any agency of the federal government. Sexual orientation is effectively covered under Title IX because OCR and the courts interpret sex discrimination to include discrimination based on sex stereotypes. And Title VI protects groups that have an actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics who also share a religion. ED can no more expand the protection for religion or add new categories than it can prohibit "lookism." It can only enforce the statutes enacted by Congress, which must be interpreted in a manner faithful to their text.

Dissenting Statement of Commissioner Gail Heriot, with Which Commissioners Peter Kirsanow and Todd Gaziano Concur

I. Background to the Report: A Twice-Told Tale Rather Than an Investigation

This report has been a disappointment—though its shortcomings can in no way be attributed to our staff. The responsibility must lie with the Commission itself. Switching topics

at the last possible moment made it impossible for the report to be anything but an uncritical re-telling of the positions of the Department of Education and the Department of Justice—along with a very brief nod to a few of the objections to those positions.¹ Nothing that can be dignified with the term "investigation" has occurred here. No useful new evidence is uncovered. No serious analysis has been engaged in.²

In the Commission's charter, Congress requires us to produce at least one report each year critiquing the manner in which a federal agency enforces civil rights laws.³ It is for that reason that the Commission is frequently referred to as a "civil rights watchdog."⁴ Our job is to be fair and independent critics.

The annual enforcement report has traditionally been the most important project the Commission undertakes in any given year. It requires research and development that usually spans a year or more. This report was put together in less than a third of the usual time. Similarly, the length of time for individual commissioners to write their statements was reduced from 30 days to seven days from the date the report was adopted.⁵

There is a backstory here: After considering several projects for several months over the summer of 2010, the Commission decided on October 8, 2010 that this year's topic would be the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division's use of the doctrine of *cy pres* in settling civil rights lawsuits brought on behalf of a class.⁶ That decision was already a little bit later in the year than usual. It was in part prompted by an article entitled *Justice Department Steers Money to Favored Groups*, which appeared in the *Washington Examiner* on August 5, 2010.⁷ The Commission set out to determine whether the concerns discussed in that article were justified.⁸ The article's author, Byron York, outlined the policy at issue this way:

The Justice Department has found a new way to pursue civil rights lawsuits, using the power of the Civil Rights Division not just to win compensation for victims of alleged discrimination but also to direct large sums of money to activist groups that are not discrimination victims and not connected to a particular suit.

In the past, when the Civil Rights Division filed suit against, say, a bank or a landlord, alleging discrimination in lending or rentals, the cases were often settled by the defendant paying a fine to the U.S. Treasury and agreeing to put aside a sum of money to compensate the alleged discrimination victims. There was then a search for those victims—people who were actually denied a loan or an apartment—who stood to be compensated. After everyone who could be found was paid, there was often money left over. That money was returned to the defendant.

Now, Attorney Eric Holder and Civil Rights Division chief Thomas Perez have a new plan. Any unspent money will not go back to the defendant but will instead go to a "qualified organization" approved by the Justice Department. And if there is not enough unspent money—that will be determined by the Department—then the defendant might be required to come up with more money to give to the "qualified organization."

The idea of directing unclaimed damage funds to non-profit groups whose interests are thought to be aligned with the unidentified victims' is superficially appealing. Advocates of *cy pres* argue that it solves the problem of under-deterrence that occurs when the victims of the defendant's wrongdoing fail to come forward and claim their share of the settlement made on their behalf.⁹ But as several respected legal scholars and practitioners have pointed out, it is also fraught with potential conflicts of interest.¹⁰ Northwestern University law professor Martin H. Redish and his co-authors have stated that the use of *cy pres* in the class action context "richly deserves" "scathing scholarly critique."¹¹

The conflicts of interest are by no means unique to civil rights cases brought by the federal government on behalf of a class of victims. They are equally significant in private class actions. But they are nevertheless important in the governmental context: When the Civil Rights Division selects a non-profit organization to benefit from the settlement of a legal dispute, how does it make that selection? Are there safeguards in place to prevent organizations that are simply the personal favorites of Civil Rights Division officials or staff members from being selected? Have any of the organizations that have been selected in the past employed family or friends of Civil Rights Division employees (or former Civil Rights Division employees themselves)? Are non-profit organizations lobbying the Civil Rights Division to be included as fund recipients (as they are already lobbying courts in connection with private class actions)?¹² Is it appropriate for Civil Rights Division attorneys to be dispensers of political patronage on such a large scale? Has the Civil Rights Division come under pressure to bring the kind of legal action that is most likely to benefit these non-profit organizations rather than the kind of legal action that would best vindicate the national interest? Does the Civil Rights Division exert less effort to locate actual victims of wrongdoing when a favored non-profit group has been selected to receive any uncollected damages? All of these questions deserve answers.

Pursuant to the Commission's decision, the Commission's staff had researched the issue, prepared a discovery plan and drafted initial sets of interrogatories, which were then served on the Department of Justice. Everything was underway. The Commission had received a partial response from the Department of Justice and was expecting the remaining documents soon. But the terms of Chairman Gerald Reynolds and Commission Ashley Taylor, Jr.—both Bush appointees—expired at the end of 2010, and in early 2011 they were replaced by Chairman Martin Castro and Commissioner Roberta Achtenberg.¹³ At its first opportunity, the newly-constituted Commission voted to abort the *cy pres* report, thus letting the Department of Justice off the hook in responding to the Commission's interrogatories. The bullying topic addressed in this report—a favorite topic of the current Administration-- was hurriedly substituted, and the Commission staff had to start from scratch.¹⁴

This looks very bad. The Byron York article in the *Washington Examiner* at least implied that the Civil Rights Division under the leadership of Obama appointees may have engaged in questionable activities. Prominent legal scholars had agreed that the use of the *cy pres* doctrine in class actions creates a serious potential for conflicts of interest. The Commission's report was designed, among other things, to allow the Division to demonstrate that its procedures are sufficient to guard against these potential conflicts of interest and that no cronyism had taken place in recent past. One would think under the circumstances the Civil Rights Division would prefer that the report be completed, rather than leave the question of conflicts of interest on its part dangling. Nevertheless, the investigation was shut down by a change in personnel on the Commission shifting the balance of power to Obama appointees.¹⁵

Meanwhile, given the late date at which the bullying topic was selected, there has been no opportunity for the Commission to root out useful new information about bullying or about the method by which the Department of Education enforces its bullying policy.¹⁶ I will therefore confine my remarks to a very general level.

II. The Federal Government is Ill-Suited to the Role of Controlling Schoolyard Bullies

Remember when children used to say “Don’t make a federal case out of it”? In those days, even fourth graders understood that not every problem is best dealt with at the federal level. These days, however, everything seems to be a federal case—even schoolyard bullies.

The point is not that bullying is unimportant. Few things are as important as ensuring that all our nation’s children can attend safe schools that are conducive to learning. But, in the absence of extraordinary circumstances, the problem can only be dealt with effectively at the local level. Individual teachers and principals backed up by active parents, school boards, school district officials, and students themselves must be in charge. It is their battle to win or lose. They are the heroes in this story, not the Department of Education.

Dealing with bullies requires knowledge of particular personalities and situations. Only their teacher knows that when little Owen doesn’t want to go out to recess, it is likely because the bigger kids—Benjamin and Elijah—have been harassing him and that he is too embarrassed to say so. Only the teacher knows that when little Chloe claims she has been bullied by her playmates, she is probably telling a tall tale, as she has done many times before. Teachers must act quickly and decisively at times, but they must also be careful and nuanced in dealing with their charges. In addition to knowing about the subjects they teach and how to teach them, they must possess the skills of both a psychologist and a police officer.

One could argue that any help in this regard should be welcome. But help from the 800-pound gorilla can be worse than no help at all. And that is what anything as large and powerful as the federal government inevitably is. The fact that it may be well-meaning is nice to know, but it shouldn’t make anyone want to trust it with a china tea set.

It is not that 800-pound gorillas are never useful. When it comes to fighting a war or building an interstate highway system, such a creature is perhaps the perfect ally.¹⁷ But helping school districts deal with discipline problems is a very different endeavor.

Local schools must do two things to satisfy the Department of Education: They must do the right thing in response to bullying motivated by race, sex, national origin or disability. Then they must be prepared to demonstrate with evidence that they have done the right thing. Sadly, in the real world, the latter task begins to overshadow the former. That is in the nature of bureaucracy. Teachers and principals must document the steps they have taken. Slowly, but unavoidably, the emphasis shifts from doing what the teacher and principal believe is the right thing to demonstrating that the school has done what the teacher and principal think some Department of Education official will think is the right thing. This is a shame. Their own judgment may have been imperfect—just like every other human being’s on the planet Earth—but it is better informed than the Department of Education’s and hence much more likely to be on target. Like every other person in a position of authority, teachers and principals may need some supervision. But it is better for that supervision to come from someone closer to the situation than from the Department of Education.

For a sense of how policies like the Department of Education’s bullying policy have worked in the past, one need only look to its very similar sexual harassment policy and the zero tolerance rules that have evolved from it:¹⁸

- Two middle school students—Cory M. and Ryan C., both 13, were arrested and charged with a *crime* at Patton Middle School in McMinnville, Oregon for slapping girls’ posteriors in an exuberant greeting in February of 2007.¹⁹

- Seven-year-old Randy C. saw another child hitting a fellow first-grader's buttocks, so he did it too at Potomac View Elementary School in Woodbridge, Maryland in February of 2009. The principal called the police on him.²⁰
- A five-year-old Hagerstown, Maryland boy was written up for sexual harassment for pinching girls' rear ends in the hallway at Lincolnshire Elementary School. Indeed, 28 kindergarteners were suspended for sex offenses, including 15 cases of sexual harassment in the 2005-2006 school year.²¹
- In December of 2006, a 4-year-old Waco, Texas boy was suspended for hugging a teacher's aide and rubbing his face in her chest.²²
- At Downey Elementary School in Brockton, Massachusetts, a 6-year-old was suspended for three days after he put two fingers inside a fellow firstgrader's waist band. He told his mother that the girl had touched him first.²³
- A 6-year-old in Greer, South Carolina was accused of sexually harassing his kindergarten teacher, because he told one of his classmates that he liked looking at her behind.²⁴
- According to the Maryland Department of Education, 166 elementary school students were suspended in the 2007-2008 school year for sexual harassment, including three pre-schoolers, 16 kindergarteners and 22 first graders. In Virginia, 255 elementary students were suspended for offensive sexual touching in that same year.²⁵

One could argue that these school districts have simply misinterpreted what the Department of Education requires. But that is no answer. It is in the nature of distant bureaucracies that their edicts will be misinterpreted. One can argue that schools shouldn't make such mistakes, but that is no more useful than King Canute's command that the tides recede. The fact is that people make fewer mistakes when they rely upon their own common sense than when they try to please some distant bureaucracy. Indeed, that is part of why it is not a good idea to make everything a federal issue.

The problem is structural. If a school district attracts the attention of the Department of Education and is forced to submit to an investigation, it is going to cost it enormous resources. Lawyers will have to be consulted, and considerable staff time will have to be devoted to dealing with an investigation. The object of the game therefore is to avoid such attention. It is natural for a school district to implement a policy that leans over backwards to avoid trouble.

A policy that leans over backwards to avoid one kind of risk will inevitably pay insufficient heed to a countervailing consideration. In the case of sexual harassment policies, young children who cannot even spell "sexual harassment" have been needlessly traumatized. Their educations have been interrupted by uncalled-for suspensions. And these well-publicized cases involving kindergartners and first graders are unlikely to show the full extent of the problem. There are likely lots of cases that are not quite as perfect for media ridicule as the tiny tot cases, but in which an injustice was nevertheless done.²⁶ In the end, the greatest casualty of the Department of Education's war may turn out to be the easy-going relations between the sexes that have been characteristic of American culture for a long time. When young people have to be careful about what they say or do around the opposite sex, the result is likely to be that they say and do less.

In the case of the bullying policy, the neglected countervailing consideration may turn out to be the First Amendment. As then-judge Samuel Alito stated in *Saxe v. State College Area School District*:²⁷

There is no categorical “harassment exception” to the First Amendment’s free speech clause.

...
There is of course no question that non-expressive, physically harassing conduct is entirely outside the ambit of the free speech clause. But there is also no question that the free speech clause protects a wide variety of speech that listeners may consider deeply offensive, including statements that impugn another’s race or national origin or that denigrate religious beliefs.

To be sure, First Amendment protections operate a little differently in school settings than they do in the marketplace. But they operate nonetheless—especially in this case, given, as Professor Eugene Volokh pointed out in his written testimony, that the Department of Education’s Dear Colleague Letter appears to cover certain off-campus speech as well as on-campus speech.²⁸ There is, however, no federal agency that actively protects students’ First Amendment rights.²⁹ As a result, the incentive is for schools to give these rights a lower priority.

Anyone who has followed higher education over the last couple of decades knows that college campuses have been home to serious controversies over First Amendment rights.³⁰ It is one of life’s crueler ironies that colleges and universities—the very institutions that should hold freedom of expression most dear—have instead led the charge against those rights.³¹ In his testimony, Professor Volokh recounted many illustrative incidents; many more could be told. The Department of Education’s Dear Colleague letter is likely to push K through 12 education a little further down the path that higher education has recently followed.³²

Bureaucratic solutions are not the answer to every problem. The power of the federal government is a tool like any tool and should be used only in the right situation. For example, more than forty years ago the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (predecessor to the current Department of Education) performed an invaluable service in conjunction with the Department of Justice in coercing recalcitrant schools districts into desegregating. It had been a decade since *Brown v. Board of Education*, and many schools were just as segregated as they had been before that decision. Armed with Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, they indeed came down on these school districts like the proverbial 800-pound gorilla. Such a solution was necessary and altogether appropriate under the circumstances.³³

This is not 1964. There is no credible evidence that any school district in the nation is pro-bully. Mistakes happen; teachers and principals have not always done the right thing.³⁴ But these mistakes are not less likely to happen with vigorous federal oversight. Indeed, I believe they are more likely to happen. Under the circumstances, a lighter touch that the Department of Education’s Dear Colleague Letter offers is called for.

III. Nothing in the Statements of the Commission Members Who Voted for the Report Justifies Making a Federal Issue Out of Schoolyard Bullying

Chairman Castro rightly states in his Statement that “each of us, regardless of our Party affiliation or our political ideology, wants to have communities and schools that are safe for our children, regardless of their race, national origin, sex, religion, disability status or sexual orientation. Where we may differ is how to accomplish that goal.”³⁵ But he draws very different conclusions from that statement than I do. To me, the fact that we all agree we want safe schools for our children means that the aggressive federal oversight represented by the Department of Education’s Dear Colleague Letter is unnecessary and will likely be counterproductive. Different school districts, indeed different teachers and principals, should take different

approaches to the problem, and they should learn from each other's successes and failures. Meanwhile, creating media events like our May 13, 2011 briefing for the sake of media events is a job that can and should be left to the politicians.³⁶

What disturbs me is the lack of real discussion in the Statements. Nowhere is an effort made to explain why the federal jurisdiction over these issues is making things better. The point is taken for granted. The Statements contain no recognition of the fact that entrusting an issue—especially an important issue—to the federal bureaucracy has costs.

I wish I could fully explain the modern tendency toward an ever-larger and more powerful centralized government. Part of it is obvious, of course: It is a one-way ratchet. Once a bureaucracy is created, it requires extraordinary political will to shrink it, and hence it hardly ever happens. As the bureaucracy grows, so too does the class of persons who service it from the outside—lobbyists, lawyers, and professional political activists. Such persons, like government employees themselves, are likely to see government action as the solution to every problem—especially when an important by-product of every new federal initiative is to provide white-collar jobs to people like them.³⁷

It is easy to overlook the structural conflicts of interest that separate lobbyists, lawyers and professional activists from the people they purport (and indeed usually in good faith are attempting) to represent. But a wise policymaker will never lose sight of those conflicts: A lawyer or lobbyist benefits from complex and ever-changing law; his clients usually benefit from clear and stable law. A professional political activist needs political victories in the form of legislation passed or favorable administrative action; without such victories he cannot raise money. It is less important that these victories ultimately actually benefit anyone, much less those who thought they would be benefited. The professional political activist surely has no interest in examining past victories to find out whether they provided the promised benefits.

The primary political organizations that have supported the Department of Education's bullying policies have been civil rights organizations specializing in the concerns of sexual minorities. Sometimes their efforts have been part of broader efforts at the local level to combat bullying, and sometimes they have been part of efforts in the national media to assure sexual minority students who feel isolated that there are lots of Americans who wish them well. I believe these very different aspects of the anti-bullying movement may run together in the minds of its supporters. But they need to be considered and evaluated separately. I question whether increased power in the hands of the Department of Education will, in the long run, be in the interest of sexual minority students in particular. If the stereotypes of sexual minority members as particularly likely to be artistic and creative are even partly true, it is not clear that a national policy of deadening bureaucracy in the schools is in their interest.³⁸

IV. Some of the Literature Cited in Commissioners' Statements and in the Report Needs at Minimum to be Put in Perspective

Given the very short period of time allocated to put together this Report (and the Commissioners' statements), it has been impossible to do anything approaching an adequate analysis of the many social science articles, advocacy pieces masquerading as social science and straight advocacy pieces cited in the Report and in the draft Statements.³⁹ Nor has there been time to canvass the literature to determine what was left out of the Report. Nevertheless, I have tried to read through a sampling of the articles cited in Commissioner Achtenberg's statement.⁴⁰ What follows are notes on some of the issues I spotted.

Bullying of Disabled Students: I have no trouble believing that some kinds of disabled students are bullied more often than other students—at least in environments where non-disabled students are left unsupervised in the presence of these disabled students. That is the nature of bullying; it is the abuse of the weak by the strong. But we should not pretend that we have useful data on in-school bullying of disabled students.

For example, Commissioner Achtenberg quotes from the Report this way:

“[i]n a 2009 study of parents of children with Asperger Syndrome, 94 percent reported that their children had been bullied. [citation omitted.] Additionally, 65 percent reported that their children had been victimized by peers within the past year, while 50 percent reported that their children were scared by their peers.”⁴¹

Actually it was a 2002 study—*Middle Class Mothers’ Perceptions of Peer and Sibling Victimization among Children with Asperger’s Syndrome and Nonverbal Learning Disorders*—that found the 94% rate.⁴² The 2009 study referenced in the Report—*Bullying of Students with Asperger Syndrome*—merely cites the 2002 study for that point.⁴³ The 94% figure is for mothers who responded more than zero to any of the following questions:

How often in the last year your child was hit by peers or siblings at home or schools or out in the community?

What is the number of times your child has been physically attacked by a gang or group of kids?

What is the number of times your child has been kicked or hurt in his/her private parts (nonsexual genital assaults)?

How many times did any kids, including sisters and brothers, pick on your child by chasing him or her, trying to scare him or her, grabbing your child’s hair or clothes, or making your child go somewhere or do something he or she did not want to (bullying)?

How often did your child “get scared, sick or feel really bad because of being called names, saying mean things, or told that they didn’t want him or her around anymore (emotional bullying)?⁴⁴

A few things are worthy of note about the 2002 study. First, the 411 families who participated in the study were not randomly selected. Rather, they were volunteers who responded to an internet invitation to the parents of a child with Asperger’s Syndrome or another nonverbal learning disorder to complete an anonymous questionnaire that would be mailed to their home. Given that they appeared to be looking around the internet for information about their child’s disorder, volunteers are probably more likely to report problems than non-volunteers.

Much more important, the study did not even purport to be limited to bullying at school. It included abuse by *siblings* or peers *in any situation*. I am forced to conclude from this that at least 6% of the Asperger’s Syndrome children studied were only children. Otherwise the figure would almost certainly have been 100% at least with the families that I am familiar with, not just with disabled children, but with all children. Schools cannot control what siblings do at home and have little control over what peers do to peers at shopping malls and street corners. Consequently, this study has little application to the issues before the Commission.

The 2009 study cited by Commissioner Achtenberg asked essentially the same questions to the parents of only 34 children who had been diagnosed with Asperger’s Syndrome. Like the

earlier study, it used a nonrandom sample. The parents had been “recruited online, in clinics and at autism conferences.”⁴⁵

The results showed high rates of incidents, though not nearly as high as in the 2002 study it is modeled after. The 2009 study found that 64% of parents report some sort of bullying or harassment and 50% said his or her child had been scared by peers or siblings. Again, this includes bullying or harassment anywhere, not just in school. In addition, 11.8% reported that the child at issue had not been invited to any other child’s birthday that year, 5.9% said that he or she was routinely chosen last or near last for sports teams and 2.9% said he or she sat alone at lunch everyday.⁴⁶

A few additional points may be also useful here:

- Asperger’s Syndrome children are sometimes characterized by aggression themselves, so insofar as they are more likely to be in the company of other Asperger’s Syndrome children, this may tend to elevate levels of violence. It is also possible that some of the incidents reported by parents were actions taken by non-Asperger’s children who, rightly or wrongly, perceived themselves to be acting in self-defense.
- Asperger’s Syndrome children are sometimes characterized by unwarranted or inappropriate fears, so the notion that 50% of these children were said to experience fear of their peers may be less informative than it appears on the surface.
- One of the most well-known characteristics of Asperger’s Syndrome children is an inability to judge nonverbal social cues—including facial expressions to voice inflections. As a result, insofar as parents are relying on their child’s report of an incident that occurred outside their field of vision, they may receive an inaccurate account of what happened.⁴⁷

The bottom line is that we have not begun to quantify how much more likely a child with Asperger’s Syndrome is to be bullied in school by other students—although it is easy to believe that they are. But even if we could quantify it, it would be insufficient to justify federal efforts to influence local bullying policy. Nothing in either of these studies shows that local authorities are not addressing the matter in the best way they know how or that more federal supervision would be a useful improvement.⁴⁸

Bullying on the Basis of the Victim’s Religion: Commissioner Achtenberg also draws our attention to two surveys by the Sikh Coalition—one in the San Francisco Bay Area in 2010 and one in New York City in 2007—on the subject of religious based discrimination. Of these, I have been able to locate and examine one—the New York City survey.

The fact that a survey had been conducted by an advocacy organization should ordinarily cause a critical reader to scrutinize it a bit more carefully than usual.⁴⁹ In this case, however, the survey does not require particularly careful scrutiny to reveal its problems.

The report has the tendentious title *Hatred in the Hallways: A Preliminary Report on Bias Against Sikh Students in New York City’s Public Schools*.⁵⁰ It reports the results of a poll of 205 Sikh children in New York, primarily in the borough of Queens (where most New York Sikhs reside). Two things are crucial to understanding the results obtained in it:

Because the report states that 77.5% of Sikh boys and 58.4% of Sikh students generally report being teased or harassed on account of their Sikh religion, the word “*teased*” must be emphasized. The Free Dictionary defines “tease” this way:

- 1) To annoy or pester; vex.
- 2) To make fun of; mock playfully.

Despite the Sikh Coalition's assertion that its findings are "shocking by any standard," it is never shocking to find that children tease each other. Children always tease each other. It would be shocking if they didn't. Indeed, all but the most humorless adults I know indulge in it now and then too. Sometimes children take it too far; indeed, sometimes adults take it too far. But there is nothing in the report to separate friendly but impish teasing from something worthy of discipline, much less worthy of federal intervention. There may well be a problem, but this report has not uncovered it.

It should also be noted that unlike the authors of some of the other studies cited in the Report, the Sikh Coalition evidently interviewed a number of quite young students.⁵¹ That puts the report's finding that "[t]wo out of five Sikh children who wear turbans or *patkas* [religious head coverings for younger boys] are physically harassed—beaten or touched on the head"—in a different light. Beaten or touched on the head does not mean beaten. Among the younger children, I would expect the number who have been "touched" to be extremely high. Younger children touch each other. They roll in the grass with each other, they blow spit balls at each other, and they put chewing gum in each other's hair. They are especially likely to want to touch a schoolmate if they see something that in their ignorance appears to be a funny hat. Children's ignorance, with proper treatment, goes away. Federal bureaucracies created to solve a problem that is best solved locally do not.⁵²

I am confident that the Sikh Coalition is correct that some Sikh children have been harassed on account of some other children's misperceptions that they are terrorists.⁵³ In that respect the survey may provide a useful reminder for teachers, guidance counsellors and principals: Children can be ignorant hellions. They need to be taught (1) Sikhs are not Muslims; and (2) Even if they were Muslims, that does not make them terrorists. A good course in world religions would work wonders on both counts, and it is likely to be quite a bit more effective than federal laws that require more training for teachers on how to prevent harassment.

Unfortunately, there is one more point that needs to be put out in the open with regard to *Hatred in the Hallways*. When the Sikh Coalition undertook the study (along with a similar study of adult Sikhs), it placed a promotional video on the internet explaining the motives and methods for conducting the survey. In that video, Mehtab Kaur, who is identified as a community advocate with the Sikh Coalition, states that the purpose of the survey was "to get statistics to approach government agencies and say, you know, X number of people in our community have experienced this, or you know, 45 out of 50 students surveyed say that have problems with discrimination and bullying at New York City schools. Let's do something."⁵⁴ But then she said something disturbing: "While administering the survey on Survey Day, I think most of us were surprised by the fact that, you know, some people said they hadn't experienced any discrimination and but when pressed further, you know, we—uh—one of the questions in the survey asks, 'Has anyone ever called you bin Laden or a terrorist?' and people had become so used to being called, you know, such derogatory names that they didn't really consider it harassment anymore."⁵⁵

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Ms. Kaur is not opposed to coaching survey subjects. She seems to believe that if the survey subject tells you that he or she hasn't been discriminated against or hasn't been bullied, the thing to do is press further. Under the circumstances, relying on such a survey seems inappropriate.⁵⁶

Bullying on the Basis of the Victim's Sex: Commissioner Achtenberg's Statement points out that "a 2001 study ... found that 81 percent of students in grades 8 to 11 reported experiencing sexual harassment, including 83 percent of girls and 79 percent of boys."⁵⁷

This too needs to be put into perspective. Only about 14% of students said that there is "a lot" of sexual harassment going on in their school. Almost as many—9%—said that there was not any.⁵⁸ Overwhelmingly, students answered "Some but not a lot" or "Only a little."

Students were given the following broad definition of harassment: "Sexual harassment is unwanted and unwelcome sexual behavior that interferes with your life. Sexual harassment is not behaviors that you like or want (for example wanted kissing, touching or flirting)." Examples given to students included "Made sexual comments, jokes, gestures, or looks," "Spread sexual rumors about you," "Flashed or 'mooned' you," and "Said you were gay or lesbian" and "Wrote sexual messages/graffiti about you on bathroom walls, in locker rooms, etc." The categories that drew the most affirmative responses were "made sexual comments, jokes, gestures, or looks (71%)," "Spread sexual rumors about them (61%)," and "Said they were gay or lesbian" (61%).

Students were also invited to define sexual harassment themselves. Among the responses they gave were the extraordinarily broad "Any unwanted attention," "When someone invades your personal body space or privacy," and "Someone making advances towards me and saying things that make me feel very uncomfortable." A few students seemed exasperated with the concept: "Feminist-politically correct language for saying things like 'hello good-looking.'"

For a sense of how important the students themselves regarded this conduct, one may look at how they responded to the particular harassment they experienced. Only 20% of students said they had told a teacher or other school employee about an incident of sexual harassment.⁵⁹ The study produced the following list of responses to the question, "Why didn't you tell anyone?" I quote the list in the study in full:

Boys

"I don't know. Thought it was normal kid stuff." (eighth-grader) "Because I didn't really care, it was not a big deal." (ninth-grader)

"Because I'm a guy and I don't care. I'm not so insecure that someone saying I'm gay is gonna bother me. I'm not, so who cares?" (ninth-grader)

"I could handle it myself." (11th-grader)

Girls

"I don't know. I just didn't feel it necessary." (ninth-grader) "I liked it." (10th-grader).

"... make a mountain out of a molehill. I handled the situation myself, or then eventually went away)." (10th-grader)

"I didn't want to be a tattletale." (11th-grader)

"It wasn't anything that bothered me, and I knew that it would stop. And it did." (11th-grader)⁶⁰

This study was clearly written to highlight sexual harassment as a serious issue. If the study's authors had received more troubling answers to the question of why a student had failed to draw a harassment incident to the attention of a teacher or other school official—such as "I was afraid to"—it is unthinkable that they would have failed to report it.

In the end, this study proves neither that further federal action is needed nor that past federal action has produced beneficial results.

Bullying on the Basis of the Victim's Race: In her Statement, Commissioner Achtenberg quotes from the Report's discussion of the California Healthy Kids Survey for her belief that "[u]p to one-quarter of racial and ethnic minority students are targeted for peer-to-peer bullying, harassment, and violence:

"[t]he California Healthy Kids Survey conducted in 2007-2009 found that when youth in California were bullied or harassed on school property, the most common specific reason cited was because of their race or national origin, with about 18 percent of students in grades 7, 9, and 11 reporting at least one bullying incident in the past year for this reason. ... When results for 9th and 11th grade students are broken down by race and ethnicity, African-American students reported being bullied or harassed due to their race or ethnicity at the highest rate—23 percent. Twenty-two percent of Asian-American students, 22 percent of Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islanders students and 20 percent of Native American students reported being harassed due to their race, ethnicity, or national origin as well."

I should add the rate for non-Hispanic white students was 13% and for Hispanic or Latino/Latina students it was 17%.

All these figures can be somewhat misleading. It is not always possible to know why one is being harassed or bullied.⁶¹ A certain number of times an individual will surmise from the circumstances that he is being targeted on account of his race given that the bully/harasser is of another race, and a certain number of times he will be wrong. If all encounters with bullies and harassers were random and none were racially motivated, members of racial minorities may nonetheless more frequently conclude that they have been racially targeted simply because a larger percentage of their encounters with bullies or harassers will be with members of another race.

A useful check on the conclusion that African Americans and Asians are more likely to be the target of racially motivated bullying than whites or Hispanics is the Health Behaviour of School-Aged Children survey. In "Bullying Behaviors Among US Youth: Prevalence and Association with Psychosocial Adjustment," Dr. Tonjah Nansel et al. analyzed the data collected in that massive survey and found that black students report that they have been bullied *less* often than white or Hispanic students.⁶² Their research showed that 29.9 percent of black students reported that they had been bullied during the current school term; in contrast 43.7 percent of white students reported bullying. The figure for Hispanics is 40.6 percent; no figures were given for other races.⁶³ To be sure, these figures are for bullying of any kind, not specifically for bullying based on race or ethnicity. Still, it would be odd to find that while black students are subjected to more bullying based on race or ethnicity, they were correspondingly bullied so much less on other bases that it nets out in favour of less bullying overall.

The HBSC also sheds useful light on the CHKS's finding that "the most common specific reason cited" for bullying is "race or national origin."⁶⁴ In fact, the CHKS only asked about what it calls "Hate-Crimes Reasons" for bullying—"race, ethnicity or national origin," "religion," "gender," "sexual orientation," and "physical/mental disability." In contrast, the HBSC asked students whether they had been "belittled about religion or race," "belittled about looks or speech," "subjects of rumors," or "subjects of sexual comments or gestures."

Not surprisingly to anyone who has attended high school, "belittled about looks or speech" came in first, followed closely by "subjects of rumors." "Belittled about religion or race" was

not just last, it was dead last. All the other categories were more than twice as common.⁶⁵ This is not to suggest that bullying on the basis of race or ethnicity is not deserving of attention by teachers and principals. It simply needs to be seen in context. Also not surprisingly, the serious differences in bullying levels were not between races, but between genders and age groups. While females are more likely to be the subject of "sexual comments or gestures," males are much more likely to be "hit, slapped or pushed." Sixth graders are about three times more likely to report being bullied on a weekly basis than 10th graders. A full majority of 6th graders report having been bullied in one way or another; by 10th grade that number is very nearly cut in half.⁶⁶ This latter fact is actually good news. It shows that eventually the lessons of civility are learned by most students, though not as early as might be hoped for. It does indeed get better.⁶⁷

Bullying Based on the Victim's Sexual Orientation: Everyone agrees that "[c]ompared with students who are not sexual minorities, a disproportionate number of sexual minority students engage in a wide range of health-risk behaviors."⁶⁸ For example, according to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention, approximately 6.4% of self-identified heterosexual high school students report that they have attempted suicide, while 25.8% of self-identified gay or lesbian high school students have and 28.0% of self-identified bisexual high school students.⁶⁹

The tendency to engage in high-risk behaviors is not confined to suicide attempts. According to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention, about 7.6% of heterosexual students report smoking cigarettes daily, while 23.4% of gay or lesbian students and 24.8% of bisexual students do.⁷⁰ Similarly, 4.3% of heterosexual students report that they currently drink alcohol on school property, while much larger numbers of gay or lesbian students and bisexual students do—11.8% and 13.8% respectively.⁷¹ Drug use figures are similarly skewed.⁷²

This tendency includes activity that one would not necessarily associate with troubled youth. Only about 12.3% of heterosexual high school students report that they rarely or never wear a seatbelt when riding in a car with someone else. By contrast, the figures for gay or lesbian students and for bisexual students were 21.0% and 20.4% respectively. Nevertheless, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention data do not show that gay or lesbian and bisexual youth always score higher on unsafe behaviors than heterosexual youth. Among gay or lesbian students, 22.5% and among bisexual students 16.5% reported eating vegetables three or more times a day. The figure for heterosexual students was only 11.3%.⁷³

Commissioner Achtenberg argues that "the extra pressure created by structural stigma is responsible for such disparate outcomes to the extent that they appear to exist."⁷⁴ She defines "structural stigma" to mean "the collective process by which majority class members give permission to the society as a whole to victimize minority class members."⁷⁵

It is perfectly plausible that the increased victimization can lead to an increase in what social scientists like to call (with bureaucratic blandness) "negative outcomes." But there is no way to draw the conclusion that increased victimization is the sole or even a primary cause of the increased tendency towards self-destructive conduct based on the available evidence. One simply has to take it on faith.⁷⁶

For one thing, there are many groups with high rates of suicide whose behavior is unlikely to be the result of external victimization or social stigma. According to data from the World Health Organization, Lithuania, South Korea, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Japan and Russia were the top nations for suicide. The United States ranked 39th with a rate of suicide roughly one third of Lithuania's. Jamaica has one of the lowest suicide rates in the world. Yet somebody is victimizing somebody there; it has one of the highest murder rates.

In the United States, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention report that American Indians/Alaska natives have the highest rates of suicide. They are followed closely by non-Hispanic whites. Other races and ethnicities—Asians/Pacific Islanders, Hispanics and non-Hispanic blacks—were a distant third, fourth or fifth.⁷⁷ Although obese persons receive far more than their share of bullying, social stigma and victimization and have high rates of depression, suicide rates among them are very low.⁷⁸

There have been efforts to prove that the high risk behavior of gay, lesbian and bisexual students is the result of victimization of one sort or another. But research that is said to prove it is usually measuring something quite different from what advocates suppose. And even when most people can agree on what is being measured, causation cannot be established. Consider, for example, *Family Rejection as a Predictor of Negative Health Outcomes in White and Latino Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Young Adults*, a 2009 study by Caitlin Ryan, David Huebner, Rafael M. Diaz and Jorge Sanchez.⁷⁹ In it, the authors argue that they have established "a clear link between specific parental and caregiver rejecting behavior and negative health problems in young lesbian, gay and bisexual adults."⁸⁰ But are the authors measuring actual rejection or just perceptions of rejection? In the study, 224 white and Latino gay, lesbian and bisexual young adults were asked to recall whether their parents or caregivers blamed them for any anti-gay mistreatment they might have suffered, how often their parents or caregivers made disparaging remarks about gays, lesbians or bisexuals and how often they were excluded from family activities, and similar questions.

The authors found that those with higher family rejection scores tended to have higher rates of suicidal ideation and of attempted suicide, higher rates of drug use and higher rates of unprotected sex.⁸¹ But are they really finding an association between family rejection and (for example) depression? Or are they finding that depressed people are more likely to remember, believe or report that they suffered rejection? Even if the reports of all 224 participants were 100% accurate, were the parents excluding them from family activities because of their sexual orientation? Or was it because of their illegal drug use, depression or suicide attempts?

Perhaps one day we will have better insight into what causes high-risk conduct among gay, lesbian and bisexual teenagers. But we need not wait for that day to ensure that their rights and the rights of all students are respected in the schools. In my opinion, the best way to do that is allow teachers, principals and local school districts to do their jobs. Nothing in this Report has persuaded me otherwise.

Statement of Commissioner Michael Yaki

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, historically, has never shied away from tackling controversial issues in support of civil rights. Our historic reports on civil and voting rights in the South in the early 60s became the predicate for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Through extensive interviews, hearings, and testimony both voluntary and compelled, little doubt was left that discrimination wildly at variance with Constitutional principles and protections needed to be remedied, sooner rather than later, and aggressively rather than tepidly as had been done in the past.

This Report had the potential to join the pantheon of exalted papers of the past. Unfortunately, due to a series of circumstances both beyond and within our control, it failed. The rushed timeline, the inability to thoroughly scour the literature and, most egregiously, the

absence of a rigorously constructed and sound legal theory doomed this exercise from the start. And while I voted in favor of the report, it was only to validate the one, truly, groundbreaking aspect – that this Report was the Commission's first real foray into the experiences of people who have been defined solely by their sexual orientation.¹

Nevertheless, the Commission's failure to tackle head-on the continued discrimination against Americans who are gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender in a meaningful way that utilizes extant Constitutional doctrine is the greatest omission of this Report. I believe that in the context of the issues brought before us, First Amendment doctrine has less application to the context of school bullying when it is balanced against a countervailing principle of protecting a suspect class – in this case, youth who identify or are identified as LGTB.

In cases before the U.S. Supreme Court, the particular vulnerabilities of children have vaulted them into a special status worthy of a strong government interest. Whether the case of *Prince v. Massachusetts*, 321 U.S. 158 (1944), *Jacobsen v. Massachusetts*, 197 U.S. 11 (1905), or more recently the treatment of juvenile offenders in *Roper v. Simmons*, 543 U.S. 551 (2005), the Courts have long held that children have a different place in the application of Constitutional doctrine.

In both *Prince* and *Jacobsen*, a parents' assertion of Free Exercise principles was found to not withstand a compelling government interest in laws designed to protect children. In *Roper*, Justice Kennedy's opinion for the Court explicitly embraced social science research on the adolescents as a reason for exempting youth from the application of the death penalty and providing them the application of the Eighth Amendment proscription against cruel and unusual punishment.

"Three general differences between juveniles under 18 and adults demonstrate that juvenile offenders cannot with reliability be classified among the worst offenders. First, as any parent knows and as the scientific and sociological studies respondent and his amici cite tend to confirm, "[a] lack of maturity and an underdeveloped sense of responsibility are found in youth more often than in adults and are more understandable among the young. These qualities often result in impetuous and ill-considered actions and decisions." Johnson, *supra*, at 367; see also Eddings, *supra*, at 115–116 ("Even the normal 16-year-old customarily lacks the maturity of an adult"). It has been noted that "adolescents are overrepresented statistically in virtually every category of reckless behavior." Arnett, *Reckless Behavior in Adolescence: A Developmental Perspective*, 12 *Developmental Review* 339 (1992). In recognition of the comparative immaturity and irresponsibility of juveniles, almost every State prohibits those under 18 years of age from voting, serving on juries, or marrying without parental consent. See Appendixes B–D, *infra*.

The second area of difference is that juveniles are more vulnerable or susceptible to negative influences and outside pressures, including peer pressure. Eddings, *supra*, at 115 ("[Y]outh is more than a chronological fact. It is a time and condition of life when a person may be most susceptible to influence and to psychological damage"). This is explained in part by the prevailing circumstance that juveniles have less control, or less experience with control, over their own environment. See Steinberg & Scott, *Less Guilty by Reason of Adolescence: Developmental Immaturity, Diminished Responsibility, and the Juvenile Death Penalty*, 58 *Am. Psychologist* 1009, 1014 (2003) (hereinafter Steinberg & Scott) ("[A]s legal minors, [juveniles] lack the freedom that adults have to extricate themselves from a criminogenic setting").

The third broad difference is that the character of a juvenile is not as well formed as that of an adult. The personality traits of juveniles are more transitory, less fixed. See generally E. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (1968).

Finally, and perhaps most fittingly, the most famous application of the unique nature of children in Constitutional doctrine was, not surprisingly, found in *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). The Court rejected its early holding in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896) in part, because the notion of “separate but equal” was found to have deleterious effects on black children. The Court stated:

“Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system...”

In so finding, the *Brown* Court in footnote 11 cited a wealth of social science studies to buttress its claim.

Taken together, these cases argue strongly that government action to stop bullying in schools, particularly bullying against LGTB or LGTB-identified children, be given substantial deference with regard to competing First Amendment concerns. Substantial evidence was introduced showing the harm suffered by LGTB or LGTB-identified children as a result of bullying. Substantial evidence was introduced showing that LGTB and LGTB-identified children are targeted for bullying and harassment.

This evidence, coupled with the unfortunate plethora of historical documented discrimination against the LGTB community, should end any debate over whether the Federal government can enact laws protecting LGTB children pursuant to its mandate under Section 5 the 14th Amendment.² While awaiting Congressional action, and rather than twist itself into knots with “Dear Colleague” letters and stretching for jurisdiction under Title IX, the Department of Education should offer emphatic guidance or stringent rulemaking that any K-12 institution receiving federal funds must provide strict protections against bullying based on race, gender, national origin, disability, religion and sexual orientation or perceived sexual orientation. These protections must be uniform, must be enforced, and have provisions for clear documentation and categorization.

End Notes

¹ See Meeting of the U.S. Comm’n on Civil Rights, Wash., D.C., Mar. 11, 2011, transcript, available at [http://www.usccr.gov/calendar/trnsrpt/transcript 03-11-11ccr.pdf](http://www.usccr.gov/calendar/trnsrpt/transcript%2003-11-11ccr.pdf) (last visited June 24, 2011).

² *Id.*

³ Simone Robers et al., nat’l ctr. for educ. statistics, inst. for educ. sciences, u.s. dep’t of educ. & bureau of justice statistics, office of justice programs, u.s. dep’t of justice, indicators of school crime and safety: 2010, at 42 n.29, available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2011/2011002.pdf> (last visited July 20, 2011) [hereinafter NCES indicators study].

⁴ Sandra Graham, Bullying: A Module for Teachers, Am. Psychological Ass’n, <http://www.apa.org/education/k12/bullying.aspx> (last visited June 24, 2011) (internal citations omitted).

⁵ Rachel Dinkes et al., nat’l educ. ass’n, findings from the national education association’s nationwide study of bullying: teachers’ and education support professionals’ perspectives 39 (2011), available at [http://www.nea.org/assets/img/content/Findings from NEAs Nationwide Study of Bullying.pdf](http://www.nea.org/assets/img/content/Findings%20from%20NEA%20Nationwide%20Study%20of%20Bullying.pdf) (last visited May 5, 2011) [hereinafter NEA study of bullying].

- ⁶ Statement of Russlynn H. Ali, Asst. Sec’y, Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep’t of Educ., at 3, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/1.%20Russlynn%20Ali,%20U.S.%20Department%20of%20Justice,%20Off%20ice%20for%20Civil%20Rights.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Ali Statement].
- ⁷ Briefing Before the U.S. Comm’n on Civil Rights, Wash., D.C., May 13, 2011, transcript at 41:21-25, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/Peer-Bullying%20May%2013%202011%20Transcript.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011) [hereinafter Briefing Transcript] (Samuels Testimony).
- ⁸ See *infra* pp.23-27.
- ⁹ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 48:24-49:4 (Samuels Testimony).
- ¹⁰ The data presented in this Section is designed only to provide general insight into the nature and prevalence of bullying in K-12 schools, primarily as presented by organizations and agencies that collect such information for their own use. The Commission did not independently verify the data presented here. Further, although much data on peer-to-peer violence exists from studies and surveys conducted by federal and state agencies, academics, and interest groups, including data gathered from self-reports, school staff observations, school disciplinary records, and crime reports, such as the data presented here, some critique the usefulness and accuracy of this data. See, e.g., Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 63:9-14 (Clegg Testimony) (“[T]he Commission needs to take with a grain of salt the numbers that you’re given by interest groups and by federal bureaucracies who want to expand their jurisdiction, especially when the two of them are working together.”); but see *id.* at 106:5-107:11 (Meyer Testimony) (discussing the reliability of research regarding outcomes of anti-LGBT bullying).
- ¹¹ NCES indicators study, *supra* note 3, at 30-31.
- ¹² *Id.* at 42-43. Of those students who reported being bullied in school: 21.0 percent reported being made fun of, called names, or insulted; 18.1 percent reported being subjected to rumors; 5.8 percent reported being threatened with harm; 11.0 percent reported being pushed, shoved, tripped, or spit on; 5.2 percent reported being excluded from activities on purpose; 4.2 percent reported their property being destroyed on purpose; and 4.1 percent reported that peers tried to make them do things they did not want to do. *Id.* at 122.
- ¹³ *Id.* at 42, 44.
- ¹⁴ *Id.* at 42, 126.
- ¹⁵ Danice J. Eaton, et al., ctrs. for disease control & prevention, no. ss-5, youth risk behavior surveillance—united states, 2009, at 8, 53-54 (2010), *available at* <http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/pdf/ss/ss5905.pdf> (last visited May 5, 2011).
- ¹⁶ Josephson institute, 2010 report card on the ethics of american youth 175 (2010), *available at* http://charactercounts.org/pdf/reportcard/2010/ReportCard2010_data-tables.pdf (last visited May 4, 2011) [hereinafter Josephson study]; see also Press Release, Josephson Institute of Ethics, Largest Study Ever Shows Half of All High School Students Were Bullies and Nearly Half Were the Victims of Bullying During the Past Year (Oct. 25, 2010) *available at* http://charactercounts.org/pdf/reportcard/2010/press-release_bullying-violence.pdf (last visited May 4, 2011). The American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry (AACAP) estimates that “as many as half of all children are bullied at some time during their school years, and at least 10 percent are bullied on a regular basis.” See American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, Facts for Families: Bullying, http://www.aacap.org/cs/root/facts_for_families/bullying (Mar. 2011) (last visited May 19, 2011).
- ¹⁷ Josephson Study, *supra* note 16, at 145.
- ¹⁸ *Id.* at 46.
- ¹⁹ See NEA study of bullying, *supra* note 5, at 39.
- ²⁰ See *id.*
- ²¹ An estimated two thirds (63 percent) of teenagers use the Internet every day. See Amanda Lenhart et al., pew internet & american life project, social media and young adults 13 (2010), *available at* <http://missouriikidsfirst.org/mosaferonline/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Social-Media-and-Young-Adults.pdf> (last visited May 18, 2011).
- ²² By one account, approximately 79 percent of American teenagers have a mobile device. See CTIA—The Wireless Association®, Teenagers: A Generation Unplugged, <http://www.ctia.org/advocacy/research/index.cfm/AID/11483> (last visited May 18, 2011) (describing the findings of a 2009 national survey by CTIA and Harris Interactive).
- ²³ See NCES indicators study, *supra* note 3, at 42 n.30.
- ²⁴ Sameer Hinduja & Justin W. Patchin, Overview of Cyberbullying, Mar. 10, 2011, http://www.stopbullying.gov/references/white_house_conference/white_house_conference_materials.pdf#overview_of_cyberbullying (last visited June 24, 2011).

- ²⁵ *Id.* The NCS-NCVS found that 3.7 percent of 12-18 year-olds reported having been cyberbullied, either in school or outside of school, in the 2007 school year. See NCES indicators study, *supra* note 3, at 42-43, 123. In addition, 1.6 percent of students reported that classmates posted hurtful information about them on the Internet, and 2.1 percent reported being subjected to unwanted contact, including threats or insults via instant messaging. See *id.* at 42, 123. Of those students that reported cyberbullying, 20.7 percent responded that it occurred once or twice per month and 5.1 percent responded that it occurred once or twice per week. *Id.* at 42, 127.
- ²⁶ See Hinduja & Patchin, Overview, *supra* note 24.
- ²⁷ See Hinduja & Patchin, Overview, *supra* note 24; Sameer Hinduja & Justin W. Patchin, *Cyberbullying: An Exploratory Analysis of Factors Relating to Offending and Victimization*, 29 *Deviant Behavior* 129 (2008).
- ²⁸ See Hinduja & Patchin, Overview, *supra* note 24.
- ²⁹ See Hinduja & Patchin, Overview, *supra* note 2427; Nancy E. Willard, cyberbullying and cyberthreats: responding to the challenge of online social aggression, threats, and distress (2007).
- ³⁰ See Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 129:11-15 (Herek Testimony) (“[B]eing targeted as a member of a particular group, a racial group for example, is more—is associated with greater harm than being targeted for, again, what we might call routine sort of violence.”); *id.* at 130:9-12 (Meyer Testimony) (“[Greater harm] has been shown with regard to other types of groups [in addition to LGBT], and the reason behind it ... is because of the symbolic value that is involved in something that is such a hate crime.”); Statement of Ilan H. Meyer, Columbia Univ., at 10, May 13, 2011, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/10.%20Ilan%20Meyer,%20Columbia%20Universirt.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Meyer Statement] (“[P]eople in disadvantaged social statuses are exposed to unique added stressors—I have referred to this as *minority* (also *social*) stress. Minority stress stems from social disadvantages related to structural stigma, prejudice, and discrimination.”) (emphasis in original); cf. *Nuxoll v. Indian Prairie Sch. Dist. #204*, 523 F.3d 668, 671 (7th Cir. 2008) (Posner, J.) (“People are easily upset by comments about their race, sex, etc., including their sexual orientation, because for most people these are major components of their personal identity—none more so than a sexual orientation that deviates from the norm. Such comments can strike a person at the core of his being.”); *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*, 508 U.S. 476, 487-88 (1993) (“[T]he ... statute singles out for enhancement bias-inspired conduct because this conduct is thought to inflict greater individual and societal harm. For example, according to the State and its amici, bias-motivated crimes are more likely to provoke retaliatory crimes, inflict distinct emotional harms on their victims, and incite community unrest. ... The State’s desire to redress these perceived harms provides an adequate explanation for its penalty-enhancement provision over and above mere disagreement with offenders’ beliefs and biases. As Blackstone said long ago, ‘it is but reasonable that among crimes of different natures those should be most severely punished, which are the most destructive of public safety and happiness.’”) (Rehnquist, C.J.) (citations omitted).
- ³¹ NCES indicators study, *supra* note 3, at 41, 120; see also Statement of Anti-Defamation League at 5, May 13, 2011, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/20.%20Anti-Defamation%20League.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Anti-Defamation League Statement].
- ³² NCES indicators study, *supra* note 3, at 40-41, 120. Because the survey gave students the option of choosing more than one characteristic, the total percentage of students that reported being targeted by “haterelated words” is less than the sum of each category. See *id.* at 41.
- ³³ See Wested health & human development program for the cal. dep’t of educ., California healthy kids survey: student well-being in California, 2007-2009, grades 7, 9, 11: main report 41, available at [http://chks.wested.org/resources/secondary state 0709 main.pdf](http://chks.wested.org/resources/secondary%20state%200709%20main.pdf) (last visited May 19, 2011) [hereinafter chks main report]; see also Molly O’Shaughnessy et al., California safe schools coalition & 4-h center for youth development, u.c. davis, safe place to learn: consequences of harassment based on actual or perceived sexual orientation and gender non-conformity and steps for making schools safer 7 (2004), available at [http://www.casafeschools.org/safe placetolearnlow.pdf](http://www.casafeschools.org/safe%20place%20to%20learn.pdf) (last visited May 10, 2011) [hereinafter cal. safe place] (discussing results of the same survey from 2001-2002); see also anti-defamation league statement, *supra* note 31, at 5.
- ³⁴ See CHKS main report, *supra* note 33, at 41; see also CAL. SAFE PLACE, *supra* note 33, at 7.
- ³⁵ Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep’t of Educ., sexual harassment: it’s not academic 3-4 (Sept. 2008), available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/ocrshpam.pdf> (last visited May 11, 2011) [hereinafter sexual harassment: it’s not academic].
- ³⁶ Russlynn Ali, Asst. Sec’y for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep’t of Educ., Dear Colleague Letter: Sexual Violence, at 1-2, Apr. 4, 2011, available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/dcl-factsheet-201104.html> (last visited June 10, 2011) [hereinafter Sexual Violence DCL].

- ³⁷ See Statement of Fatima Goss Graves, Vice President for Educ. and Employment, Nat'l Women's Law Ctr., at 2, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/8.%20Fatima%20Goss%20Graves,%20National%20Women%27s%20Law%20Center>. pdf (last visited June 22, 2011) [hereinafter Goss Graves Statement].
- ³⁸ *Id.*
- ³⁹ *Id.*
- ⁴⁰ See Russlynn Ali, Asst. Sec'y for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., Dear Colleague Letter: Harassment and Bullying, at 1, Oct. 26, 2010, *available at* <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201010.html> (last visited May 11, 2011) [hereinafter Harassment/Bullying DCL].
- ⁴¹ See Goss Graves Statement, *supra* note 37, at 2; *see also Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Svcs.*, 523 U.S. 75 (1998).
- ⁴² American Association of university women, hostile hallways: bullying, teasing, and sexual harassment in school 20-21 (2001) [hereinafter aauw study]. The study defined "sexual harassment" to mean: "[U]nwanted and unwelcome sexual behavior that interferes with your life. Sexual harassment is not behaviors that you like or want (for example wanted kissing, touching, or flirting)." *Id.* at 2.
- ⁴³ *Id.* at 20-21.
- ⁴⁴ *Id.* at 22.
- ⁴⁵ *Id.* at 25.
- ⁴⁶ *Id.* at 3.
- ⁴⁷ NCES indicators study, *supra* note 3, at 104; *see also* Goss Graves Statement, *supra* note 37, at 3.
- ⁴⁸ See AAUW study, *supra* note 42, at 23; *see also* Goss Graves Statement, *supra* note 37, at 3.
- ⁴⁹ AAUW study, *supra* note 42, at 37; *see also* Goss Graves Statement, *supra* note 37, at 3.
- ⁵⁰ AAUW study, *supra* note 42, at 37.
- ⁵¹ *Id.* at 32.
- ⁵² *Id.* at 33.
- ⁵³ *Id.* Of the boys who reported being subjected to sexual harassment, 19 percent reported that they felt self-conscious, 32 percent reported that they felt embarrassed, 12 percent reported that they felt afraid or scared, 16 percent reported feeling less sure of themselves and less confident, 12 percent reported feeling confused about who they are, and 12 percent reported doubting whether they can have a happy romantic relationship. *Id.*; *see also* Goss Graves Statement, *supra* note 37, at 3.
- ⁵⁴ AAUW study, *supra* note 42, at 34.
- ⁵⁵ CHKS main report, *supra* note 33, at 41.
- ⁵⁶ See wested health & human development program for the cal. dep't of educ., California healthy kids survey: student well-being in California, 2007-2009, variations by race/ethnicity in grades 9 & 11 statewide results: CTAG report 40, *available at* [http://chks.wested.org/resources/CTAG Statewide 9-11 0709.pdf](http://chks.wested.org/resources/CTAG%20Statewide%209-11%200709.pdf) (last visited May 19, 2011) [hereinafter CHKS CTAG report].
- ⁵⁷ *Id.*
- ⁵⁸ See Statement of Stuart Buck, Univ. of Ark., at 1, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/12.%20Stuart%20Buck,%20University%20of%20Arkansas.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Buck Statement].
- ⁵⁹ See Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 172:14-19 (Buck Testimony).
- ⁶⁰ See Donna Y. Ford, Tarek C. Grantham & Gilman W. Whiting, *Another Look at the Achievement Gap*, 43 Urban Education 213, 230 (2008); *see also* Buck Statement, *supra* note 58, at 1-2.
- ⁶¹ See Statement of Jocelyn Samuels, Senior Counselor to the Asst. Att'y Gen., Civil Rights Div., U.S. Dep't of Justice, at 4, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/2.%20Jocelyn%20Samuels,%20U.S.%20Department%20of%20Justice,%20Civil%20Rights%20Division.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Samuels Statement]; Statement of Helen Gym, Asian Americans United, at 1, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/14.%20Helen%20Gym,%20Asian%20Americans%20United.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011).
- ⁶² See Samuels Statement, *supra* note 61, at 4.
- ⁶³ See, e.g., Norma V. Cantu, Asst. Sec'y for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., Dear Colleague Letter: Prohibited Disability Harassment: Reminder of Responsibilities Under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act, July 25, 2000, at 1, *available at* [http://www2.ed.gov/ Press Releases/07-2000/PolicyDisabilityharassment.doc](http://www2.ed.gov/PressReleases/07-2000/PolicyDisabilityharassment.doc) (last visited May 10, 2011) [hereinafter Disability DCL] (stating, based on a focus group, that harassment of students with disabilities "range[s] from abusive jokes, crude name-calling, threats, and bullying, to sexual and physical assault by teachers and other students.").

- ⁶⁴ see John Hoover & Pam Stenhjem, nat'l ctr. on secondary educ. & transition, bullying and teasing of youth with disabilities: creating positive school environments for effective inclusion 1-2 (2003) [http://www.ncset.org/publications/issue/ncsetissuebrief 2.3.pdf](http://www.ncset.org/publications/issue/ncsetissuebrief%202.3.pdf) (last visited May 10, 2011).
- ⁶⁵ See abilitypath.org, walk a mile in their shoes: bullying and the child with special needs 12 (2011), *available at* [http://www.abilitypath.org/areas-of-development/learning--schools/bullying/articles/walk-a-mile-in-their-shoe s.pdf](http://www.abilitypath.org/areas-of-development/learning--schools/bullying/articles/walk-a-mile-in-their-shoe%20s.pdf) (last visited May 10, 2011) [hereinafter walk a mile].
- ⁶⁶ See Susan Carter, *Bullying of Students with Asperger Syndrome*, 32 issues in comprehensive pediatric nursing 145, 151 (2009); *see also* statement of paula goldberg, exec. dir., pacer ctr., at 3, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/13.%20paula%20goldberg,%20pacer%20center.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter goldberg statement].
- ⁶⁷ See Carter, *supra* note 66, at 149-50; *see also* walk a mile, *supra* note 65, at 12.
- ⁶⁸ See walk a mile, *supra* note 65, at 10.
- ⁶⁹ Massachusetts Advocates for Children, *Targeted, Taunted, Tormented: the Bullying of Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder* (2009), [http://www.massadvocates.org/documents/Bullying-Report 000.pdf](http://www.massadvocates.org/documents/Bullying-Report%20000.pdf) (last visited May 10, 2011).
- ⁷⁰ See Goldberg Statement, *supra* note 66, at 3; *see also id.* ("Therefore, students with disabilities may have an especially hard time responding to bullying behavior, making it even more devastating.").
- ⁷¹ See Jonathan Young, Ari Ne'Eman & Sara Gelser, national council on disability, bullying and students with disabilities 3 (2011), [http://www.ncd.gov/publications/ 2011/March92011](http://www.ncd.gov/publications/2011/March92011) (last visited June 24, 2011).
- ⁷² The term "LGBT" refers to individuals who identify as, or are perceived to be, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender. While this term is commonly used in public discourse, as well as in the studies referenced in this discussion, the phrase "sexual orientation and gender identity" more closely parallels the terms used in many laws and by ED and DOJ.
- ⁷³ See harris interactive & gay, lesbian and straight educ. network, from teasing to torment: school climate in america—a survey of students and teachers 30 (2005), *available at* [http://www.glsen.org/binary-data/glsen attachments/file/499-1.pdf](http://www.glsen.org/binary-data/glsen%20attachments/file/499-1.pdf) (last visited May 9, 2011) (reporting that 17 percent of students stated that students were most often bullied, called names, or harassed because they are or are perceived to be gay, lesbian, or bisexual, and that 33 percent of students said that the most common reason was the way students looked or their body size); Statement of Eliza Byard, Exec. Dir., Gay, Lesbian & Straight Educ. Network, at 3, May 6, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/3.%20Eliza%20Byard,%20GLSEN.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Byard Statement].
- ⁷⁴ See Statement of Gregory M. Herek, Univ. of Cal., Davis, at 13, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/9.%20Gregory%20M.%20Herek,%20University%20of%20California,%20Davis.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Herek Statement] ("Homosexuality remains stigmatized today in the United States: Significant portions of the heterosexual public harbor negative feelings and hostile attitudes toward sexual minorities."); *id.* at 19 ("Sexual minority adults and adolescents are more likely to experience harassment and victimization to the extent that their sexual orientation is known to a greater number of others. This may be especially the case in school settings because negative attitudes towards homosexuality and sexual minorities are common among heterosexual youth, especially in early adolescence."); *see also* Meyer Statement, *supra* note 30, at 13-14 ("In the context of school climate such seemingly minor experiences, especially when chronic, can color the entire social environment sending a message of rejection and disdain to the victim. This message is exacerbated when teachers and school personnel ignore instances of harassment such as name calling, implicitly joining the perpetrator in rejecting the LGBT youth and sending a message that LGBT youth are to be scorned.") (internal citations omitted); Public Comment of Southern Poverty Law Center, at 1, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/news/splc-to-us-commission-on-civilrights-combating-anti-lgbt-bullying-requires-focus-on-climate> (last Sept. 9, 2011) ("We have been particularly concerned about anti-LGBT bullying, which is one of the few remaining forms of bigotry that can go unchecked on campuses.").
- ⁷⁵ See Joseph G. Kosciw et al., gay, lesbian & straight educ. network, the 2009 national school climate survey 25-29 (2010), *available at* [http://www.glsen.org/ binary-data/glsen attachments/file/000/001/1675-1.pdf](http://www.glsen.org/binary-data/glsen%20attachments/file/000/001/1675-1.pdf) (last visited May 9, 2011) (hereinafter glsen 2009 school climate survey); *see also* samuels statement, *supra* note 61, at 3; byard statement, *supra* note 73, at 4; herek statement, *supra* note 74, at 18; meyer statement, *supra* note 30, at 21 ("at school, lgbt youth more frequently than heterosexual peers experience bullying, including physical assault; being injured, threatened, and harassed; and having their property stolen or damaged."); nat'l mental health ass'n, "what does gay mean?" teen survey (2002), *available at* <http://www.mentalhealthamerica.net/download.cfm?downloadfile=ffe225cb-1372-4d20-c8474683e203e3c5> (last visited May 10, 2011) (finding that 78 percent of teens report that kids who are gay or thought to be gay are teased or bullied in their schools and

communities, that 93 percent of teens reported hearing other kids use derogatory words about sexual orientation at least once in a while, and that 51 percent reported hearing them daily). public comments indicate that transgender and gender nonconforming students are subjected to even higher rates of bullying. See Public Comment of National Center for Transgender Equality, at 2-5, May 2011, *available at* <http://transequality.org/PDFs/US%20Civ%20Rts%20Commn%20NCTE%20statement%205%206%2011.pdf> (last visited Sept. 9, 2011).

⁷⁶ See GLSEN 2009 school climate survey, *supra* note 75, at 28. The survey defined "cyberbullying" as being harassed or threatened by peers through electronic media such as text messaging, emails, instant messaging, or postings on the Internet. See also Byard Statement, *supra* note 73, at 4.

⁷⁷ See GLSEN 2009 school climate survey, *supra* note 75, at 22; see also Byard Statement, *supra* note 73, at 3.

⁷⁸ See Harris interactive & gay, lesbian & straight educ. network, from teasing to torment: school climate in america—a survey of students and teachers 59 (2005), *available at* <http://www.glsen.org/binary-data/GLSEN/ATTACHMENTS/file/499-1.pdf> (last visited May 9, 2011); see also Byard Statement, *supra* note 73, at 3.

⁷⁹ See CAL. Safe place, *supra* note 33, at 14.

⁸⁰ See *id.* Seventy-nine percent of students surveyed reported that they heard such negative comments "sometimes" or "often." See *id.*

⁸¹ CHKS main report, *supra* note 33, at 41; see also CAL. safe place, *supra* note 33, at 6 (discussing results of the 2001-2002 survey); Herek Statement, *supra* note 74, at 17.

⁸² See CAL. SAFE PLACE, *supra* note 33, at 13.

⁸³ Public Comment of Mark S. Friedman, Assoc. Professor, Univ. of Pittsburgh, at 2, May 26, 2011, *available at* http://www.eusccr.com/Friedman_Letter%20USCCR%205-26-11.pdf (Sept. 16, 2011) [hereinafter Friedman Comment]. See also inst. of medicine of the nat'l acads., bd. on the health of select populations, comm. on lesbian, gay, bisexual, & transgender health issues & research gaps & opportunities, the health of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people: building a foundation for better understanding 157-58 (2011), *available at* http://books.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=13128 (last visited aug. 1, 2011) [hereinafter iom study] ("compared with heterosexual youth, lgbt youth report experiencing higher levels of harassment, victimization, and violence, including verbal, physical and sexual abuse.").

⁸⁴ See Friedman Comment, *supra* note 83, at 1.

⁸⁵ See GLSEN 2009 school climate survey, *supra* note 75, at 47; Byard Statement, *supra* note 73, at 5.

⁸⁶ See GLSEN 2009 school climate survey, *supra* note 75, at 46-47; Byard Statement, *supra* note 73, at 5.

⁸⁷ See GLSEN 2009 school climate survey, *supra* note 75, at 46-47; Byard Statement, *supra* note 73, at 5.

⁸⁸ See CAL. SAFE PLACE, *supra* note 33, at 8; see also Public Comment of Transgender Law Center, at 3, Apr. 27, 2011, *available at* <http://transequality.org/PDFs/US%20Civ%20Rts%20Commn%20NCTE%20statement%205%206%2011.pdf> (last visited Sept. 9, 2011).

⁸⁹ Friedman Comment, *supra* note 83, at 2.

⁹⁰ See Herek Statement, *supra* note 74, at 20-21 ("Although bullying and victimization have negative consequences for all students who experience them, being targeted for bullying because of one's sexual orientation is associated with more problems and greater distress than is experiencing bullying or harassment that is not related to one's identity."); *id.* at 20 ("Several studies have found that experiences with harassment and victimization based on sexual orientation account for much or all of the disparities between heterosexual and nonheterosexual students in mental health, substance use, truancy and poor school performance, and risk behaviors."); Meyer Statement, *supra* note 30, at 10 ("By definition, minority stress is unique, in that it affects and requires special adaptation by LGB people but not by heterosexuals. Therefore, minority stress confers a unique risk for diseases that are caused by stressed."); CAL. safe place, *supra* note 33, at 11 ("[O]utcomes associated with harassment based on actual or perceived sexual orientation are much more severe than outcomes associated with other harassment and bullying not based on race/ethnicity/national origin, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability."); see also Herek Statement, *supra* note 74, at 14 ("Research indicates that experiencing stigma and discrimination is associated with heightened psychological distress—both among gay and lesbian adults and adolescents. Being the target of extreme enactments of stigma, such as antigay criminal assault, is accompanied by greater psychological distress than is experiencing a similar crime not based on one's sexual orientation."); Meyer Statement, *supra* note 30, at 12 ("Hate crimes—perpetrated by family or strangers—are a particularly painful type of prejudice event because they inflict not only the pain of the assault itself, but also the pain associated with the social disapproval of the victim's stigmatized social group. ... Such victimization affects the victim's mental health because it damages his or her sense of justice and order.").

⁹¹ See IOM Study, *supra* note 83, at 146-47 ("It is important to note that LGBT youth are typically well adjusted and mentally healthy. Research based on probability samples with LGB youth consistently indicates that the majority

do not report mental health problems. Regarding transgender youth, although no data from national probability samples are available, studies with sizable convenience samples indicate that many, if not most, of those youth do not report mental health problems.") (citations omitted); Herek Statement, *supra* note 74, at 6-9 (describing homosexuality as a normal expression of human sexuality); Public Comment of Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), at 4, May 3, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/GLAAD.pdf> (last visited on Sept. 15, 2011) [hereinafter GLAAD Comment] ("Research by leading psychologists has shown that individuals who identify as gay or lesbian do not have any inherent pre-existing conditions or factors that lead to depression and psychological stress, but rather the psychological stress is a direct result of, inter alia, negative societal messages.").

⁹² See, e.g., IOM STUDY, *supra* note 83, at 158 ("The experiences [with harassment, victimization, and violence] are related to increased substance abuse, mental health problems, and sexual risk-taking behavior.") (citation omitted).

⁹³ See CAL. SAFE PLACE, *supra* note 33, at 9 (analyzing data from the 2001-2002 California Healthy Kids Survey); see also Herek Statement, *supra* note 74, at 20.

⁹⁴ See CAL. SAFE PLACE, *supra* note 33, at 9.

⁹⁵ See GLSEN 2009 SCHOOL CLIMATE SURVEY, *supra* note 75, at 48; Byard Statement, *supra* note 73, at 5-6; Meyer Statement, *supra* note 30, at 14 ("Considering the chronic exposure to prejudice, discrimination, and violence at schools, is [sic] not surprising...that such anxiety, and the vigilance required because of expectation for harm, is responsible for the poorer academic performance and truancy of LGBT youth") (citations omitted).

⁹⁶ See CAL. SAFE PLACE, *supra* note 33, at 8-9 (finding that students harassed based on actual or perceived sexual orientation are three times as likely to "seriously consider" suicide and more than three times as likely to "make a plan for attempting suicide"); see also Herek Statement, *supra* note 74, at 20; Public Comment of Caitlin C. Ryan, Dir., Family Acceptance Project, S.F. State Univ., at 1-2, May 23, 2011, *available at* <http://familyproject.sfsu.edu/files/Gender%20&%20School%20Victimization%20rel.pdf> (last visited Sept. 9, 2011) [hereinafter Ryan Comment].

⁹⁷ See Anthony R. D'Augelli et al., *Suicide Patterns and Sexual Orientation—Related Factors Among Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Youths*, 31 SUICIDE & LIFE THREATENING BEHAVIOR 250, 261 (2001), *available at* <http://www.hhdev.psu.edu/hdfs/faculty/pubs/DAugelliSLTB01.pdf> (last visited Feb. 18, 2011) (concluding that 35 percent of gay, lesbian and bisexual youth have attempted suicide at least once); Mass. Comm'n on Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual & Transgender Youth, *Massachusetts High School Students and Sexual Orientation: Results of the 2009 Youth Risk Behavior Survey*, <http://www.mass.gov/cgly/YRBS09Factsheet.pdf> (last visited May 10, 2011) (finding that gay, lesbian, and bisexual high school students are 4.4 times more likely to attempt suicide than their heterosexual peers); see also Meyer Statement, *supra* note 30, at 22 ("Minority stress is also associated with a higher incidence of suicide attempts among LGB compared with heterosexual individuals. ... This increase in suicidality is mostly related to minority stress encountered by youth due to coming out conflicts with family and community.") (citations omitted).

⁹⁸ See IOM STUDY, *supra* note 83, at 147:

Over the past decade, an increasing number of studies based on large probability samples have consistently found that LGB youth and youth who report same-sex romantic attraction are at increased risk of suicidal ideation and attempts, as well as depressive symptoms, in comparison with their heterosexual counterparts. These include both school-based, state-based and national studies. The results of these studies suggest increased rates of suicidal ideation and attempts among LGB youth in comparison with heterosexual youth even after controlling for potentially confounding factors such as substance abuse and depression. (citations omitted).

But see Kenneth M. Cohen & Ritch C. Savin-Williams, *The Positive Lives of Gay Teens*, Pa. Psychological Ass'n, Psychological News You Can Use (Dec. 2010):

[F]actors other than same-sex attractions place youth at risk for mental health problems. Chief among them is transgressing gender boundaries in behavior and interests. Gender nonconformity is the impetus for verbal and physical harassment meted out by a small number of bullies who often attack peers, regardless of sexuality, who appear unduly feminine (boys) or masculine (girls).

⁹⁹ See Statement of Tammy Aaberg at 8, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/19-1%20Tammy%20Aaberg.%20Parent.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Aaberg Statement] ("These children are dead. My son is dead. ... All of these children, and too many others across the country, all died too young as a result of bullying and harassment and will be forever missed by their friends and families."); *id.* at 5 ("Students tell me that everything starts to weigh down on you and things pile up until eventually it becomes too much and you want the pain to end, so many start considering suicide as they believe it will save them and their loved ones the pain life brings them or they feel they have no hope of things ever getting better for them.");

Public Comment of Wendy Walsh at 2, Apr. 25, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/Walsh,%20Wendy.pdf> (last visited Sept. 15, 2011) ("I can't bring my son back. ... No mother should ever have to lose their 13-year-old child to intolerance and anti-gay harassment, especially in a place that should be providing them with an education and putting them on a path to a promising future."); Public Comment of Rep. Keith Ellison, U.S. House of Representatives, at 1, Apr. 27, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/29.%20U.S.%20Rep.%20Keith%20Ellison.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Ellison Comment] ("Nine enrolled or recently graduated middle and high school students [in a single school district in Minnesota] committed suicide in 2010, including three who were gay or lesbian.").

¹⁰⁰ See Herek Statement, *supra* note 74, at 21 ("The negative psychological effects of bullying and peer victimization appear to last after students leave high school. In a study of sexual and gender minority young adults (21-25 years old), experiencing school victimization during the teen years was associated with higher current levels of depression, more suicidal thoughts, lower self-esteem, and less life satisfaction."); Ryan Comment, *supra* note 96, at 2 ("We found that ... LGBT young adults who reported high levels of LGBT school victimization during adolescence were 5.6 times more likely to report having attempted suicide, 5.6 times more likely to report a suicide attempt that required medical care, 2.6 times more likely to report clinical levels of depression, and more than twice as likely to have been diagnosed with a sexually transmitted disease and to report risk for HIV infection, compared with peers who reported low levels of school victimization.").

¹⁰¹ See Sabrina Holcomb, Muslims in America: When Bullying Meets Religion, <http://www.nea.org/home/42528.htm> (last visited May 6, 2011) (citing reports that bullying of Muslim students has increased since the September 11 terrorist attacks).

¹⁰² Ikimulisa Livingston & Leonard Greene, *Terrorized for Being a Muslim*, N.Y. POST, Oct. 12, 2010, *available at* http://www.nypost.com/p/news/local/staten_island/terrorized_for_being_muslim_8rQSU8Z5ibbMOeJnDGfOrO (last visited May 8, 2011). The student reported being kicked in the head and the groin until he bled. *See id.*

¹⁰³ *Id.*; see also Statement of Kenneth L. Marcus, Exec. V.P. & Dir. of the Anti-Semitism Initiative, Inst. for Jewish & Cmty. Research, at 4, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/15.%20Kenneth%20L.%20Marcus,%20Institute%20for%20Jewish%20&%20Community%20Research.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Marcus Statement]; Holcomb, *supra* note 101 ("The dimension that makes the bullying of Muslim students particularly disturbing centers around the open prejudices and fears of adults, giving the green light to non-Muslim children that it's okay—even patriotic—to discriminate").

¹⁰⁴ See Statement of Rajdeep Singh, Dir. of Law & Policy, Sikh Coalition, at 1, May 13, 2011, <http://www.eusccr.com/17.RajdeepSingh,SikhCoalition.pdf> (last visited June 23, 2011) [hereinafter Singh Statement] ("Although the Sikh turban is a symbol of nobility and signifies a commitment to upholding freedom, justice, and dignity for all people, the physical appearance of a Sikh is often ignorantly conflated with images of foreign terrorists, some of whom also wear turbans and many of whom have received copious publicity in our mainstream media in the post-9/11 environment."). In an incident described to the Commission, a Sikh boy from the San Francisco Bay Area was called "diaper head" from the first grade; in middle school he was "called names, pushed, shoved, beaten up, had his books stolen, [turban] ripped off, lockers broken, and the day before his class final, his folder was stolen." *Id.* at 2.

¹⁰⁵ Sikh Coalition, Sikh Coalition Bay Area Civil Rights Report 7 (2010), *available at* http://www.sikhcoalition.org/documents/bay_Area_Civil_Rights_Agenda.pdf (last visited May 6, 2011) [hereinafter SIKH COALITION BAY AREA].

¹⁰⁶ *Id.* at 3; see also Singh Statement, *supra* note 104, at 2.

¹⁰⁷ Sikh Coalition Bay Area, *supra* note 105, at 3.

¹⁰⁸ Sikh Coalition, hatred in the hallways: a preliminary report on bias against Sikh students in new york city's public schools 5, 8 (2007), *available at* http://www.sikhcoalition.org/documents/hatred_in_the_hallways.pdf (last visited May 6, 2011) [hereinafter SIKH COALITION NYC].

¹⁰⁹ *Id.* at 5; see also Singh Statement, *supra* note 104, at 2; Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 4.

¹¹⁰ Sikh Coalition Nyc, *supra* note 108, at 5.

¹¹¹ See George Bassler, *Vestal Officials Investigating Incident at High School*, [pressconnects.com](http://www.spme.net/cgi-bin/articles.cgi?ID=7616), Jan. 20, 2011, <http://www.spme.net/cgi-bin/articles.cgi?ID=7616> (last visited May 8, 2011); Katherine Albers, *10 North Naples Middle School Students Suspended for Taking Part in "Kick a Jew Day"*, [naplesnews.com](http://www.naplesnews.com), Nov. 23, 2009, <http://www.naplesnews.com/news/2009/nov/23/north-naples-middle-suspended-kick-a-jew-day-email> (last visited May 8, 2011); see also Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 4-5.

¹¹² See Kenneth L. Marcus, Deputy Asst. Sec'y for Enforcement, Delegated the Authority of the Asst. Sec'y for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., Dear Colleague Letter: Title VI and Title IX Religious Discrimination in Schools and Colleges, Sept. 13, 2004, *available at* <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/religiousrights2004.html>

(last visited May 8, 2011) ("OCR has recently encountered allegations of racial and sex discrimination, commingled with aspects of religious discrimination against Christian students.").

¹¹³ In addition to these statutes, OCR also enforces the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, 42 U.S.C. § 6101 *et seq.* (2006), and the Boy Scouts of America Equal Access Act, 20 U.S.C. § 7905 (2006); DOJ also enforces Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. § 2000c *et seq.* (2006), and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, 20 U.S.C. § 1703 (2006), and it may intervene in private suits alleging violations of anti-discrimination statutes and/or the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. When enforcing Title IV, which protects against discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, DOJ interprets that title to be consistent with case law under Title VI and Title IX, and thus applies the same legal standards under Title IV as it does under the those titles.

¹¹⁴ For further information regarding the legal standards used by ED and DOJ, see *infra* pp. 28-42.

¹¹⁵ 20 U.S.C. § 1681(a) (2006) ("No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance"); see also *id.* at § 1681(c) ("For purposes of this Chapter an educational institution means any public or private preschool, elementary, or secondary school, or any institution of vocational, professional, or higher education"). For a discussion of federal enforcement efforts under Title IX involving students who are targeted in part due to their sexual orientation or gender identity, see Section Six.

¹¹⁶ *Id.* § 1682.

¹¹⁷ See *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Pub. Sch.*, 503 U.S. 60, 75-76 (1992).

¹¹⁸ *Id.* at 75. ("Unquestionably, Title IX places on [schools] the duty not to discriminate on the basis of sex, and 'when a supervisor sexually harasses a subordinate because of the subordinate's sex, that supervisor "discriminate[s]" on the basis of sex.' We believe the same rule should apply when a teacher sexually harasses and abuses a student.") (quoting *Meritor Sav. Bank, FSB v. Vinson*, 477 U.S. 57, 64 (1986)).

¹¹⁹ *Davis v. Monroe County Bd. of Educ.*, 526 U.S. 629, 650 (1999) ("[S]tudent-on-student sexual harassment, if sufficiently severe, can . . . rise to the level of discrimination actionable under [Title IX].").

¹²⁰ See, e.g., *J.K. v. Ariz. Bd. of Regents*, No. CV 06-916-PHX-MHM, 2008 WL 4446712 at *12 (D. Ariz. Sept. 30, 2008) (citing *Soper v. Hoben*, 195 F.3d 845, 855 (6th Cir. 1999)) (holding that rape of plaintiff constituted "severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive" sexual harassment); *Kelly v. Yale Univ.*, No. Civ. A. 3:01-CV-1591, 2003 WL 1563424, at *3 (D. Conn. Mar. 26, 2003) ("There is no question that a rape ... constitutes severe and objectively offensive sexual harassment ..."); *S.S. v. Alexander*, 177 P.3d 724, 741 (Wash. Ct. App. 2008) (stating that "[i]n the Title IX context, there is no 'one free rape' rule").

¹²¹ See *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*, 490 U.S. 228 (1989), *superseded by statute on other grounds* (holding that sex-stereotyping is actionable under Title VII); see also, e.g., *Doe v. Brimfield Grade Sch.*, 552 F. Supp. 2d 816, 823 (C.D. Ill. 2008) ("Discrimination because one's behavior does not 'conform to stereotypical ideas' of one's gender can amount to actionable discrimination 'based on sex'" (citing *Howell v. N. Cent. Coll.*, 320 F.Supp. 2d 717 (N.D. Ill. 2004)); *Snelling v. Fall Mountain Reg'l Sch. Dist.*, No. Civ. 99-488-JD, 2001 WL 276975, at *4 (D. N.H. Mar. 21, 2001) ("The plaintiffs respond that the harassment they experienced arose from the perpetrators' sex-based stereotypes of masculinity [T]he plaintiffs articulate an actionable basis for their Title IX claim").

¹²² See generally Goss Graves Statement, *supra* note 37, at 4-7, 9-10.

¹²³ *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 650.

¹²⁴ *Gebser v. Lago Vista Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 524 U.S. 274, 290 (1998).

¹²⁵ *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 650; see also *Gebser*, 524 U.S. at 290.

¹²⁶ *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 650; see also *Gebser*, 524 U.S. at 290.

¹²⁷ 42 U.S.C. § 2000d (2006) ("No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be eXcluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."); see also *id.* § 2000d-4a(2)(B) (2006), 3(A)(ii) ("For the purposes of this subchapter, the term 'program or activity' and the term 'program' mean all of the operations of ... a local educational agency ..., system of vocational education, or other school system [or] an entire corporation, partnership, or other private organization ... which is principally engaged in the business of providing education"). For a discussion of federal enforcement efforts under Title VI involving students who are targeted in part due to their religion, see Section 6.

¹²⁸ *Id.* § 2000d-1 (2006).

¹²⁹ See *Barnes v. Gorman*, 536 U.S. 181, 185-89 (2002); *Guardians Ass'n v. Civil Serv. Comm'n of N.Y.*, 463 U.S. 582, 597-603 (1983).

- ¹³⁰ See, e.g., *DT v. Somers Cent. Sch. Dist.*, 348 Fed. App'x 697, 699 & n.2 (2d Cir. 2009) ("Because Title VI and Title IX use parallel language, we construe them similarly."); *Whitfield v. Notre Dame Middle Sch.*, No. 09 2649, slip op., 2011 WL 94735 at *3 & n.2 (3d Cir. Jan. 12, 2011) ("We construe Titles VI and IX similarly because they use parallel language."); *Bryant v. Indep. Sch. Dist. No. 1-38 of Garvin County, Okla.*, 334 F.3d 928, 934 (10th Cir. 2003) ("The Court's reasoning in *Davis* guides our resolution of the instant case because Congress based Title IX on Title VI; therefore, the Court's analysis of what constitutes intentional sexual discrimination under Title IX directly informs our analysis of what constitutes intentional racial discrimination under Title VI (and vice versa)."); see also *Barnes v. Gorman*, 536 U.S. 181, 185 (2002).
- ¹³¹ See *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 650; see also, e.g., *Qualls v. Cunningham*, 183 Fed. App'x 564, 567 (7th Cir. 2006) ("To establish a hostile educational environment under Title VI, [the plaintiff] must show that the alleged harassment was severe or pervasive enough to deprive him of access to educational benefits."); *Whitfield*, 2011 WL 94735 at *3 ("The harassment must be 'severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive,' and rise above the level of 'simple acts of teasing and name-calling among school children ... even where these comments target differences in [race].'" (quoting *Davis*, 236 U.S. at 652)).
- ¹³² See *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 650; *Gebser v. Lago Vista Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 524 U.S. 274, 290 (1998); see also, e.g., *Gant v. Wallingford Bd. of Educ.*, 195 F.3d 134, 141 & n.6 (2d Cir. 1999) (citing *Gebser*, 118 S. Ct. at 1996 99).
- ¹³³ See *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 650; *Gebser*, 524 U.S. at 290; see also, e.g., *Bryant*, 334 F.3d at 934 (directing the district court to apply the *Davis* test for deliberate indifference); *Monteiro v. Tempe Union High Sch. Dist.*, 158 F.3d 1022, 1034 (9th Cir. 1998) ("When a district is 'deliberately indifferent' to its students' right to a learning environment free of racial hostility and discrimination, it is liable for damages under Title VI.") (citing *Gebser*, 524 U.S. 274).
- ¹³⁴ See 29 U.S.C. § 794(a) (2006) ("No otherwise qualified individual with a disability in the United States ... shall, solely by reason of her or his disability, be excluded from the participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance"); see *id.* § 794(b)(2)(B)-(3)(A) (2006) ("For the purposes of this section, the term 'program or activity' means all of the operations of ... a local educational agency, system of vocational education, or other school system [or] an entire corporation, partnership, or other private organization ... which is principally engaged in the business of providing education ...").
- ¹³⁵ In addition, Title III of the Americans with Disabilities Act also prohibits *private* educational institutions from discriminating against individuals due to disability. See, e.g., 42 U.S.C. § 12182 (2006) ("No individual shall be discriminated against on the basis of disability in the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, or accommodations of any place of public accommodation by any person who owns, leases (or leases to), or operates a place of public accommodation."); *id.* § 12181(7)(J) (2006) ("The following private entities are considered public accommodations for purposes of this subchapter, if the operations of such entities affect commerce ... a nursery, elementary, secondary, undergraduate, or postgraduate private school, or other place of education."). Title III is outside the scope of this report, which addresses prohibitions against harassment in *public* K-12 schools.
- ¹³⁶ See 42 U.S.C. § 12132 (2006) ("[N]o qualified individual with a disability shall, by reason of such disability, be excluded from participation in or be denied the benefits of the services, programs, or activities of a public entity, or be subjected to discrimination by any such entity."); *id.* § 12131(1)(B) ("The term 'public entity' means ... any department, agency, special purpose district, or other instrumentality of a State or States or local government").
- ¹³⁷ See *id.* § 12133 (2006) ("The remedies, procedures, and rights set forth in [29 U.S.C. § 794a] shall be the remedies, procedures, and rights this subsection provides to any person alleging discrimination on the basis of disability"); 29 U.S.C. § 794a(a)(2) (2006) ("The remedies, procedures, and rights set forth in title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 ... shall be available to any person aggrieved by any act or failure to act by an recipient of Federal assistance ... under section 794 of this title.").
- ¹³⁸ See generally *Barnes v. Gorman*, 536 U.S. 181, 185-90 (2002).
- ¹³⁹ See, e.g., *Werth v. Bd. of Dirs. of the Pub. Schs. of Milwaukee*, 472 F. Supp. 2d 1113, 1126 (E.D. Wis. 2007) ("Because the reach of both statutes is the same, claims under these provisions are analyzed together.") (citing *K. M. ex rel. D. G. v. Hyde Park Cent. Sch. Dist.*, 381 F.Supp. 2d 343 (S.D.N.Y. 2005)).
- ¹⁴⁰ See, e.g., *K.M.*, 381 F. Supp. 2d at 359-61. Although a few cases have instead applied legal precedent related to hostile work environment under Title VII, this line began with a case published pre-*Davis*, and does not appear to be the prevailing approach. See, e.g., *Guckenberger v. Boston Univ.*, 957 F. Supp. 306, 313-15 (D. Mass. 1997); *Cabrea-Diaz v. Penn Kidder Campus Jim Thorpe Sch. Dist.*, No. 3:08-2192, slip op., 2010 WL 5818289,

at *11 (M.D. Pa. Aug. 9, 2010) (citing *Guckenberger*); *Derrick F. v. Red Lion Area Sch. Dist.*, 586 F. Supp. 2d 282, 308-09 (M.D. Pa. 2008) (citing *Guckenberger*).

¹⁴¹ See *Davis v. Monroe County Bd. of Educ.*, 526 U.S. 629, 650 (1999); see also, e.g., *Werth*, 472 F. Supp. 2d at 1129; *P.R. ex. rel. Rawl v. Metro. Sch. Dist. of Wash. Twp.*, Slip Copy, No. 1:08-cv-1562-WTL-DML, 2010 WL 4457417, at *5, 7 (S.D. Ind. Nov. 1, 2010).

¹⁴² See *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 650; *Gebser v. Lago Vista Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 524 U.S. 274, 290 (1998); see also, e.g., *Werth*, 472 F. Supp. 2d at 1129; *P.R.*, 2010 WL 4457417, at *7-8.

¹⁴³ See *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 650; *Gebser*, 524 U.S. at 290; see also, e.g., *S.S. v. Eastern Ky. Univ.*, 532 F.3d 445, 453-56 (6th Cir. 2008); *Biggs v. Bd. of Educ. of Cecil County, Md.*, 229 F. Supp. 2d 437, 445 (D. Md. 2002).

¹⁴⁴ The Commission submitted interrogatories and document requests to ED on March 18, 2011. In response to these requests, ED provided data on complaints received through March 21, 2011.

¹⁴⁵ See U.S. Department of Education Response to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' Interrogatories and Document Requests at 16 (April 18, 2011) [hereinafter ED Response]. OCR defines "harassment" to "include peer-to-peer harassment, peer-to-peer bullying, and peer-to-peer violence, as well as incidents of harassment, bullying, and violence by school or school-district staff or by related third parties." *Id.* OCR has received 38,974 total complaints during that period. See *id.* at 8.

¹⁴⁶ *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ *Id.* at 27.

¹⁴⁸ See *id.*

¹⁴⁹ See *id.*

¹⁵⁰ See *id.*

¹⁵¹ See *id.*; U.S. Dep't of Educ., Office for Civil Rights, OCR Complaint Processing Procedures, <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/complaints-how.html> (last visited June 9, 2011) [hereinafter OCR CPP].

¹⁵² See U.S. Dep't of Educ., Office for Civil Rights, OCR Case Processing Manual, §§ 106-07, <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/ocrcpm.html> (last visited July 28, 2011) [hereinafter OCR CPM]; OCR CPP, *supra* note 151. If a complaint is not timely filed, OCR will inform the complainant of the opportunity to request a waiver.

¹⁵³ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 108; OCR CPP, *supra* note 151. OCR will contact the complainant if it requires additional information to process the complaint, and will grant the complainant 20 calendar days to respond to its request. See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 108.

¹⁵⁴ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 110.

¹⁵⁵ See *id.* If a complaint is still pending before another forum, the forum's resolution process must conform to certain procedural standards before OCR will close a complaint. OCR will only close a complaint if it believes that there will be a "comparable resolution process under comparable legal standards." See *id.*

¹⁵⁶ See *id.*

¹⁵⁷ See *id.*; OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁵⁸ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 110; OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁵⁹ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 110.

¹⁶⁰ See *id.* § 109.

¹⁶¹ See OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁶² See *id.*

¹⁶³ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152.

¹⁶⁴ See *id.* §§ 202-03; OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁶⁵ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 204.

¹⁶⁶ See *id.*

¹⁶⁷ See *id.* § 205.

¹⁶⁸ See *id.* § 204(a); OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁶⁹ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 303(a).

¹⁷⁰ See *id.* § 303(b); OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁷¹ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 304; OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁷² See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 307; OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁷³ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 303(b); OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁷⁴ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 303(b); OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁷⁵ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, § 303(b).

¹⁷⁶ See *id.* § 305; OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁷⁷ See OCR CPM, *supra* note 152, Art. IV; OCR CPP, *supra* note 151.

¹⁷⁸ ED Response, *supra* note 145, at 8. For this and all subsequent tables in this Section, 2011 data covers January 1, 2011 through March 21, 2011.

¹⁷⁹ *Id.* at 16. More specifically, as discussed *supra* note 145, OCR states that their "harassment" category "includes peer-to-peer harassment, peer-to-peer bullying, and peer-to-peer violence, as well as incidents of harassment, bullying, and violence by school or school-district staff or by related third parties." *Id.*

¹⁸⁰ "Harassment" within OCR's jurisdiction covers peer-to-peer bullying and other violence "based on race, color, national origin, sex, or disability [that] is sufficiently serious that it creates a hostile environment and ... is encouraged, tolerated, inadequately addressed, or ignored by school employees." *Id.* at 5.

¹⁸¹ *Id.* at 16.

¹⁸² *Id.* at 8. ED notes, "Please note that the sum of the subcategories may not equal the total number of complaints received, because complaints alleging discrimination on the basis of more than one racial category are included in each subcategory." *Id.*

¹⁸³ *Id.* at 19.

¹⁸⁴ *Id.* at 9.

¹⁸⁵ *Id.* at 20.

¹⁸⁶ *Id.* at 9.

¹⁸⁷ *Id.* at 20.

¹⁸⁸ See *id.* at 15, 25. For further discussion of ED's jurisdiction to address harassment of actual or perceived LGBT students, please see *infra* Section 5.

¹⁸⁹ See *id.* at 15.

¹⁹⁰ See *id.*

¹⁹¹ See *id.* at 14, 23-24. For further discussion of ED's jurisdiction to address harassment of members of religious groups, please see *infra* Section 5.

¹⁹² See *id.* at 15.

¹⁹³ See *id.* at 14. ED has retroactively coded some open cases that may have been received prior to October 1, 2010. Not all cases, however, were retroactively coded. See *id.*

¹⁹⁴ *Id.* at 14.

¹⁹⁵ *Id.* at 23-24.

¹⁹⁶ See *id.* at 14.

¹⁹⁷ U.S. Department of Justice Response to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' Interrogatories and Document Requests at 1 (April 18, 2011) [hereinafter DOJ Response]. The Commission submitted interrogatories and document requests to DOJ on March 18, 2011. The DOJ responded to these requests on April 18, 2011. The DOJ provided data on complaints received through the date of its response.

¹⁹⁸ *Id.* at 2.

¹⁹⁹ *Id.* at 1.

²⁰⁰ *Id.* at 5.

²⁰¹ *Id.*

²⁰² Only DOJ's data regarding peer-to-peer harassment cases are shown here.

²⁰³ DOJ Response, *supra* note 197, at 6. These figures do not include complaints raised in ongoing desegregation cases or cases opened prior to 2000.

²⁰⁴ *Id.* at 8. Please note that, like OCR, EOS jurisdiction only covers peer-to-peer bullying and other violence that meets the legal definition of harassment. The data reported under "sex" can include sexual harassment of LGBT students and harassment of LGBT students for failure to conform to gender stereotypes.

²⁰⁵ *Id.* at 6. Where complaints involved allegations of discrimination based on membership in more than one protected class, the complaints are listed in each relevant category. *Id.* at 2.

²⁰⁶ *Id.* at 9.

²⁰⁷ *Id.* at 7. The figures in this chart reflect inquiries where such information was available regarding the nature of the complaint; EOS does not track its complaints by the specific gender of the students involved or the specific nature of the sex-based complaint. Where ascertainable, sexual harassment complaints are denoted "SH."

²⁰⁸ *Id.* at 9.

²⁰⁹ *Id.* at 6.

²¹⁰ *Id.* at 9.

²¹¹ *Id.* at 7-8, 10-11.

²¹² U.S. Dep't of Justice, Supplemental Response Pursuant to Affected Agency Review (July 26, 2011).

²¹³ DOJ Response, *supra* note 197, at 7-8, 10-11.

²¹⁴ *Id.* at 8.

²¹⁵ See Ali Statement, *supra* note 6, at 5.

²¹⁶ See *id.* at 7.

²¹⁷ See ED Response, *supra* note 145, at 5-6.

²¹⁸ See Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40.

²¹⁹ See Sexual Violence DCL, *supra* note 36.

²²⁰ See Stephanie Monroe, Asst. Sec'y for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., Dear Colleague Letter: Sexual Harassment issues, Jan. 25, 2006, available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/sexhar2006.html> (last visited May 11, 2011) [hereinafter sexual harassment dcl]; see also sexual harassment: it's not academic, *supra* note 35; office for civil rights, U.S. dep't of educ., revised sexual harassment guidance: harassment of students by school employees, other students, or third parties (Jan. 2001), available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.pdf> (last visited Apr. 28, 2011) [hereinafter revised sexual harassment guidance].

²²¹ See Disability DCL, *supra* note 63.

²²² See Racial Incidents and Harassment Against Students at Educational Institutions, 59 Fed. Reg. 11,448 (Mar. 10, 2004), available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/race394.html> (last visited May 11, 2011) [hereinafter Racial Incidents and Harassment Guidance].

²²³ See Rod Paige, Sec'y of Educ., U.S. Dep't of Educ., Dear Colleague Letter: Harassment Against Muslim and Arab Students, Sept. 19, 2001, available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/arabletter.html> (last visited May 2, 2011) [hereinafter Muslim/Arab DCL].

²²⁴ See Kenneth L. Marcus, Dep. Asst. Sec'y for Enforcement, U.S. Dep't of Educ., Dear Colleague Letter: Title VI and Title IX Religious Discrimination in Schools and Colleges, Sept. 13, 2004, available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/religious-rights2004.html> (last visited May 11, 2011) [hereinafter Religion DCL].

²²⁵ See Gerald A. Reynolds, Asst. Sec'y for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., Dear Colleague Letter: First Amendment, July 28, 2003, available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/firstamend.html> (last visited May 11, 2011) [hereinafter First Amendment DCL].

²²⁶ ED worked closely with DOJ on developing the Dear Colleague Letter. See Samuels Statement, *supra* note 61, at 6.

²²⁷ See, e.g., Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 61:8-13 (Ali Testimony) ("The letter was not, as some critics may imply, a break with or an expansion of the Office for Civil Rights' previous interpretation of Title IX, and it was consistent with the cases that had come out between the 2001 guidance and what happened in 2010"); Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 18 app. A ("[The Dear Colleague Letter] is neither new nor a bullying policy. Rather, it is a repackaging of longstanding OCR interpretations of harassment law."); Goss Graves Statement, *supra* note 37, at 8-9 ("The letter was not, as some critics have implied, a break with or an expansion of OCR's previous interpretation of Title IX.").

²²⁸ Transcript, Secretary's Press Conference Call on Bullying and Harassment Guidance, at 18, Oct. 26, 2010, available at <http://www2.ed.gov/news/av/audio/2010/10/10262010.doc> (last visited May 2, 2011) [hereinafter Conference Call Transcript].

²²⁹ Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 1; see also Conference Call Transcript, *supra* note 228, at 5 (Statement of Russlynn Ali) ("Schools and districts know their community best and to help them we are ensuring today both students and parents are aware of their rights and that schools, districts, colleges and universities are aware of their responsibilities under the federal civil rights laws."); *id.* at 8 (Statement of Russlynn Ali) ("The guidelines are intended to make clear for schools, colleges, universities and school districts across the country what their obligations are when they know or should've known about harassing our [sic] bullying happening in their schools and what to do about it. They are charged with stopping it, with fixing the problem and with preventing it so that it never happens again and students have a safe place to learn.").

²³⁰ See Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 1.

²³¹ *Id.* at 2.

²³² See *id.*

²³³ See *id.*

²³⁴ *Id.*

²³⁵ *Id.* at 2 n.9.

²³⁶ *Id.* at 2.

²³⁷ See *id.*

²³⁸ *Id.* at 2-3.

²³⁹ *Id.* at 3.

²⁴⁰ *Id.*

²⁴¹ *Id.*

²⁴² *Id.* at 3-4.

²⁴³ See generally *id.* at 4-9.

²⁴⁴ *Id.* at 5-6; see also Conference Call Transcript, *supra* note 228, at 17 (Statement of Russlynn Ali) (“[A]lthough the department does not hold jurisdiction over religion, much of the anti-religious, if you will, bullying that we’re seeing across the country is not because students are Jewish or because students are Muslim or any details about their faith or their worship. It is about the harasser perceiving them as being members of a special ethnic group or a national origin. It is there where we will vigorously enforce the civil rights laws to protect those students from a harassing environment.”). For further discussion of the Dear Colleague Letter’s analysis of Title VI implications for harassment of religious groups, please see *infra* Section 6.

²⁴⁵ Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 7-8. For further discussion of the Dear Colleague Letter’s analysis of Title IX implications for harassment of actual or perceived LGBT students and students that do not conform to gender stereotypes, please see *infra* Section 6.

²⁴⁶ Press Release, U.S. Dep’t of Educ., Guidance Targeting Harassment Outlines Local and Federal Responsibility, Oct. 26, 2010, available at <http://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/guidance-targetingharassment-outlines-local-and-federal-responsibility> (last visited May 3, 2011).

²⁴⁷ Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 9.

²⁴⁸ As discussed *supra* Section 5, ED and DOJ reason that Title IX protects all students—including LGBT students—from sex discrimination, and that Title VI protects all students—including those belonging to groups with a common faith—from discrimination based on ethnicity, national origin, or race. DOJ also addresses religion-based discrimination in schools under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. § 2000c. ED does not enforce this provision.

²⁴⁹ See, e.g., Statement of Roger Clegg, President & Gen. Counsel, Ctr. for Equal Opportunity, at 7, May 13, 2011, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/6.%20Roger%20Clegg,%20Center%20for%20Equal%20Opportunity.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011) [hereinafter Clegg Statement] (“After all, ‘sex’ does not mean ‘sexual orientation,’ and it certainly did not mean that in 1972. That’s all there is to it. ... [T]hey have concocted a legal argument that says the use of ‘sexual stereotypes’ is banned by the laws that ban discrimination on the basis of sex, and they are using this argument to bootstrap in a ban on sexual orientation.”); Public Comment of Hans Bader, Senior Att’y & Counsel for Special Projects, Competitive Enter. Inst., at 2, Mar. 22, 2011, available at http://www.mindingthecampus.com/originals/2011/03/by_hans_bader_theres.html (last visited Sept. 9, 2011) (“The [Dear Colleague Letter] incorrectly equates homophobic harassment with sexual harassment forbidden by the sex discrimination law Title IX.”); Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 24-25 app. A (discussing OCR’s prior reluctance to address anti-Semitic harassment under Title VI).

²⁵⁰ See, e.g., ED Response, *supra* note 145, at 24 (“Title IX does not prohibit discrimination based solely on sexual orientation; so OCR does not have jurisdiction over complaints alleging discrimination, including harassment, based on sexual orientation.”).

²⁵¹ Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance, *supra* note 220.

²⁵² *Id.* at 3.

²⁵³ *Id.*

²⁵⁴ See Sexual Harassment DCL, *supra* note 220 (“Longstanding legal authority establishes that harassment of students can be a form of sex discrimination covered by Title IX I am enclosing the Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance: Harassment of Students By School Employees, Other Students, or Third Parties issued by OCR in January 2001.”). Assistant Secretary Monroe’s letter addressed sexual harassment issues generally; it did not specifically discuss sexual harassment of LGBT students or gender-based harassment.

²⁵⁵ Sexual Harassment: It’S Not Academic, *supra* note 35, at 8.

²⁵⁶ *Id.*

²⁵⁷ For further discussion of the Harassment/Bullying Dear Colleague Letter, please see *supra* Section 5.

²⁵⁸ Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 7-8; see also Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 23-24 app. A (“The new OCR policy recognizes this legal development [that courts have interpreted sex discrimination to include various forms of sex-stereotyping], which is hardly new, and describes it in terms that are hardly radical”).

²⁵⁹ Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 8; see also Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 23 app. A (“[This language] means only that a lesbian student who faces sexist treatment will get the same protections as any other girl. This proposition is entirely uncontroversial.”); Goss Graves Statement, *supra* note 37, at 11 (“[N]o federal law prohibits *per se* LGBT-based bullying or harassment. Although Title IX covers LGBT-related bullying and

harassment when such conduct targets a student's failure to conform to sex stereotypes, it does not prohibit LGBT bullying and harassment more generally.").

- ²⁶⁰ See Brief of the United States as Amicus Curiae, *Pratt v. Indian River Cent. Sch. Dist.*, No. 09-0411 (N.D.N.Y. Aug. 13, 2010), available at www.justice.gov/crt/about/edu (follow "Cases" hyperlink under "Education"; then follow "Amicus Memorandum" hyperlink under "Pratt v. Indian River Central School District (N.D.N.Y.)"). The federal district court ultimately agreed with DOJ's interpretation of Title IX as described in its brief. See *Pratt v. Indian River Cent. Sch. Dist.*, No. 7:09-CV-0411, slip op., 2011 WL 1204804, at *11 (N.D.N.Y. Mar. 29, 2011).
- ²⁶¹ See also generally Memorandum of Law in Support of the United States' Motion to Intervene, *J.L. v. Mohawk Cent. Sch. Dist.*, No. 09-943 (N.D.N.Y. Jan. 14, 2010), available at <http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/edu/documents/mohawkmotion.pdf> (last visited May 11, 2011) (intervening in case regarding gender-stereotype harassment of an openly gay teenager based on jurisdiction under Title IX); Stipulation and Settlement Agreement, *J.L. v. Mohawk Cent. Sch. Dist.*, No. 09-943 (N.D.N.Y. Mar. 29, 2010), available at <http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/edu/documents/mohawksettle.pdf> (last visited May 11, 2011); Samuels Statement, *supra* note 61, at 5 (discussing *Mohawk* case); Complaint in Intervention, *Lovins v. Pleasant Hill Pub. Sch. Dist., R-III*, No. 99-0550 (W.D. Mo. July 20, 2000), available at <http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/edu/documents/lovinscom.php> (last visited May 20, 2011); Consent Order, *Lovins v. Pleasant Hill Pub. Sch. Dist., R-III*, No. 99-0550 (W.D. Mo. July 31, 2000), available at <http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/edu/documents/lovinsor.php> (last visited May 20, 2011).
- ²⁶² 490 U.S. 228 (1989), *superseded by statute on other grounds*.
- ²⁶³ 523 U.S. 75 (1998).
- ²⁶⁴ 42 U.S.C. § 2000e-2 (2006).
- ²⁶⁵ Brief of the United States as Amicus Curiae, *Pratt v. Indian River Cent. Sch. Dist.*, No. 09-0411, at 7 n.5 (N.D.N.Y. Aug. 13, 2010), available at www.justice.gov/crt/about/edu (follow "Cases" hyperlink under "Education"; then follow "Amicus Memorandum" hyperlink under "Pratt v. Indian River Central School District (N.D.N.Y.)") (citing *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 631; *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Pub. Sch.*, 503 U.S. 60, 74 (1992)).
- ²⁶⁶ *Price Waterhouse*, 490 U.S. at 251.
- ²⁶⁷ *Id.*
- ²⁶⁸ *Id.* at 266 (O'Connor, J., concurring). Justice O'Connor's agreement with the plurality on this issue means that a majority of the Court believed that Title VII forbids discrimination based on sex stereotypes.
- ²⁶⁹ *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Servs.*, 523 U.S. 75, 77 (1998) (citations omitted).
- ²⁷⁰ *Id.* at 79.
- ²⁷¹ See Brief of the United States as Amicus Curiae, *Pratt v. Indian River Cent. Sch. Dist.*, No. 09-0411, at 7 (N.D.N.Y. Aug. 13, 2010), available at www.justice.gov/crt/about/edu (follow "Cases" hyperlink under "Education"; then follow "Amicus Memorandum" hyperlink under "Pratt v. Indian River Central School District (N.D.N.Y.)") (citing *Price Waterhouse*, 490 U.S. at 251-52).
- ²⁷² *Id.* at 7 n.5 (citing *Oncale*, 523 U.S. 75; *Davis v. Monroe County Bd. of Educ.*, 526 U.S. 629, 651 (1999); *Montgomery v. Indep. Sch. Dist. No. 709*, 109 F. Supp. 2d 1081, 1091 (D. Minn. 2000)).
- ²⁷³ *Id.* at 7-8.
- ²⁷⁴ See *id.* at 9 ("[H]arassment 'based on sexual orientation does not immunize these Defendants from liability under Title IX for harassment and discrimination based on sex.'" (quoting Pls.' Mem. at 21)).
- ²⁷⁵ *Id.* at 12 n.9 (citing office for civil rights, u.s. dep't of educ., revised sexual harassment guidance: harassment of students by school employees, other students, or third parties at 3 (Jan. 2001); *Romer v. Evans*, 517 U.S. 620, 633 (1996)).
- ²⁷⁶ *Id.* at 11.
- ²⁷⁷ *Id.* (quoting *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Servs.*, 523 U.S. 75, 81-82 (1998)).
- ²⁷⁸ *Id.* at 11-12 (quoting *Montgomery v. Indep. Sch. Dist. No. 709*, 109 F. Supp. 2d 1081, 1090 (D. Minn. Aug. 23, 2000)).
- ²⁷⁹ *Id.* at 10 (quoting *Riccio v. New Haven Bd. of Educ.*, 467 F. Supp. 2d 219, 226 (D. Conn. Dec. 26, 2006)).
- ²⁸⁰ *Id.* at 12.
- ²⁸¹ See, e.g., Ali Statement, *supra* note 6, at 4 ("Title IX does not prohibit discrimination based solely on sexual orientation.").
- ²⁸² See Byard Statement, *supra* note 73, at 7 n.18 ("To be sure, LGBT students may be protected by such laws when they are victims of otherwise covered action—such as in cases where sexual harassment occurs, and the victim of the harassment is a gay student. That protection, however, is not the same as protection against anti-gay harassment affecting that student."); Public Comment of Sen. Al Franken, U.S. Senate, at 3, Apr. 29, 2011,

available at <http://www.eusccr.com/29.%20U.S.%20Sen.%20Al%20Franken.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011) [hereinafter Franken Comment] ("[S]ince Title IX can only protect LGBT students from bullying based on gender stereotyping, they lack its protection against bullying based on sexual orientation Without Title IX protections, many victims of LGBT bullying, harassment, and discrimination therefore remain without recourse. This is a significant gap in protection for a group of students that currently faces severe harassment and discrimination in schools.").

²⁸³ See, e.g., *Riccio v. New Haven Bd. of Educ.*, 467 F. Supp. 2d 219, 225 (D. Conn. 2006) ("[Defendant] contends that the thrust of the slurs were of a sexual orientation nature and not gender specific. Therefore, [Defendant] argues that Andree does not have a claim for sexual harassment because Title IX does not provide a remedy for discrimination based on sexual orientation.") (citation omitted). It should be noted that the *Riccio* court rejected this argument based on the facts of the case.

²⁸⁴ See, e.g., Public Comment of Rep. Jared Polis & Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, U.S. House of Representatives, at 2, May 4, 2011, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/30.%20U.S.%20Rep.%20Jared%20Polis%20&%20U.S.%20Rep.%20Ileana%20RosLehtinen.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011) ("While Title IX of the Education Amendments does afford protections against sex and gender-based discrimination, including harassment, the Congress must empower OCR to do more to properly protect LGBT students by passing explicit statutory protections on the basis of sexual orientation and gender. Such a step would serve to fill a glaring existing gap in our federal civil rights laws that leave one of the most vulnerable students [sic] populations without the protections they need.").

²⁸⁵ Franken Comment, *supra* note 282, at 3. the bill provides, in part: sec. 4. prohibition against discrimination.

(1) IN GENERAL.—No student shall, on the basis of actual or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity of such individual or of a person with whom the student associates or has associated, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

(b) HARASSMENT.—For purposes of this Act, discrimination includes harassment of a student on the basis of actual or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity of such student or of a person with whom the student associates or has associated.

S. 555, 112th Cong. (2011). The companion bill in the House of Representatives is H.R. 998, 112th Cong. (2011).

²⁸⁶ H.R. 1648, 112th Cong. (2011); S. 506, 112th Cong. (2011). The Safe Schools Improvement Act would establish state reporting requirements, needs assessment, and technical assistance, and require local educational agency discipline policies, indicators, and grievance procedures, and data collection by the Commissioner for Education Statistics. According to its sponsor, Representative Linda Sanchez, H.R. 1648 was designed "to ensure that schools and districts develop and use comprehensive and effective student conduct policies that include clear prohibitions regarding bullying and harassment ... and ... ensure that States and districts maintain and report data regarding incidents of bullying and harassment" Public Comment of Rep. Linda Sanchez, U.S. House of Representatives, at 1, May 12, 2011, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/31.%20U.S.%20Rep.%20Linda%20T.%20Sanchez.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011).

²⁸⁷ The DOJ also addresses religion-based discrimination under Title IV.

²⁸⁸ See, e.g., ED Response, *supra* note 145, at 23 ("Although OCR does not have the statutory authority to respond to complaints based solely on religion, a group's common faith does not divest OCR of its Title VI jurisdiction over discrimination on the basis of actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics."); M arcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 6 ("[Because federal civil rights laws are silent as to religion,] the federal administrative civil rights apparatus lacks jurisdiction to investigate religious discrimination claims in the public schools for cases involving student-on-student harassment or other forms of religious discrimination. By contrast, [OCR], which I once led, would have jurisdiction in those same situations if the basis of the harassment claims were racial, ethnic or disability-related rather than religious.").

²⁸⁹ M uslim/Arab DCL, *supra* note 223.

²⁹⁰ *Id.*

²⁹¹ *Id.*

²⁹² *Id.*

²⁹³ Religion DCL, *supra* note 224.

²⁹⁴ *Id.*

²⁹⁵ Mr. Marcus has indicated that this policy was not enforced prior to 2004 or between 2004 and 2010. See Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 6 ("[U]ntil 2004, OCR typically refused to investigate anti-Semitism complaints on the grounds that Jews are a religious group, not a racial or national origin group."); see also *id.* at 7 ("Over

the following six years, my OCR successors generally did not adhere to these policy statements [addressed in the 2004 Dear Colleague Letter].”); *id.* at 25 app. A (“OCR’s leadership during the second George W. Bush administration and at the outset of the Obama administration were differently inclined, and they tended to disregard the 2004 policy.”). Current OCR leadership takes a different view, stating that “OCR’s interpretation of its Title VI jurisdiction has not changed” from 2001 to present: “Although OCR does not have the statutory authority to respond to complaints based solely on religion, a group’s common faith does not divest OCR of its title VI jurisdiction over discrimination on the basis of actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics.” ED Response, *supra* note 145, at 23.

²⁹⁶ Religion DCL, *supra* note 224. The 2004 Dear Colleague Letter also addressed the enforcement of Title IX with respect to students who are members of religious groups. Upon describing “allegations of race and sex discrimination against white, male Christian students,” the Letter stated: “While OCR lacks jurisdiction to prohibit discrimination against students based on religion per se, OCR will aggressively prosecute harassment of religious students who are targeted on the basis of race or gender, as well as racial or gender harassment of students who are targeted on the basis of religion.” *Id.*

²⁹⁷ See Letter from Thomas E. Perez, Asst. Att’y Gen., Civil Rights Div., U.S. Dep’t of Justice, to Russlynn H. Ali, Asst. Sec’y for Civil Rights, Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep’t of Educ., Sept. 8, 2010, at 1, available at http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/cor/TitleVI/090810_AAG_Perez_Letter_to_Ed_OCR_Title%20VI_and_Religiously_Identifiable_Groups.pdf (last visited June 22, 2010).

²⁹⁸ *Id.* at 1-2.

²⁹⁹ Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 5 (footnotes omitted).

³⁰⁰ See Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 234:19-235:1 (Marcus Testimony) (“[T]here are some religions that do not claim any sort of ethnic or ancestral particularity, but rather more of a universal characteristic and I think that is a large percentage of the students in the United States, who do not belong to such. So I would say that most forms of religious harassment would not be covered.”).

³⁰¹ Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 8; see also *id.* at 9 (“Congress must prohibit religious discrimination in the public schools if religious students are to enjoy the equal educational opportunity guaranteed by the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and the full range of religious freedoms protected under the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment.”).

³⁰² See *id.* at 11-12.

³⁰³ See *id.* at 10.

³⁰⁴ See *id.* at 8 (“Assistant Secretary Ali’s policy is a marvelous step forward, but it does not fully encompass the forms of religious harassment that students still face in the public schools for the simple reason that her agency lacks the authority to do so without further legislation.”); Singh Statement, *supra* note 104, at 4 (urging Congress to “resolve [this] lingering deficiency in federal anti-discrimination law”); *id.*:

It is our experience that Sikh students are often targeted for bullying, violence, and harassment because of their Sikh identity. ... Given that religion is recognized as a protected category in the context of employment and accommodations under the 1964 Civil Rights Act; given that religion is recognized as a protected category under the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act (HCPA); and given the historic significance of religion as our nation’s first freedom, there is no reason why religion should be excluded as a protected category under Title VI. (emphasis in original)

³⁰⁵ See Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 13 (“OCR’s adherence to its own guidance has been questionable at best over the last few years. Indeed, its failure to enforce the 2004 Policy between 2005 and 2010 suggests that more formal action is required to save the Ali Policy from the same non-enforcement that its predecessor had faced.”) (footnote omitted); see also Public Comment of Zionist Organization of America, at 3, May 27, 2011, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/ZOA%20statement%20to%20US%20Civ%20Rts%20Cmsn%20on%20fed%20res%20to%20bullying%205-11.pdf> (last visited on Sept. 15, 2011) (“Title VI protections should not be subject to agency interpretation. Congress should enact legislation that enshrines in the law that federally funded schools must protect students from religious harassment and intimidation, in the same way that they are already obligated to protect against discrimination based on ‘race, color, or national origin’ under Title VI.”).

³⁰⁶ H.R. 1648, 112th Cong. (2011); S. 506, 112th Cong. (2011); see also *supra* note 286.

³⁰⁷ H.R. 6216, 111th Cong. (2010); see also S. 3821, 111th Cong. (2010).

³⁰⁸ See Statement of Francisco M. Negrón, Jr., Gen. Counsel, Nat’l Sch. Bds. Ass’n, at 5, May 13, 2011, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/24.%20Francisco%20Negrón,%20National%20School%20Boards%20Association.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011) [hereinafter Negrón Statement] (“From a legal perspective, OCR has opted to adopt a stricter agency enforcement standard, even though the liability standard under federal laws handed down in *Davis* very clearly limits a school district’s legal obligations”); see also, e.g., Statement of Dr. John C.

Eastman, Professor, Chapman Univ. Sch. of Law, at 5-6, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/7.%20John%20Eastman,%20Chapman%20University%20School%20of%20Law.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011) [hereinafter Eastman Statement].

³⁰⁹ Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 2 (emphasis added).

³¹⁰ *Davis v. Monroe County Bd. of Educ.*, 526 U.S. 629, 650 (1999) (emphasis added); *Gebser v. Lago Vista Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 524 U.S. 274, 290 (1998); *see also* Eastman Statement, *supra* note 308, at 5-6 (discussing the notice standard).

³¹¹ Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 2 (emphasis added).

³¹² *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 652 (emphasis added).

³¹³ Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 2.

³¹⁴ *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 650.

³¹⁵ Letter from Russlynn Ali, Asst. Sec'y for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., to Francisco M. Negrón, Jr., Gen'l Counsel, Nat'l Sch. Bds. Ass'n, at 3-4, Mar. 25, 2011, *available at* <http://www.nsba.org/SchoolLaw/Issues/Equity/Resources/ED-Response-to-NSBA-GCs-Letter-to-ED-on-OCRBullying-Guidelines.pdf> (last visited May 12, 2011) [hereinafter Ali Letter to Negrón]; *see also* Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7 at 13:10-14 (Ali Testimony) ("[W]e are talking in [*Davis*] about very different circumstances. We're talking about monetary damages in the private litigation sense. Courts have recognized that we set different standards, [*Davis*] itself did.").

³¹⁶ *See* Ali Letter to Negrón, *supra* note 315, at 4 ("The Court has acknowledged the authority of Federal agencies, such as the Department, to 'promulgate and enforce requirements that effectuate [Title IX's] nondiscrimination mandate' in circumstances that would not give rise to a claim for monetary damages.") (citing *Gebser*, 524 U.S. at 292); *see also* Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 22 app. A ("It is at least arguable that federal funding institutions' obligations to ensure that their funds are not used in a manner that violates constitutional requirements may sometimes entail standards that are more stringent than those that courts craft for damages cases."); Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 58:23-59:6 (Goss Graves Testimony) ("[E]ven though some courts around the country have interpreted the Title IX standards for damages in ways that have really raised the bar for being able to bring these cases, the standard for administrative enforcement and for injunctive relief is whether school officials knew or should have known about the harassment. And this [']should have known['] standard applies also when individuals file a lawsuit seeking injunctive relief only."); *id.* at 59:14-18 (Goss Graves Testimony) ("[T]he purpose of the [*Davis*] standard is to really ensure that the school is held liable for damages for its own acts and not responding to harassment not for a third party's act.").

³¹⁷ *Gebser v. Lago Vista Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 524 U.S. 274, 290, 292 (1998) (citations omitted).

³¹⁸ Ali Letter to Negrón, *supra* note 315, at 4-5 (quoting REVISED SEXUAL HARASSMENT GUIDANCE, *supra* note 220, at vi (citing *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 651)).

³¹⁹ *Id.* at 2. *See also* Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 20-21 app. A ("In fairness, it should be acknowledged that this deviation is not unique to the Obama administration's approach, since the new policy merely reiterates a standard that OCR announced as early as 1994 and which OCR reiterated during the second George W. Bush administration.") (citations omitted).

³²⁰ Eastman Statement, *supra* note 308, at 4 ("[T]he Department's claim that the liability standards of *Davis* do not limit the terms of its funding contracts with school districts is highly misleading—at best.").

³²¹ *Id.*; *see also* Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 96:20-23 (Eastman Testimony) ("The Department seems to claim such authority when it cites the *Gebser* case from 1998, but I think it's misreading that case.").

³²² *See* Eastman Statement, *supra* note 308, at 4; *see also* Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 96:9-19 (Eastman Testimony) ("[Congress] may not use its spending power as a pretext to accomplish indirectly what it cannot do directly. ... [I]t is even more clearly the case that an administrative agency cannot impose new conditions on the receipt of federal funding that are not authorized by law."); *id.* at 109:14-20 (Eastman Testimony) ("And the Court has also been very clear that we can't use the spending power to accomplish things that we don't have other authority to accomplish. What OCR seems to be doing here is using its conditions on spending in an effort to obtain a regulatory regime that they could not do directly").

³²³ *See* Eastman Statement, *supra* note 308, at 5-7.

³²⁴ Letter from Arthur R. Goldman, Customer Serv. & Tech. Team Leader, Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., to Kimberly A. Tolhurst, Acting Gen. Counsel, U.S. Comm'n on Civil Rights, at 5, July 15, 2011 ("The concern over imposing *retrospective* liability for damages where a school did not have actual knowledge that its actions were unlawful is of no moment in administrative-enforcement proceedings, where the remedies are prospective and where even any prospective loss of federal funding can be absolutely avoided by curing the violation.") (emphasis in original).

- ³²⁵ See, e.g., Ali Letter to Negrón, *supra* note 315, at 4 ("[T]he process of OCR's administrative enforcement requires OCR to make schools aware of civil rights violations and to seek voluntary corrective action to achieve compliance before pursuing fund termination or other enforcement mechanisms.").
- ³²⁶ See, e.g., Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 21 app. A.
- ³²⁷ See Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 48:24-49:4 ("[W]e do not have jurisdiction and would not take action against single incidents of playground taunting absent something like physical conduct that made a single incident sufficiently severe or pervasive to create a hostile environment.").
- ³²⁸ The standard has also been criticized for allegedly omitting "an objective component—a 'reasonable person' standard—in the assessment of harassment claims." See Public Comment of Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE), at 3, May 26, 2011, available at <http://thefire.org/public/pdfs/6aefda8e736cc0f8d633980f9549eeae.pdf?direct> (last visited Sept. 9, 2011) [hereinafter FIRE Comment]. It has been alleged that "[t]he loss of the crucial 'reasonable person' standard means that a school's most sensitive students effectively determine what speech is prohibited." *Id.* ED, however, maintains that this analysis is incorrect; it is ED's policy to "consider[] the conduct from both a subjective and objective perspective." See revised sexual harassment guidance, *supra* note 220, at 5 (citations omitted); First Amendment DCL, *supra* note 225 ("OCR's standards require that the conduct be evaluated from the perspective of a reasonable person in the alleged victim's position").
- ³²⁹ See Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 251:3-254:5 (Negrón Testimony). For further discussion of federalism concerns, please see pp. 68-73.
- ³³⁰ See *id.* at 297:14-298:21 (Volokh Testimony); Public Comment of National Coalition Against Censorship, at 2-7, May 27, 2011, available at <http://www.scribd.com/doc/56492194/Comments-on-Federal-Anti-BullyingPolicy-on-Free-Expression> (last visited Sept. 9, 2011) [hereinafter National Coalition Against Censorship Comment]; FIRE Comment, *supra* note 328, at 2 ("Because of the careful balance struck by the Court in enunciating the *Davis* standard, we believe that any new guidance or legislation must ... explicitly reference or incorporate the *Davis* standard to ensure that students' right to free expression is not inadvertently compromised by schools' efforts to address and eliminate harassment."). For further discussion of First Amendment concerns, please see pp. 74-84.
- ³³¹ See, e.g., Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 22 app. A ("OCR would face a steep challenge in defending its policy in federal court, given that the Supreme Court rejected the single-incident approach based not upon such issues as punitive damages or lawyers' fees but upon its assessment of congressional intent in drafting the relevant language.").
- ³³² FIRE Comment, *supra* note 328, at 3.
- ³³³ See revised sexual harassment guidance, *supra* note 220, at 5.
- ³³⁴ See Ali Letter to Negrón, *supra* note 315, at 5. In fact, OCR, has used somewhat different terminology throughout its guidance documents on harassment. For instance, its 1994 Racial Harassment guidance used the term "interfere with or limit," see Racial Incidents and Harassment Against Students Guidance, *supra* note 222, at 11,449 ("A violation of title VI may also be found if a recipient has created or is responsible for a racially hostile environment—i.e., harassing conduct (e.g., physical, verbal, graphic, or written) that is sufficiently severe, pervasive or persistent so as to interfere with or limit the ability of an individual to participate in or benefit from the services, activities or privileges provided by a recipient.") (emphasis added), and its 2000 Disability Dear Colleague Letter used the term "adversely affect." See Disability DCL, *supra* note 63 ("A hostile environment may exist even if there are no tangible effects on the student where the harassment is serious enough to adversely affect the student's ability to participate in or benefit from the educational program.") (emphasis added).
- ³³⁵ Office for civil rights, u.s. dep't of educ., sexual harassment guidance (1997) available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/sexhar01.html> (last visited June 8, 2011) ("sufficiently severe, persistent, or pervasive to limit a student's ability to participate in or benefit from an education program or to create a hostile or abusive educational environment") (emphasis added).
- ³³⁶ Notice, Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance: Harassment of Students by School Employees, Other Students, or Third Parties, 65 Fed. Reg. 66,092, 66,096-97, Nov. 2, 2000 (citations omitted).
- ³³⁷ See Racial Incidents and Harassment Guidance, *supra* note 222, at 11,449 ("A violation of title VI may also be found if a recipient has created or is responsible for a racially hostile environment—i.e., harassing conduct (e.g., physical, verbal, graphic, or written) that is sufficiently severe, pervasive or persistent so as to interfere with or limit the ability of an individual to participate in or benefit from the services, activities or privileges provided by a recipient.") (emphasis added).

- ³³⁸ Negrón Statement, *supra* note 308, at 5; *see also* Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 251:20-23 (Negrón Testimony) ("OCR's position confuses the standards between liability and enforcement, making it more difficult for school officials to understand the requirements of the law.").
- ³³⁹ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 252:17-253:17 (Negrón Testimony) ("Courts are starting to use the OCR standard, granting the Department administrative deference for guidance that has not the same weight as officially promulgated rules under the Administrative Procedures Act. ... Our fear is that plaintiffs' lawyers may be emboldened by such an approach to pursue litigation against schools.").
- ³⁴⁰ Negrón Statement, *supra* note 308, at 3.
- ³⁴¹ *Id.* at 3-4; *see also id.* at 4 ("This standard may needlessly drain school resources and attention from the more crucial task of fostering an appropriate climate while minimizing the professional discretion of local educators to craft workable, individualized solutions.").
- ³⁴² Ali Statement, *supra* note 6, at 6.
- ³⁴³ Ali Letter to Negrón, *supra* note 315, at 6.
- ³⁴⁴ *Id.* Similarly, DOJ stated, "we absolutely think that schools are in the best position to address harassment and ensure the safety of their school environments and that's why, first of all, we only get involved when there has been a failure of the school district to take the necessary steps." Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 49:22-50:3 (Samuels Testimony).
- ³⁴⁵ Ali Statement, *supra* note 6, at 6.
- ³⁴⁶ *Id.* at 7.
- ³⁴⁷ Negrón Statement, *supra* note 308, at 5.
- ³⁴⁸ *Id.* at 6.
- ³⁴⁹ *Id.* at 5.
- ³⁵⁰ *Id.* at 6. *See also id.* at 9 ("[F]ederalizing' bullying may chill the ability of educators to respond in otherwise appropriate ways for fear of agency action or litigation. ... [I]f every instance implicates a federal right, educators will have no choice but to take formal steps in even the most mundane of cases to avoid agency liability and prepare for a legal defense. Such an insalubrious approach places form over function, restricting the educator's ability to use discretion and to respond effectively with the fewest resources necessary to resolve a conflict."); Public Comment of Neal McCluskey, Assoc. Dir., Ctr. for Educ. Freedom, Cato Inst., at 5, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/28.%20Neal%20McCluskey,%20Cato%20Institute.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011) [hereinafter McCluskey Comment] ("The major problem stemming from such after-the-fact governance is clear: The strong incentive it gives school officials is to overreact to incidents that could even remotely be connected to group-based harassment or bullying, even if they are not."); Statement of Kenneth S. Trump, President and CEO, Nat'l Sch. Safety and Sec. Serv., Inc., at 9-10, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/26.%20Kenneth%20Trump,%20National%20School%20Safety%20and%20Security%20Services,%20Inc.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011) [hereinafter Trump Statement] (describing the Dear Colleague Letter as "counterproductive" and "overreach," and predicting increased litigiousness); *id.* at 9 ("[school administrators'] concerns were not one of being questioned or second-guessed, but a concern about the role, experience, competence, and legitimacy of federal civil rights investigators with school climate and discipline issues (bullying).").
- ³⁵¹ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 278:9-13 (Negrón Testimony); *see also id.* at 65:20-22 (Clegg Testimony) ("[L]ocal schools are going to be caught in this bind where they're afraid of being sued if they do, they're afraid of being sued if they don't.").
- ³⁵² Negrón Statement, *supra* note 308, at 7; *see also id.* ("School boards across the country are doing this right now, and have been for the past several years. State legislatures and educational agencies are passing laws and model policies to direct school boards' policy formation. ... At last count, 45 states had passed an anti-bullying statute. The vast majority of these statutes require local school boards to address bullying through policy, with the participation of the community.").
- ³⁵³ *Id.* at 9; *see also* Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 143:3-12 (Clegg Testimony) ("[T]he federal government's involvement will actually make matters worse, because it's much more difficult for the federal government to draw these nuanced lines on the basis of local conditions, what was actually happening in the school, what the student actually said, all of that—much more difficult for the federal government to design a policy that is going to be sensitive to all that—than leaving it to the local schools.").
- ³⁵⁴ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 286:13-17 (Negrón Testimony).
- ³⁵⁵ *Id.* at 286:18-22.
- ³⁵⁶ *See, e.g.,* McCluskey Comment, *supra* note 350, at 5 ("[W]hat is the 'right' way to handle bullying— especially in light of free speech and equal protection concerns—is far from a settled matter, which is all the more reason that

the federal government should be very reticent about acting even if it has the authority to do so."); Clegg Statement, *supra* note 249, at 5 ("I would rather have the lines drawn at the most local level possible. ... The presumption should be for only a limited federal role in matters of local schools and local school discipline. Sometimes—as with racial discrimination—that presumption can rightly be overcome. But I cannot imagine that this is the case here."); Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 63:25-64:5 (Clegg Testimony) ("[T]his is a very difficult area with a lot of difficult line-drawing that has to be done. When does protected speech become unprotected speech, and become harassment? When does harassment become a threat? When does a threat become an actual physical assault? And so forth."); *cf.* Trump Statement, *supra* note 350, at 7 ("Other questions include not only how will school climate be defined, but who will be defining it? Will it be D.C. bureaucrats? Will the definition be influenced by special interest groups lobbying for their agendas under 'anti-bullying' and 'school safety' labels?").

³⁵⁷ Clegg Statement, *supra* note 249, at 4.

³⁵⁸ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 113:4-7 (Clegg Testimony).

³⁵⁹ See McCluskey Comment, *supra* note 350, at 5 ("In keeping with the genius of the American federal design, it is better to let fifty states experiment with different remedies than to impose one on all Americans. That allows numerous potential remedies to be tried, and prevents a poor—or even dangerous—one from being imposed on the entire nation.").

³⁶⁰ See Negrón Statement, *supra* note 308, at 7 ("A bullying incident is best addressed by local entities taking into account the characteristics and priorities of the community.").

³⁶¹ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 154:4-11 (Byard Testimony); *see also id.* at 283:20-22 (Aaberg Testimony) ("[W]ith all the kids around the country coming to me and telling me what's going on in their district, obviously local involvement is not working.").

³⁶² *See id.* at 88:5-17 (Byard Testimony):

A core challenge we face is the fact that bias-based bullying complicates adult response. Whether out of fear of controversy, failure to recognize the seriousness of the behavior, or active indifference to the fate of the students involved, adults charged with the education and care of our children are not consistently living up to their responsibilities. Federal leadership is necessary to make the basic level of the extent of their responsibilities crystal clear, and to assure those who fear controversy or backlash that they are doing the right thing.

See also, e.g., Singh Statement, *supra* note 104, at 3 ("[W]e believe that vigorous federal intervention is needed to hold schools and school districts accountable for their actions and, just as importantly, their inaction.").

³⁶³ *See* Singh Statement, *supra* note 104, at 3-4.

³⁶⁴ *Id.* at 4.

³⁶⁵ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 169:15-22 (Gym Testimony).

³⁶⁶ *Id.* at 169:24-170:2.

³⁶⁷ *See* Anti-Defamation League, Ultimate ADL Chart of State Anti-Bullying Statutes, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/ppvb.htm> (follow "ADL Attachment - Ultimate ADL Chart of State Anti-Bullying Statutes" hyperlink).

³⁶⁸ *See, e.g.,* Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 91:22-92:1 (Byard Testimony) ("For every Jackson, Mississippi, and Park City, Utah, there are places where bullying-prevention efforts do not explicitly protect all students and where the consequences are real."); Aaberg Statement, *supra* note 99, at 6 ("It is not right that kids in one part of the country have laws that protect them more than others. In some areas kids barely have any protections at all or if they have a policy in place it is not enforced. ... All of our kids should have the same protections across the country no matter what city or state they live in."); Anti-Defamation League Statement, *supra* note 31, at 2 ("Federal leadership on these important issues helps nurture a climate and a culture in which the vast majority of members of the community are willing to condemn bigotry, bullying, cyberbullying, and harassment."); *see also generally* Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 290:6-9 (Lauter Testimony) (noting that the Anti-Defamation League has created a chart of anti-bullying statutes of all 45 states); *id.* at 291 (Lauter Testimony) ("[F]or us this combination of having state laws as well as the Federal Government doing the big picture would be enormously helpful").

³⁶⁹ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 215:16-21 (Goldberg Testimony).

³⁷⁰ *See* U.S. CONST. amend. I ("Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.").

³⁷¹ *See, e.g.,* Statement of Eugene Volokh, Professor, Univ. of Cal., L.A., at 1, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/27.%20Eugene%20Volokh,%20UCLA%20School%20of%20Law.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011) [hereinafter Volokh Statement] ("I would caution against policies that are written using vague

terms such as 'bullying,' 'harassment,' or 'hostile educational environment,' especially when the policies cover speech that isn't targeted to a particular person, as well as speech that is said off-campus."); Negrón Statement, *supra* note 308, at 10 ("[T]he OCR approach appears to ask schools to regulate speech it deems to constitute bullying and harassment, only to risk suit by the parents of the disciplined students."); Marcus Statement, *supra* note 103, at 27 app. A ("OCR's failure to recognize First Amendment limitations is particularly conspicuous in its new policy document, given the aggressive position that it is taking on the legal standards for establishing harassment. To the extent that OCR will find harassment in single-incident cases of offensive speech which are merely 'severe, pervasive, or persistent,' First Amendment concerns will inevitably arise.") (emphasis in original); Statement of Hiram S. Sasser, III, Dir. of Litig., Liberty Inst., at 14, May 13, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/11.%20Hiram%20S.%20Sasser,%20III,%20Liberty%20Institute.pdf> (last visited June 22, 2011) [hereinafter Sasser Statement] ("It is tempting to engage in censorship of some students to benefit others, but the cause of freedom is never advanced by selective censorship of those messages with which the government disagrees."); McCluskey Comment, *supra* note 350, at 3 ("While much that is called bullying and harassment is no doubt behavior intended to threaten or intimidate, identifying motive can be very difficult, and empowering government-employed educators to decide what is behavior or speech intended to harass or intimidate, rather than to express and an [sic] opinion, is very dangerous."); National Coalition Against Censorship Comment, *supra* note 330, at 2 ("By stretching the definition of harassment to encompass various kinds of verbal interactions in schools and colleges, the letter threatens the delicate balance the Supreme Court has struck between the right to equality at work and school and the right to free speech, an approach reflected in OCR pronouncements until recently.").

³⁷² Ali Statement, *supra* note 6, at 6.

³⁷³ *Id.* at 6 (emphasis in original); *see also infra* note 406; *but see infra* note 401.

³⁷⁴ Ali Statement, *supra* note 6, at 6.

³⁷⁵ *See id.*

³⁷⁶ Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 2 n.8; *see also* Conference Call Transcript, *supra* note 228, at 14-15 (Statement of Russlynn Ali) ("We interpret our regulations both at the elementary and secondary level and the college and university level consistent with constitutional principles in the first amendment."); *id.* at 17 (Statement of Russlynn Ali) (responding to a question regarding the balance of religious free speech and protecting against anti-gay bullying) ("We would balance first amendment protections of that case. But together working with school and faculty officials we would work to make sure that all students had a safe place and healthy place to learn.").

³⁷⁷ *See* First Amendment DCL, *supra* note 225; *see also* Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 2 n.8 (referring to the First Amendment DCL for more information).

³⁷⁸ First Amendment DCL, *supra* note 225.

³⁷⁹ *Id.*

³⁸⁰ *Id.*

³⁸¹ *Id.*

³⁸² *Id.*

³⁸³ *See* Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance, *supra* note 220, at 22-23; *see also* Harassment/Bullying DCL, *supra* note 40, at 2 n.8 (referring to the Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance for more information).

³⁸⁴ Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance, *supra* note 220, at 22 (citations omitted).

³⁸⁵ *Id.*; *see also id.* ("For instance, while the First Amendment may prohibit a school from restricting the right of students to express opinions about one sex that may be considered derogatory, the school can take steps to denounce those opinions and ensure that competing views are heard. The age of the students involved and the location or forum may affect how the school can respond consistently with the First Amendment.").

³⁸⁶ Sasser Statement, *supra* note 371, at 12; *see also id.* ("It is incumbent upon the Commission to review court decisions confirming that censorship of disfavored speech, including religious speech, is no solution and can actually increase tension within the schools rather than addressing any perceived problems.").

³⁸⁷ *See id.* at 6-11.

³⁸⁸ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 126:15-18 (Sasser Testimony).

³⁸⁹ *Id.* at 125:18-23 (Clegg Testimony); *see also id.* at 124:12-18 (Eastman Testimony) ("It is a very dangerous slope to head down, on such a contested issue as this, to basically tell people that, if you engage in such speech, that some people might interpret as harassment because you don't like the lifestyle or the conduct or what have you, that will then lead to federal intervention").

³⁹⁰ *See* Sasser Statement, *supra* note 371, at 15-16 ("Advocates for more aggressive federal intervention to prevent bullying have also called for system-wide indoctrination of students to counteract a perceived anti-homosexual

climate. Such system-wide indoctrination will only worsen matters for the religious liberty and free speech rights of students and will lead to further attempts to stop religious thought and expression by students.") (citation omitted); *see also id.* at 3 ("The First Amendment protects everybody from forced government indoctrination, even if some, or even many, perceive such indoctrination to be good.").

³⁹¹ *See id.* at 11-12 ("Unfortunately, unconstitutional censorship of student speech is commonplace in public schools, and school officials particularly target students expressing statements that advance or comment upon religious issues.") (citation omitted); *see also id.* at 6-13.

³⁹² *See, e.g.,* Public Comment of Lambda Legal, at 6-9, May 12, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/Lambda%20Legal.pdf> (last visited Sept. 19, 2011) (distinguishing between "negative or discomforting viewpoints" and epithets, crude words, and "harassing, intimidating or threatening speech directed at specific students"); *id.* at 3 ("[Student] speech has bounds, especially when it truly—not speculatively—disrupts a school's functioning or interferes with the rights of other students to secure the full range of educational advantages and benefits that are their due.").

³⁹³ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 91:16-18 (Byard Testimony); *see also supra* text accompanying note 373.

³⁹⁴ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 136:8 (Byard Testimony).

³⁹⁵ *Id.* at 136:20-22 (Byard Testimony).

³⁹⁶ *Id.* at 137:2-9.

³⁹⁷ *Id.* at 127:11-25 (Meyer Testimony).

³⁹⁸ *Id.* at 146:2-147:12 (Herek Testimony). *See also id.* at 102:3-103:3 (Meyer Testimony):

We are not talking about ... as some of the panelists characterized it, as something like teasing or saying things. [These children] suffer from persistent, chronic, day-in and day-out, harassment, intimidation, things that, from a stress perspective, require immense adaptation if they are to sustain themselves in that environment. ... So this is not minor events, not minor teasing and it is not about freedom of speech. This is about making the environment completely intolerable for these kids and that is why they suffer from these types of outcomes that I described before.

³⁹⁹ *Id.* at 262:15-263:2 (Volokh Testimony); *see also id.* at 297:18-25 ("Sometimes the claim is 'this is conduct, not speech,' even though the conduct consists of verbal acts, which is another way of saying speech. Sometimes the claim is 'it's harassment and not speech,' even though if you label speech sedition or harassment or intentional infliction of emotional distress, that doesn't strip it of constitutional protection.").

⁴⁰⁰ Volokh Statement, *supra* note 371, at 2 (citing *Tinker v. Des Moines Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 393 U.S. 503 (1969)).

⁴⁰¹ *See id.* at 2 (quoting *Saxe v. State College Area Sch. Dist.*, 240 F.3d 200 (3d Cir. 2001) (Opinion of then-Judge Alito) ("[T]he free speech clause protects a wide variety of speech that listeners may consider deeply offensive, including statements that impugn another's race or national origin or that denigrate religious beliefs. When laws against harassment attempt to regulate oral or written expression on such topics, however detestable the views expressed may be, we cannot turn a blind eye to the First Amendment implications [W]hen antidiscrimination laws are 'applied to ... harassment claims founded solely on verbal insults, pictorial or literary matter, the statute[s] impose content-based, viewpoint-discriminatory restrictions on speech.")); *see also* Negrón Statement, *supra* note 308, at 10-11 (discussing constitutional limitations for disciplining students for on-campus, non-school sponsored speech); *but see infra* notes 406-412.

⁴⁰² Volokh Statement, *supra* note 371, at 3 (emphasis in original).

⁴⁰³ *See id.* at 5-6; *see also* Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 297 (Volokh Testimony).

⁴⁰⁴ *See* Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 267:9-19 (Volokh Testimony).

⁴⁰⁵ *Id.* at 267:19-21.

⁴⁰⁶ *See, e.g.,* GLAAD Comment, *supra* note 91, at 2 ("[Based on Supreme Court precedent], speech posing the threat of disruption, speech considered offensive or indecent, and speech contrary to the basic educational mission of a school can all be controlled [in schools]. Bullying of one student by another, in any context, falls into all three of the above categories."); Public Comment of National Center for Lesbian Rights, at 3, May 9, 2011, *available at* [http://www.eusccr.com/NCLR%20USCCR%20Briefing%20Peer-toPeer%20Violence%20\(jurisdiction\).pdf](http://www.eusccr.com/NCLR%20USCCR%20Briefing%20Peer-toPeer%20Violence%20(jurisdiction).pdf) (last visited Sept. 15, 2011) ("The [Supreme] Court has repeatedly held that anti-discrimination laws, including prohibitions of harassment, are valid under the First Amendment, because such laws are primarily aimed at the act of discrimination, not speech.") (emphasis in original) (citing *Hurley v. Irish-Am. Gay, Lesbian, & Bisexual Group of Boston*, 515 U.S. 557, 572 (1995); *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*, 508 U.S. 476, 487 (1993); *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377, 390 (1992); *Hishon v. King & Spalding*, 467 U.S. 69, 78 (1984); *Runyon v. McCrary*, 427 U.S. 160, 176 (1976); *Rumsfeld v. Forum for Academic & Institutional Rights, Inc.*, 547 U.S. 47 (2006)); *id.* at 4-5 ("Anti-discrimination laws prohibit harassment because harassing behavior in schools or workplaces creates a hostile environment that can deprive targeted individuals of the opportunity to participate equally just

as effectively as being excluded outright It is well settled that these prohibitions on harassment, long required by federal law and enforced by the courts, do not violate the First Amendment."); Anti-Defamation League Statement, *supra* note 31, at 9 ("There is a high bar before any speech or conduct can amount to legally recognizable harassment. Nevertheless, conduct that threatens, harasses or intimidates particular Jewish students to the point that their ability to participate in and benefit from their college experience is impaired should not be deemed unactionable simply because that conduct is couched as 'anti-Israel' or 'anti-Zionist.'").

⁴⁰⁷ Public Comment of Erwin Chemerinsky, Dean, Univ. of Cal., Irvine Sch. of Law, at 2, May 23, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/Chemerinsky%20-%20KTolhurst%20Ltr%20011-0523.pdf> (last visited Sept. 15, 2011).

⁴⁰⁸ *Id.* at 4.

⁴⁰⁹ *Id.* at 3.

⁴¹⁰ Public Comment of Stuart Biegel, Univ. of Cal., L.A. Graduate Sch. of Educ. and Info. Studies & Sch. of Law, at 3, May 18, 2011, *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/Biegel,%20USCCR%20Statement%2051811.pdf> (last visited Sept. 15, 2011) [hereinafter Biegel Comment]; *see also* Public Comment of Am. Civil Liberties Union, at 6, May 27, 2011, *available at* http://www.aclu.org/files/assets/aclu_comments_to_the_usccr_on_bullying_violence_and_harassment_2.pdf (last visited Sept. 9, 2011) ("A school may not single out speech for disfavored treatment simply because it disagrees with the viewpoint expressed by the student. But when something about the speech other than its viewpoint becomes invasive of the rights of others, schools have the constitutional authority to act.").

⁴¹¹ Biegel Comment, *supra* note 410, at 4.

⁴¹² *Id.* at 5 (quoting *Zamecnik v. Indian Prairie Sch. Dist. #204*, 636 F.3d 874 (7th Cir. 2011); *see also Nuxoll v. Indian Prairie Sch. Dist. #204*, 523 F.3d 668, 671(7th Cir. 2008) (Posner, J.) ("A heavy federal constitutional hand on the regulation of student speech by school authorities would make little sense. The contribution that kids can make to the marketplace in ideas and opinions is modest and a school's countervailing interest in protecting its students from offensive speech by their classmates is undeniable. ... People are easily upset by comments about their race, sex, etc., including their sexual orientation, because for most people these are major components of their personal identity—none more so than a sexual orientation that deviates from the norm. Such comments can strike a person at the core of his being."); *id.* at 674-75 ("[H]igh-school students are not adults, schools are not public meeting halls, children are in school to be taught by adults rather than to practice attacking each other with wounding words, and school authorities have a protective relationship and responsibility to all the students.").

⁴¹³ *See* Volokh Statement, *supra* note 371, at 3-5; Negrón Statement, *supra* note 308, at 8-9 ("If schools are to be held accountable for all bullying behavior that may constitute harassment under federal civil rights laws, including that which takes place in cyberspace but makes its way onto campus overtly or by effect, schools will understandably feel the need to patrol electronic communications by students."); *id.* at 9 ("The current confusion among courts as to what off-campus behavior can be regulated by schools, combined with the OCR enforcement position, results in an untenable expectation that schools police off-campus online behavior while ultimately facing liability for conduct over which they have no control.").

⁴¹⁴ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 265:23-24 (Volokh Testimony).

⁴¹⁵ *See* Volokh Statement, *supra* note 371, at 5.

⁴¹⁶ Ali Letter to Negrón, *supra* note 315, at 8.

⁴¹⁷ *See, e.g., Nuxoll*, 523 F.3d at 675-76 (upholding a school policy that forbids identity-based derogatory comments generally, but holding that a specific t-shirt that says "Be Happy, Not Gay" —a "tepidly negative" statement— does not provoke harassment or poison the educational atmosphere).

⁴¹⁸ Volokh Statement, *supra* note 371, at 6.

⁴¹⁹ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 7, at 298:7-18 (Volokh Testimony).

⁴²⁰ *Id.* at 298:14-21.

⁴²¹ *Id.* at 299:4-14; *see also* Public Comment of Student Press Law Ctr., at 3, May 27, 2011, *available at* http://www.splc.org/pdf/bullying_comments.pdf (last visited Sept. 9, 2011) ("The DOE guidance begs the question when and how the Department envisions schools punishing speech that has *not* reached the level of threatening or harassing behavior. Without better guidance, the directive that schools are to take affirmative steps to prevent bullying—to include the use of disciplinary sanctions—is an invitation for schools to 'preventatively' punish speech that has not yet exceeded the boundaries of constitutional protection and may never do so.").

End Notes for Statement of Chairman Martin R. Castro

¹ *Sypniewski v. Warren Hills Reg. Bd. of Educ.*, 307 F.3d 243,264 (3d Cir. 2002).

² American Bar Association Resolution and Report, Feb. 14, 2011, at 6 (quoting from Jeffrey M. Jenson & Matthew O. Howard, *Causes and Prevention of Youth Violence*, 77 DENV. U. L. REV. 629 (2000)), available at http://www.americanbar.org/groups/child_law/projects/initiatives/bullying.html.

³ “The Justice Department and the FBI should work collaboratively with civil rights and community-based groups and law enforcement organizations to ensure comprehensive and effective implementation of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act (HCPA), with particular attention to the new requirement that the FBI collect hate crime statistics committed by and against juveniles.” Anti-Defamation League Written Statement, at 15.

⁴ Briefing Transcript, at 164.

⁵ *Id.* at 168.

⁶ ABA Resolution and Report, *supra* Note 1, at 6.

⁷ Briefing Transcript, at 243.

⁸ *Id.* at 245-6.

End Notes for Statement of Vice Chair Abigail Thernstrom

¹ Eastman, Dr. John, C., Prepared Testimony submitted to USCCR May 13, 2011, page 1. Available online at “<http://www.eusCCR.com/7. John Eastman, Chapman University School of Law.pdf>”

² U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, “Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance: Harassment of Students by School Employees, Other Students, or Third Parties,” January 2001, at page 22. Available online at: <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.pdf> (last visited 8/15/2011).

³ 526 U.S. 629 (1999).

⁴ Eugene Volokh prepared statement to the Commission 5/12/2011, p. 8. Available online at “<http://www.eusCCR.com/27. Eugene Volokh, UCLA School of Law.pdf>”

⁵ Russlynn Ali, Dear Colleague letter at p. 5, dated Oct. 26, 2010. Available online at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201010.pdf> (last visited 8/17/2011).

⁶ See, e.g., Ken Marcus, prepared statement to the Commission, 5/13/2011 at pp. 15, 16. Available online at “<http://www.eusCCR.com/15. Kenneth L. Marcus, Institute for Jewish & Community Research.pdf>”

End Notes for Statement of Commissioner Roberta Achtenberg

¹ The Commission’s 2011 Statutory Report is the product of intensive and thorough work by our staff, and also by the many panelists and public commenters who generously contributed their time and expertise toward a voluminous record. In particular, thanks are due to our Office of General Counsel for navigating the many tasks and complexities involved in this project while on a very demanding production schedule.

² U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, “Peer-to-Peer Violence and Bullying: Examining the Federal Response,” Washington, D.C., 2011, available at <http://www.eusCCR.com/ppvb.htm>. (Hereinafter “USCCR Report”).

³ *Id.* at 32 – 36 and 40 – 42.

⁴ *Id.* at 12.

⁵ *Id.* at 14.

⁶ See generally: 1) Dawkins, J.L., “Bullying, Physical Disability, And the Pediatric Patient,” *Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology*, Vol. 37, No. 7, 1996, p. 603; 2) Haynie, D.L., Nansel, T., Eitel, P., Crump, A.D., Saylor, K., Yu, K., et al, “Bullies, Victims, and Bully/Victims: Distinct Groups of At-Risk Youth,” *Journal of Early Adolescence*, Vol. 21, 2001, p. 29; 3) Nabuzoka, D., “Teacher Ratings and Peer Nominations of Bullying and Other Behavior of Children With and Without Learning Difficulties,” *Educational Psychology*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 2003, p. 307; and 4) Nabuzoka, D., and Smith, P.K., “Sociometric Status and Social Behavior of Children With and Without Learning Difficulties,” *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, Vol. 43, 1993, p. 1435.

⁷ Mishna, Faye, “Learning Disabilities and Bullying: Double Jeopardy,” *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, Jul/Aug. 2003, p. 336, 339.

⁸ *Id.* at 336.

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ Unnervor, James D. and Cornell, Dewey G., "Bullying, Self-Control, and ADHD," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Feb. 2003, p. 129, 141.

¹¹ USCCR Report, *supra* note 2, at 14 – 15.

¹² *Id.* at 10.

¹³ *Id.* at 10 – 11.

¹⁴ "Religious Harassment in the Public Schools," Testimony of Kenneth L. Marcus, Executive Vice President and Director of the Anti-Semitism Initiative, Institute for Jewish & Community Research, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights briefing, May 13, 2011, p. 2, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/15.%20Kenneth%20L.%20Marcus,%20Institute%20for%20Jewish%20&%20Communi%20ty%20Research.pdf>.

¹⁵ California Safe Schools Coalition and 4-H Center for Youth Development, "Consequences of Harassment Based on Actual or Perceived Sexual Orientation and Gender Non-Conformity and Steps for Making Schools Safer," University of California, Davis, 2004, p. 7, available at [http://www.casafeschools.org/Safe PlacetoLearn Low.pdf](http://www.casafeschools.org/Safe%20PlacetoLearnLow.pdf).

¹⁶ USCCR Report, *supra* note 2, at 22.

¹⁷ "School-based harassment, bullying, and peer victimization are the most common topics in the literature on LGB youth. This emphasis may be due to the role of schools in child and adolescent socialization and development and the increasing focus over the past 20 years on schools as a primary site of conflict, victimization, and activism for young people who are known or perceived to be LGBT."

The Institute of Medicine of the National Academies, "The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People: Building a Foundation for Better Understanding," Washington, D.C., 2011, p. 158, available at <http://www.iom.edu/Reports/2011/The-Health-of-Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-and-Transgender-People.aspx>.

(Hereinafter "IOM Report.") The IOM Report further states that: [s]chool victimization based on known or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity has been documented consistently in studies of LGB and, more recently, transgender adolescents. A community-based study of LGB youth aged 21 or younger (n = 350) (D'Augelli et al., 2002) found that school-based victimization was widespread for LGB youth and that an association existed between this victimization and mental health and posttraumatic stress symptoms. The study results showed that earlier recognition of same-sex feelings, self-identification as LGB, and disclosure of sexual orientation were correlated with increased high school victimization. Similarly, youth who were open about their sexual orientation or exhibited gender-atypical behavior were targets for victimization. Likewise, a series of community school climate surveys conducted since 1999 has documented extensive verbal and physical harassment and discrimination among LGBT students in schools (Kosciw et al., 2007, 2008).

Id.

¹⁸ Friedman, Mark, Ph.D., MSW, MPA, Marshal, Michael P., Ph.D., Guadamuz, Thomas E., Ph.D., MHS, Wei, Chongyi, DrPH, MA, Wong, Carolyn F., Ph.D., Saewyc, Elizabeth, Ph.D., RN, PHN, and Stall, Ron, Ph.D., "A Meta-Analysis to Examine Disparities in Childhood Sexual Abuse, Parental Physical Abuse, and Peer Victimization Among Sexual Minority and Sexual Nonminority Individuals," submitted to the Commission's record by Dr. Friedman on May 26, 2011 and in press with the American Journal of Public Health at the time of this writing. (Hereinafter "Friedman, et al.")

¹⁹ Public Comment of Mark S. Friedman, Assoc. Professor, Univ. of Pittsburgh, at 1, May 26, 2011. (Hereinafter "Friedman Comment.")

²⁰ In addition, the incorporated studies were disparate as to place and time.

"These results are based on 27 surveys administered in 15 geographic areas including cities, regions, or entire states such as Boulder, CO; Chicago, IL; Dane County, WI; District of Columbia; Massachusetts; Milwaukee, WI; Minnesota; Rhode Island; Seattle, WA; Vermont; Wisconsin., Of these 27 surveys, 17 were implemented after year 2000 and 10 during the 1990's."

Id. at 2.

²¹ *Id.* at 1.

²² *Id.* at 2.

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ Testimony of Gregory M. Herek, Ph.D., p. 6, as cited in USCCR Report, *supra* note 2, at footnote 91, p. 19, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/9.%20Gregory%20M.%20Herek,%20University%20of%20California,%20Davis.pdf>. (Note: The American Psychological Association informed the Commission, in its letter of May 10, 2011, of its assessment that "Drs. [Gregory] Herek and [Ilan] Meyer are experts in the field of discrimination and bias against the LGBT population.")

See also IOM Report, *supra* note 17, at 37, citing the mid-20th Century research of Dr. Alfred Kinsey and Dr. Evelyn Hooker.

²⁵ At the time of homosexuality's 1973 removal from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, the American Psychiatric Association issued the following position statement: (<http://www.psych.org/Departments/EDU/Library/APAOfficialDocumentsandRelated/PositionStatements/197310.aspx>). The American Psychiatric Association stated that its "[r]esolution singles out discrimination against homosexuals ... because of the pervasive discriminatory acts directed against this group and the arbitrary and discriminatory laws directed at homosexual behavior. *Id.* See also Public Comment of the American Psychiatric Association, April 29, 2011.

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ Conger, J.J., "Proceedings of the American Psychological Association, Incorporated, for the year 1974: Minutes of the annual meeting of the Council of Representatives," *American Psychologist*, Vol. 30, 1975, pp. 620-651, available at <http://www.apa.org/about/governance/council/policy/discrimination.aspx>.

²⁸ These professional groups include the American Academy of Pediatrics, American Association of School Administrators, American Counseling Association, American Federation of Teachers, American Psychological Association, American School Counselor Association, American School Health Association, Interfaith Alliance Foundation, National Association of School Psychologists, National Association of Secondary School Principals, National Association of Social Workers, National Education Association, and the School Social Work Association of America. See "Psychiatric Treatment and Sexual Orientation, Position Statement No. 199820," American Psychiatric Association, 1993, available at: <http://www.psych.org/Departments/EDU/Library/APAOfficialDocumentsandRelated/PositionStatements/199820.aspx>. Corollary to the lack of pathology inherent in a homosexual orientation is the reported overall positive mental health of sexual minority youth. As the USCCR Report quotes from the IOM Report, [i]t is important to note that LGBT youth are typically well adjusted and mentally healthy. Research based on probability samples with LGB youth consistently indicates that the majority do not report mental health problems. Regarding transgender youth, although no data from national probability samples are available, studies with sizable convenience samples indicate that many, if not most, of those youth do not report mental health problems.

USCCR Report, *supra* note 2, at footnote 98, in pertinent part: "See IOM Study, *supra* note 83, at 125."

²⁹ IOM Report, *supra* note 17, at 158, citing Birkett et al., 2009.

³⁰ *Id.* With regard to school attendance, Friedman's meta-analysis found that sexual minority youth are "240% more likely to miss school due to fear that they would be unsafe at school or on [the] way to or from school,"³⁰ and that "16% of lesbian females, 23% of bisexual females, 14% of gay males and 23% of bisexual males missed school due to fear." Friedman Comment, *supra* note 19, at 2. Further, gay, lesbian, and bisexual youth are approximately three to four times more likely than their heterosexual peers to have missed at least one day of school within the thirty days prior to the survey "because they felt they would be unsafe at school or on their way to or from school." Olsen, Emily O'Mally, McManus, Tim, Kinchen, Steve, Chyen, David, Harris, William A., Wechsler, Howell, "Sexual Identity, Sex of Sexual Contacts, and Health-Risk Behaviors Among Students in Grades 9-12 – Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance, Selected Sites, United States, 2001 – 2009," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, Vol. 60, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, June 6, 2011, p. 12, available at <http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/pdf/ss/ss6007.pdf>. (Hereinafter "CDC Report.")

³¹ *Id.* at 49.

Regarding its underlying data source, Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (hereinafter "YBRSS") reports from an array of states over nine years, the CDC reports that YBRSS is the only public health surveillance system in the United States that monitors, among interested states and large urban school districts, the prevalence of health-risk behaviors and selected health outcomes among population-based samples of sexual minority youths defined by sexual identity and by the sex of sexual contacts. *Id.* at 43.

³² The CDC also reported that African-American sexual minority youth engaged in approximately half of a large array of measured risky behaviors more often than their same-race, heterosexual peers, and that Latino/a and white sexual minority youth did so roughly two-thirds as often.

Id. at 42.

³³ *Id.* at 16.

³⁴ *Id.* at 21.

³⁵ See, e.g., *id.* at 23 - 28.

³⁶ See, e.g., *id.* at 30 - 32.

³⁷ “Structural stigma” is the collective process by which majority class members give permission to the society as a whole to victimize minority class members. This permission also facilitates perpetration of harassment by members of one minority upon members of other minorities. Structural stigma plays an important role in condoning students’ identity-based targeting of others due to race or ethnicity, religion, sex, disability status, and sexual minority and/or gender non-conforming youth status. This appears to further enhance the negative impacts of harassment upon youth who are members of more than one minority class, such as those who are both racial/ethnic-origin minorities and sexual minority youth, as this Statement discusses. This concept of stigma is the underpinning of the way in which society condones, or at least fails to sufficiently intervene against, the identity-based harassment which plagues each of the demographic classes of students discussed in this project. (See Statements of Dr. Gregory Herek, *supra* note 24, and Dr. Ilan Meyer, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/10.%20Ilan%20Meyer,%20Columbia%20Universirt.pdf>. See also USCCR Report, *supra* note 2, at footnote 90.)

³⁸ IOM Report, *supra* note 17, at 32.

³⁹ Friedman, et al., *supra* note 18, at 1.

⁴⁰ In a similar vein, research indicates that “sexual abuse by parents was more frequently cited as a reason for leaving home among gay and lesbian (21%) [homeless youth] that it was among heterosexual [homeless youth].”

See Corliss, Heather L., Ph.D., Goodenow, Carol S., Ph.D., Nichols, Lauren, B.A., and Austin, S. Bryn, Sc.D., “High Burden of Homelessness Among Sexual-Minority Adolescents: Findings from a Representative Massachusetts High School Sample,” *Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 101, No. 9, Sept. 2011, p. 1683, 1686, published online July 21, 2011 with abstract available at <http://ajph.aphapublications.org/cgi/content/abstract/101/9/1683> and full copy on file with the author. ⁴¹ Analysis of data from two recent state-administered Massachusetts Youth Risk Behavior Surveys which drew from a large, probability-based sample pool determined that: [a]pproximately 25% of lesbian and gay adolescents and 15% of bisexuals reported homelessness as compared with 3% of the exclusively heterosexual adolescents. ... [Further, n]early 20% of the homeless youths in this study identified themselves as lesbian, gay, or bisexual. This study concluded that, overall, “rejection and victimization within the family related to minority sexual orientation likely contribute to a greater risk of homelessness among sexual minority youth.

Id.

⁴² IOM Report, *supra* note 17, at 159.

⁴³ Majd, Katayoon, Marksamer, Jody, and Reyes, Carolyn, “Hidden Injustice: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth in Juvenile Courts,” *Legal Services for Children*, National Juvenile Defender Center, and National Center for Lesbian Rights, 2009, pp. 93 - 94, citing Angela Irvine, “The Inappropriate Use of Secure Detention for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Youth,” funded by the Annie E. Casey Foundation Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative and presented at the Columbia University Gender on the Frontiers Symposium (April 10, 2009), on file with authors of “Hidden Injustice.”

⁴⁴ See, e.g., IOM Report, *supra* note 17, at 147 - 150.

⁴⁵ CDC Report, *supra* note 31, at 13.

⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁹ Meta-analysis indicates that:

[s]pecific factors related to sexual-minority status, including homophobic victimization and stress [citation omitted] are associated with suicidal behavior. In a study of 528 self-identified LGB youth aged 15-19, D’Augelli and colleagues (2005) found that recognizing same-sex attraction, initiating same-sex sexual activity, or appearing gender nonconforming at earlier ages was associated with reported suicide attempts in LGB youth; *this association may be exacerbated by experiences of victimization and maltreatment* [emphasis added, citations omitted.]

IOM Report, *supra* note 17, at 148 - 149.

⁵⁰ *Id.* at 149, citing D’Augelli et al. and Ryan et al.

⁵¹ Specifically,

LGBT young adults who reported high levels of LGBT school victimization during adolescence were 5.6 times more likely to report a suicide attempt that required medical care, [and] 2.6 times for likely to report clinical levels of depression ... , compared with peers who reported low levels of school victimization. [citation omitted.] Public Comment of Caitlin Ryan, Ph.D., ACSW, Director, Family Acceptance Project, Marian Wright Edelman Institute, San Francisco State University, at 2, May 23, 2011.

The second relevant study demonstrated that sexual minority “young adults who did not socially conform to gender roles as adolescents reported higher levels of anti-LGBT victimization, with significantly higher levels of depression and decreased life satisfaction in young adulthood.” [citation omitted.]

Id.

⁵² Public Comment of Adrienne Mundy-Shephard, Esq., at 8, May 6, 2011. The following quote best summarizes the issues presented when the questions involve sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth of color. Adrienne Mundy-Shephard, Esq. advises that: when considering the bullying of sexual minority youth of color, we should be mindful of the common theme that emerges from qualitative studies of sexual minority people of color: the perception that their racial and sexual identities are in conflict (Chung & Katayama, 1998; Dube & Savin-Williams, 1999; Hahm & Adkins, 2009; Narváez et al., 2009). In their study of 23 black, Asian and Latino gay and bisexual male youth, Dube and Savin-Williams found that a number of the youth felt pressure to choose between their ethnic and sexual identities, and that their “dual identities may be distinct constructs that do not become integrated” (1999, p. 1396). Similarly, in Chung and Katayama’s study of gay and lesbian Asian-American adolescents, they found that those who strongly endorse their traditional Asian culture and beliefs are likely to face barriers in developing a positive sexual minority identity, while those who strongly identify with U.S. (i.e., white) sexual minority culture may have problems dealing with their Asian identity because of racism encountered by members of the larger (predominantly white) gay community (1998). Building on the theme of identity conflict, Hahm and Adkins (2009) emphasize the importance of developing an integrated identity that allows API sexual minority youth to develop their minority identities in such a way that they are able to exist in both worlds, rather than feeling compelled to choose between either their racial or sexual minority identities. Finally, in Narváez et al.’s study of black and Latino sexual minority young people, a common theme concerned the incompatibility of sexual minority identity with minority status. For example, a Mexican lesbian described herself as feeling like “a traitor to [her] own race” while a black lesbian spoke of having it made clear to her that “being queer was in some sense a betrayal of [her] blackness.” (2009, p. 64). Despite these real or imagined conflicts, the literature suggests that a positive self-image cannot be achieved without effectively dealing with one’s minority identities in tandem (Chung & Katayama, 1998; Dube & Savin-Williams, 1999; Hahm & Adkins, 2009). Sexual minority students of color are more vulnerable to negative academic and mental health outcomes precisely because of the difficulty in reconciling their dual identities, and their victimization on multiple fronts: by both outsiders, i.e., straight whites, and by those who are theoretically part of their in-groups, i.e., non-sexual minority members of their racial groups and white sexual minority people. Given these intersections – and the tensions inherent in these intersections – it is crucial that researchers of sexual minority youth issues acknowledge the existence of sexual minority youth of color, and the ways in which their sexual minority status informs their status as people of color, rather than viewing youth through a single lens, i.e., as either sexual minorities or as racial/ethnic minorities. For example, Klein (2006) writes that “adolescent members of racial or ethnic minority groups can usually turn to others in the group -- particularly family members and peers -- for reassurance and assistance in dealing with societal hostility and developing a positive self-image,” but that “gay and lesbian adolescents do not consider family to be a source of support and understanding” (p. 43). Within this frame, sexual minority youth of color do not exist: either a young person is a (straight) member of a racial/ethnic minority group and has the advantage of family and peer support to deal with issues of racism, or a young person is an sexual minority-identified (white) person who lacks the advantage of such support to deal with homophobia. Such observations ignore the fact that sexual minority youth of color appear to be more reluctant to seek family support than their white peers (Daley et al., 2007). In attempting to demonstrate the lack of family support that sexual minority youth have, researchers may overlook the fact that the sexual minority youth of color are often least likely to benefit from family supports. As Daley et al. write about the experience of sexual minority youth of color, “the overwhelming white representation of lesbian and gay communities juxtaposed with the dominant heterosexual imagery of racialized communities helps to articulate the struggle for queer youth of color. They belong to both communities, yet their memberships in each remain contested” (2007, p. 22). When examining the impacts of bullying and harassment on sexual minority youth, we must therefore be cognizant that the interaction of racial/ethnic and sexual minority identity may increase the likelihood of victimization while reducing the likelihood of support.

Id. at 8 - 9.

⁵³ IOM Report, *supra* note 17, at 30.

⁵⁴ Ryan, Caitlin, Ph.D., ACSW, Huebner, David, Ph.D., MPH, Diaz, Rafael M., Ph.D., and Sanchez, Jorge, BA, “Family Rejection as a Predictor of Negative Health Outcomes in White and Latino Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Young Adults,” *Pediatrics*, Vol. 123, No. 1, Jan. 2009, p. 346.

⁵⁵ Thornberry, Terence P. and Krohn, Marvin D., "The Self-Reporting Method for Measuring Delinquency and Crime, Measurement and Analysis of Crime and Justice," *Criminal Justice*, Vol. 4., 2000, p. 38.

⁵⁶ *Id.* at 41.

⁵⁷ *Id.* at 40.

⁵⁸ Of particular note is the increasing use of computerized surveys for collecting self-report data that has accompanied advances in technology and its accessibility. Most pertinently to this project and sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth,

[T]he use of computer-assisted data collection ... [has the] potential for collecting sensitive information in a manner that increases the confidentiality of responses. By not having the interviewer read the questions or be involved in the recording of answers, the respondent does not have to reveal potentially embarrassing behavior directly to another person. In addition, the responses cannot be overheard by other people (e.g., family members or teachers) who might be nearby.

Id. at 62, referencing Tourangeau, Roger, and Smith, Tom W., "Asking Sensitive Questions: The Impact of Data Collection, Mode, Question Format, and Question Content," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 60, 1996, p. 275.

Given the culturally-sensitive nature of a sexual minority or gender non-conforming youth identity and of non-heterosexual sexual behavior, it appears reasonable to extend this principle of the potentially enhanced reliability of computer-collected data to sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth.

⁵⁹ *Id.* at 59, citing Hindelang, M.J., Hirschi, T., and Weis, J.G., *Measuring Delinquency*, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, CA, 1981, p. 114. *See also* Chan, David, "Chapter 13: So Ask Me? Are Self-Report Data Really That Bad?," *Statistical and Methodological Myths and Urban Legends: Doctrine, Verity and Fable in the Organizational and Social Sciences*, Lance, Charles E. and Vandenberg, Robert J., Eds., Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, Pubs., NY, NY, 2009, p. 309.

⁶⁰ IOM Report, *supra* note 17, at 18.

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ *Id.* at 93.

⁶⁴ *Id.* at 99. Note: The IOM Report defines the term "LGBT" to mean "lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender," in concert with the Commission's Report and this Statement. *See* IOM Report, *supra* note 17, at xviii.

⁶⁵ The Institute of Medicine further explains that: [s]cientific and methodological challenges exist in the design and implementation of most sample surveys and research studies. This is particularly true of studies of relatively small populations on topics construed by the respondent to be of a sensitive nature. Health research studies of LGBT populations are often viewed in this way. Methodological challenges, however, can be overcome when careful attention is paid to scientific rigor and respectful involvement individuals who represent the target population. Scientific rigor includes incorporating and monitoring culturally competent study designs, such as the use of appropriate measures to identify participants and implementation processes adapted to unique characteristics of the study population. Respectful involvement of the study population, in this case LGBT people, refers the involvement of individuals and community representatives in the research process, from decisions about the study purpose and methods, to ongoing consultation and data gathering, to dissemination of results (Minkler and Wallerstein, 2002).

Id. at 123 – 128, with data charts interposed.

⁶⁶ By logical extension, this principle should hold true with regard to the other demographic classes at issue here.

⁶⁷ IOM Report, *supra* note 17, at 95 - 96.

⁶⁸ *Id.* at 96.

⁶⁹ *See* "Ultimate ADL Chart of State Anti-Bullying Statutes," submitted to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights as part of the "Statement of the Anti-Defamation League Submitted to the US Commission on Civil Rights," May 13, 2011, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/22.%20ADL%20Attachment%20-%20Ultimate%20ADL%20Chart%20of%20State%20Anti-Bullying%20Statutes.xls>.

⁷⁰ *See* "Cyberbullying Prevention Law: The ADL Model Statute," filed as hyperlinked attachment to "Statement of the Anti-Defamation League Submitted to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights," May 13, 2011, p. 11, available at [http://www.adl.org/civil rights/Model Cyberbullying law%20 3.pdf](http://www.adl.org/civil%20rights/Model%20Cyberbullying%20law%203.pdf). (Note: Despite its title, the model statute seeks to facilitate remediation of bullying and harassment perpetuated by any means, electronic or otherwise.)

⁷¹ Briefing Transcript, "Peer-to-Peer Violence and Bullying: Examining the Federal Response," U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, May 13, 2011, p. 243 ff.

⁷² "Sexual Orientation Curriculum Policy," Anoka-Hennepin District No. 11, adopted Feb. 9, 2009, filed with Statement of Tammy Aaberg and available at <http://www.eusccr.com/19-1%20Tammy%20Aaberg,%20Parent.pdf>.

- ⁷³ The plaintiff students report, among other manifestations of harassment, being called an array of derogatory names, touched in sexually suggestive manners, tripped, pushed into lockers and a trash can, choked, stabbed, and told to commit suicide. Plaintiff students further report numerous attempts to engage the assistance of school staff in remediating the harassment, only to be ignored or given meaningless suggestions. The lawsuit seeks relief from sex discrimination and gender-based harassment under the Fourteenth Amendment Due Process Clause, the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause, and Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 (20 USC sec. 1681 et seq.). See *Doe, et al. v. Anoka-Hennepin School District No. 11*, No. 0:11-cv-01999-JNE-SER, (D. MN.), July 21, 2011, Complaint.
- ⁷⁴ Probst, Emily, and Harlow, Poppy, "Groups Challenge 'Anti-Gay Harassment' in Minnesota School District," CNN, July 21, 2011, available at http://articles.cnn.com/2011-07-21/us/minnesota.schools.gays_1_sexualorientation-gay-rights-advocates-federal-investigation?s=PM:US.
- ⁷⁵ H.R. 1648 (2011) and S. 3739 (2010).
- ⁷⁶ Public Comment of Linda T. Sanchez, United States Representative, at 2, May 12, 2011.
- ⁷⁷ *Id.* at 1.
- ⁷⁸ H.R. 998 (2011) and S. 555 (2011).
- ⁷⁹ Public Comment of Al Franken, United States Senator, at 3, April 29, 2011.
- ⁸⁰ *Id.* at 4.
- ⁸¹ Public Comment of Jared Polis, United States Representative, and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, United States Representative, at 1, May 4, 2011.
- ⁸² *Id.* at 3.
- ⁸³ 42 USC 2000d. ⁸⁴ H.R. 6216 (2010).
- ⁸⁵ See "Statement of the Anti-Defamation League Submitted to the US Commission on Civil Rights," May 13, 2011, p. 13, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/20.%20Anti-Defamation%20League.pdf>.
- ⁸⁶ See *id.* at 14.
- ⁸⁷ CDC Report, *supra* note 31, at 2.
- ⁸⁸ See "Cyberbullying Prevention Law: The ADL Model Statute," *supra* note 73, at 11.
- ⁸⁹ *Id.*
- ⁹⁰ In light of the structural stigma and family support concerns discussed in the USCCR Report and elsewhere in this Statement, there may well be special sensitivities and risks with schools' communication of peer-to-peer problems to the families of sexual minority and gender non-conforming youth.

End Notes for Dissent and Rebuttal Statement of Commissioners Gaziano and Kirsanow, with Which Commissioner Heriot Concur

- ¹ It is the general practice of the Commission, at least in recent years, not to set forth ultimate conclusions in the body of its reports, and to leave such conclusions to the formal "findings" and "recommendations" that are discussed and separately voted on by the eight commissioners. The Commission did not attempt to resolve the lawfulness or prudence of OCR's departure from the legal standards set forth in Supreme Court decisions in any manner.
- ² 103 CONG. RECORD 13,897 (1957) (statement of Sen. Lyndon Johnson).
- ³ ED and DOJ believe they can define the conduct that constitutes prohibited harassment under federal law much more broadly than has the Supreme Court. The differences in the substantive legal standards are discussed in the next section of this statement, but none of the data in the report are relevant to the administration's definition of prohibited federal harassment either. In short, the analysis in this section does not depend on adopting the Supreme Court's definition of federally prohibited harassment rather than the administration's.
- ⁴ The National Center for Education Statistics estimated there were 55.4 million elementary and secondary students in the United States in fall 2010. U.S. DEP'T OF EDUC., DIGEST OF EDUCATION STATISTICS: 2010, Table 1, Projected number of participants in educational institutions, by level and control of institution: Fall 2010, available at http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d10/tables/dt10_001.asp?referrer=report.
- ⁵ See, e.g., Commission Briefing Transcript (May 13, 2011) [hereinafter Briefing Transcript] at 47 (Jocelyn Samuels answering Commissioner Kirsanow that DOJ does not keep data tracking complaints it receives); 103 (panel of Fatima Goss Graves, Roger Clegg, Gregory Herek, Ilan Meyer, and John Eastman had no response to Commissioner Kirsanow's question of whether ED, DOJ, or any other entity had data tracking the number of complaints relating to harassment of protected classes); 307 (Ken Trump answering a question from Commissioner Gaziano: "[T]here is no historical data on bullying, to my knowledge, especially at the federal

level for an extended period of time."), available at <http://www.eusccr.com/PeerBullying%20May%2013%202011%20Transcript.pdf>.

- ⁶ Forty-seven states and the District of Columbia have anti-bullying statutes. Hawaii is the most recent state to pass an anti-bullying statute, which was signed into law on July 11, 2011. Two of the three states that do not have anti-bullying statutes, Michigan and Montana, have statewide regulations. See NAT'L SCHOOL BOARDS ASS'N, STATE ANTI-BULLYING STATUTES JULY 2011, available at <http://www.nsba.org/SchoolLaw/Issues/Safety/Table.pdf>; H.B. 688, 2011 Sess. (Haw.). We do not necessarily endorse all of these laws; we have not closely reviewed them. Commissioner Heriot notes in her accompanying dissent that some state anti-bullying laws and regulations may have unintended consequences. See also Winnie Hu, *Bullying Law Puts New Jersey Schools on Spot*, N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 30, 2011. We cite such state laws here primarily because the proponents of a new federal law bear the burden of demonstrating that it is not duplicative and will not undermine (by preempting and/or conflicting with) existing law. As we indicate later in the rebuttal portion of this statement, we also have independent reasons to believe that increased federal intervention would cause more harm than good in this area.
- ⁷ Not only did the Commission not define bullying or harassment in its report, a majority of the commissioners also refused to do so when debating the findings that would accompany the report. And the majority still purported to make a finding that "bullying and harassment . . . are harmful to American youth." When the Commission was voting on the proposed finding, Commissioner Gaziano objected that "bullying" was a moving target and some scholars were even beginning to define "bullying" downward to include parents not inviting everyone in their kids' class to their birthday parties at their homes. Commission Transcript at 19 (Aug. 12, 2011); see also Hans Bader, *Schools Use "Bullying" as a Pretext to Violate Students' Rights to Free Association and Freedom of Speech*, OPENMARKET.ORG, Aug. 10, 2011 (noting that bullying also is coming to mean wielding "popularity" to exclude others and offensive "eye rolling."). Thus, Gaziano proposed to amend the finding to conform to the Commission's purported review of federal law, limiting it to "serious, pervasive and objectively offensive" conduct constituting harassment under federal law. Commissioners Castro, Thernstrom, Yaki, and Achtenberg rejected the amendment and offered no clarification of their own, preferring to leave it vague. Indeed, Vice Chair Thernstrom admitted the finding "doesn't say anything" and is "like a talking point of a politician" but then provided the decisive vote to prevent it from saying anything and keep it like a politician's talking point. See Commission Transcript at 21-22 (Aug. 12, 2011).
- ⁸ All non-scientific polls should have been deleted, especially those from advocacy groups. For example, the GLSEN 2009 and Harris Interactive 2005 surveys are from different types of self-selecting respondents, the first of which is also influenced by the websites that solicit their views. Such self-selective surveys and suspect data serve no purpose but to mislead. Part of the AAUW study used the Harris Interactive online method, which is not a probability sample. The report at footnote 16 cites a press release from the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, but the press release does not indicate the kind of surveys it is publicizing. The Massachusetts Advocates for Children report did not use a probability sample and had a heavy selection bias. Parent respondents to an online survey were informed that data and examples provided would be used to support the passage of an act addressing bullying of children with autism. Report at 15 n. 69.
- ⁹ Inst. of medicine of the nat'l acads., bd. on the health of select populations, committee on lesbian, gay, bisexual, & transgender health issues & research gaps & opportunities, the health of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people: building a foundation for better understanding 105 (2011).
- ¹⁰ See Anthony R. D'Augelli et al., *Suicidality Patterns and Sexual Orientation-Related Factors Among Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Youths*, 31 Suicide And Life-Threatening Behavior 250, 252 (2001), cited in the report at 20 n.97.
- ¹¹ See Report at 3 & nn.3, 5 (citing National Center for Education Statistics and Bureau of Justice Statistics study; National Education Association study). The report on page 6 cites a study where students reported being "bullied, teased, or taunted" (emphasis added). Another study relates that students reported being subject to "hate-related words." Report at 8. The AAUW study, subtitled "Bullying, Teasing, and Sexual Harassment," defined sexual harassment to mean "unwanted sexual behavior that *interferes with your life*. Sexual harassment is not behaviors that you like or want (for example wanted kissing, touching, or *flirting*)." Report at 10 n.42 (emphasis added). Because federal jurisdiction covers only objectively serious and persistent harassment, based on suspect classifications, that the schools know about (or should know about if ED is correct) and that they are indifferent to, it is misleading to quote even reliable data on various categories of insults and slights that do not trigger federal jurisdiction.
- ¹² See Mark S. Friedman et al., *A Meta-Analysis to Examine Disparities in Childhood Sexual Abuse, Parental Physical Abuse, and Peer Victimization Among Sexual Minority and Sexual Nonminority Individuals*, AMER. J. PUB.

HEALTH, Vol. 101, Issue 3 (2010) ("These data were collected through retrospective self-reports, which may be biased.").

- ¹³ See generally Thea F. van de Mortel, *Faking It: Social Desirability Response Bias in Self-Report Research*, 25 AUSTL. J. ADVANCED NURSING 40 (2008) (discussing tendency of questionnaire and interview respondents to present favorable image of themselves, especially to socially sensitive questions). Self reporting may work reliably well when asking respondents objectively verifiable questions such as how many cars they own or how many bathrooms they have in their homes. But in contrast to such "census-type" questions, self-reporting is much less certain to elicit a truthful response to socially sensitive questions without any likelihood of verification.
- ¹⁴ The Commission majority also rejected an additional finding that we offered to prominently warn readers that much of the data in the report came from advocacy organizations, was not independently verified by the Commission, and used definitions of harassment that vary from the definition of harassment under federal law. Thus, not only are the data in the report unreliable and somewhat contradictory, but a majority of commissioners did not even want to warn readers of the underlying problems that might make them so. See Commission Transcript at 61-63 (Aug. 12, 2011).
- ¹⁵ 526 U.S. 629, 650 (1999) (emphasis added).
- ¹⁶ *Id.* at 645-47.
- ¹⁷ Russlynn Ali, Asst. Sec'y for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., Dear Colleague Letter: Harassment and Bullying at 2 (Oct. 26, 2010) [hereinafter Dear Colleague Letter], available at <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201010.pdf>.
- ¹⁸ *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 652-53 (unlikely that Congress intended that a single instance could be sufficiently severe to create liability); see also Prepared Testimony of Kenneth L. Marcus Before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at 22 (May 13, 2011) ("OCR would face a steep challenge in defending its policy in federal court, given that the Supreme Court rejected the single-incident approach based not upon such issues as punitive damages or lawyers' fees but upon its assessment of congressional intent in drafting the relevant language.").
- ¹⁹ Dear Colleague Letter, *supra* note 17, at 2 ("Harassment does not have to . . . involve repeated incidents."); Report at 4-5 (citing Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 5, at 48 (Samuels Testimony)).
- ²⁰ Francisco Negron of the National School Boards Association testified that some lower courts are starting to use the OCR standard, granting deference to OCR's guidance. Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 5, at 249. Negron cited as an example *T.K. v. New York City Dep't of Educ.*, 2011 WL 1579510 (E.D.N.Y. April 26, 2011), where the court found the October 26, 2010 Dear Colleague Letter to be "useful" in deciding "when a school is required to act, and what type of response is required." *Id.* at *27. As we explain below, we think such deference is erroneous but it has understandable consequences, whether right or wrong.
- ²¹ Public Comment of FIRE at 3 (May 26, 2011).
- ²² Report at 67 n.328 (citing Stephanie Monroe, Asst. Sec'y for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., Dear Colleague Letter: Sexual Harassment Issues (Jan. 25, 2006)).
- ²³ Dear Colleague Letter, *supra* note 17, at 2.
- ²⁴ See, e.g., *Pennsylvania State Police v. Suders*, 542 U.S. 129, 146-47 (2004) ("For an atmosphere of sexual harassment or hostility to be actionable, . . . the offending behavior must be sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of the victim's employment and create an abusive working environment.") (internal quotation marks omitted).
- ²⁵ See Public Comment of FIRE, *supra* note 21, at 3 ("This is problematic because 'limit' is a broad term that could encompass effects of widely varying severity, setting a far lower bar for conduct that constitutes harassment.").
- ²⁶ Dear Colleague Letter, *supra* note 17, at 2.
- ²⁷ *Davis*, 546 U.S. at 644 (a school not engaging directly in harassment can only be liable if its "deliberate indifference subjects its students to harassment") (quotation marks and brackets omitted).
- ²⁸ Letter from Russlynn Ali, Asst. Sec'y for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Educ., to Francisco M. Negron, Jr., General Counsel, Nat'l School Boards Ass'n of March 25, 2011, at 4.
- ²⁹ Prepared Testimony of Dr. John C. Eastman Before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at 4 (May 13, 2011) (emphasis supplied), available at <http://www.eusccr.com/7.%20John%20Eastman,%20Chapman%20University%20School%20of%20Law.pdf>.
- ³⁰ See, e.g., *Cuomo v. Clearing House Ass'n*, 129 S. Ct. 2710, 2721 (2009) (Office of the Comptroller of the Currency regulation interpreting the National Bank Act was unreasonable to extent it prohibited state attorney general from suing a national bank to enforce a state law, and thus, was not entitled to deference under *Chevron*).
- ³¹ Although we believe OCR's liability standard would not be upheld by the Supreme Court or most other appellate tribunals where the matter was fairly presented, few school districts can risk losing all federal funding pending

the outcome of a court challenge that may never reach the High Court. Moreover, casual or erroneous deference to OCR's position is certainly possible, even probable, in some lower courts. See Negron testimony, *supra* note 20.

³² *Indicta*, *Gebser* says that ED could require school districts to have a grievance procedure and publish a notice of anti-discrimination on the basis of sex. The Court states: "Agencies generally have authority to promulgate and enforce requirements that effectuate the statute's anti-discrimination mandate, . . . even if those requirements do not purport to represent a definition of discrimination under the statute." *Gebser*, 524 U.S. 274, 292 (1989). But such enforcement requirements mentioned in *Gebser* do not change or alter the definition of discrimination in the statute; they merely supplement its enforcement, as is the case with reporting and record-keeping requirements. OCR's Dear Colleague Letter attempts to fundamentally change the definition of discrimination.

³³ See Report at 64 (quoting Letter from Russlynn Ali to Francisco Negron, *supra* note 28, at 4) (emphasis supplied).

³⁴ See Report at 63.

³⁵ See *id.* at 68.

³⁶ *Id.* at 69. The Commission noted inconsistencies in OCR's legal standards and passed a recommendation that ED should "strive to use consistent language when it articulates legal standards," but rejected an amendment to the recommendation that ED's guidance should also be "based on appropriate legal authorities." Commissioners Gaziano, Heriot, and Kirsanow voted for this important and neutrally-worded amendment. Commissioners Castro, Thernstrom, Yaki, and Achtenberg voted against it. See Commission Transcript at 58-59 (Aug. 12, 2011).

³⁷ We did not support the report's recommendation number five in its current form because we have reason to believe OCR's view of the First Amendment issues is erroneous, and its evaluation of the implications of its guidance document on protected speech is possibly even disingenuous, as this section of our statement documents. Thus, what the Commission acknowledges as serious First Amendment problems (or at least concerns) created by OCR's letter are not likely to be cured by further "guidance" from that Office. Proper guidance surely is needed, but it may have to come from the courts or from other officials who are more sensitive to the First Amendment and less concerned about the reach of OCR's power to regulate school conduct and student speech with broad, over-inclusive language.

³⁸ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 5, at 13 (Ali Testimony).

³⁹ Public Comment of Neal McCluskey, Assoc. Dir., Ctr. For Educ. Freedom, Cato Inst., at 1 *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/28.%20Neal%20McCluskey,%20Cato%20Institute.pdf>. See also *id.* at 3-5 (for a more extensive discussion of the First Amendment issues in play, the catch-22 position schools are put in by ED's guidance and why zero-tolerance policies are inadvisable).

⁴⁰ The temptation to "engage in censorship of some students to benefit others" will be strong. Statement of Hiram Sasser, III, Dir. of Litigation, Liberty Inst., at 14 (May 13, 2011), *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/11.%20Hiram%20Sasser,%20III,%20Liberty%20Institute.pdf> [hereinafter Sasser Statement]. "[B]ut the cause of freedom is never advanced by selective censorship of those messages with which the government disagrees." *Id.* at 15.

⁴¹ For example, we argued in our May 31, 2011 comments on the first draft of the report that the First Amendment concerns relating to the regulation of "cyber-bullying" be discussed in the Section that addresses why some people want to regulate it. Instead, the alleged harm associated with cyber-bullying is discussed in Section 2, but the First Amendment concerns associated with regulating it are confined to the last few pages of the report. Our discussion of the regulatory concerns is below.

⁴² *Tinker v. Des Moines Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 393 U.S. 503, 513 (1969). Note that the school's "undifferentiated fear or apprehension of disturbance is not enough to overcome the right of freedom of expression." Sasser Statement, *supra* note 40, at 4 (citing *Tinker*, 393 U.S. at 508). Likewise, the fact that someone is offended by the viewpoint expressed by the speech is also not sufficient to overcome the freedom of expression. See Statement of Eugene Volokh, Prof. of Law, Univ. of Cal., L.A., at 6 (May 13, 2011), *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/27.%20Eugene%20Volokh,%20UCLA%20School%20of%20Law.pdf> [hereinafter Volokh Statement].

⁴³ *Bethel Sch. Dist. No. 403 v. Fraser*, 478 U.S. 675, 684 (1986).

⁴⁴ *Morse v. Frederick*, 551 U.S. 393, 397 (2007).

⁴⁵ Volokh Statement, *supra* note 42, at 6.

⁴⁶ "Public schools must not merely teach abstract principles of good citizenship, they must also serve as controlled laboratories for students to responsibly practice their constitutional freedoms. '[S]chools must teach *by example* the shared values of a civilized social order.'" Brief of Amicus Curiae Claremont Inst. at 3-4, *Morgan v. Swanson*, 628 F.3d 705 (5th Cir. 2007) (No. 09-40373) (citing *Fraser*, 478 U.S. at 683)).

- ⁴⁷ See *Saxe v. State College Area Sch. Dists.*, 240 F.3d 200, 209-210 (3d Cir. 2001) (in which the court held that "harassing" or "discriminatory" speech, however evil or offensive, is not categorically denied First Amendment protection, thereby invalidating a school district's anti-harassment policy as unconstitutionally overbroad for its impact on protected speech).
- ⁴⁸ See, e.g., *Snyder v. Phelps*, 131 S. Ct. 1207, 1219 (2011) (holding that the offensive speech of picketers near a military funeral could not be prohibited based upon the "viewpoint of the message conveyed").
- ⁴⁹ "Minors enjoy the protection of the First Amendment." *McConnell v. F.E.C.*, 540 U.S. 93, 231 (2003).
- ⁵⁰ The Court has rejected such proposals because, "[a]fter all, much political and religious speech might be perceived as offensive to some." *Morse*, 551 U.S. at 409. See also *Texas v. Johnson*, 491 U.S. 397, 414 (1989) ("If there is a bedrock principle underlying the First Amendment, it is that the government may not prohibit the expression of an idea simply because society finds the idea offensive or disagreeable.").
- ⁵¹ See generally Volokh Statement, *supra* note 42, at 3; Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 5, at 264, 306 (Volokh Testimony) (for a discussion of the specific First Amendment problems related to school regulation of "cyberbullying").
- ⁵² Report at 81 (citing Public Comment of Lambda Legal at 6-9)). See also Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 5, at 142 (Comments of Commissioner Yaki).
- ⁵³ See Report at 81-82 (citing Briefing Testimony of panelists Eliza Byard, Gregory Herek and Ilan Meyer).
- ⁵⁴ *Id.*
- ⁵⁵ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 5, at 262 (Volokh Testimony).
- ⁵⁶ For a discussion of Professor Volokh's arguments that ED's guidance really is in large measure about speech, see the report at 82-83. Summarized briefly, indicators that the guidance does implicate constitutionally-protected speech include: (1) the over-breadth of the Dear Colleague Letter's definition of "harassment" to include "verbal acts," i.e., speech including name-calling and graphic or written statements; (2) its lack of requirement that "harassment" be directed at a specific target or involve repeated incidents—the Dear Colleague Letter is not limited to personal insults that go to a particular person and could include general statements; (3) the fact that ED's less stringent "sufficiently severe, pervasive or persistent" standard means that schools can now be liable for mere isolated one-offs, giving them an incentive to restrict speech; (4) the policy's reach, which purports to hold schools responsible for speech created off-campus (such as cyber-bullying) and suggesting that students could be punishable for such speech throughout the entirety of their school lives (what Volokh calls "24/7 control of student speech"); (5) the fact that the guidance goes beyond personal insults to reach even gossip; and (6) the fact that the Dear Colleague Letter may reach even criticism of religion or homosexuality based on the theory that such speech, if severe, pervasive or persistent enough, creates an offensive or abusive environment.
- ⁵⁷ Report at 85 (quoting Public Comment of Stuart Biegel at 4) (noting that the Seventh Circuit has "rejected the notion that First Amendment absolutist arguments should be controlling in a K-12 education setting").
- ⁵⁸ 627 F.3d 170, 176 (5th Cir.) (internal quotation marks omitted), *reh'g en banc granted*, 628 F.3d 705 (5th Cir. 2010).
- ⁵⁹ *West Virginia State Bd. of Educ. v. Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624 (1943). Former U.S. Solicitor General and D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Ken Starr was retained by the very same Barnett sisters who prevailed in their First Amendment case before the Supreme Court in 1943 to file a brief in the *Morgan* case to help convince these school officials that elementary school children are protected under the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech and that they may not discriminate against religious viewpoints. Brief for *Amici Curiae* Gathie Barnett Edmonds and Marie Barnett Snodgrass, 627 F.3d 170 (5th Cir.) *reh'g en banc granted*, 628 F.3d 705 (5th Cir. 2010) (No. 09-40373). (The Supreme Court case caption does not match the names of the Barnett sisters because the courts misspelled their family surname during the litigation. *Id.* at 2 n.1.) See also the brief authored by former U.S. Solicitor General Paul Clement and Liberty Institute lawyers on behalf of the school children in *Morgan*, making similar legal points as well as describing the school officials' outrageous actions in violating student speech rights. Supplemental En Banc Brief of Appellees, *id.*
- ⁶⁰ *Tinker v. Des Moines Indep. Cmty. Sch. Dist.*, 393 U.S. 503, 506 (1969).
- ⁶¹ Statement of Francisco M. Negron, Jr., General Counsel, National School Boards Association at 4-5 (May 13, 2011), available at <http://www.eusccr.com/24.%20Francisco%20Negron,%20National%20School%20Boards%20Association.pdf>.
- ⁶² *Id.* at 4.
- ⁶³ "But if every instance implicates a federal right, educators will have no choice but to take formal steps in even the most mundane cases to avoid agency liability and prepare for a legal defense." *Id.* at 9.
- ⁶⁴ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 5, at 263 (Volokh Testimony).

- ⁶⁵ See, e.g., *Harper v. Poway Unified Sch. Dist.*, 445 F.3d 1166 (9th Cir. 2006), *vacated as moot*, 549 U.S. 1262 (2007) (mem.) (case involving whether school could properly prohibit a student from wearing a T-shirt expressing his views on homosexuality).
- ⁶⁶ As our colleague Commissioner Heriot notes in her dissenting statement, there is no federal agency charged with safeguarding students' First Amendment rights. There is at least one private group—the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE)—that works on such issues, but they primarily confine their efforts to infringements on individual rights at colleges and universities. Given this asymmetry of incentives, many schools may be tempted to over-reach in the direction of avoiding litigation over bullying than in the direction of avoiding litigation over First Amendment concerns.
- ⁶⁷ See, e.g., Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 5, at 63 (Clegg Testimony).
- ⁶⁸ *Id.* at 250-51 (Negron Testimony).
- ⁶⁹ See Sasser Statement, *supra* note 40, at 7-11 (chronicling specific examples).
- ⁷⁰ 628 F.3d 705 (5th Cir. 2007).
- ⁷¹ See cases collected in Sasser Statement at 7-11.
- ⁷² Sasser Statement, *supra* note 40, at 10 (citing to aspects of the factual background in *Harper*, 445 F.3d at 1171-73).
- ⁷³ Letter from Francisco Negron, General Counsel, NSBA to Charlie Rose, General Counsel, U.S. Dept. of Ed. at 4 (Dec. 7, 2010), *available at* <http://www.nsba.org/SchoolLaw/Issues/NSBA-letter-to-Ed-12-07-10.pdf>.
- ⁷⁴ Dear Colleague Letter, *supra* note 17, at 3.
- ⁷⁵ Sasser Statement, *supra* note 40, at 16.
- ⁷⁶ Report at 84-85.
- ⁷⁷ Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 5, at 250 (Negron Testimony).
- ⁷⁸ *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 657-58 (Kennedy, J., dissenting).
- ⁷⁹ Nor do some of our witnesses. See, e.g., Briefing Transcript, *supra* note 5, at 293-94 (Volokh Testimony) ("[O]ne thing that troubles me about a lot of this discussion including the Dear Colleague Letter is the sense that there's sort of denial going on. That there really isn't any speech issue in play. Sometimes the claim is 'this is conduct, not speech,' even though the conduct consists of verbal acts which is another way of saying speech. Sometimes the claim is 'it's harassment and not speech,' even though if you label speech 'sedition' or 'harassment' or 'intentional infliction of emotional distress,' that doesn't strip it of constitutional protection.").
- ⁸⁰ Wendy Kaminer, *Anti-Bullying Laws & the Misguided Drive for Social Equality*, THE ATLANTIC (Dec. 2, 2010), *available at* <http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2010/12/anti-bullying-laws-and-the-misguideddrive-for-social-equality/67322/> (also submitted by Ms. Kaminer for the record as a public comment).
- ⁸¹ 20 U.S.C. § 1681(a).
- ⁸² *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*, 490 U.S. 228, 251 (1989), *superseded by statute on other grounds*.
- ⁸³ *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Servs.*, 523 U.S. 75 (1998).
- ⁸⁴ Dear Colleague Letter, *supra* note 17, at 8 (emphasis supplied).
- ⁸⁵ Prepared Testimony of Roger Clegg, President and General Counsel, Center for Equal Opportunity, Before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at 7 (May 13, 2011), *available at* <http://www.eusccr.com/6.%20Roger%20Clegg,%20Center%20for%20Equal%20Opportunity.pdf>.
- ⁸⁶ See, e.g., *Pratt v. Indian River Cent. Sch. Dist.*, 2011 WL 1204804, *11 (N.D.N.Y. Mar. 29, 2011) ("[H]arassment based on nonconformity with sex stereotypes is a legally cognizable claim under Title IX."); *Riccio v. New Haven Bd. of Educ.*, 467 F. Supp. 2d 219, 226 (D. Conn. 2006) ("If not for her status as a female, a reasonable trier of fact could conclude that Andree would not have been called the offending slurs. As such, Andree, a female student, targeted by other female students and called a variety of pejorative epithets, including ones implying that she is a female homosexual, has established a genuine issue of fact as to whether this harassment amounts to gender-based discrimination, actionable under Title IX."); *Montgomery v. Independent Sch. Dist. No. 709*, 109 F. Supp. 2d 1081, 1092 (D. Minn. 2000) ("[B]y pleading facts from which a reasonable fact-finder could infer that he suffered harassment due to his failure to meet masculine stereotypes, plaintiff has stated a cognizable claim under Title IX.").
- ⁸⁷ The report cites one case where the defendant school board argued that the statements in question were about sexual orientation and not gender, but, as the report notes, the court rejected this argument. Report at 55 & n.283 (citing *Riccio*, 467 F. Supp. 2d at 225).
- ⁸⁸ Commissioners Castro, Thernstrom, Yaki, and Achtenberg voted against adding the clarifying language. See Commission Transcript at 31 (Aug. 12, 2011).
- ⁸⁹ The Safe Schools Improvement Act, S. 506, defines harassment even more broadly than OCR—as "conduct . . . that adversely affects the ability of one or more students to participate or benefit from the school's educational programs or activities . . ." The phrase "adversely affects" is broader than OCR's phrase "interfere with or

limit," which in turn far exceeds the "deprive" standard in *Davis*. The Act would require states to collect and report on "the incidence, prevalence, age of onset, perception of health risk, and perception of social disapproval of bullying and harassment by youth in elementary schools and secondary schools." It would also require local school boards to adopt anti-bullying policies and procedures, including formalized, written grievance procedures. The Student Non-Discrimination Act, H.R. 998, likewise goes beyond putting sexual orientation and gender identity on the same footing as race, color, national origin, sex, or disability in the federal anti-discrimination laws. The Act also prohibits harassment based on "the actual or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity of a person or persons with whom a student associates or has associated," while adopting OCR's broad standard of what constitutes harassment. Such an expansion of prohibited harassment in federal law would certainly open the door to more litigation against school districts.

⁹⁰ We also join Commissioner Heriot's regret that the new majority also canceled: (1) the ongoing investigation into DOJ's handling of and ultimate dismissal of most of its New Black Panther Party lawsuit, and (2) the original research into whether certain colleges and universities were discriminating against women in admission. See Heriot Dissenting Statement at 185 n.14.

⁹¹ Castro Statement at 91.

⁹² Castro Statement at 92. See also Yaki Statement at 217 (stating, without the least explanation, that the protections he favors "must be uniform"); Achtenberg Statement at 121: "[T]he lack of consistency among state laws demonstrates the need for federal legal protections." With due respect, it demonstrates nothing of the kind.

⁹³ See *supra* note 6.

⁹⁴ See Commissioner Heriot's Statement at 189-90. See also, e.g., *Outcry Spurs School to Lift Boy's Suspension for Kissing*, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, Oct. 3, 1996 (6-year-old North Carolina boy suspended for kissing girl on cheek); JuJu Chang et al., *First Grader Labeled a Sexual Harasser*, ABC NEWS, April 4, 2008, available at <http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/AsSeenOnGMA/story?id=4585388>. During the 2005-06 school year in the state of Maryland, 28 kindergarteners were suspended for "sex offenses, including 15 for sexual harassment." Yvonne Bynoe, *No Hugs Allowed*, WASH. POST, Oct. 22, 2007.

⁹⁵ The Antioch College policy still states: "Consent is defined as the act of willingly and verbally agreeing to engage in specific sexual conduct. . . . Consent is required each and every time there is sexual activity." Eugene Volokh, GETTYSBURG COLLEGE JOINS ANTIOCH COLLEGE, THE VOLOKH CONSPIRACY, May 11, 2006 (quoting Antioch College policy) (emphasis added), available at <http://volokh.com/posts/1147374096.shtml>; see also FIRE, *Gettysburg College: Hug at Your Own Risk*, May 11, 2006 ("Under the [Gettysburg College] policy, 'consent' to sexual interaction is defined as 'the act of willingly and verbally agreeing (for example, by stating 'yes') to engage in specific sexual conduct. If either person at any point in a sexual encounter does not give continuing and active consent, all sexual contact must cease, even if consent was given earlier. . . . The policy's broad definition of sexual interaction includes not only sex acts but also 'brushing, touching, grabbing, pinching, patting, hugging, and kissing.'"). See also Sandy Hingston, *The New Rules of College Sex*, PHILADELPHIA MAG., Sept. 2011. Justice Kennedy's dissent in *Davis* cites a 1994 sexual harassment manual which suggests that a comment as mild as "You look nice" from one student to another could be sexual harassment, depending on the "tone of voice," how the student looks at the other student, and who else is around. 526 U.S. at 326.

⁹⁶ Report at 10 n. 42 (citing American Association of University Women, *Hostile Hallways: Bullying, Teasing, and Sexual Harassment in School 20-21* (2001) (unwelcome "flirting" is sexual harassment)).

⁹⁷ Briefing Transcript at 307 (May 13, 2011).

⁹⁸ In December 2009 at a high school in South Philadelphia, African-American students attacked Asian American students, sending 13 of them to the hospital, despite repeated complaints to school officials and requests for protection from the Asian-American students, which went largely unheeded. Report at 13; see also Krissah Thompson, *Justice reaches pact with Philadelphia schools in '09 attacks on Asian American students*, WASH. POST, Dec. 15, 2010.

⁹⁹ In March 2010, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan announced that ED would initiate a number of compliance reviews to examine, among other things, whether schools are disciplining certain protected categories of students too much and others too little. For example, OCR proposes to use "disparate impact" theory and statistical analysis to determine whether a given school is disciplining blacks more than their expected ratio, or perhaps, disciplining boys more than girls of the same age. A finding of discrimination might follow. The Commission questioned OCR at a briefing on the topic early this year. See Testimony of Ricardo Soto, Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Dep't of Education Before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (Feb. 11, 2011). In contrast to OCR, several of the teachers and local authorities who also testified shared our view that the right amount of discipline was what the students individually deserved, regardless of their race or gender

and whether or not their protected group had reached its discipline quotient for the week. Indeed, we expressed concern OCR's policy could have serious negative consequences, harming minority students in classes with a number of disruptive classmates who are not disciplined enough because federal bureaucrats convince teachers they will pay a price if their disciplinary tally sheet doesn't look right. Briefing Transcript on Disparate Impact in School Discipline at 113-15 (Feb. 11, 2011).

¹⁰⁰ Hiram Sasser of the Liberty Institute in both his written and oral testimony quoted the following passage from the Supreme Court's opinion in *Tinker*: Any departure from absolute regimentation may cause trouble. Any variation from the majority's opinion may inspire fear. Any word spoken, in class, in the lunchroom, or on the campus, that deviates from the views of another person may start an argument or cause a disturbance. But our Constitution says we must take this risk, *Terminiello v. Chicago*, 337 U.S. 1 (1949); and our history says that it is this sort of hazardous freedom—this kind of openness—that is the basis of our national strength and of the independence and vigor of Americans who grow up and live in this relatively permissive, often disputatious, society.

Written Statement of Hiram Sasser at 16-17 (quoting *Tinker v. Des Moines Indep. Cmty. Sch. Dist.*, 393 U.S. 503, 508-09 (1969)).

¹⁰¹ 42 U.S.C. § 1975a(c)(1) (emphasis supplied).

¹⁰² Report at 6 (citing JOSEPHSON institute, 2010 report card on the ethics of american youth 175 (2010)).

¹⁰³ Report at 7 (citing Simone Robers et al., nat'l ctr. for educ. statistics, inst. for educ. sciences, u.s. dep't of educ. & bureau of justice statistics, indicators of school crime and safety: 2010, at 42 n.30).

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., Report at 5-7.

¹⁰⁵ Wested health & human development program for the cal. Dep't of educ., california healthy kids survey: student well-being in california, 2007-2009, grades 7, 9, 11: main report 37.

¹⁰⁶ Achtenberg Statement at 126. Commissioner Castro agrees, asserting without citation to any source that "tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands" of students are bullying victims. Castro Statement at 91.

¹⁰⁷ Yaki Statement at 214. Commissioner Yaki limited most of his initial statement to discussing LGBT or LGBT-identified children, writing that there was "[s]ubstantial evidence introduced" showing harm to them due to bullying, *id.* at 216, yet he does not mention or embrace any particular study or set of studies.

¹⁰⁸ Achtenberg Statement at 102.

¹⁰⁹ Susan Carter, *Bullying of Students with Asperger Syndrome*, 32 Issues in comprehensive pediatric nursing 145, 146 (2009), cited in the report at 14-15 n.66; Achtenberg Statement at 103.

¹¹⁰ Carter, *supra* note 109, at 147.

¹¹¹ *Id.* at 146, 148, 152.

¹¹² *Id.* at 151.

¹¹³ Report at 9.

¹¹⁴ *Id.* at 8.

¹¹⁵ *Id.* at 11.

¹¹⁶ See Simone Robers et al., nat'l ctr. for educ. statistics, inst. for educ. sciences, u.s. dep't of educ. & bureau of justice statistics, indicators of school crime and safety: 2010, at 104.

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

¹¹⁸ Mark S. Friedman et al., *A Meta-Analysis to Examine Disparities in Childhood Sexual Abuse, Parental Physical Abuse, and Peer Victimization Among Sexual Minority and Sexual Nonminority Individuals*, AMER. J. PUB. HEALTH Vol. 101, Issue 3 (2010).

¹¹⁹ *Id.* at *18.

¹²⁰ See Report at 19 & n.90.

¹²¹ See Ritch C. Savin Williams, *Then and Now: Recruitment, Definition, Diversity, and Positive Attributes of Same-Sex Populations*, 44 developmental psychology 135, 135 (2008) (collecting studies on American attitudes toward gay people).

¹²² Lisa M. Diamond, *New Paradigms for Research on Heterosexual and Sexual-Minority Development*, 32 Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology 490, 495 (2003) ("[A]lthough gay-related stress might be the most salient mechanism through which sexual-minority status influences adolescent development, it is not necessarily the most predominant or important.").

¹²³ Achtenberg Statement at 110 (citing inst. of med. of the nat'l academies, the health of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people 32 (2011) (emphasis added)).

¹²⁴ Achtenberg Statement at 109-12 (internal quotation marks omitted).

¹²⁵ Commissioner Heriot's dissenting statement and rebuttal discusses various reasons why the "negative outcomes" gay youth appear to suffer may more likely result from causes besides peer bullying.

- ¹²⁶ See, e.g., *Missouri v. Jenks*, 515 U.S. 70, 121 (1995) (Rehnquist, C.J.) ("Psychological injury or benefit is irrelevant to the question of whether state actors have engaged in intentional discrimination . . ."). Likewise, it has no bearing on whether school officials have shown deliberate indifference to "severe, pervasive and *objectively* offensive" gender-based harassment of students in violation of Title IX. See *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 650 (emphasis supplied). Thus, the volumes of conflicting and potentially misleading social science research on a possible underlying psychological predisposition to bullying are wholly irrelevant to Title IX enforcement decisions.
- ¹²⁷ *Davis*, 526 U.S. at 646.
- ¹²⁸ The policy's implementation is currently being challenged in court. To our knowledge, the Commission neither requested nor received testimony or other information from the school district on its policy. Only one side of the issue was thus presented at our briefing, from a parent who seems to have mischaracterized the district's written policies. Had we known that the district's policy was going to be raised at the briefing, we would have urged the Commission to invite a representative from the district to testify. But as discussed in this section, we have reviewed the court complaint and other material on both sides of this issue. The curriculum policy itself and the school district's anti-bullying policies are all contained in publicly available documents.
- ¹²⁹ See Anoka-Hennepin sch. dist., glbt issues, training and awareness, *available at* <http://www.anoka.k12.mn.us/education/components/scrapbook/default.php?sectiondetailid=297819>.
- ¹³⁰ *Doe v. Anoka-Hennepin Sch. Dist.* No. 11, No. 11-01999 (D. Minn. filed July 21, 2011).
- ¹³¹ Commissioners Achtenberg, Castro, Thernstrom, and Yaki opposed and defeated the motion at the Commission's August 12, 2011 business meeting to clarify the finding to explain the full reach of ED's enforcement authority.
- ¹³² See Prepared Testimony of Kenneth L. Marcus at 15-16.
- ¹³³ See also Commissioner Heriot's reply to Commissioner Yaki's First Amendment arguments in her accompanying dissenting statement at note 28.

End Notes for Dissenting Statement of Commissioner Gail Heriot, with Which Commissioners Peter Kirsanow and Todd Gaziano Concur

- ¹ The brief discussion of the objections to the policy is contained almost exclusively in the last Section of the report.
- ² I agree with my colleagues Commissioners Todd Gaziano and Peter Kirsanow that none of the empirical studies on bullying cited in the report is relevant to the issues before the Commission. See Joint Dissent and Rebuttal of Commissioners Gaziano and Kirsanow. These studies do not show that the kind of bullying for which school districts can be held legally accountable for is widespread. Moreover, they do not show that school districts are failing to respond to the problem. Some of these polls are unscientific internet questionnaires that are far from random samples of students. See GLSEN Survey 2009. One would have to expect that victims of bullies are more interested in visiting the GLSEN web site and responding to such polls. All appear to use definitions of bullying or harassment that are overbroad and include activity that would be protected under the First Amendment or that would more properly be classed as tactlessness. In some cases, eye-rolling or engaging in gossip is classed as bullying. See Report at 3. It would have been useful to analyze each of these studies and discuss exactly what they do or do not establish. But there was no time for such meticulous work. The first draft of the report had to be finished one week after the Commission held its first and only hearing on the matter on May 13, 2011. See Transcript of Commission Meeting 10 (August 12, 2011).
- ³ 42 U.S.C. 1975(c)(1): "The Commission shall submit to the President and Congress at least one report annually that monitors Federal civil rights enforcement efforts in the United States."
- ⁴ See Mary Frances Berry, Request for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 103 Cong., 2d Sess. (February 9, 1994) ("We are a watchdog over the effectiveness of federal civil rights enforcement"); Mary Frances Berry Exits Civil Rights Commission; Gerald Reynolds Picked as New Chairman, *Jet* (December 27, 2004/January 3, 2005) ("Berry, who at times has been at odds with five presidents over civil rights issues since 1980, once reportedly said, 'If we don't have people irritated, we're not doing our job We're the watchdog that bites you on the leg, keeps tugging at you'").
- In theory at least, the fact that the Commission's eight members are part-time, usually have primary jobs outside the federal bureaucracy and have some expertise in civil rights, means that we can be free from the bias that sometimes hinders the efforts of federal officials assessing the performance of other federal officials. We need not (and should not) be beholden to anyone.

- ⁵ Time for rebuttals was also reduced from the usual 30 days to 21 days. While it is understandable that Chairman Castro would be concerned about getting the final report out by end of the fiscal year, the hurry was purely a result of the Commission's decision to switch topics halfway through the year.
- ⁶ The term "*cy pres*" comes from the French phrase "*cy pres comme possible*" or "as near as possible." It traditionally referred to a doctrine in trusts and estates law. When a testator attempts to create a charitable trust that will provide funds to a non-profit entity that no longer exists or for a purpose that can no longer be carried out, a court may order or allow those funds to be applied to a similar non-profit entity or for a similar purpose instead. Edith L. Fisch, *The Cy Pres Doctrine in the United States* 1 (1950). More recently, the term has been used to describe the practice described by Byron York in *Justice Department Steers Money to Favored Groups* under which non-profit organizations are awarded any unclaimed settlement funds or court-ordered damages in a class action or similar proceeding. Another term sometimes used in this context is "fluid class remedies."
- ⁷ Byron York, *Justice Department Steers Money to Favored Groups*, *Washington Examiner* (August 5, 2010).
- ⁸ The project was later expanded to include the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and private civil rights class actions.
- ⁹ Another way to deal with the problem is to over-compensate those victims who do claim funds. For example, if 20,000 victims are expected, but only 10,000 actually present themselves, each one with an injury valued at \$10, each could receive \$20.
- ¹⁰ Martin H. Redish, Peter Julian & Samantha Zyontz, *Cy Pres Relief and the Pathologies of the Modern Class Action: A Normative and Empirical Analysis*, 62 Fla. L. Rev. 617 (2010) (stating that the doctrine of *cy pres* in the context of class action litigation "richly deserves" "scathing scholarly critique"); John H. Beisner, Jessica Davidson Miller & Jordan H. Schwartz, *Cy Pres: A Not So Charitable Contribution to Class Action Practice*, U.S. Chamber Institute for Legal Reform 19 (October 2010) ("[T]he expansion of *cy pres* into the class action context has generated significant conflict of interest concerns with respect to plaintiffs' attorneys, judges and defendants"); Theodore H. Frank, *Cy Pres Settlements*, *Class Action Watch* (March 2008) (stating that the use of *cy pres* in the class action context creates "clear conflicts of interest"). See also Adam Liptak, *Doling Out Other People's Money*, *The New York Times* (November 26, 2007) (discussing, among other things, the efforts of New York University law professor Samuel Issacharoff to rein in this practice by issuing guidelines through the American Law Institute).
- ¹¹ Redish, Julian and Zyontz, 62 Fla L. Rev. at 665.
- ¹² Adam Liptak, *Doling Out Other People's Money*, *The New York Times* (November 26, 2007) ("[The use of the *cy pres* doctrine in private class actions] gives rise to this unbelievable world that I was shocked to learn about, and I'm not easily shocked in litigation," Professor [Samuel] Issacharoff [of New York University Law School] said. "Charities hire lawyers to go lobby the judge for the extra money.").
- ¹³ In addition, Commissioner Arlan Melendez was replaced by Dina Titus and the seat held by Commissioner Michael Yaki was briefly unoccupied. Both Melendez and Titus were appointed on the recommendation of Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid. Michael Yaki was later re-appointed on the recommendation of House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi.
- ¹⁴ See Statement of Chairman Martin R. Castro at 90 (quoting President Barack Obama at the White House Summit on Bullying Prevention on March 10, 2011).
The newly-constituted Commission also cancelled two other on-going investigations—one into discrimination against women in higher education and the other into race-neutral enforcement of civil rights laws at the Department of Justice, a project which began as an investigation of the Department of Justice's handling of a lawsuit against the New Black Panther Party for voter and poll worker intimidation. What all three projects had in common was each contained elements that were critical or potentially critical of the current Administration's policies. Put differently, in each case, the Commission was fulfilling its mission to be a civil rights watchdog. See *supra* at n. 4. For a discussion of the termination of the sex discrimination investigation, see Gail Heriot & Alison Somin, *Affirmative Action for Men?: Strange Silences and Strange Bed Fellows in the Public Debate Over Discrimination Against Women in College Admissions*, Engage (2011) (forthcoming).
- ¹⁵ The vote to terminate the investigation was 4 to 3. Voting in favor of termination were Chairman Castro (appointed by President Obama), Commissioner Roberta Achtenberg (appointed by President Obama), Commissioner Dina Titus (appointed upon recommendation of Senate Democratic Leader Reid) and Vice Chair Thernstrom (appointed by President Bush, but who has caucused with Democrats for the past two years and votes with them except when it is clear her vote will not affect the outcome. I know of only one very minor exception to this rule since the Commission was re-constituted at the beginning of 2011). Voting against termination were Commissioner Peter Kirsanow (appointed by President Bush), Commissioner Todd Gaziano (appointed on

recommendation of House Republican Leader Boehner), and me (appointed on recommendation of Senate Republican Leader McConnell).

Believing that the Civil Rights Division might be eager to demonstrate that its staff members had never funneled funds to an organization with which they had some personal relationship, that it had not become lackadaisical about finding the real victims of civil rights violations, and that its procedures for selecting the recipients of funds were designed to avoid the potential for conflicts of interest, my special assistant, with my encouragement and cooperation, sent the Department of Justice a Freedom of Information Act request on June 10, 2010. DOJ acknowledged receipt of the request on June 21. No documents have been produced to date.

A similar request was sent to the EEOC on June 10, 2011. An acknowledgment was sent on June 17. On August 17, my special assistant received a letter stating that the EEOC estimated that costs of searching for responsive documents would be over \$5,000. She and I are waiting for a response to her request for a fee waiver.

¹⁶ Although Section 3 of the report purports to offer new information, what it there sheds no useful light on the question of whether the Department of Education is doing its job properly or on any other significant question. What it does is provide charts and counts for the sake of charts and counts. As my colleagues Commissioners Todd Gaziano and Peter Kirsanow point out in their Joint Dissent, it is unclear how many of the complaints counted in this Section actually involve student to student harassment (as opposed to alleged harassment of a student by a teacher or other school official). There is also no attempt to assess how many of the voluntary resolution agreements discussed in that Section were actually meritorious. See Joint Dissent of Commissioners Gaziano and Kirsanow at 132-33.

¹⁷ Certainly, there are times when coordination at the national level is crucial. But no such coordination is necessary for dealing with bullies. And even if it were necessary, the federal government is not offering it. Rather, it offers fragmentation. Federal law confers jurisdiction to act on the Department of Education only when bullying is a manifestation of race, sex, national origin, or disability discrimination. There are ways in which bullying on these grounds may differ from bullying on other grounds. But it is unclear why anyone would want a school to have one method for responding to a bully who is harassing his victim because the victim is nearsighted or his parents are from Ukraine and another one for when the bully is motivated by the fact that his victim is homely, nerdy or socially awkward.

¹⁸ While the Department of Education uses the word "bullying" in addition to "harassment" in describing its policy, the policy is essentially a harassment policy and draws on court decisions relating to sexual harassment for its justification. See Dear Colleague Letter of October 26, 2010 from Russlynn Ali, Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education.

A few words on how sexual harassment law in connection with Title VII has driven harassment law generally are in order: In 1964, when both Title VI (prohibiting race, color and national origin discrimination in federally-assisted programs) and Title VII (prohibiting race, color, sex, religion and national origin discrimination in public and private employment) were passed as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the latter was considered much more significant. An entirely new federal agency—the EEOC—was created to administer the law, and it was clear from the beginning that a private cause of action would lie. Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deBelleville Katzenbach estimated in two letters to Emmanuel Celler, Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, both dated February 6, 1964, that Title VI would require only three employees and a budget of \$62,510. Title IV (school desegregation) on the other hand was estimated to require 150 employees and a budget of \$10,752,560, while Title VII was expected to require 155 employees and a budget of \$3,875,000. Title IX, part of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972, prohibiting sex discrimination by educational institutions receiving federal financial assistance, was passed eight years later.

In 1964, the kind of race and sex discrimination in employment that people most readily thought of was not subtle. Newspapers in the South routinely categorized their "Help Wanted" ads as "Help Wanted—White" and "Help Wanted – Colored," and "Help Wanted—Male" and "Help Wanted—Female" ads were common almost everywhere. Nevertheless, Title VII's text does not prohibit only gross discrimination; it prohibits discrimination. When confronted with the question of whether Title VII prohibits an employer from maintaining a working environment that is so hostile to a particular race (or to one sex) that few members of that group would be willing to expose themselves to it, the Supreme Court and other courts rightly ruled that it may. See *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, 477 U.S. 57 (1986)(sex); *Rogers v. EEOC*, 454 F.2d 234 (5th Cir. 1971), cert. denied, 406 U.S. 957 (1972)(race).

This did not result in an immediate explosion of cases. At the time, Title VII plaintiffs could sue for back pay or for an injunction requiring that the offending conduct stop. But they could not sue for emotional distress damages. As a result, an employee who had been harassed would be unlikely to sue unless things were so bad that she had quit or the employer refused to rectify something that mattered to her enough to get an injunction.

Small grievances—both valid and invalid—were more likely to be left to the ordinary give and take of the workplace. All this changed in 1991 when Title VII was amended to allow money damages (instead of just back pay) and punitive damages. Changes in remedies frequently lead to profound changes in the way the substantive law is interpreted and applied. It was in 1991 that journalists (and even comedians) began to make fun of some of the comparatively trivial cases that employers had to contend with. See, e.g., Nat Hentoff, *Sexually Harassed by Francisco Goya*, Wash. Post. (Dec. 27, 1991)(copy of Goya's Naked Maja removed from classroom where it had hung for years after professor said it harassed her).

Meanwhile, as sexual harassment prevention was becoming part of the zeitgeist, cases brought under Title IX, which covers educational institutions receiving federal funds, began to be filed too. See *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools*, 503 U.S. 60 (1992)(holding that a case for money damages may be brought under Title IX for teacher's sexual harassment of student). Like the Title VII cases, once monetary damages became available, some of the Title IX lawsuits were trivial. See, e.g., *Nevermore for Poe Film*, Lawsuit Says, San Francisco Examiner (Aug. 30, 1994)(teenager sues for sexual harassment under Title IX after English teacher showed movie based on Edgar Allan Poe's classic short story "The Pit and the Pendulum").

The Department of Education was very much part of the zeitgeist that availability of money damages had helped create. On March 13, 1997, it upped the ante by issuing *Sexual Harassment Guidance: Harassment of Students by School Employees, Other Students or Third Parties*. That guidance made it clear that a school that did not come down hard on what the Department of Education considered sexual harassment might find itself the subject of a federal investigation. In the years that followed, the zero tolerance rules enforced against tiny tots began to appear. See also *Sexual Harassment Panda*, South Park Episode No. 37 (July 7, 1999)(comic treatment of an elementary school's sexual harassment policy).

In *Gebser v. Lago Vista Independent School District*, 524 U.S. 274 (1998), the Supreme Court gave much-needed clarification to the law by holding that damages may not be recovered for a case of teacher-on-student sexual harassment unless a school district official with authority to take corrective action had actual notice of the harassment and was deliberately indifferent. See *Burlington Industries, Inc. v. Ellerth*, 524 U.S. 742 (1998)(imposing similar requirements in Title VII case).

In 2000, in the case of *Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education*, 526 U.S. 629 (2000), the Supreme Court further clarified by holding that in addition to the limitations in *Gebser*, damages for student-on-student sexual harassment are available from the school district only when the harassment was so severe, pervasive and objectively offensive that it could be said to deprive the victim of access to the educational opportunities or benefits provided by the school."

In response to *Gebser* and *Davis*, the Department of Education was obliged to issue a new guidance in January of 2001, entitled *Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance: Harassment of Students by School Employees, Other Students, or Third Parties*.

I agree with my colleagues, Commissioners Gaziano and Kirsanow, that the current Dear Colleague Letter goes far beyond *Gebser* and *Davis* by making a school district responsible for (1) harassment/bullying not just that some responsible party knew about but that some responsible party should have known about; (2) student-on-student harassment/bullying that is not just "severe, pervasive *and* objectively offensive" but "severe, pervasive *or* persistent;" and (3) student-on-student harassment/bullying that "*interferes with or limits* a student's ability to participate in or benefit from the services, activities, or opportunities offered by a school" instead of the Supreme Court's standard of harassment/bullying that "*deprives* the victims of access to educational opportunities or benefits provided by a school." (Emphasis supplied). See Joint Dissent of Commissioners Gaziano and Kirsanow at 139-45. Indeed, it appears to me that the letter goes beyond any fair reading of Title VI or Title IX.

¹⁹ Scott Michels, Boys Face Sex Trial for Slapping Girls' Posteriors, ABC News (July 24, 2007).

²⁰ Juju Chang, Alisha Davis, Cole Kazdin and Olivia Sterns, First-Grader Labeled a Sexual Harasser: Has Zero-Tolerance for Sexual Harassment in Schools Gone Too Far?, ABC News (Feb. 19, 2009).

²¹ Yvonne Bynoe, Is that 4-Year-Old Really a Sex Offender?, The Washington Post (Oct. 21, 2007). According to the article, school spokeswoman Carol Mowen said, "It's important to understand a child may not realize that what he or she is doing may be considered sexual harassment, but if it fits under the definition, then it is, under the state's guidelines." These state guidelines were promulgated in an effort to comply with federal civil rights law.

²² Id.

²³ Gitika Ahuja, First-Grader Suspended for Sexual Harassment: Boy's Mother Says He's Too Young to Even Understand the Accusation, ABC News (February 9, 2006). The article reports: "In a statement, Brockton Superintendent of Schools Basan Nembirkow said the district takes 'all allegations of sexual harassment very seriously. An investigation is always conducted when reports of sexual harassment arise. Principals are trained

to handle these difficult situations and they are assisted, as needed, by the district's sexual harassment officer in handling each situation."

²⁴ 6-Year-Old Boy Accused of Sexual Harassment, WSPA-7-On-Your-Side (April 4, 2008).

²⁵ Juju Chang, Alisha Davis, Cole Kazdin and Olivia Sterns, First-Grader Labeled a Sexual Harasser: Has Zero-Tolerance for Sexual Harassment in Schools Gone Too Far?, ABC News (Feb. 19, 2009).

²⁶ I have asked the Commission to look into this issue, but have so far been unsuccessful in persuading a majority of the commissioners to do so.

²⁷ 240 F.3d 200, 204, 206 (3d Cir. 2001).

²⁸ *Bethel School Dist. No. 403 v. Fraser*, 478 U.S. 675 (1986); *Tinker v. Des Moines Indep. School Dist.*, 398 U.S. 503 (1969); *Saxe v. State College Area School Dist.*, 240 F.3d 200 (3d Cir. 2001). Commissioner Yaki's Statement is devoted almost exclusively to the proposition that the Constitution sometimes permits and indeed sometimes requires that children be treated differently from adults. No one denies this—although the cases he cites for that proposition do not always stand for it. See, e.g. *Jacobson v. Massachusetts*, 197 U.S. 11 (1905) (upholding Massachusetts' compulsory vaccination law against an adult plaintiff). By the same token, however, no serious student of the law can deny that while the Supreme Court has recognized limits on the application of the First Amendment to school children, it has also recognized that school children have First Amendment rights at school and outside of school in the same cases. See *Tinker*, 393 U.S. at 506 ("It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate."). Commissioner Yaki's Statement does not deal with this at all. Nor does it deal with the question of whether the Department of Education has or should exercise the authority to regulate public or private schools in the manner it purports to do in its Dear Colleague Letter.

²⁹ The only organization I know of that specializes in protecting the First Amendment and academic freedom rights of faculty and students on college and university campuses is the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE). Although some of the cases that FIRE litigate may lead to judicial decisions that affect K-12 public schools, FIRE works primarily on safeguarding the individual rights of university students rather than on defending those of younger students. Sadly, its staff is also tiny. But see William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, act iv, scene iii (c. 1598).

³⁰ See, e.g. Jon B. Gould, *Speak No Evil: The Triumph of Hate Speech Regulation* (2005).

³¹ See, e.g., Mari Matsuda, Charles R. Lawrence III, Richard Delgado and Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, *Words that Wound: Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech and First Amendment* (1993) (advocating hate speech codes); Richard Delgado and Jean Stephancic, *Must We Defend Nazis?: Hate Speech, Pornography and the New First Amendment* (1999) (same).

Higher education is not the only place where serious First Amendment controversies have erupted in the last decade. Professor David E. Bernstein has written about the use of federal employment discrimination law to limit free expression in the workplace. See David E. Bernstein, *You Can't Say That!: The Growing Threat to Civil Liberties from Anti-Discrimination Laws* (2003) (discussing sexual harassment law's effect upon the workplace).

³² State anti-bullying initiatives may also have this effect. See Jonathan Saltzman, *Antibully Law May Face Free Speech Challenges*, *The Boston Globe* (May 4, 2010). That article stated:

[S]ome aspects of the law are so general that civil rights lawyers are concerned about how schools will apply it. The law, for example, defines one form of bullying as "repeated use" of a written, verbal, or physical act that "causes physical or emotional harm to the victim."

By that standard, said Gavi Wolfe, legislative counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, a student who calls another student "loser" twice on the school bus and hurts the youngster's feelings could qualify as a bully. A bus driver who heard the remarks would have to report them to school officials, who would then have to contact the parents of both children and take appropriate disciplinary action.

Harvey A. Silverglate, a well-known Boston civil rights lawyer, said, "School authorities are going to overreact, and we're going to have a firestorm of administrative actions against kids for saying this that are merely slightly unpleasant but do not qualify as bullying or harassment or any such thing."

³³ It has its costs, of course. Once such a bureaucracy is put in place, it is very difficult to dispense with it, even if the need for it diminishes. Such are the consequences of history.

³⁴ The case in South Philadelphia described at our briefing by Helen Gym of Asian Americans United may well be an example.

³⁵ Statement of Chairman Martin R. Castro at 90. It is useful to note that forty seven years ago, Chairman Castro could not have made a similar statement about the education issue of the day. It was not true that everyone wanted to ensure that African American students had the right to attend the same schools as their peers, regardless of race.

That is why federal intervention was useful: The Fourteenth Amendment was being flouted. There is nothing remotely analogous to the massive resistance to *Brown v. Board of Education* today. There have many disagreements about education policy, but there are no adults outside homes for the criminally insane who don't want all the nation's children to have a safe place to learn.

³⁶ Everyone's heart goes out to Ms. Aaberg, the mother of Justin Aaberg, the 15-year-old student from the Anoka High School in Anoka, Minnesota, who took his own life on July 9, 2010 during the summer vacation between his freshman and sophomore years. But when bereaved relatives testify before a commission about their grief, care must be taken to prevent the proceedings from degenerating into political theater. In our case one of our Commission members used Ms. Aaberg's testimony as a club to attempt to discourage one of our other witnesses—Francisco M. Negron, Jr., general counsel to the National School Boards Association—from testifying candidly. Mr. Negron was kind enough to inform us of the kinds of problems school boards face in trying to satisfy the federal mandate on bullying. Commissioner Yaki responded this way:

I'm going to be as civil as I possibly can. But it just seemed to me very difficult for me to listen to your testimony talking about the fear of lawsuits and plaintiffs' lawyers when you're talking about sitting next to someone who lost their son

And to talk about plaintiffs' lawyers and whatever is essentially saying, 'Well you know there's a price we have to pay and there's some cost benefit analysis that we have to do when it comes to how much a child's life is.' At least that's the way it came to me. I know that's not what you meant, but certainly the way it came out.

So my question to you is, you talk about the fact that there should be no federal mandates, because there should be local leadership. How do you explain [that] to Ms. Aaberg?

Tr. at 275-76.

This was not fair. Mr. Negron was given a difficult task—giving testimony directly after a mother had offered her story of the loss of her young son—and he fulfilled that task with tact and grace. Mr. Negron and the National School Boards Association are at least as concerned about the safety and welfare of children as Commission Yaki and the other members of the Commission. But among other things, Mr. Negron has a duty to try to ensure that school resources are not spent on unproductive bureaucratic red tape rather than on actual teaching and learning. Moreover, as Commissioner Yaki must surely know, the job of preventing suicide is not as easy as it was made to seem at our staged media event—complete with poster-sized photographs of smiling suicide victims on easels. Increased federal oversight is unlikely to do the trick. The next suicide in the Anoka-Hennepin School District may not be the victim of an anti-gay bully. Next time it may be a child who was wrongly accused of being a bully instead. Perhaps it will be a child who never did anything at all, but whom the true bullies accuse of wrongdoing just for the fun of it. Or perhaps it will be a child reared in a religious tradition that disapproves of homosexuality, but who has done nothing but decline to endorse it. History never repeats itself exactly. The next time might not be a suicide at all; instead it may be a fatal accident because some school district somewhere had its budget strained by the kind of litigation that Commissioner Yaki seems unconcerned about and hence was not able to keep its school buses properly maintained. It is a complicated world. And it will not be made better or less complicated by a federal bureaucracy attempting to accomplish through federal mandate that which cannot be accomplished that way.

Justin Aaberg's tragic suicide is very much part of that complicated world. Members of the Commission seem to assume that it was a direct result of school bullying. But immediately after his death, which occurred in July, between school sessions, WCCO, the CBS affiliate in Minnesota, reported that his friends told Ms. Aaberg that he "had recently broken up with his boyfriend."

<http://minnesota.cbslocal.com/health/glb.t.teen.suicide.2.1910636.html>. To be sure, they also reported to her that he had sometimes been bullied. But there is nothing in the article to link the suicide to either the break up or the bullying, and given that the suicide took place in the middle of the summer, it seems doubtful that the link between it and any bullying at school was direct and immediate. At best, it may have had an indirect link.

In her testimony, Ms. Aaberg related the two incidents that she knew of. First, more than a year prior to his death, two other students grabbed at his genitals in the hallway and taunted him saying, "You like that, don't you?" This incident had left young Justin crying, and his friends reported the incident to the school counselor. There is nothing in the Commission's record that makes it clear what, if anything, the counselor did about it. Ms. Aaberg was inclined to be critical of the counselor for failing to inform her of what happened. But what if she had? Would that have made things better for Justin? Or worse? Many children prefer that their personal humiliations not be brought to the attention of their parents, and given that Justin did not tell his parents himself, he may well have fallen into that category on this occasion at least. Sometimes in the exercise of good judgment, school counselors must overrule the wishes of their charges on such matters. But sometimes good judgment

requires that the child's wishes be respected. In what respect does oversight from the Department of Education increase the likelihood that the right decision will be made?

The other incident Ms. Aaberg reported was indeed communicated to her by her son. She testified that two months prior to his death he confided that a "kid" had once told him that because he was gay he was going to hell. Ms. Aaberg did not testify whether she knew where or when this conversation involving her son and the other young person occurred, the tone of voice with which the student spoke, whether the teachers, counselors or principal knew about it or had reason to know about it. She simply gave her opinion that the First Amendment should not cover such speech. Tr. at 296.

Despite knowing of this incident, Ms. Aaberg testified before the Commission that up until his suicide "he always looked so happy and I honestly thought he had the perfect life." He had many friends, and according to her testimony, he evidently did not wish to bother them with his problems any more than he wanted to bother his family. Statement of Tammy Aaberg at 1. No one realized that he was about to take his own life. All of this is perfectly understandable and my sympathy goes out to Ms. Aaberg and her son's family and friends. But it may well be that he looked happy to his teachers and counselor too. They may also have mistakenly thought he had the perfect life.

Life teaches us that human beings are not always what they appear to be on the surface. But no one has ever suggested that the problems of navigating the human soul can be made easier with more aggressive federal oversight.

³⁷ It is worth noting that a significant by-product of the Department of Education's Dear Colleague Letter of October 26, 2010 is to increase the demand for anti-bullying seminars and education programs—and not just by a little bit. In the Letter, Assistant Secretary Russlynn Ali makes it clear that "school administrators should look beyond simply disciplining the perpetrators [i.e. bullies]." "While disciplining the perpetrators is likely a necessary step, it often is insufficient." Instead, she repeatedly urges "training faculty on constructive responses to racial conflict," "[p]roviding faculty with training to recognize and address anti-Semitic incidents," and "creat[ing] an age-appropriate program to educate its students about the history and dangers of anti-Semitism." In response to one hypothetical featuring sexual name-calling and rumor mongering, Assistant Secretary Ali states "The school should have trained its employees on the type of misconduct that constitutes sexual harassment." She again makes it clear the "responding to individual incidents of misconduct on an ad hoc basis only" is insufficient." In connection with a hypothetical involving the bullying of a disabled student, she states that the proper response should "at least" have included (among other things) "special training for staff on recognizing and effectively responding to harassment of students with disabilities."

By the end of the 10-page letter, only a fool would have failed to note that the best way to avoid liability—perhaps the only way—is to engage lots of trainers.

Training is obviously not always a bad thing. But when schools undertake such training in response to what they perceive to be a government mandate, they are overwhelmingly likely to just go through the motions.

Approximately twenty years ago, see n.18, *supra*, employers seeking to avoid Title VII sexual harassment lawsuits for monetary damages began to hire outside consultants to train their employees on proper workplace decorum. In doing so, some hoped their employees would learn to avoid conduct that could be construed as sexual harassment. More important, however, they hoped these training courses would provide them with some immunity against punitive damages. Consequently, it didn't matter whether an employer thought its employees needed sexual harassment training or not; they were going to get it.

In California, where I live, the businesses providing these training courses became powerful enough to secure a state law requiring all supervisory employees at all workplaces, both public and private, to take such a course every other year. See Cal. Gov. Code § 12950.1 (2011).

It seems overwhelmingly likely that the advocacy groups and private businesses that provide bullying training have received a special stimulus from the Department of Education's Dear Colleague Letter. A representative of one of them, the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network ("GLSEN"), testified at our briefing in favor of the Department of Education's policy.

³⁸ See, e.g., Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: Why Cities Without Gays and Rock Bands are Losing the Economic Development Race*, *Washington Monthly* (May 2002).

One expert, Cornell University professor of human development Ritch Savin-Williams, has expressed concern that current scholarship on gay, lesbian and bisexual youth tends to be "doom-and-gloom" and that scholarship "[a]ccentuating the assets, resiliency, and complexity of same-sex oriented youth as creative, artistic, versatile, assertive, stylish, witty, sensitive, and athletic does not exist." Ritch C. Savin-Williams, *Then and Now: Recruitment, Definition, Diversity, and Positive Attributes of Same-Sex Populations*, 44 *Developmental*

Psychology 135, 137 (2008). Alas, the political system tends to reward those who can claim to be disadvantaged, particularly if they can claim to have been victimized.

Savin-Williams also points out what he calls a "perplexing contradiction" in the social science literature on sexual minorities:

Although gay youth are purported to be severely disturbed, once adulthood is reached, they somehow become good partners and parents. How can it be that young lesbians, who reportedly have high levels of nearly every risk behavior imaginable, grow up to be such good partners and parents? One pessimistic perspective is that disturbed lesbian youth are eliminated through their pathology, with suicide being the most obvious. Alternatively, as they age, broader and more representative subgroups of same-sex attracted women come out, establish relationships, and identify some aspect of their same-sex sexuality on research surveys. Another explanation is political in nature. Highlighting 'bad' gay youth and 'good' gay adults garners resources: community support services and school-based gay/straight alliances for youth and legal rights in legal same-sex parenting and marriage court cases for adults.

Id. at 137. See also Ritch C. Savin-Williams, *The New Gay Teenager* (2005)(arguing that the image of sexual minority teenagers as depressed and suicidal may be exaggerated).

³⁹ It is the practice of the Commission for Commissioners to share their Statements and to then allow 30 days for Commissioners to add rebuttal material to their Statements or to draft a separate Rebuttal Statement. My citations are to the draft Statements, which did not contain rebuttal material at the time I had access to them.

⁴⁰ This is a random sampling of the articles, and not an effort to find the most troubling case in each category. There has been insufficient time for anything else.

⁴¹ Commissioner Roberta Achtenberg at 103 (quoting Report at 14-15)(citation were omitted in the Achtenberg version).

⁴² Liza Little, Middle Class Mothers' Perceptions of Peer and Sibling Victimization among Children with Asperger's Syndrome and Nonverbal Learning Disorders, 25 *Issues of Comprehensive Pediatr. Nurs.* 43 (2002)

⁴³ Susan Carter, Bullying of Students with Asperger Syndrome, 32 *Issues Comprehensive Pediatric Nursing* 145, 146, 150 table 2 (2009).

⁴⁴ Little at 47-48.

⁴⁵ Carter at 148.

⁴⁶ Carter at 150 (only 18 respondents, those with children ages 4-14 were asked the questions on social shunning).

⁴⁷ Fred R. Volkmar & Ami Klin, Diagnostic Issues in Asperger Syndrome, in *Asperger Syndrome* 25, 31, 35 (Ami Klin, Fred R. Volkmar & Sara S. Sparrow eds., 2000).

⁴⁸ It should be noted that these very useful studies were not written for the purpose of justifying a federal bullying policy. Rather they were intended to provide information to pediatric nurses and other health professionals that would take them a step beyond their own clinical observations. In the absence of this evidence, these professionals would have even less to go on.

⁴⁹ On the other hand, this can be carried too far. Sometimes advocacy organizations are in the best position to bring problems to public attention that might otherwise be neglected.

⁵⁰ The Sikh Coalition, *Hatred in the Hallways: A Preliminary Report on Bias Against Sikh Students in New York City's Public Schools* (June 2007).

⁵¹ This is clear because the summary of the results repeatedly refers to students who wear "*patkas*," which are head coverings worn by young boys before they are old enough to wear turbans. A Sikh Coalition video also features a photograph of a quite young boy being interviewed for the survey. See Sikh Coalition, *Sikh Coalition NYC Civil Rights Survey* (May 11, 2007), available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j61q1LTaN-8>.

⁵² It is worth pointing out that the high rates of teasing and/or harassing on account of religion for Sikh children seems to be confined to boys—likely for the obvious reason that they are ones who wear turbans or *patkas*. The study stated that "77.5% of Sikh boys we surveyed who go to school in the borough of Queens report being teased or harassed on account of their Sikh identity." In contrast, "58.4 percent of Sikh students report being teased or harassed at school on account of their Sikh identity. For reasons that are not discussed in its report, the Sikh Coalition interviewed approximately twice as many boys as girls (65.4% vs. 34.6%) in its study. Given the turban/*patka* issue, this, of course, artificially inflates the numbers of children who have been teased and/or harassed.

⁵³ If it is any consolation, I grew up during the Cold War, and I was accused by another child of being a spy for what was then commonly called "Red China." Just as Sikhs are not Muslim, I am not Asian. I do have dark, straight hair, or at least I did. And even if I were Asian, I am not a spy. The little girl who accused me of this later became a close friend. I am not trying to make light of all accusations suffered by Sikhs. Some are obviously more serious than others. For example, in the days directly after September 11, 2001, Frank Silva Roque, a man with

serious mental problems, killed Balbir Singh Sodhi, a Sikh gas station owner in Arizona, believing him to be a Muslim terrorist. Roque was convicted and sentenced to death, but the Arizona Supreme Court reduced his sentence to life imprisonment, citing as mitigating factors both his low IQ and mental illness. But just as not all accusations that a Sikh is a terrorist are insignificant child's play, some really are insignificant child's play. *Hatred in the Hallways* fails to make distinctions among accusations and hence is not particularly helpful.

⁵⁴ These statements were made before the project was completed. She also stated in the video, "Our goal is to have 1000 surveys completed by the end of the project, and our larger goal is to take these numbers and present them to government agencies who can help our community in different ways...."

⁵⁵ Sikh Coalition NYC Civil Rights Survey (May 11, 2007), available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j61q1LTaTn-8>.

⁵⁶ I note that unlike in most scholarly articles (and I surely do not wish to imply here that scholarly studies are not also subject to political bias), in *Hatred in the Hallways*, the reader is not told how the questions to the survey subjects were worded.

⁵⁷ AAUW Educational Foundation, *Hostile Hallways: Bullying, Teasing and Sexual Harassment in School* (2001).

⁵⁸ *Id.* at 12, Figures 3 & 4.

⁵⁹ *Id.* at 29.

⁶⁰ *Id.* at 27.

⁶¹ The question propounded to students was, "During the past 12 months, how many times on school property were you harassed or bullied for any of the following reasons?" Among the reasons listed was "Race, Ethnicity or National Origin." Anyone who answered more than never would have been included in the tally.

⁶² Tonja R. Nansel, Mary Overpeck, Ramani S. Pilla, W. June Ruan, Bruce Simons-Morton & Peter Scheidt, *Bully Behaviors Among US Youth: Prevalence and Association with Psychosocial Adjustment*, 285 JAMA 2094 (April 25, 2001).

⁶³ The difference between white and Hispanic was not statistically significant. *Id.* at 2097, Table 2. Similarly, 8.8% of white students, 6.7% of black students and 8.1% of Hispanic students reported that they were bullied on a weekly basis. These differences, however, were not statistically significant.

⁶⁴ Statement of Commissioner Achtenberg at 101 (quoting Report at 12).

⁶⁵ Nansel at 2097. The rates among students who reported that they had ever been bullied were as follows: "Belittled about religion or race" (25.8%), "Belittled about looks or speech" (61.6%), "Hit, slapped, or pushed" (55.9%), "Subjects of rumors" (55.6%), Subjects of sexual comments or gestures" (52.0%).

⁶⁶ *Id.* at 2097

⁶⁷ The "It Gets Better" Project was founded by Dan Savage and Terry Miller in response to suicides of gay teenagers. Its purpose is to urge them to hang in there; life as an adult will be better. This message strikes me as important for all pre-teens and teenagers, straight or gay, bullied or non-bullied. Few teenagers find growing up easy. Adults who tell adolescents that "These are the best years of your life" are frequently well meaning, but their words are not very comforting and (mercifully) usually inaccurate.

⁶⁸ Statement of Commissioner Achtenberg at 109, quoting Emily O'Mally Olsen, Tim McManus, Steve Kinchen, David Chyen, William A. Harris, Howell Wechsler, *Sexual Identity, Sex of Sexual Contacts, and Health-Risk Behaviors Among Students in Grades 9-12—Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance, Selected Sites, United States, 2001-2009*, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (June 6, 2011)(Early Release).

⁶⁹ These figures are medians of the results of 13 state-wide and local surveys. The figures for reported attempted suicides broken down by actual sexual contacts (rather than reported sexual orientation) were 8.4% (opposite sex sexual contacts only), 19.7% (same sex sexual contacts only) and 29.8% (sexual contact with both sexes). Students were asked about their conduct for the 12 month period immediately preceding the point during which they filled out the questionnaire.

⁷⁰ Olsen et al, at 75, Table 26. Again, these figures are medians of 13 state and local studies. The figures are for any 30-day period, and do not necessarily imply that a student was currently smoking daily.

⁷¹ *Id.* at 89, Table 40.

⁷² *Id.* at 90-102, Tables 41-53. For example, 4.6% of heterosexual, 22.9% of gay or lesbian and 20.4% of bisexual students report using the drug ecstasy. *Id.* at 97, Table 48.

In view of this, it does not seem surprising to me that sexual minority students are more likely to "receive punishment from schools, police or courts." See Statement of Commissioner Roberta Achtenberg at 111 (quoting Institute of Medicine of the National Academies, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People: Building a Foundation for Better Understanding* 159 (2011). Commissioner Achtenberg cites the Institute of Medicine report for the proposition that this disproportionate discipline was somehow unmerited. In fact,

however, the reference she cites is merely a citation to another article. It is not an endorsement of that other article's findings. See Kathryn E.W. Himmelstein and Hannah Brickner, *Criminal-Justice and School Sanctions Against Non-Heterosexual Youth: A National Longitudinal Study*, 127 *Pediatrics* 49 (January 2011). Two days after the internet version of the article was published, a letter dated December 8, 2010 from Donald J. Harris, Ph.D. sent to *Pediatrics* stated: "There is a sharp disconnect between the statistical findings presented in this report and the authors' conclusion that 'nonheterosexual youth suffer disproportionate educational and criminal-justice punishments that are not explained by greater engagement in illegal or transgressive behaviors.' ... [T]he categorical language of the authors' conclusion is based almost entirely on a pattern of findings that did not reach the stated criterion of statistical significance." See *Replies to Criminal-Justice and School Sanctions Against Nonheterosexual Youth: A National Longitudinal Study*, *Pediatrics* web site. If this Report were not put together so hurriedly, perhaps we would have had time to figure out who is right.

⁷³ *Id.* at 115, Table 66. There is, however, research that finds that eating disorders are more common among gay, lesbian and bisexual students than they are among heterosexual students. S. Austin, N.J. Ziyadeh, H.L.

Corliss, M. Rosario, D. Wypi, J. Haines, C.A. Carmago, Jr. & A.E. Field, *Sexual Orientation Disparities in Purging and Binge Eating from Early to Late Adolescence*, 45 *J. Adolescent Health* 238 (2009).

⁷⁴ There may indeed be external structural issues that are contributing factors to the high rates of high-risk behavior on the part of gay, lesbian and bisexual youth. But they do not all relate to victimization. For example, since sexual minorities are minorities, the search for love may be a little harder. They are less likely to find a soul mate or even a reasonably compatible mate within a short distance from their home. As a result, they may be less likely to form satisfactory romantic relationships while still in school. A failed relationship may be a greater problem, since the common adage that there are "plenty of fish in the sea" may not apply. Another external structural issue relates to family structure. Through genetic inheritance, white parents tend to give birth to white children, while Asian parents tend to give birth to Asian children. Through cultural inheritance, Roman Catholic parents tend to have Roman Catholic children and Buddhist parents have Buddhist children. But most gay, lesbian or bisexual children are being reared by their own biological, heterosexual parents or parent. (Gay, lesbian and bisexual adults sometimes have biological or adopted children, but those children are usually heterosexual, thus creating the problem in reverse.) No doubt the pressures of parental disapproval can be a problem for sexual minority children. But even in the absence of disapproval, anything that makes a child different from his or her parents places some element of stress on the relationship. Sexual orientation is just one more such potential difference. Sympathetic parents, for example, may wish to provide advice on romantic relationships, but feel inadequate to the task, since their experience is dissimilar. Or their children may perceive them to be inadequate to the task, when in fact they are quite able to help, but their advice is not sought.

⁷⁵ She later states her point more modestly (and much more defensibly): "The reasons that sexual minority youth may experience suicidal ideation and/or acts in response to victimization are not entirely clear. Nevertheless, social stigma may well drive some number of these experiences." Statement of Commissioner Roberta Achtenberg at 111-12.

⁷⁶ See Ritch C. Savin-Williams, *Then and Now: Recruitment, Definition, Diversity, and Positive Attributes of Same Sex Populations*, 44 *Developmental Psych.* 135 (2008) (internal citations omitted). In that article, Dr. Savin-Williams writes intriguingly about the issue: "[M]ost researchers assume that it is not same-sex sexuality per se that impacts development but the victimization, discrimination, and stigmatization that it engenders. If so, what is it about sexual prejudice that is developmentally more deleterious to the recipients than other forms of social ostracism to their recipients, such as that meted out to women, ethnic minorities, the poor, the unattractive, the overweight, or the disabled? Alternatively, one might argue (but few do) that because of their possibly altered hormonal and anatomical constitution, same-sex attracted individuals navigate a unique developmental instability or fluctuation across a range of personal attributes (sex object choice, cognitive skills, physical features, hobbies, career choices). The sex atypicality of same-sex populations suggests that some same-sex attracted individuals have a different brain structure, physiology, or hormonal status than others of their biological sex. Whether these potential biological differences make same-sex oriented individuals unique, and if so, to what degree are unknown, largely because the biologic data are so preliminary that few direct or indirect pathways have been established."

⁷⁷ Asian/Pacific Islander females had the third highest rate of suicide among females, followed by Hispanics and non-Hispanic blacks. Among males, non-Hispanic blacks had the third highest rate, with Hispanic males at a very close fourth and Asian/Pacific Islander males with the fifth-highest rate. Rates were age-adjusted. See Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, *National Suicide Statistics at a Glance* (2002-2006).

⁷⁸ Ottar Bejerkset, Pai Romundstad, Jonathan Evans & David Gunnell, *Association of Adult Body Mass Index and Height with Anxiety, Depression, and Suicide in the General Population*, 167 *Am. J. Epidemiology* 193 (2008).

- ⁷⁹ Caitlin Ryan, David Huebner, Rafael M. Diaz, & Jorge Sanchez, Family Rejection as a Predictor of Negative Health Outcomes in White and Latino Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Young Adults, 123 *Pediatrics* 346 (Jan. 2009).
- ⁸⁰ *Id.* at 346. For example, 19.7% of those classed as having "low rejection scores" reported suicide attempts, while 35.1% of those with moderate rejection scores and 67.6% of those with high rejection scores did. Similarly, 22.4% of those with low rejection scores, 44.6% of those with moderate rejection scores, and 63.5% of those with high rejection scores reported depression. *Id.* at 350, Table 4.
- ⁸¹ The data on the relationship of family rejection with heavy drinking and with sexually transmissible disease diagnosis were not statistically significant. *Id.* at 350, Table 4.

End Notes for Statement of Commisioner Michael Yaki

- ¹ In a report released last year – prior to the changes in membership on the Commission that approved this Report -- my Statement on the Multiethnic Placement Act report focused on the failure of the Commission to address same-sex adoption: "However, the Commission majority, by its actions to date, has consistently refused to act in accordance with our mandate to ensure justice and equal treatment for all Americans. By that I am explicitly discussing the need for this Commission to recognize continued discrimination against Americans who are gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender. This void in our mandate is evident by this report's refusal/inability to explore or to encourage facilitation of adoption by one important sector of the American population: gay men and lesbians."
- ² Indeed, given that state action is involved in educating (and protecting) K-12 children, and that this is limited to a distinct group, any law should pass muster under the "congruent and proportional" test of *City of Boerne v. Flores*, 521 U.S. 507 (1997).

Chapter 111

BULLYING VICTIMIZATION IN SCHOOL ADOLESCENTS

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ABSTRACT

Bullying victimization is a serious problem among in-school adolescents. Because of limited reports on bullying among adolescents in Benin, a study was conducted to determine the prevalence and correlates for bullying victimization among school-going adolescents in Benin. Secondary analysis of data was conducted using the 2009 Benin Global School-based Health Survey (GSHS) data. Logistic regression analyses were done to estimate associations between the outcome (bullying victimization) and selected explanatory variables. Out of 2,690 in-school adolescents, 49.3% were of age 16 years or older, 66.9% were males and 40.1% reported having been bullied at least once in the previous 30 days to the survey (39.2% among boys versus 42.0% among girls). Male

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adolescents were 11% (adjusted odds ratio (AOR) = 0.89; 95% confidence interval (CI) 0.88–0.90) less likely to be bullied compared to female adolescents. Participants who drank alcohol were 45% more likely to be bullied than those who did not drink alcohol (AOR = 1.45; 95% CI 1.43–1.47). Adolescents who smoked cigarettes were 24% (AOR = 1.24; 95% CI 1.21–1.28) more likely to be bullied compared to non-smokers. Those who reported being involved in physical fighting were 77% more likely to be bullied than those who were not involved in physical fighting (AOR=1.77; 95% CI 1.75–1.79). Adolescents who had parental supervision were 10% (AOR = 0.90; 95% CI 0.89, 0.91) less likely to be bullied than those who did not have parental supervision. Efforts to prevent and control bullying should take into consideration the factors identified in this study.

INTRODUCTION

Bullying victimization is a serious problem among in-school adolescents and has a long term effect on problem behaviour in young adulthood (1). Bullying is associated with truancy from school (2) and affects school achievement (3). It has also been associated with health problems (4–7) such as depression and suicidality.

Bullying victimization is a common problem among children and adolescents across the globe. Its prevalence varies across countries partly due to differences in the definition, study design and sample (8). Among 28 European countries, the prevalence of being bullied in previous last year varied from 6% in Sweden to 40% in Lithuania (9). Meanwhile, in 19 low- and middle income countries, the prevalence of being bullied in the previous 30 days ranged from 7.8% in Tajikistan to 60.9% in Zambia (10). In the United States, about 10% of school going children were bullied (11), and in Canada an average of 16% of the children (17.8% of boys and 15.1% of girls (12)) were frequently victimized (13). In Asia, prevalence of being bullied was 27.8% in Thailand (14), 19.0% in Guangdong province in China (15), 8% in Western Turkey (16), 35.5% were bullied in Philippines (17), and 14% of the students were bullied in Korea (18). In a study involving 40 countries, Craig et al. (19) observed that adolescents in Baltic countries reported higher rates of being bullied, whereas northern European countries reported the lowest prevalence.

Demographic factors have been associated with bullying victimization. In middle-income countries, male gender (10, 20, 21) and younger age (10, 22) have been associated with bullying victimization. Substance use has also been reported to be associated with bullying victimization (23). Tharp-Taylor et al. (24) have reported an association between cigarette smoking and bullying victimization and between marijuana use and bullying victimization. Bullying victimization has also been associated with physical fighting (20, 22, 25). Factors associated with bullying victimization have not been consistent across countries partly due to differences in the selected variables for analysis. Hence, it is important that each population establishes risk factors for bullying victimization for use in designing interventions to curtail or prevent bullying.

This study involved further analysis of data from the Benin Global School-based Health Survey (GSHS) that was conducted in 2009. The survey was developed by the World Health Organization (WHO) in collaboration with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) with technical assistance from the Centres for Diseases Control and Prevention (CDC), Atlanta, Georgia, United States.

The GSHS aims to provide data on health and social behaviours among in-school adolescents. Further details of the GSHS have been reported elsewhere (26). Among the 13-15 years old pupils in Benin, 42.1% (42.7% of boys and 40.7% of girls) were bullied (27). Because this analysis was limited to the 13-15 years age group and no attempt was made to determine factors associated with bullying in Benin, we conducted further analysis of the 2009 Benin GSHS to determine the prevalence of bullying and its correlates in the school-going adolescents in Benin.

OUR STUDY

The Republic of Benin with a population of 9.98 million is located in West Africa, bordering with Togo in the west, Nigeria in the east and Burkina Faso and Niger in the north. The capital city of Benin is Porto-Novo. Literacy (ability to read and write) among persons aged 15 years or older was 55.2% of males and 30.3% of females. The population comprised of 42.8% Christians, 24.4% Moslems, 17.3% practices Vodun and 6.5% claimed no religion affiliation (2013 census). During pre-colonial era, young boys were often apprenticed to older soldiers, and Benin was characterized by ethnic strife during post-colonial era with six coups between 1963 and 1970 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benin>. Accessed 2014 January 15).

A School-based Health Survey was conducted in 2009 among students in grades 10 to 12 in Benin. A total of 2690 students participated in the survey. The response rate and sampling methods that were used in the survey are described in greater detail elsewhere (27). The school response rate was 100%, the student response rate was 90%, and the overall response rate was 90%. A two-stage cluster sampling technique was used to draw the sample. At the first stage of sampling, schools were randomly selected with probability proportional to enrollment size. At the second stage of sampling, classes were randomly selected and all students in selected classes were eligible to participate.

The data set and code book were made available to the public on the GSHS website (<http://www.cdc.gov/gshs/>. Accessed 2014 February 15). The privacy of students was protected by allowing for anonymous and voluntary participation. No school identifier was included in the data that was deposited in the public domain.

The survey obtained information among other subjects on bullying; alcohol use; tobacco use; parental supervision and violence. The questionnaire was self-administered by students. Bullying victimization was the outcome variable. It was explained as follows: "Bullying occurs when a student or group of students say or do bad and unpleasant things to another student. It is also bullying when a student is teased a lot in an unpleasant way or when a student is left out of things on purpose. It is not bullying when two students of about the same strength or power argue or fight or when teasing is done in a friendly and fun way." Students were then asked the following question: "During the past 30 days, on how many days were you bullied?" The responses were: 0 days, 1 or 2 days, 3 to 5 days, 6 to 9 days, 10 to 19 days, 20 to 29 days and all 30 days. Those reporting one or more days were considered to have been bullied. The independent variables were identified from the literature as associated with bullying.

The following were the exposure variables that were considered in the analysis:

- Alcohol consumption: the variable was obtained by asking the question “During the past 30 days, on how many days did you have at least one drink containing alcohol?” The responses were: 0 days, 1 or 2 days, 3 to 5 days, 6 to 9 days, 10 to 19 days, 20 to 29 days and all 30 days. The variable was categorized as having drunk alcohol in the previous 30 days to the survey, if pupil drank 1 or more drinks containing alcohol; otherwise they were categorized having not consumed alcohol in the same period.
- Smoking cigarettes: Pupils were asked “During the past 30 days, on how many days did you smoke cigarettes?”; and the responses were 0 days, 1 or 2 days, 3 to 5 days, 6 to 9 days, 10 to 19 days, 20 to 29 days and all 30 days. Smoking cigarettes was categorized into having smoked cigarettes in the previous 30 days to the survey if the pupil smoked cigarettes on 1 or more days in the previous 30 days to the survey; otherwise the pupil did not smoke cigarettes.
- Parental supervision: pupils were asked the question “During the past 30 days, how often did your parents or guardians really know what you were doing with your free time?” The responses were never, rarely, sometimes, most of the time and always. The responses were categorized into having not received parental supervision if they were never supervised; otherwise they received parental supervision.
- Physical fighting: a physical fight was explained as: “A physical fight occurs when two students of about the same strength or power choose to fight each other”. The pupils were asked the following question: “During the past 12 months, how many times were you in a physical fight?” The responses were 0 times, 1 time, 2 or 3 times, 4 or 5 times, 6 or 7 times, 8 or 9 times, 10 or 11 times and 12 or more times. Pupils who were involved in 1 or more times of physical fight were labeled as being involved in a physical fight during the previous 12 months to the survey; otherwise they were deemed as not having been involved in a physical fight in the same period.

Weighted prevalence of the main outcome (bullying victimization) and socio-demographic characteristics were calculated. Bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analyses were done to determine associations between bullying victimization and relevant variables according to the literature. A weighting factor was used in the analysis to reflect the likelihood of sampling each student and to reduce bias by compensating for differing patterns of non-response. The weight used for estimation is given by the following formula:

$$W = W1 * W2 * f1 * f2 * f3 * f4$$

where

W1 = the inverse of the probability of selecting the school,

W2 = the inverse of the probability of selecting the classroom within the school,

f1 = a school-level non-response adjustment factor calculated by school size category (small, medium, large),

f2 = a class-level non-response adjustment factor calculated for each school,

f3 = a student-level non-response adjustment factor calculated by class, and

f4 = a post stratification adjustment factor calculated by grade.

We report unadjusted odds ratios and their 95% confidence intervals from univariate logistic regression analyses for selected predictor variables while considering having been

bullied in the past month as a dependent variable. We also report results from a multivariate logistic regression analysis (adjusted odds ratios and their 95% confidence intervals) to determine independent predictors for the outcome.

FINDINGS

A total of 2,690 in-school adolescents participated in the Benin Global School-Based Survey of 2009. For those study participants whose data were available, 49.3% were of age 16 years or older, 66.9% were males and 40.1% reported having been bullied in the past month (39.2% among boys versus 42.0% among girls). Further description of the study sample is given in Table 1.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the study population

Factor	Total	Male	Female
	%* (n**)	%* (n**)	%* (n**)
Age (years)			
<14	11.3 (240)	11.7 (162)	9.7 (7.6)
14	14.8 (338)	13.8 (200)	16.9 (336)
15	24.6 (609)	24.7 (386)	24.7 (607)
16+	49.3 (1494)	49.7 (986)	48.6 (1488)
Gender			
Male	1734 (66.9)	-	-
Female	930 (33.1)		
Alcohol drinking			
Yes	20.7 (530)	23.4 (388)	15.2 (138)
No	79.3 (1918)	76.6 (1210)	84.8 (694)
Smoking			
Yes	3.7 (94)	4.5 (78)	1.7 (14)
No	96.3 (2582)	95.5 (1652)	98.3 (914)
Parental supervision			
Yes	46.4 (1207)	43.9 (730)	52.1 (472)
No	53.6 (1456)	56.1 (995)	47.9 (447)
Physical fighting			
Yes	30.3 (779)	32.0 (528)	27.0 (247)
No	69.7 (1909)	68.0 (1211)	73.0 (683)
Bullying victimization			
Yes	40.1 (993)	39.2 (622)	42.0 (365)
No	59.9 (1476)	60.8 (982)	58.0 (484)

%* - weighted percent; n** - unweighted frequency.

Factors associated with being a victim of bullying

Bivariate and multivariate analyses produced similar results (see Tables 2 and 3). In Multivariate analysis, male adolescents were 11% (adjusted odds ratio (AOR) = 0.89; 95% confidence interval (CI) 0.88–0.90) less likely to be bullied compared to female adolescents.

Table 2. Univariate logistic regression analyses results on the association between bullying victimization and selected characteristics among school going adolescents in Benin, 2009

Factor	Unadjusted Odds Ratios (95% CI*)		
	Total	Males	Females
Age (years)			
<14	1.06 (1.03, 1.08)	1.07 (1.04, 1.10)	1.08 (1.03, 1.12)
14	1.00 (0.99, 1.03)	0.99 (0.96, 1.01)	1.02 (0.98, 1.05)
15	1.06 (1.04, 1.08)	1.15 (1.13, 1.17)	0.88 (0.86, 0.91)
16+	1	1	1
Gender			
Male	0.94 (0.93, 0.95)	-	-
Female	1		
Alcohol use			
Yes	1.57 (1.56, 1.59)	1.57 (1.46, 1.60)	1.56 (1.52, 1.59)
No	1	1	1
Smoking			
Yes	1.61 (1.57, 1.66)	1.51 (1.47, 1.56)	2.40 (2.21, 2.61)
No	1	1	1
Parental supervision			
Yes	0.87 (0.86, 0.87)	0.87 (0.86, 0.88)	0.84 (0.82, 0.85)
No	1	1	1
Physical fight			
Yes	1.84 (1.82, 1.86)	1.81 (1.79, 1.83)	1.90 (1.86, 1.93)
No	1	1	1

CI* - confidence interval.

The other risk factors that were identified in the analysis were alcohol use, smoking and physical fighting. Participants who drank alcohol were 45% more likely to be bullied than those who did not drink alcohol (AOR = 1.45; 95% CI 1.43-1.47). Adolescents who smoked cigarettes were 24% (AOR = 1.24; 95% CI 1.21–1.28) more likely to be bullied compared to non-smokers. Those who reported being involved in physical fighting were 77% more likely to be bullied than those who were not involved in physical fighting (AOR = 1.77; 95% CI 1.75-1.79). Finally, adolescents who had parental supervision were 10% (AOR=0.90; 95% CI 0.89, 0.91) less likely to be bullied than those who did not have parental supervision.

Table 3. Multivariate logistic regression analysis results on the association between bullying victimization and selected characteristics among school going adolescents in Benin, 2009

Factor	Adjusted Odds Ratio (95% CI*)
Age (years)	
<14	1.02 (0.99, 1.04)
14	1.00 (0.97, 1.02)
15	1.16 (1.14, 1.18)
16+	1
Gender	
Male	0.89 (0.88, 0.90)
Female	1
Alcohol use	
Yes	1.45 (1.43, 1.47)
No	1
Smoking	
Yes	1.24 (1.21, 1.28)
No	1
Parental supervision	
Yes	0.90 (0.89, 0.91)
No	1
Physical fighting	
Yes	1.77 (1.75, 1.79)
No	

CI* - confidence interval.

DISCUSSION

In this most recent 2009 Global School Health Survey conducted in Benin, 40.1% of the students (39.2% among boys versus 42.0% among girls) reported having been bullied in the previous 30 days to the survey. Subpopulations at increased risk for being bullied were adolescents aged 15 years, female gender, alcohol drinkers, smokers and adolescents who were involved in physical fighting. Meanwhile, parental supervision was protective to being bullied. The prevalence in the current study is alarmingly high, although the lowest as compared to other West African countries.

A total of five countries (Benin, Algeria, Mauritania, Ghana and Senegal) have been participating in the Global School Health Surveys in West Africa (28). Among the 13-15 years-olds, the prevalence of being bullied was the lowest in Benin with an overall prevalence of 42.1% (42.7% among boys and 40.7% among girls) compared to overall prevalence rates of the other West African countries ranging from 47.2% to 58.7% (boys 48.0% to 60.7%; and girls 46.3% to 57.3%). The overall prevalence of 40.1% in the current study which included individuals younger than 13 years and older than 15 years is lower than the 52.3% observed in

Uganda (29), 51.3% (54.2% males and 52.2% females) reported in Botswana (30) and 62.8% (60.0% of male and 65.0% of female) reported in Zambia (31). Generally, prevalence estimates for bullying victimization have varied within and between countries, within and between regions, and within and between continents. These variations may reflect cultural differences in the definitions of bullying (32) and bullying victimization (19).

Associations between bullying victimization and gender have not been consistent. Craig et al. (19) observed that rates of victimization were higher for girls than boys in 29 out of 40 that they studied. In the current study girls were more likely to be bullied than boys, contradicting a finding reported in Zambia by Siziya et al. (31). Knowledge on the type of bullying may help in clarifying the sex difference in bullying victimization. If verbal, sexual and relational bullying are the dominant types of bullying in a population, more girls than boys may be bullied. Vieno et al. (33) reported that girls were more likely to be victims of verbal, relational and sexual bullying than boys, with the boys being bullies in these forms of bullying.

It was observed in the current study that adolescents aged 15 years were more likely to be bullied than older students. This finding is not consistent with the observations of Craig et al. (19) that bullying victimization decreased with age among boys in 30 of the 40 countries, and in 25 out of 39 countries among girls. Craig et al. (19) propose that the reduction in victimization by age may partly be due to age related changes in youth adapting socially as they develop or reflect equalization in physical sizes and consequently, increased effectiveness at inhibiting bullying, and partly it may be due to adolescents who bully may be targeting a fewer number of students with increasing age or targeting younger children. It is not clear why there was no difference in the prevalence of being bullied between adolescents aged less than 15 years and adolescents aged 16 years or older.

Drug abuse facilitates risky situations where bullying can occur. The finding in the current study that alcohol is associated with bullying victimization concurs with findings elsewhere (2, 31, 34, 35). Students who drank alcohol might have found themselves in situations that when drunk they might have been involved in some type of bullying such as physical fighting. Bullying victimization has also been associated with smoking cigarettes (34) and dagga (2, 36). The significant, positive association between victimization and substance use underscores the need to intervene with bullying behaviors among adolescents (37).

The finding that students who received parental supervision were less likely to be bullied in the current study is consistent with the observation made in Beijing by Hazemba et al. (34). This finding is also consistent with the observation by Jeong and Lee (38) who indicated that adolescents with parental support were less likely to be victims of school bullying, and lack of involvement and support from parents is likely to increase the risk of bullying victimization (39). While lack of parental supervision has been associated with smoking (40) and less cohesive family behaviour associated with alcohol use in cross sectional studies, cohort studies are needed to establish the protective effect of the parental supervision. Parents who are not involved in fighting are good role models for their children who may not find themselves in situations where bullying may occur. Furthermore, being under the watchful eye of the parents, adolescents may keep out of trouble.

Students who were involved in physical fighting were more likely to be bullied in the current study than adolescents who were not involved in physical fighting. In another study, a dose response has been observed between bullying victimization and physical fighting (41), thus providing more evidence that physical fighting may be an exposure to bullying.

Adolescents involved in fighting might have been bullied by older adolescents in retaliation for their involvement in fighting.

Factors associated with bullying victimization have varied between studies partly because of the differences in the factors that were selected for the studies. Hence it is important that risk factors are determined for the population to be targeted for intervention to curtail or prevent bullying victimization.

Because of the cross sectional study design, we are unable to provide adequate evidence that observed factors are predictive risk factors for bullying victimization. For instance, in the association between alcohol consumption and bullying, adolescents might have consumed alcohol as a result of being bullied. Comparisons of the prevalence in the current study with those obtained in other studies may be biased as a result of differences in defining the term bullying victimization. However, comparisons with results from other Global School Health Surveys are valid as they use the same definition. The major strength of the current study was the large sample size. Responses may have been biased towards socially accepted norms. We cannot rule out recall bias as participants were at times required to recall events that may have happened over a long time ago (1-12 months ago).

In-school adolescents in Benin report a lower prevalence of bullying victimization than other countries in West Africa. Parental supervision and being a male were associated with lower likelihood of bullying victimization; Smoking, alcohol drinking, and physical fighting were associated with a history of bullying victimization. Interventions aimed at promoting adolescents health would benefit from taking these observations into consideration. The information contained in the current study would also form as a baseline data for use in such interventions to curtail or prevent bullying among adolescents in schools.

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Chapter 112

**MOTHER BLAME: THE RESILIENCE AND
DECISION-MAKING ABILITIES OF MOTHERS
WITH A SCHOOL-AGED CHILD WHO HAS BEEN
ACCUSED OF BULLYING**

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ABSTRACT

It is estimated that 20% of children frequently bully. Although the research on victims of bullying in childhood is extensive, considerably less research has been conducted on bullies themselves or the parents of bullies. Hence, this chapter addresses this knowledge gap by examining the resilience and decision-making outcomes of mothers with a child accused of bullying by comparing the results with mothers who do not have a child accused of bullying. A total of 157 mothers, 34 mothers of accused bullies, 123 mothers of children not accused of bullying, completed a questionnaire. The questionnaire comprised of four individual surveys, namely, the Individual Resilience Scale, Brief COPE, Multi-dimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) and the Decision Outcome Inventory (DOI), which were administered using the online software program Qualtrics. Independent sample *t* tests were used to analyse the data. The results revealed that the resilience of mothers of accused bullies was lower than mothers of children not accused of bullying. In addition, humour and perceived social support from friends was also less in mothers of accused bullies than mothers of non-bullying children. There was no significant difference in decision-making outcomes between mothers of bullies and non-bullies. It is intended that these results will increase the awareness of the behaviours of mothers of accused bullies and inform the construction of intervention programs to assist such mothers.

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INTRODUCTION

As a subcategory of antisocial behaviour, the act of bullying is unacceptable by societal norms as it causes unjustifiable harm to others (Baumeister & Lobbestael, 2011). Olweus (1994) defined bullying as the repeated behaviour of an individual involving a physical or psychological imbalance of power to ensure social dominance. Rigby and Smith (2011) expanded on this definition by stating that the bully must have the intent to dominate and a desire to humiliate the victim. Therefore, in the school setting, bullying goes beyond the playground teasing and taunting that occurs between children who are physically and socially equal, to the unequal victimisation and abuse by one child over another (Buxton, Potter, & Bostic, 2013). Whilst it is unclear whether children are able to differentiate between the act of bullying and peer harassment (Baly & Cornell, 2011), it is common for the term bully to be misinterpreted, for often the focus is placed on the child's aggression rather than on the repetitive and intentional nature of their actions (Vaillancourt et al., 2008). Thus, it is important to note that bullying is not always physically violent in execution (i.e., hitting, pushing). It can also be verbal (i.e., name calling, taunting), relational (i.e., social exclusion) or cyber (i.e., online), (Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009). Bullying, likewise, can be direct or indirect (Farrington & Baldry, 2010) and gendered. Boys tend to use direct bullying which typically involves confronting the victim face-to-face in a belligerent manner whilst using express threats of violence with the intention of causing physical injury or harm to the victim (Farrington & Baldry, 2010). In contrast, girls are inclined to use indirect bullying, particularly cyber bullying, as this allows them to avoid physical conflict, yet inflict sufficient harm to ensure the social isolation of their victim (Farrington & Baldry, 2010).

The first longitudinal study to investigate these various interpretations of bullying behaviour found that the origin and judgment of such behaviour were of significance (Lee, Smith, & Monks, 2011). In this regard, Lee, Smith and Monks (2011) asked 113 South Korean participants questions on their perception of bullying and why they thought bullying occurred. Their results revealed age-related differences in so far as mothers, and children aged 15-17 years, both considered bullying to be unacceptable, however, younger children aged 10-15 years were more accepting of bullying. These findings are at odds with an earlier study, which found parents of primary school children aged 6-11 years believed that a small amount of bullying was acceptable, as in their estimation it helped to build character (Eslea & Smith, 2000). Solomon, Bradshaw, Wright and Cheng (2008) suggest that parental views of bullying (especially in relation to aggressive behaviour) may affect how a child behaves in school.

Parents of accused bullies have also been found to be less likely to identify their child's bullying behaviour as being antisocial, but rather to view their child's bullying as a normal part of childhood (Alphonse, 2010). Huddleston, Varjas, Meyers and Cadenhead (2011) identified perceptual differences between teachers' and mothers' interpretation of bullying events. For in a case study of one bullying event, both the school administration and the child's teachers described an accused bully as being a child who verbally abused and annoyed other students to the point where they became physically aggressive towards the bully. The mother of the accused child, however, claimed that her child was simply reacting to the other students' verbal aggression and, therefore, viewed her child to be the victim, and not the bully.

What has also been reported is that parents who express tolerance of their child's bullying behaviours typically concede that they are unable to control their child's actions (Nation, Vieno,

Perkins, & Santinello, 2008). Other research has determined that children who bully tend to victimize children of their own age and in the same class more often than they do older children (Boulton & Underwood, 1992).

Cross and colleagues (2006) recent statistical findings on the prevalence of bullying behaviour in Australia revealed that of the 8,000 school children aged 12-14 years they surveyed 20% admitted to bullying. Of these, 7% bullied daily, 13% bullied once a week and 80% indicated that they bullied less than once a week. However, 38% of the sample identified themselves as victims of bullying over the previous year, with 19% indicating that they had been targeted daily or weekly (Cross et al., 2006).

To date, a great deal of research effort has been focused on classifying bullying experiences into one of three categories, namely, victim, bully-victim and bully (Buxton, Potter, & Bostic, 2013). In this regard, victims are characterized as passive, physically weak and unpopular individuals who manifest signs of low self-confidence (Eslea & Smith, 2000), depression, anxiety, various psychosomatic complaints (e.g., headaches, stomach-aches and sleep problems) (Fekkes, Pijpers, & Verloove-Vanhorick, 2004), and perform poorly at school (Ttofi, Farrington, Lösel, & Loeber, 2011).

Child victims of bullying tend to describe the bullies in negative terms rather than expressing the reasons why they were a bullying target (Green, Felix, Sharkey, Furlong, & Kras, 2013). Bully-victims, are the group of students who are at most risk of negative psychological outcomes given they often engage in thoughts of self-harm and suicide ideation (Kim, Koh, & Leventhal, 2005) and, tend to experience problems forming friendships (Holt, Finkelhor, & Kantor, 2007). Moreover, many bully-victims display non-compliant behaviours and, thus, are more likely than students in the other two categories to be diagnosed with a childhood disorder (e.g., ADHD, Conduct Disorder or Developmental Delay) (Nordhagen, Neisen, Stigum, & Kohler, 2005).

In contrast, bullies tend to experience longer-term negative psychosocial outcomes. Other research has shown bullies are also more likely than non-bullies to have low I.Q. scores, be disruptive, display dishonest tendencies (Farrington & Baldry, 2010); manifest poor emotional self-regulation (Garner & Hinton, 2010), have mental health problems (Slee, 1995), engage in substance abuse, fighting (Nansel, Overpeck, Saluja, & Ruan, 2004) and receive a criminal conviction by the time they reach adulthood (Olweus, 1999). In addition, research by Farrington (1993) demonstrated that not only are adolescent bullies prone to continuing their bullying behaviours into adulthood, but they are also more likely to have children themselves who bully.

Purpose of the present study

Whole school intervention programs are commonly established to reduce the number of bullying incidences and improve the learning and social outcomes of victims, bully-victims and bullies. While these approaches typically involve students, teachers and parents, they are generally a *top down* model that concentrates on the school's handling of bullying behaviours rather than a *bottom-up* bullying approach involving parents. As such, it is posited that intervention bottom-up programs that are aimed at mothers of accused bullies may be a more effective method of reducing bullying. The rationale being that if one bully can be stopped from bullying through their mother's influence, then a potential exists to stop numerous other children from being victimized by that one bully. One difficulty in designing anti-bullying

programs targeted at assisting mothers to deal with their child's bullying behaviour is that scant research exists that details the impact that a bully's behaviour has on their parenting abilities. This chapter aims to address this knowledge shortfall by investigating the resilience and decision making abilities of mothers. The underpinning hypothesis being resilience, coping skills, social supports and decision-making outcomes will all be poorer in mothers whose child have been accused of bullying than in mothers whose children have not been accused of bullying. If proven, then future intervention programs may need to specifically target these lack of skills.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were mothers of school-aged (5–17 years) children (n=157), with mothers of children not accused of bullying (n=123) and mothers of accused bullies (n=34). The average age of the mothers was 36.5 years, 80% had a post-high school qualification and the majority were middle-class Caucasians.

Variables

The independent variable of child bullying status consisted of two levels; mothers of accused bullies and mothers of children not accused of bullying. The dependent variables were resilience, coping-skills, social support and decision-making abilities.

Materials

The survey comprised four self-reporting surveys, the Individual Resilience Scale (Harms, Pooley, & Cohen, 2012), the Brief COPE (Carver, 1997), the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet, & Farley, 1988) and the Decision Outcome Inventory (DOI) (Bruine de Bruin, Parker, & Fischhoff, 2007). In addition, background questions were asked to gain insight into the participants, namely age, level of education, socioeconomic status, marriage status, number of children and if they themselves had been accused of being a bully as a child. Participants were required to complete the questionnaire online using the Qualtrics software program.

Resilience: Individual Resilience Scale: The Individual Resilience Scale (Harms, Pooley, & Cohen, 2012) consists of 12 questions that reflect a person's overall resilience to situations. Questions such as "when I think about my future, I feel positive" are rated using a seven-point scale, ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree), which are then calculated to give a total score for resilience.

Coping Skills: Brief COPE: The Brief COPE (Carver, 1997) focuses on individuals' coping resources. It consists of 28 questions on a four point Likert scale, paired together to reflect 14 subscales of coping, namely self-distraction (items 1 and 19), active coping (items 2 and 7),

denial (items 3 and 8), substance use (items 4 and 11), use of emotional support (items 5 and 15), use of instrumental support (items 10 and 23), behavioural disengagement (items 6 and 16), venting (items 9 and 21), positive reframing (items 12 and 17), planning (items 14 and 25), humour (items 18 and 28), acceptance (items 20 and 24), religion (items 22 and 27) and self-blame (items 13 and 26). These subscales are rated from 1 (“I wouldn’t do this at all”) to 4 (“I would do this a lot”) after reading a specific scenario, for example ‘I would say to myself “this isn’t real”’.

Social Support: The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support: The MSPSS (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet, & Farley, 1988) measures the support of family, friends and significant others with questions such as “there is a special person who is around when I am in need”. It uses an algorithm, with the 12 items calculated to give a score of high acuity (69-84), moderate acuity (49-68) or low acuity (12-48) on a seven point Likert type scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The higher the score, the better the participant’s perceived social support, and again supports resilience. The scale is designed to distinguish between social support provided by family (items 3, 4, 8, 11), friends (items 6, 7, 9, 12) and significant others (items 1, 2, 5, 10). Good internal reliability has been found to be in the range of 0.72 to 0.85 (Zimet et al., 1988). Canty-Mitchell and Zimet (2000) also found the scale to be valid and reliable.

Decision-making outcomes: Decision Outcome Inventory: The DOI, (Bruine de Bruin, Parker, & Fischhoff, 2007) assesses the participant’s decision-making outcomes, and fundamentally, their avoidance of negative decisions in real life situations. Of the 41 negative decision scenarios, such as “Been in a public fight or screaming argument”, to which the respondent answers yes or no the total number of negative decisions are counted. Reliability has been found to be good with a Cronbach alpha of 0.88 (Bruine de Bruin et al., 2007).

Procedure

After ethical approval had been granted by the Edith Cowan University, mothers of school-aged children were recruited via emails and social media notifications, with the intention of a snowball effect. An information letter was attached to the emails that explained the purpose of the study and that questionnaire was anonymous and the participant could stop the survey at any time. However it was stipulated though that consent would be deemed to be granted upon submission of the survey. Eligibility was emphasised in the opening statement of the survey that only mothers of school-aged children need to respond. A link to the survey via the software Qualtrics was included in the information letter, with the participant needing to click on the link to commence.

The questionnaire took approximately 10 minutes, could be completed at a time convenient to the participant and was returned to the researcher online. Once all data was collected, mothers were allocated to either the accused bully or non-accused bully group, depending on the mother’s response to ‘has your child ever been accused of bullying?’

Participant’s responses were calculated for each scale and also for each individual subscale for coping skills. Once categorized and calculated, the analyses were conducted using SPSS.

Analysis

A between subjects design was used, enabling the researcher to test the hypotheses using independent sample *t*-tests between the two groups (i.e., mothers of bullies and mothers of non-bullies) and their resilience, coping skills, social support and decision outcomes. Pearson’s chi-square was used to determine whether age was related to the mother’s bullying group status.

Hypotheses

It was hypothesized that mothers of accused school-aged bullies would have:

- 1) Lower resilience
- 2) Poorer coping skills
- 3) Lower perceived social support
- 4) Poorer decision-making outcomes than mothers of children not accused of bullying

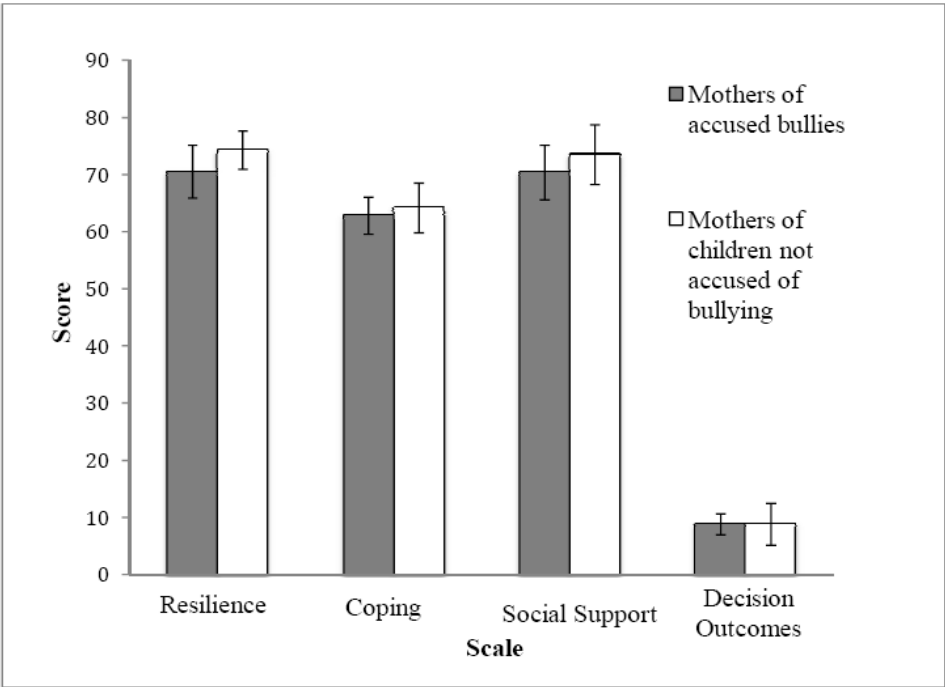


Figure 1: Mean of resilience, coping skills, social support and decision outcomes of mothers of accused and mothers of children not accused of bullying school-aged bullies. Error bars reflect standard deviation.

RESULTS

Independent sample *t*-tests were conducted using SPSS to examine whether differences existed between the resilient abilities and decision-making outcomes (See Figure 1) of mothers of accused bullies compared to that of mothers of children not accused of bullying. As shown

in Table 1, there were discrepancies in the mean age between groups, therefore a Pearson's chi-square test of contingencies was used to identify whether having a child bully or not was related to age. Age groups were subsequently merged to ensure that more than five mothers were included in each cell.

The chi-square test was not significant, $\chi^2 (3, N=155) = 7.502, p=057$, therefore, age and bullying group were not related.

Table 1: Description of participants by bullying group

	34 mothers of children accused of bullying %	123 mothers of children not accused of bullying %
Age		
Under 30	0	2
30 – 34	11	9
35 – 39	31	53
40 – 44	47	23
45+	11	12
Family		
Married	88	92
Has only one child	28	10
Socio-economic status		
Low	4	10
Middle	63	67
High	33	23
Education		
High school	15	8
College/Tafe	35	19
University	50	73
Accused of bullying as a child	24	5

Resilience

An independent sample *t*-test was used to determine the difference between resilience in mothers of accused bullies ($n=34$) to that of mothers of children not accused of bullying ($n = 122$).

Levene's test indicated unequal variances ($F=8.795, p=004$); therefore degrees of freedom were adjusted from 154 to 43.

Results showed a statistically significant difference in resilience, $t (43) = -2.241, p=030$.

Thus, mothers of accused bullies ($M=70.56, SD=9.189$) had lower resilience than mothers of children not accused of bullying ($M=74.34, SD=6.718$). Cronbach's alpha for reliability was high, .926.

Table 2: Descriptives for the Brief COPE subscales

Brief COPE	M		SD		t	p
	AB	NB	AB	NB		
SD	3.67	3.60	1.726	1.514	.223	.824
AC	6.94	7.20	1.476	1.280	-1.021	.309
Denial	2.79	2.70	1.610	1.135	.401	.689
SU	2.68	2.56	1.276	1.106	.537	.592
UES	6.15	6.18	1.500	1.537	-.107	.615
UIS	6.53	6.76	1.436	1.426	-.799	.425
BD	2.26	2.46	.666	.946	-1.36	.177
Venting	4.73	4.82	1.790	1.528	-.286	.775
PR	4.94	4.52	1.705	1.591	1.329	.186
Planning	7.03	7.21	1.132	1.060	-.826	.394
Acceptance	5.70	5.45	1.551	1.249	.854	.398
Religion	2.64	3.09	1.141	1.699	-1.445	.150
Self-Blame	4.59	4.45	1.794	1.564	.458	.648

Note: Mean (M), Standard Deviation (SD), t-value (t) and significance (p) for the Brief COPE Subscales (SD = Self Distraction, AC = Active Coping, SU = Substance Use, UES = Use of Emotional Support, UIS = Use of Instrumental Support, BD = Behavioural Disengagement, PR = Positive Reframing) for Accused Bully (AB) and Non-Bully (NB) Mothers.

Coping

There appeared to be no significant differences between the two groups (mothers of accused bullies, $n=34$, $M=62.85$, $SD=6.519$; mothers of children not accused of bullying, $n=123$, $M=64.21$, $SD=8.726$) in overall coping, $t(155)=-.844$, $p=.400$. The subscales' internal reliability ranged from .57–.90 (Carver 1997) with similar findings in parents of children .54–.93 (Benson 2009). The present study's internal reliability was .769 using Cronbach's alpha.

Coping Subscales: When using the Brief COPE subscales, humour showed a statistically significant results $t(70)=-2.684$, $p=.009$, after Levene's equality of variances were not assumed ($F=8.989$, $p=.003$), degrees of freedom were adjusted from 154 to 70. Mothers of accused bullies ($M=2.70$, $SD=1.212$) were found to use less humour than mothers of children not accused of bullying ($M=3.40$, $SD=1.712$). However no other significant findings were found for the other subscales of the Brief COPE (see Table 2).

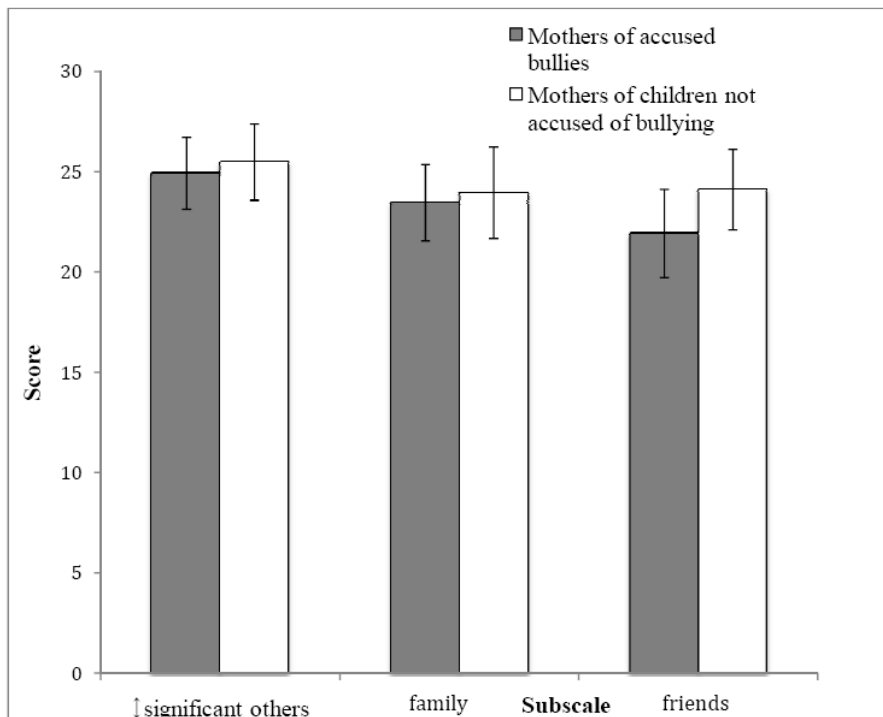
Social support

Social support was perceived by mothers of accused bullies ($M=70.44$, $SD=9.494$) similar to mothers of children not accused of bullying ($M=73.57$, $SD=10.449$), $t(155)=-1.575$, $p=.117$. Reliability measures overall were high (.937) using Cronbach's alpha.

Social Support Subscales: When analysing the social support subscales there were insignificant findings for the perceived social support subscales of significant others, $t(155)=-.764$, $p=.446$, and family, $t(155)=.560$, $p=.76$, however there was a statistically significant result for friends, $t(155)=2.757$, $p=.007$. Therefore mothers of accused bullies ($M=21.94$, $SD=4.403$) perceived social support of friends to be less than that of mothers of children not accused of bullying ($M=24.13$, $SD=4.010$) (See Figure 2).

Decision-making

There were no significant findings for the decision outcomes of mothers, $t(155)=-.009$, $p=.993$, suggesting that the decision-making outcomes for both mothers of accused bullies ($M=8.88$, $SD=3.650$) and mothers of children not accused of bullying ($M=8.89$, $SD=7.374$) are equal. Cronbach's alpha for reliability was .789.



Error bars reflect standard deviation.

Figure 2: The mean for each of the subscales of MSPSS comparing mothers of accused bullies to mothers of children not accused of bullying Error bars reflect standard deviation.

DISCUSSION

Using quantitative data from mothers of school-aged children; resiliency, coping skills, social support and decision-making outcomes were compared between mothers of accused school-aged bullies and mothers of school aged children not accused of bullying. The overarching hypotheses suggested that the resilient abilities and decision-making outcomes of mothers in the accused group would be less than that of mothers of non-bullies. The results from the current study found that of the abilities and skills, only resilience was significantly less in mothers of accused school-aged bullies than mothers of children not accused of bullying. Although there were no overall differences between the two groups in coping skills, perceived social support and decision-making outcomes, the Brief COPE subscale of humour and the MSPSS subscale of friends revealed significant findings. Such findings therefore suggested that humour was used less, and that the perception of social support from friends was less in the accused school-aged bully group than that of the non-bullying group. Thus, the following section will endeavour to discuss the current findings for the resilient abilities and decision-making outcomes of mothers of accused school-aged bullies, with reference to the theory of social identity, as well as the implications for bully intervention programs. Secondly, limitations to the study will be identified with suggestions for future directions, and lastly, a summary of the study.

Resilient abilities

The present study found that mothers of accused school-aged bullies were significantly less resilient, and thus less likely to adapt to adversity than mothers of children not accused of bullying. It is believed that an individual's resilient abilities may be affected by the severity of the situation and the amount of support available (Cicchetti, 2010). Indeed, the accusation that a child is deemed antisocial may possibly constitute a highly stressful situation and therefore impact on a mother's resources. Such high stress levels can therefore result in maladaptive functioning for the mother, as individuals possessing resilient attributes, namely adequate social support, effective problem-solving skills, positive self-esteem and competence, are more adaptive to life's stressors than those who possess fewer attributes (White, Driver, & Warren, 2010). Hawley and DeHaan (1996) confirm that openness, positivity and support were crucial for maintaining resiliency.

As resilience requires effective modifications to one's self-esteem, social support and coping mechanisms (Dumont & Provost, 1999), it was not surprising then that there were significant differences in the various subscales. Although coping strategies appeared to be consistent amongst the two groups in the current study, the Brief COPE however, was not designed to be used as an overall measure of coping (Carver, 1997). While the majority of the subscales were not significant, the use of humour as a means of coping was found to be significantly less in mothers of accused school-aged bullies. The research showed that mothers of accused school-aged bullies were less likely to use humour as a coping mechanism than mothers of children who have not bullied. Humour is a positive emotional-focused coping strategy that reduces the stressor through feelings (Benson, 2009). Not seeing the humour in a stressful situation may increase the severity of the stressor on the individual and subsequently

affect parenting behaviour, which in turn, may contribute to the repeated bullying behaviour of the child (Martin, 2007). Using humour protects the self, and one is therefore more likely to attribute the stress to an external factor rather than to personal failure (Geisler & Weber, 2010). In a crisis, however, mothers often describe their coping skills as changing from a personal concern to that of the concern of others (Cohen, Slonim, Finzu, & Leichtentritt, 2002). It has also been suggested that humour, especially in women, shields an individual particularly from the negative repercussions of stereotypes, which is important with regards to antisocial behaviour (Ford et al., 2004). Jevnikar's (2007) findings support that the use of humour in times of stress resulted in more positive parenting behaviour and therefore more positive family functioning. Hence, individuals who use humour as a coping strategy are more likely to be emotionally stable and show less signs of depression and anxiety (Martin, 2007). Furthermore, Ford, Ferguson, Brooks and Hagadone (2004) found that stereotypical threat was reduced particularly in women who use humour.

In addition to coping strategies, social support is also an important component of resiliency (Haynes, 2005). Social support incorporates more than merely emotional support from others; it also provides confirmation about a person's actions, as well as information and feedback about the individual (Procidano & Heller, 1983). Perceived social support also impacts on others around them, and therefore acts as a buffer to negativity by minimising the effects that stress has on a person's wellbeing (Lazarus, Kanner, & Folkman, 1980). Thus, a mother who possesses an adequate perception of social support is more likely to cope more effectively, which in turn, is beneficial for the child's general wellbeing (Lazarus, Kanner, & Folkman, 1980). It has been found that positive parenting and the perception of adequate social support correlated highly (DeGarmo et al., 2008) and such a relationship may help to reduce child delinquency (Ghazarian & Roche, 2010). Therefore, the current finding is surprising. However, one explanation may be due to the school-aged bully being related to the significant other and family of the mother, and therefore it would be assumed that the father, the grandparents and the like would be highly supportive of the mother with regards to the child's bullying behaviour. Friends however, are removed from familial involvement and thus have no affiliation, or for that matter, loyalty. The significant finding for the social support subscale friends revealed that mothers of accused school-aged bullies perceive social support from friends to be less than that of mothers of children not accused of bullying. As social support from friends was found to be associated with a greater sense of life satisfaction and mental wellbeing, this has concerning implications for the mother of an accused bully (Ekas, Lickenbrock, & Whitman, 2010). Such a lowered perception may be owing to friends, including other school mothers, who may be protective of their own child and therefore their child's selection of school friends. Judgmental views and stereotypes of the accused bully child may be made by other mothers, which could result in the accused child's mother being stigmatised, and subsequently ostracised from the school mothers' in-group.

The impact of bullying on the mother's social identity

Having a child bully may therefore impact the resources, self-esteem and social identity of the mother. Limited research has been conducted on the effects antisocial behaviour has upon the mother with respect to resilience, and furthermore, how the bullying behaviour then transfers to the mother's self-esteem and social identity. SIT (Social Identity Theory) suggests

that people strive to maintain a positive image of themselves and continue to do so by believing that their group is superior to that of another group, affirming self-esteem (Stangor & Jost, 1997). People are motivated to defend their social identity as it threatens self-esteem (Ellemers et al., 2002). Research has suggested that when self-esteem is lowered, resilience decreases (Karatas & Cakar, 2011) and ineffective coping strategies are adopted (Lane, Jones, & Stevens, 2002). Additionally, when resilience is lowered, the likelihood of having a delinquent child increases (Travis & Combs-Orme, 2007), supporting the findings of the current study.

In light of this, what needs to be considered, however, is the sequence of events that emerge for the mother of an accused school-aged bully prior to the bullying accusation. Firstly, the mother identifies herself as the mother of a school-aged child and therefore establishes group membership. Such a valued membership enhances the mother's self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Time passes and group membership remains, that is until the bullying accusation causes uncertainties to be raised over the child's behaviour and consequently, the actions of the mother. Such doubts may be due to the child's antisocial behaviour being a reflection on the mother as a person, as well as her parenting skills. Essentially, it is very easy for others to lay blame on the parent for the child's action. Accordingly, other mothers may then react out of concern for the welfare of their own child and, thus, the social identity of the accused bully's mother may be jeopardised (Crocker & Major, 1989). If a person's social identity challenges that which society considers normal, an individual may be stigmatised (Goffman, 1963), and such a stigmatisation may be the result of the mothers of children not accused of bullying wanting to heighten their own social identity and self-esteem as well as confirm their own beliefs, thereby reducing interactions with the mother of the accused bully (Crocker & Major, 1989). As social stigmatisation, or the social devaluation of an individual's attribute, often leads to the discrimination of out-groups (Crocker and Major 1989), the negative stigma associated with a child bully as being a social deviant may then transpire to that of the parent and in turn cause the mother to be ostracised (Goffman 1963).

Ostracisation is further highlighted by the findings that suggest a lack of humour increases the risk of increased social stigmatisation (Ford, Ferguson, Brooks, & Hagadone, 2004). The mother is stigmatised for the actions of the child and subsequently ostracised to reduce the impact it may have on the social identity of mothers of non-bullies. As social support from friends is perceived to be less, defensive mechanisms to preserve self-esteem result in the use of less humour, therefore impacting on the mother's resilience, which in turn causes greater rejection from the in-group. Therefore, having well developed coping strategies and available social support may help to reduce the negative effects social exclusion has on a person's physical and mental health (Herrman, et al., 2011). Unfortunately, it is human nature to protect one's own social identity, and through the research reviews and the present findings, it seems clear that mothers of accused bullies need support and reassurance rather than exclusion and judgment.

Implications for bullying intervention programs

A compounding situation is, however, that low resilience in mothers increases the likelihood that a child may develop behavioural problems and, thus, the cyclic nature of the bullying behaviour may continue. Such a claim is supported by research conducted by Travis and Combs-Orme (2007), who state that a mother is more likely to have a child with

behavioural difficulties if they are less resilient. Therefore, intervention programs targeting mothers of accused school-aged bullies would be beneficial, not only for the mother but also for the child. With a definite gap in knowledge regarding a mother's resiliency and their child's bullying behaviour, the strong findings from the current research have clear implications for both the school and family environment. At a school level, it may provide teachers, principals and school psychologists with information on the importance and the abilities of the mother when dealing with the issue of bullying. At a family level, it may increase mother's awareness of the role she may have in the antisocial behaviour of her child. As the current study revealed, mothers of accused school-aged bullies had lower resilience, showed little humour in coping and perceived friendship groups to be less supportive. Establishing intervention programs focusing on a mother's resilience may be beneficial in attempting to combat childhood bullying. Numerous studies have been conducted to assess bullying intervention programs, with Farrington and Ttofi's (2009) meta-analysis of 44 anti-bullying programs identifying 17 as successful in significantly reducing bullying behaviour in schools by as much as 20%. Therefore it may be apparent that any type of intervention is better than no intervention at all. Although it has been suggested that bullying may be on the decrease, regrettably though, children are still being peer-victimised. Thus, every effort should be encouraged to try and combat, and reduce, such meaningless and harmful behaviour.

Furthermore, helping mothers to cope with and respond to the bullying incidences of their children, and teaching techniques on how to effectively handle the situation is pertinent, rather than stigmatising and ostracising the mother. Therefore, intervention programs should begin as early as possible, as those implemented during the primary school years are found to be more successful in changing children's behaviours (Rigby, 2003). Evidence assumes that resilience can change, as shown by Proudfoot, Corr, Guest and Dunn's (2009) study using cognitive behavioural training (CBT). Although no known resilient intervention programs have been applied to mothers of children accused of bullying, one particular program was developed for substance abusing mothers to enhance resilience and improve parenting practices (Suchman & Luthar, 2000). The Relational Psychotherapy Mothers' Group (RPMG) clinical program was designed to assist with strengthening the mother's parenting skills by focusing on themselves and their parenting. Identifying and addressing the mother's resilient abilities, effective coping mechanisms and parenting skills, the mother's involvement with their child increased and there was a reduction in child issues. Furthermore, parental involvement in bullying prevention significantly helps in lowering the prevalence of bullying (Farrington & Ttofi, 2011), with Buxton, Potter and Bostic (2013) suggesting that parental involvement in intervention programs to reduce a child's bullying behaviour should focus on empowerment, and teach the parent to strengthen empathy and cooperative behaviours. Parents must also be encouraged to adopt discipline that does not involve physical means or negative reinforcement to avoid the transmission of undesirable behaviours through imitation (Buxton, Potter, & Bostic, 2013). Not only could intervention programs for mothers of accused bullies be imperative in building a mother's resilience, it may also be beneficial in reducing the transmission of bullying behaviours.

Past research findings have suggested that adults who bully are more likely to have children who bully (Farrington, 1993). An interesting finding from the current study was the high prevalence of mothers of accused bullies also identifying themselves as also being accused of bullying as a child. From the qualitative questions, 24% of the mothers of the accused bullies stated that they too had been accused of bullying as a child, compared to only 5% in mothers

of non-bullies. Although the reason for antisocial behaviour is debatable, the combination of heritability and environmental factors may be influential, and therefore may predispose a child to such behaviours. Olweus (1994) claimed that bullies are typically from families who are emotionally and physically aggressive and therefore such aggressive behaviour may be imitated (Nation, Vieno, Perkins, & Santinello, 2008). It has also been suggested that children who display antisocial behaviour are often not disciplined correctly, or disciplined with inappropriate punishments, thereby reinforcing negative behaviour. Such negative behaviour is then considered appropriate to be used by the child.

LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Several limitations of the current research should be acknowledged. Firstly, as the present study focused on the stigmatised antisocial behaviour of bullying, it therefore had the potential of bias responses from the participants due to the use of self-report measures. Under-reporting on scale measurements may be apparent to avoid the social stigma attached to the label of being a bully (Furlong, Sharkey, Felix, Tanigawa, & Green, 2010). A mother may also be reluctant in accepting that their child is a bully, and therefore did not correctly identify herself as a mother of an accused bully. Secondly, misinterpretations of the term bully may have caused a mother to unintentionally consider their child's inappropriate actions to be merely childhood behaviour. Thirdly, the current research did not take into consideration the length of time between the bullying incident or incidences, or the frequency of the bullying by the child; thus, all that can be determined was the mother's resilience at the time of the questionnaire. Fourthly, decisions made by mothers were consistent across the two groups. The similarity in findings may be due to the DOI asking questions about the participant's decisions over the past 10 years, and therefore it may have been more relevant to ask over the past five years to ascertain current decision-making outcomes, as the mothers may not have had children 10 years ago and decision choices may have been different. Lastly, this paper was not able to establish if these abilities and skills were a result of the bullying incident or if they were prevalent prior to the incident. These could consequently be topics covered in future research.

The findings from the current study indicate that there may be a link between bullying behaviour and the resources of mother's and therefore further research is required. However, it was undetermined from this study if a mother's resilience was already low prior to the bullying incident. Potentially, a longitudinal study on Kindergarten mothers could be conducted using the same questionnaires to determine the resilient abilities preceding a bullying accusation, then re-administered after a bullying incident. Such an investigation may allow the researcher to determine whether a mother's resilient abilities were affected by their child's unacceptable behaviour. Follow-ups could then be administered half yearly to examine how, and if, resiliency changed over time.

CONCLUSION

Whether or not a mother may influence a child's bullying behaviour prior to or after the incident is controversial, however, any effort to try and combat such behaviour is imperative in

helping children avoid such harmful situations and psychological repercussions. The aim of the current study was to identify whether the resilient abilities and decision-making of mothers of accused school-aged bullies outcomes were lower than those of mothers of children not accused of bullying. The findings revealed that resilience, the use of humour and the perception of friends as social support are significantly lower in mothers who have had a school-aged child accused of bullying. These findings therefore suggest that there may be inadequacies in the abilities of mothers of accused bullies, and with appropriate maternal interventions, bullying behaviours might be reduced. Previous literature revealed bullying is a major social concern among children and as bullying appears to originate out of the home environment, the concerning issue is that most interventions are aimed at the school environment. Such programs focus on educating students to recognise bullying, who are then taught how to deal with the actions of bullies (Brank, Hoetger, & Hazen 2012). Programs aimed at parents, primarily mothers, have been minimal.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, as the results from the present study indicated that the resilient abilities of mothers might be impacted upon by having a child bully it is recommended that mothers' resilient traits could be best improved through intervention programs that include:

- Addressing the behaviours of bullies and how these can be modified with maternal information sessions and management programs such as the Triple P Parenting Program (Sanders, 1999).
- Increasing the mother's self esteem and resilience through individual counselling sessions which focus on optimism, problem solving skills and goals such as the FRIENDS program (Barrett, 2011)
- Instigating relaxation/meditation/fitness classes for the mothers (Dobbin, 2014).

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Chapter 113

BULLYING AND VICTIMIZATION IN ADOLESCENCE: CHARACTERISTICS AND RISK FACTORS

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ABSTRACT

This chapter focuses on analyzing the problem of bullying, an issue that is currently of great concern to parents, teachers, students, the educational community, and also social scientists, governments, and administrations. The social awareness of the seriousness of bullying and its consequences on the victims has been increasing in recent decades in different American and European countries. Fortunately, occasions when threats and fights between students are described as “kid stuff” or “natural and unavoidable situations” are becoming rare, as these acts are getting more attention from adults in schools in order to prevent situations of harassment and act as quickly as possible against the violent situation. This chapter describes, first, the defining characteristics of bullying and the different types of harassment at schools committed by students, mainly adolescents. Then, existing data on the prevalence of the problem are discussed, and the consequences of bullying for victims and the educational community in general are analyzed. Finally, the main individual, family, and school risk factors favoring the appearance of these serious behavior problems in the adolescent period are commented on.

INTRODUCTION

Bullying involves an act of physical or psychological persecution carried out by one student (or group of students) against another student, who is chosen as a victim of repeated attacks (Olweus, 2006). The victim, moreover, is not able to leave this situation by him- or herself. An

aspect that should be clarified is that not every aggression by one student against another constitutes a case of bullying. A punctual fight or insult between two students is a totally reprehensible conduct that should not be allowed in a school context. However, if it is a punctual situation in which there is no inequality of power or force between the aggressor and the victim, it is not considered bullying.

In the school context, there are also other forms of violence, for example, vandalism involving breaking windows, doors or material, punctual insults among students, or serious breaches of discipline. *School violence* is a broader term than bullying, referring to all the aggressive behaviors carried out at schools whose protagonists are students or teachers. Bullying is a specific type of school violence carried out among students and characterized by the intentionality of harm, the persistence of the situation of harassment, and the imbalance of power between aggressors and victims (Olweus, 2013).

However, having clarified what bullying is, it is important to know its different types. In general, physical, verbal, and relational bullying are usually differentiated (Bradshaw, Waasdorp, & Johnson, 2015). *Physical bullying* includes situations in which the victim receives repeated physical assaults—such as slapping the neck, kicking, pushing, pinching, hitting or beating up—by classmates. In *verbal bullying*, the repeated aggressions received by the victim from the classmates consist of insults, humiliations, or the use of derogatory nicknames. *Relational or social bullying* is characterized by repeated situations of social rejection, marginalization, or spreading malicious rumors in order to socially isolate the victim. The victim is excluded from any group activity, in order to isolate him or her from the rest of the students.

Other researchers differentiated between two types of bullying: *direct* or *indirect bullying* (Agnichia & Miyazak, 2013). In direct bullying situations, the attacker directly confronts the victim, they interact face to face, and both physical and verbal assaults may occur. In indirect bullying, however, there is no direct confrontation between the aggressor and the victim. In this case, the attacker also seeks to hurt the victim, but indirectly; the actions are aimed at harming the victim's circle of friends or perception of group membership. Indirect bullying is therefore similar to the relational or social bullying described previously, as what is sought is essentially to damage the victim's social relations and isolate him or her from the group.

However, bullying should not be understood as a situation in which there are only two actors involved: the aggressor and the victim. It is important to include all the students in the analysis, because many of them are aware of this situation, and their reactions in the face of the bullying suffered by one of their classmates may be very different. Although the first investigations on bullying focused solely on the characteristics of the offender and the victim, it is currently understood as a *group and interpersonal phenomenon* whose analysis should include other students (Salmivalli, 2010). The victim's classmates are usually aware (and are sometimes spectators) of the aggressions (physical, verbal or relational) suffered by the victim and, in the face of this situation, they can assume different stances. Thus, some students may belong to the aggressor's group and might encourage his behavior "laughing at his jokes" or even displaying some admiration, whereas other students may passively observe the situation, perhaps not fully aware of the possible severity of certain forms of aggression, such as insults and rejection, or perhaps due to fear of becoming the target of future attacks. Lastly, other students may show their support to the victim and their rejection of the offender's behavior.

In any case, either as followers of the aggressor, as passive spectators, or as defenders (direct or indirect) of the victim, the rest of the students are a key piece in understanding how

to perpetuate or stop bullying (Camodeca, Caravita, & Coppola, 2015; Monks, Palermi, Ortega, & Costabile, 2011; Salmivalli, 2010).

PREVALENCE OF BULLYING

The prevalence of bullying varies greatly depending on different factors such as the definition of the concept (e.g., whether referring to direct or indirect bullying), the method of data collection (e.g., students' retrospective reports, direct registration of students or teachers, etc.) or bullying frequency (e.g., once a week, one or more times a month, etc.) to determine what is bullying. However, the prevalence data usually range between 5-20% for students who admit having been victims of bullying and between 4-10% for students who acknowledge having participated as aggressors (Monks et al., 2009; Stassen-Berger, 2007). In terms of the prevalence of the different types of bullying, relational and verbal bullying are more habitual among students than physical bullying (Defensor del Pueblo [Ombudsman], 2007; Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009) but this tends to vary depending on the students' gender and age.

Although it has a lower incidence, physical bullying tends to have serious negative consequences for the physical and psychological well-being of the victims. In addition, these victims are often also the target of other forms of bullying, such as insults and social rejection. However, it should not be concluded that only physical bullying deserves attention, and that verbal or relational bullying do not have equally negative effects for those who suffer them. Indeed, the experience of rejection, marginalization, and repeated insults by classmates provoke, by themselves, lower self-esteem and more depressive feelings in the victims. The consequences of a new form of increasingly frequent bullying, which uses the new technologies (cellphone, internet,...) to assault the victim, are also very negative. It is the so-called *cyberbullying* (Foodya, Samaraa & Carlbringb, 2015), whose victims present such devastating consequences as those of traditional bullying (Buelga, Iranzo, Cava, & Torralba, 2015) and whose presence in developed countries is currently estimated as even higher than that of bullying (Buelga, Cava, Musitu, & Torralba, 2015). As for sex and the different types of bullying, boys usually assault their victims physically and directly, whereas girls use more indirect relational and verbal bullying (Carrera, Fernández, Castro, Failde, & Otero, 2013; Dukes, Stein, & Zane, 2009; Lee, 2009; Popp, & Peguero, 2011). Regarding age, the studies confirm that, at lower educational levels, there is greater prevalence of physical and direct aggression, which are replaced in adolescence by indirect types of aggression, with a significant increase of verbal abuse and social exclusion (Hasekiu, 2013).

CONSEQUENCES OF BULLYING

As mentioned, different agents participate in bullying: perpetrators, victims, and observers. The dynamic that develops between these agents influences the classroom climate. Thus, on the one hand, the interactions between students are more negative, and group trust and cooperation decrease. On the other hand, the teacher-student relationship is more distant, with teachers' actions being mainly aimed at managing conflictive situations and applying disciplinary measures (Ochoa & Peiró, 2010). As mentioned by the teachers, this aspect is

problematic because they have scarce strategies and training to deal with such situations, which makes them feel overwhelmed and unmotivated (Álvarez-García, Rodríguez, González-Castro, Núñez & Álvarez, 2010). Having to focus on managing conflicts, the academic content fades into the background. Thus, bullying situations decrease students' motivation to learn (Totura, Karver, & Gesten, 2014), and it is likely that teachers will limit the use of cooperative methods because there is no climate of trust in the classroom promoting their use. This shows that bullying situations have a negative impact both on interpersonal relations and on the teaching-learning process.

Although bullying does affect the different agents involved in this dynamic, as well as the classroom climate, the teachers, families, and the school, the most devastating effects are observed in the victims. On the one hand, regarding the academic area, if a student is the target of bullying, he or she will have serious difficulties focusing on the acquisition of curricular content, with the consequent deterioration of performance (Totura et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2014). With regard to the possible psychological consequences, we note that, given that the bullying situation is extremely stressful, the victim may present anxious or depressive symptomatology, low self-esteem, and even suicidal ideation (Estévez, Murgui & Musitu, 2008; Stapinski, Araya, Heron, Montgomery & Stallard, 2015; Turner, Exum, Brame & Holt, 2013). There may also be feelings of loneliness and unhappiness (Estévez et al., 2008), insomnia and somatic complaints (headaches or stomachaches, nausea, and vomiting) (Gini & Pozzoli, 2013). We emphasize that the physiological discomfort experienced by these students is not simulated, and that hormonal changes have been found that may be the cause of this distress (Vaillancourt et al., 2008). Among the social consequences, the victims develop more distrust towards others due to the expectation that they may be treated unfairly again in the future, which can interfere with new relationships and friendships (Carney, Jacob & Hazler, 2011).

The severity of these effects depends on the intensity and duration of the bullying, but changes in the behavior of the victimized students are always observed. Does the emergence of these changes necessarily indicate the existence of a bullying situation? No, but these signs should alert teachers and family, as they are indicators that something is wrong with the student. The existence of constant school refusal reveals the possible existence of a bullying situation (Hutzell & Payne, 2012). Early detection and action in such situations is essential, because the victims may present a significant deterioration of their psychological well-being and may need professional support. Table 1 synthetically presents the main consequences of bullying for the victims.

MAIN RISK FACTORS

The diversity of factors analyzed in recent studies (e.g., Atik & Güneri, 2013; de Oliveira et al., 2015; Salmivalli, 2010) and the relative weight of the explanation of bullying situations show that it is a multicausal phenomenon. Thus, it seems that bullying situations occur due to the existence of an accumulation of elements and not to a single specific cause.

Table 1. Main consequences of bullying for the victims

Academic	Psychological	Physiological	Social
Difficulty focusing on schoolwork	Anxious or depressive symptomatology	Insomnia	Less trust in others
Decreased performance	Low self-esteem	Somatic complaints	Expectation of being treated unfairly
	Suicidal ideation		
	Feelings of loneliness and unhappiness		

In this regard, in order to better understand the phenomenon and to address it more effectively, it is necessary to attend to the different factors that may be involved and the relationship between them. Below are the major personal, family, school and sociocultural factors associated with school victimization.

Personal Factors

The personal characteristics of the aggressors have been widely studied (e.g., Barboza et al., 2009; Laeheem, Kuning, McNeil & Besag, 2008).

Thus, aggressors tend to have low academic performance, are little integrated in the academic and school dynamics, have frequently disconnected themselves from the teaching process, and tend to seek a rebellious and transgressional reputation beyond the teacher and the parents' authority. Although the first investigations on offenders indicated that they had low self-esteem, it seems that they do not present a negative self-image in all the facets of their lives. On the one hand, aggressors' self-assessment as students and within their families is rather negative, that is, they present *low academic and family self-esteem*. But, on the other hand, they seem to enjoy some popularity within their group of friends and do not perceive themselves as lacking peer support, so they do not have negative social self-esteem, even though their way of interacting with some of their classmates is inadequate. Regarding their interpersonal skills, it has been suggested that some—but not all—aggressors are especially skilled in manipulating their social environment.

Thus, as well as manipulating their classmates so they will isolate the victim and being capable of assuming leadership in conflictive groups, aggressors will also try to use manipulative strategies with adults, for example, responding evasively and even blaming the victim of the aggression suffered when they are asked about this by teachers or parents. With regard to their physical image, aggressors have a positive physical self-concept, often perceiving themselves as strong. Lastly, a personal factor frequently associated with aggressors is their *low emotional empathy for the victim*, as they do not seem to show any discomfort or guilt as a result of their aggressions.

With regard to the victims, recent works have revealed a number of features showing that certain students are in a situation of increased vulnerability. Thus, students who have certain physical striking characteristics (e.g., obesity) (van Geel, Vedder & Tanihon, 2014), students belonging to ethnic minorities (Felix & You, 2011; Schumann, Craig & Rosu, 2013), students who have a sexual orientation different from that of the majority (Cénat, Blais, Hébert, Lavoie

& Guerrier, 2015), students with any kind of disability or special educational needs (Rose, Simpson & Moss, 2015), and students who have some deficit in social skills (Crawford & Manassis, 2011) are more likely to be victims of bullying. These characteristics that make them “deviate from the standard” may have generated a lower self-esteem in these students, which would be aggravated if they become victims of bullying. Given that these personal characteristics are not modifiable, the only way to prevent bullying situations in these collectives begins, precisely, by recognizing this situation of vulnerability and planning actions in the school to promote respect for diversity and acceptance of individual differences.

It would also be necessary to intervene in the lack of social skills that are often observed in the victims, because students who lack strategies to resolve conflicts peacefully, who cannot express their opinions assertively, or who cannot respond to others' requests and opinions may be involved in bullying situations.

Family Factors

The role of the family is essential for children's personal and social development. In this sense, has been noted that the parenting patterns that predominate in the family can influence the role students play in the dynamics of bullying. For instance, overly authoritarian or permissive parenting patterns, characterized by the existence of either too rigid rules or the absence of rules, can promote the development of children's problematic behavior patterns. Specifically, Papanikolaou, Chatzikosma, and Kleio (2011) revealed that mothers with parenting patterns characterized by applying unjustified punishments (authoritarian style) and that fathers showing indifference to their children's actions (negligent style) are related to being a victim of bullying at school.

Previous research has also found that parents who limit their children's possibilities to make their own decisions, restricting their autonomy and independence, with little fluent communication with the children, and uninterested in their problems and concerns are linked to school victimization (Lereya, Samara & Wolke, 2013; Papaikolaou et al., 2011). This type of family interactions produces more insecure and dependent parent-child relationships, which place the child at risk of becoming a victim of bullying.

Another type of issues such as domestic violence, the existence of psychopathology, or the consumption of alcohol may also be relevant factors for students to become victims of bullying (Boel-Studt & Renner, 2013; Eiden et al., 2010; Lereya & Wolke, 2013). In this sense, it is essential to know the existing family dynamics and to provide the parents with guidelines that allow them to handle parenting situations as effectively as possible, in order to avoid negative consequences like the above-mentioned ones.

School Factors

There are also some factors that directly involve the school, which can increase the likelihood of bullying situations. Schools differ, among other aspects, in their organizational structure, in the way they elaborate the rules of coexistence, and in the type of relationships that are established between students, between students and teachers, and between teachers and families.

Whereas in some schools, more cooperative and positive school climates are generated in which few students are excluded from the teaching-learning process, in other schools, the school climates are more negative, and bullying situations are more likely to arise.

In fact, a *negative school environment* is considered a risk factor for bullying. As noted by Sampascual (2009), in the academic area, climate is determined both by the physical (e.g., distribution of space or students) and the psychosocial aspects (e.g., cohesion among students and teachers' type of leadership) occurring in the classroom. Whereas students' distribution in the classroom can influence the relationships that are generated therein, it is particularly relevant to the dynamics of bullying to attend to the aspects linked to cohesion among the students.

In this regard, previous studies have found that students presenting a *rejected* sociometric status are more likely to be victims of bullying (Serdiouk, Rodkin, Madill, Logis & Gest, 2015). Isolated students who do not have support tend to be the target of bullying situations, whereas having at least one “best friend” and feeling that it is possible to communicate openly with this friend reduces the likelihood of being a bullying victim and the negative effects associated with victimization (Cardoos & Hinshaw, 2011; Fitzpatrick & Bussey, 2014).

The degree of group acceptance is also linked to personal characteristics. In this respect, Inglés, Delgado, García-Fernández, Ruiz-Esteban, and Díaz-Herrero (2010) emphasized that students with social anxiety were classified as rejected by their peers more often than their prosocial peers, which somehow increases their vulnerability to being caught up in the dynamics of bullying.

Thus, presenting difficulties in social interaction is a relevant factor for bullying. When attending to these issues, schools should focus not only on punitive measures but should promote activities requiring cooperation to integrate the students, thereby preventing situations of rejection and exclusion and promoting the acquisition of social skills.

It has also been confirmed that the existence of fluent family-school communication has a positive influence on school climate and on students' academic performance (Castro, Expósito, Lizasoain, López & Navarro, 2014a,b; Papanikolaou et al., 2011). Likewise, it is considered that the parents' involvement in the elaboration of the school's rules of coexistence can improve school climate (Gázquez, Pérez-Fuentes, Lucas & Fernández, 2009).

Social and Cultural Factors

Social and cultural factors that may have an impact on the dynamics of bullying include violent actions on TV, video games, and the internet to which minors have access (Chang et al., 2015; Orue & Calvete, 2012). Thus, for example, images showing situations of armed conflict are becoming increasingly frequent in the newscasts, and many cartoons feature violent actions portrayed in a humorous tone.

In addition, video games are increasingly realistic, and the most violent contents are the most highly accepted among youth. The fact that children and adolescents increasingly master the internet means that they may also be exposed to a greater number of violent contents. If this is not adequately addressed, exposure to this type of content may lead to more tolerant attitudes towards violence and desensitization to the suffering of those who experience these actions, the victims (Wei, 2007).

Table 2. Social, personal, family and school factors related to school victimization

Personal	Family	School	Social
Striking physical features	Authoritarian/negligent parental style	Low family involvement	Exposure to violent content on television, video games and internet
Belonging to ethnic minorities	Limitation in decision-making	Rejected sociometric status	Inadequate interpretation of the violence to which they are exposed
Sexual orientation different from the majority	Restriction of the child's autonomy and independence	Absence of trusted peers	
Presence of disabilities or special educational needs	Influent communication	Low social competence	
Deficits in social skills	Lack of interest in child/adolescent's problems and concerns		
	Domestic violence		

Such violence is even frequently justified in order to obtain whatever one wants, either because one is unaware of the possible consequences for the victims or simply because one considers that “the victim deserves it.” In response to these issues, a social commitment is necessary to rethink the content presented in the media and the way in which it is presented. Similarly, the role of families and teachers is essential to help children and adolescents forge a critical view of violent situations and to restructure the possible misinterpretation of these contents. Table 2 summarizes the main social, personal, family and school factors related to school victimization.

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Chapter 114

VICTIMS OF SCHOOL BULLYING: PREDICTORS AND OUTCOMES

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ABSTRACT

Over the past few decades a significant amount of empirical and theoretical work has accumulated in the bullying literature. Researchers worldwide used several research methods, different instruments and multiple analyses, trying to provide answers on important issues in relation to victimization. What are the victims' characteristics? What are the main individual and contextual factors that put children at risk for victimization? Do interventions have a positive result on victims? What are the socioemotional outcomes in children who have been victimized? These questions will be at the core of this chapter which aims to bring together current empirical studies and theoretical work utilizing a wide array of victimization literature. Thus, in this chapter we will discuss individual and familial risk factors related to victimization, such as the child's temperament and parenting styles and other parental characteristics that tend to be related to victimization. Additionally, several intervention strategies which have been implemented will be discussed. Finally, we will provide a summary of recent findings in socioemotional outcomes in victims such as the risk for depression and anxiety. In theoretical terms, we will try to bind together the most important research findings related to victimization while also we will try to stress out the fact that victimization could be detrimental for children since research has consistently showed that victims are exposed to short-term and long-term negative consequences.

INTRODUCTION

Victims of bullying are subjected to intentionally repetitive aggressive acts by a more powerful individual or peer group (Olweus, 1993). According to the World Health Organization (2012) bullying is a worldwide concern with an average of 32% of children identified as victims

across 38 countries/regions. Due to its high prevalence rates across the world and the short-term and long-term negative outcomes, it remains a significant challenge for practitioners and policy makers to design and implement efficient intervention and prevention programs against victimization.

Numerous studies have identified three distinct categories of children who get involved in bullying incidents at school: the bullies, the passive victims, and the bully/victims (Austin & Joseph, 1996; Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1994; Wolke, Woods, Bloomfield, & Karstadt, 2000). Compared to the other two categories (i.e., bullies and bully/victims), victims tend to be insecure, shy, introverted, with low levels of self-esteem (Austin & Joseph, 1996; Schwartz, Proctor, & Chien, 2001). Additionally, victims are usually rejected from their peers and are more likely to become isolated (Georgiou & Stavrinides, 2008). Interestingly, a research study by Eslea and Mukhtar (2000) showed that children who are victimized are usually different in appearance characteristics from their peers. For instance, they may be physically weak or obese, suffer a disability, or belong to a different race or culture.

Prior research has shown that personal and contextual factors (e.g., family, peers, school, and community) play an important role in the development of problem behaviours in children and adolescents (Georgiou, 2008; Loeber, Burke, Lahey, Winters, & Zera, 2000). A meta-analysis by Lereya, Samara, and Wolke (2013) showed that negative parenting behavior is associated with small to moderate effects on victim status at school. Research findings related to familial and contextual risk factors of becoming a victim will be at the core of this chapter.

Moreover, it is well established that children who are bullied at school are more likely to suffer from a range of mental health problems such as depression and anxiety (Arseneault, Bowes, & Shakoor, 2010) and even worse, at some instances, experience psychotic symptoms (Schreier et al., 2009). These consequences in victims will be further discussed in this chapter.

Since bullying seems to affect negatively a significant number of students across countries, school psychologists, researchers, and practitioners attempted to design and implement several intervention and prevention programs in order to reduce victimization's high rates. Dan Olweus, a pioneer in bullying research, initiated the development and implementation of anti-bullying prevention and intervention programs in the Scandinavian countries since the 1970s. Olweus' programs showed that they have been effective in reducing victimization of bullying and sometimes this reduction had exceeded 50% (Olweus, 1997). Until now, several innovative intervention programs have been developed while other scientists just replicated Olweus' programs with a few modifications. Therefore, some of the most efficient programs and their important components will be discussed in this chapter.

INDIVIDUAL RISK FACTORS

Bullying literature suggests that demographic factors and children's prior psychosocial adjustment contribute to the likelihood of being victimized by their peers. Gender and socioeconomic status (SES) are particularly two significant factors that seem to influence children's involvement in bullying. For instance, Olweus (1993) found that boys tend to engage in bullying and be victimized more than girls during the middle school years. However, this finding is not consistently confirmed by other empirical studies that showed that gender is not a significant correlate of peer victimization (Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen, & Brick, 2010; Craig

et al., 2009). Furthermore, research studies documented that victims were more likely to be from low SES (e.g., Tippet & Wolke, 2014), indicating that SES is another risk factor for victimization. On the other hand, other studies indicated little or no association between SES and victims or bully-victims (Garner & Hinton, 2010; Veenstra et al., 2005).

Poor psychosocial adjustment is an important area of individual risk factors for victimization. Specifically, research studies showed that a child's internalizing problems can increase the risk of becoming a victim while also these problems may be the result of being victimized at school, suggesting a reciprocal association between the two (Hodges, Boivin, Vitaro, & Bukowski, 1999; Hodges & Perry, 1999). Internalizing problems may have a more general negative impact on child's behaviour at school. For instance, a child who shows a submissive behaviour and be introverted, it is more possible to be a target for victimization (Hodges & Perry, 1999; Olweus, 1993). Saarento, Kärnä, Hodges, and Salmivalli (2013) found that social anxiety predicted both self-report and peer-report victimization. In line with previous findings, Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, and Sadek (2010) showed that victimization was related to loneliness, depression, anxiety, and low self-worth in children and adolescents. On the other hand, this vicious cycle rarely breaks down since children who have been victimized display more internalizing problems later on (Arseneault et al., 2006, Reijntjes, Kamphuis, Prinzie, & Telch, 2010; Zwierynska, Wolke, & Lereya, 2013).

It is widely accepted that difficult temperament is related to children's involvement in bullying incidents. Specifically, a research study by Frizzo, Bisol, and Lara (2013) showed that victimized children scored higher in emotional sensitivity (trauma and rejection sensitivity, sadness) and lower in self-esteem. The same authors also found that victims scored lower in attention and executive functions. Consequently, it appears that victimized children seem to display deficits in emotional and cognitive domains, suggesting that they may have a dysfunctional profile with an extremely difficult temperament.

In addition, some researchers have examined the link between personality and children's involvement in bullying using personality measures such as the Big Five Factor Model. For example, Mitsopoulou and Giovazolias (2015) showed that lower level of Agreeableness and Conscientiousness and higher levels of Neuroticism and Extraversion were associated with bullying and victimization. Specifically, victimization was associated with high Neuroticism and low Conscientiousness. According to Bollmer, Harris, and Milich (2006) children who display negative emotions would be more possible to elicit attacks by peers while also victimized children would be more possible to express negative emotions. Similarly, Slee & Rigby (1993) showed that victimized children tend to score low on extraversion and high on neuroticism.

FAMILIAL RISK FACTORS

Family plays an important role in promoting children's development and socialization process. Therefore, it is essential to identify familial factors that put the child at risk for victimization. One of the most dominant familial factor that is related to victimization is parental style (Baumrind, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983) which describes how children perceive their parents' socialization practices such as the way they respond to their needs (responsiveness) and the way they use control (demandingness) and monitoring. Previous

studies have focused on the relationship between bullying/victimization and parental style (e.g., Georgiou, 2008). Interestingly, Georgiou (2008) found that permissive parental style was positively related to victimization. However, an earlier study by Georgiou, Fousiani, Michaelides, and Stavrinides (2013) showed that authoritarian parental style was positively related to both bullying and victimization. For example, permissive parents who do not set boundaries to their children's behaviour, tend to have children that they feel insecure and are more vulnerable, making them possible targets for victimization by their peers. Similarly, parents who use harsh discipline practices and have excessive demands from their children are more likely to have victimized children (Hay & Meldrum, 2010). In line with these findings, a meta-analysis by Lereya et al. (2013) showed that abuse, neglect, and maladaptive parenting were the best predictors of victimization at school. In general, negative parenting practices tend to affect children in feeling helpless and have less self-confidence (Duncan, 2004). As a result, they generalize the consequences of their adverse experiences at home to the school context. Moreover, Haynie et al. (2001) showed that middle school students with lower perceptions of parental involvement and support were more possible to report past victimization than non-victimized students.

Additionally, a number of studies showed that parental overprotection increases the likelihood of victimization by peers (e.g., Brock et al., 2006). In line with that, Georgiou (2008) also found that maternal overprotection is associated with victimization. It was suggested that overprotecting parenting behaviours may promote the children's dependency to their mother which in turn inhibits the ability to develop adaptive social skills, placing them as easier target for victimization by peers (Berdondini & Smith, 1996; Duncan, 1999; Georgiou, 2008).

Family violence is another risk factor for victimization. According to Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Hamby (2005), students who experience any form of victimization may be at greater risk for other forms of victimization. Other studies showed that emotional, physical, and sexual abuse were significant risk factors for peer victimization (e.g., Shields & Cicchetti, 2001).

However, Lereya, et al. (2013) found that positive parenting practices are protective against peer victimization. These positive practices include good communication between parents and children, high levels of responsiveness, high levels of parental involvement and support, and adequate levels of parental supervision. The identification of risk and protective familial factors is necessary in order to develop intervention programs that can be applied to the family context.

PEER RISK FACTORS

Peer factors are significant predictors for victimization. Previous studies indicated that victims tend to have fewer friends, poorer peer relationships (e.g., Nikiforou, Georgiou, & Stavrinides, 2013), and feeling less liked by their peers than non-victimized children (Smith, Shu, & Madsen, 2001). Nikiforou, Georgiou, and Stavrinides, (2013) found that victimization is significantly negatively predicted by peer trust and positively predicted by peers alienation. In line with this finding, Powell and Jenson (2010) using a sample of 150 girls found that poor friendship quality with other girls were significantly related to an increased risk of peer victimization. Therefore, victims are not popular with peers, which in turn can increase their likelihood to be rejected. However, friendships can be a protective factor against victimization (Pellegrini, Bartini, & Brooks, 1999).

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY RISK FACTORS

Findings on the relationship between school factors (e.g., school climate, teachers' attitudes) and victimization have also been reported. Earlier findings suggested that students perceived the shared psychosocial and disciplinary climate at school as negative (Ma, 2002). According to Saarento, Kärnä, Hodges, and Salmivalli (2013) found that victimization was common in classrooms and schools where students perceived their teachers to have less disapproving attitudes toward bullying. That is, the risk of being victimized was less in contexts where students believed that their teachers thought bullying was absolutely wrong. Furthermore, Thornberg and Knutsen (2011) have also suggested that a possible explanation for bullying is poor anti-bullying practices that the teachers apply in schools. In contrast, positive school climate promotes cooperative learning, group cohesion, respect, and mutual trust (Ghazi, 2003); factors that inhibit bullying and victimization.

Further, community factors seem to have a relationship with bullying and victimization. According to Mann, Kristjansson, Sigfusdottir, and Smith (2015) higher levels of community and family connection, community closure, and support reduced the odds of young people engaging in bullying or victimization. Specifically, they found that low levels of community closure and peer support increased the odds of experiencing victimization. That is, in communities that neighbors know their children's friends and children's friends' parents and work with them to coordinate and monitor their children's activities, it is less possible their children to be victimized or bully other children.

INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

Bullying can be seen from a socio-ecological perspective (Espelage & Swearer, 2004), whereas individual, familial, peer, school, and community factors put children at risk for victimization. Hence, most research studies focused on the design and implementation of interventions at the individual and school levels. In this section, a number of intervention programs against victimization and bullying will be discussed. It is essential to identify the most efficient programs, since their wider implication will reduce the rates of victimization and bullying at schools.

One of the initial prevention programs against bullying was introduced by the pioneer in bullying literature Dan Olweus (1997) in Norway and the program was called: Anti-bullying Prevention Program — Norwegian “Nationwide Campaign Against Bully/Victim Problems.” During this two-year school-based intervention program approximately 2500 fourth to seventh grade students were participating from 42 primary and secondary/junior high schools. The program included positive involvement from teachers and parents, firm limits to bullying behaviour and consistent use of non-hostile sanctions on rule violations. Evaluations of this program indicated that the reduction of bullying has exceeded 50%.

Alsaker and Valkanover (2012) presented the Bernese Program against Victimization in Kindergarten and Elementary School (Be-Prox). The basic principle of this program was to develop teachers' ability to address bullying behavior and prevent victimization. Be-Prox was initially developed in 1998 in the frame of a research project. The program consisted of six modules such as: Sensitization: “Subjective attitudes,” Bullying may be hard to detect: “Look

at it,” Rules against bullying: “The contract” and so on. All six modules were designed to change teachers’ attitudes regarding bullying. The evaluation of this program showed that scores on physical and indirect victimization had dropped significantly in the prevention group than on the control group. A meta-analysis by Farrington and Ttofi (2009) showed that Be-Prox was one of the nineteen programs that appeared to be effective in reducing bullying or victimization.

In addition, the Zero Program was introduced by Roland and Midthassel in 2003 but it has its roots in Norway’s work back in 1983. This program has three main principles which are the following: a zero vision of bullying, collective commitment among all employees at the school using the program (school-approach), and continuing work. Furthermore, it lasts for approximately sixteen months. Specifically, this program presupposes that bullying will occur even though we try to prevent it and because of that it suggests that the main teacher of the class has to know how to conduct the intervention against victimization. Midthassel, Bru, and Idsøe (2008) found a positive trend against victimization which was the main achievement of the program period while this trend remained after the follow up two years later.

The KiVa program from Finland is an additional innovative anti-bullying program that was proposed by Salmivalli and Poskiparta in 2006. This program is based on the idea that a positive change in the behaviors of classmates can reduce the rewards gained by bullies and as a result, this will reduce their motivation to bully. It is an innovative program since it used the Internet (specific online questionnaires, ensuring anonymity, and Web-based forums for teachers) and visual learning environments (e.g., computer games related to bullying) to change students’ attitudes about bullying. Some of the main characteristics of the program are the following: classroom discussions, group work among teachers and students, short films about bullying, role-play exercises, and peer support groups for victims of bullying. Additionally, parents were participating in this program by attending lectures during special information nights and by reading guides against victimization and bullying on the internet KiVa webpage. Evaluation of the KiVa program using a large randomized controlled trial including 117 intervention schools and 117 control schools showed that the program reduced both self- and peer-reported bullying and victimization significantly (Kärnä, Voeten, Little, Poskiparta, Kaljonen, & Salmivalli, 2011).

More recently, Espelage, Low, Polanin, and Brown (2013) presented the Second Step: Student Success Through Prevention (SS-SSTP) Middle School Program on reducing youth violence including peer aggression and peer victimization among middle school students. During this program teachers implemented 15 weekly lessons of the sixth-grade curriculum that focused on social emotional learning skills, including empathy, communication, bully prevention, and problem-solving skills. This study showed that the intervention effect was significant. Specifically, it was found that students in intervention schools were 42% less likely to self-report physical aggression than students in control schools. However, there was no intervention effect for peer victimization.

Overall, some of the most important components that have commonly showed significant intervention effects for bullying and victimization are intensity of program for children and teachers, training for teachers, peer support, group work, and parental engagement such as meetings and information for parents. In sum, a whole-school systems-based program rather than a curriculum one could produce more positive results in reducing bullying and victimization (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011).

SOCIO-EMOTIONAL OUTCOMES

A number of cross-cultural studies have documented the widespread frequency and high prevalence of peer victimization both in Western and non-Western societies (Smith, Cowie, Olafsson & Liefvooght, 2002). Peer victimization is linked to a wide variety of social-emotional adjustment difficulties, such as internalizing (i.e., anxiety, depression, withdrawal, and somatic complaints) and externalizing (i.e., aggression, delinquency, and attention difficulties) adjustment difficulties (e.g., Hawker & Boulton, 2000; Leadbeater & Hoglund, 2009).

Previous research studies showed that peer victimization was associated with a variety of adjustment problems such as symptoms of posttraumatic stress (Storch & Esposito, 2003), loneliness, low self-worth, depressive symptoms, suicidal ideation, and borderline personality disorder symptoms (Arseneault, Bowes, & Shakoor, 2010; Hawker & Boulton, 2000; Herba et al., 2008; Troop-Gordon & Ladd, 2005). In line with the previous studies, Stavrinides, Georgiou, Nikiforou and Kiteri (2011) using a longitudinal design found that bullying and victimization at Time 1 were related to an increase of adjustment problems such as emotional problems and a decrease of school achievement at Time 2. Furthermore, another study showed that victimized children reported high levels of internalizing problems such as anxiety and somatization, as well as problematic relationships (Goldbaum, Craig, Pepler, & Connolly, 2003). In the same line, research on cyber victimization showed that externalizing, internalizing, and academic problems were related to cyber victimization (e.g., Tsitsika et al., 2015).

Espinoza, Gonzales, Weisner, and Fuligni (2013) found that chronic peer victimization incidents were associated with heightened distress and academic problems among Mexican-American adolescents. Further, they showed that daily victimization incidents were related to more school adjustment problems (i.e., academic problems). In line with this argument, a meta-analysis by Nakamoto and Schwartz (2010) concluded that victimized students are more likely to earn lower grades and score lower on achievement tests.

Bifulco, Schimmenti, Jacobs, Bunn, and Rusu (2014), using a sample of 160 high-risk community-based emerging adults (age 16-30), found that both types of bullying experiences were associated with parental neglect and abuse, parental discord and inadequate supervision while victimization alone related to internalizing problems such as anxiety disorders and major depression. The participants were interviewed to rate the severity of bullying before age 16. This study showed clearly that victimization could have negative long-term effects on people's lives.

The short-term and long-term effects of childhood victimization on well-being warrant attention. Thus, it is imperative to design and implement prevention and intervention programs against victimization. In the next section, implications for researchers, scholars, policy makers, and practitioners will be discussed.

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCHERS, SCHOLARS, POLICY MAKERS, AND PRACTITIONERS

Policy makers should draw their attention to two aspects of victimization: First, to provide clear documents to schools that will enable teachers to identify and help victims of bullying.

Second, it seems that early prevention should be a priority for policy makers. Prevention programs should address to high risk children, for instance, children that are more vulnerable and introverted because they are different in appearance characteristics from their peers.

Furthermore, training programs for teachers and parents should be developed. Training programs should be informative and provide guidelines of how to handle a bullying/victimization incident. On one hand, teachers and educational psychologists need to identify the signs of bullying and victimization even among preschoolers. Teachers should be able to recognize a bullying incident based on the three criteria (Olweus, 1993), while to be able to detect and support the victims even though in some occasions it is difficult to detect indirect forms of bullying. Fear, social withdrawal, somatic complaints, sudden sadness, reluctance to go to school etc., these might be signs of victimization.

CONCLUSION

The prevalence of victimization is quite alarming as documented by epidemiological studies worldwide. The high rates for victimized children and the short-term and long-term detrimental socio-emotional outcomes stress out the need for the development and the implementation of more effective prevention and intervention programs against victimization. It is important to note that evidence shows that early prevention can bring positive results across a series of challenges many children face while growing up.

The identification of victimized children is essential for teachers and parents. However, it is even of greater significance to convince educational administrators to invest in prevention programs. For example, training programs for teachers and parents should be developed. Also, activities should be integrated in the school program in order to allow children to build positive traits and resilience.

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Chapter 115

**BULLYING VICTIMIZATION IN BENIN:
PREVALENCE AND ITS CORRELATES
AMONG IN-SCHOOL ADOLESCENTS**

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ABSTRACT

Bullying victimization is a serious problem among in-school adolescents. Because of limited reports on bullying among adolescents in Benin, a study was conducted to determine the prevalence and correlates for bullying victimization among school-going adolescents in Benin. Secondary analysis of data was conducted using the 2009 Benin Global School-based Health Survey (GSHS) data. Logistic regression analyses were done to estimate associations between selected explanatory variables and the outcome (bullying victimization). Out of 2,690 in-school adolescents, 49.3% were of age 16 years or older, 66.9% were males and 40.1% reported having been bullied at least once in the previous 30

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days to the survey (39.2% among boys versus 42.0% among girls). Male adolescents were 11% (adjusted odds ratio (AOR) = 0.89; 95% confidence interval (CI) 0.88–0.90) less likely to be bullied compared to female adolescents. Participants who drank alcohol were 45% more likely to be bullied than those who did not drink alcohol (AOR=1.45; 95% CI 1.43-1.47). Adolescents who smoked cigarettes were 24% (AOR = 1.24; 95% CI 1.21–1.28) more likely to be bullied compared to non-smokers. Those who reported being involved in physical fighting were 77% more likely to be bullied than those who were not involved in physical fighting (AOR=1.77; 95% CI 1.75-1.79). Adolescents who had parental supervision were 10% (AOR=0.90; 95% CI 0.89, 0.91) less likely to be bullied than those who did not have parental supervision. Efforts to prevent and control bullying should take into consideration the factors identified in this study.

Keywords: bullying victimization, prevalence, correlates, adolescents, Benin

INTRODUCTION

Bullying victimization is a serious problem among in-school adolescents and has a long term effect on problem behaviour in young adulthood (1). Bullying is associated with truancy from school (2) and affects school achievement (3). It has also been associated with health problems (4-7) such as depression and suicidality.

Bullying victimization is a common problem among children and adolescents across the globe. Its prevalence varies across countries partly due to differences in the definition, study design and sample (8). Among 28 European countries, the prevalence of being bullied in previous last year varied from 6% in Sweden to 40% in Lithuania (9). Meanwhile, in 19 low- and middle income countries, the prevalence of being bullied in the previous 30 days ranged from 7.8% in Tajikistan to 60.9% in Zambia (10). In the United States, about 10% of school going children were bullied (11), and in Canada an average of 16% of the children (17.8% of boys and 15.1% of girls (12)) were frequently victimized (13). In Asia, prevalence of being bullied was 27.8% in Thailand (14), 19.0% in Guangdong province in China (15), 8% in Western Turkey (16), 35.5% in Philippines (17), and 14% of the students were bullied in Korea (18). In a study involving 40 countries, Craig et al (19) observed that adolescents in Baltic countries reported higher rates of being bullied, whereas northern European countries reported the lowest prevalence.

Demographic factors have been associated with bullying victimization. In middle-income countries, male gender (10, 20, 21) and younger age (10, 22) have been associated with bullying victimization. Substance use has also been reported to be associated with bullying victimization (23). Tharp-Taylor et al (24) have reported an association between cigarette smoking and bullying victimization and between marijuana use and bullying victimization. Bullying victimization has also been associated with physical fighting (20, 22, 25). Factors associated with bullying victimization have not been consistent across countries partly due to differences in the selected variables for analysis. Hence, it is important that each population establishes risk factors for bullying victimization for use in designing interventions to curtail or prevent bullying.

This study involved further analysis of data from the Benin Global School-based Health Survey (GSHS) that was conducted in 2009. The survey was developed by the World Health Organization (WHO) in collaboration with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF),

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) with technical assistance from the Centers for Diseases Control and Prevention (CDC), Atlanta, Georgia, United States. The GSHS aims to provide data on health and social behaviours among in-school adolescents. Further details of the GSHS have been reported elsewhere (26). Among the 13-15 years old pupils in Benin, 42.1% (42.7% of boys and 40.7% of girls) were bullied (27). Because this analysis was limited to the 13-15 years age group and no attempt was made to determine factors associated with bullying in Benin, we conducted further analysis of the 2009 Benin GSHS to determine the prevalence of bullying and its correlates in the school-going adolescents in Benin.

METHODS

The Republic of Benin with a population of 9.98 million is located in West Africa, bordering with Togo in the west, Nigeria in the east and Burkina Faso and Niger in the north. The capital city of Benin is Porto-Novo. Literacy (ability to read and write) among persons aged 15 years or older was 55.2% of males and 30.3% of females. The population comprised of 42.8% Christians, 24.4% Moslems, 17.3% practiced Vodun and 6.5% claimed no religion affiliation (2013 census). During pre-colonial era, young boys were often apprenticed to older soldiers, and Benin was characterized by ethnic strife during post-colonial era with six coups between 1963 and 1970 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benin>. Accessed 2014 January 15).

Study design, sample size and sampling

A School-based Health Survey was conducted in 2009 among students in grades 10 to 12 in Benin. A total of 2690 students participated in the survey. The response rate and sampling methods that were used in the survey are described in greater detail elsewhere (27). The school response rate was 100%, the student response rate was 90%, and the overall response rate was 90%. A two-stage cluster sampling technique was used to draw the sample. At the first stage of sampling, schools were randomly selected with probability proportional to enrollment size. At the second stage of sampling, classes were randomly selected and all students in selected classes were eligible to participate.

Data collection

The data set and code book were made available to the public on the GSHS website (<http://www.cdc.gov/gshs/>. Accessed 2014 February 15). The privacy of students was protected by allowing for anonymous and voluntary participation. No school identifier was included in the data that was deposited in the public domain.

The survey obtained information among other subjects on bullying; alcohol use; tobacco use; parental supervision and violence. The questionnaire was self-administered by students. Bullying victimization was the outcome variable. It was explained as follows: "Bullying occurs when a student or group of students say or do bad and unpleasant things to another student. It

is also bullying when a student is teased a lot in an unpleasant way or when a student is left out of things on purpose. It is not bullying when two students of about the same strength or power argue or fight or when teasing is done in a friendly and fun way.” Students were then asked the following question: “During the past 30 days, on how many days were you bullied?” The responses were: 0 days, 1 or 2 days, 3 to 5 days, 6 to 9 days, 10 to 19 days, 20 to 29 days and all 30 days. Those reporting one or more days were considered to have been bullied. The independent variables were identified from the literature as associated with bullying. The following were the exposure variables that were considered in the analysis:

- Alcohol consumption: the variable was obtained by asking the question “During the past 30 days, on how many days did you have at least one drink containing alcohol?” The responses were: 0 days, 1 or 2 days, 3 to 5 days, 6 to 9 days, 10 to 19 days, 20 to 29 days and all 30 days. The variable was categorized as having drunk alcohol in the previous 30 days to the survey, if pupil drank 1 or more drinks containing alcohol; otherwise they were categorized having not consumed alcohol in the same period
- Smoking cigarettes: Pupils were asked “During the past 30 days, on how many days did you smoke cigarettes?”; and the responses were 0 days, 1 or 2 days, 3 to 5 days, 6 to 9 days, 10 to 19 days, 20 to 29 days and all 30 days. Smoking cigarettes was categorized into having smoked cigarettes in the previous 30 days to the survey if the pupil smoked cigarettes on 1 or more days in the previous 30 days to the survey; otherwise the pupil did not smoke cigarettes.
- Parental supervision: pupils were asked the question “During the past 30 days, how often did your parents or guardians really know what you were doing with your free time?” The responses were never, rarely, sometimes, most of the time and always. The responses were categorized into having not received parental supervision if they were never supervised; otherwise they received parental supervision.
- Physical fighting: a physical fight was explained as: “A physical fight occurs when two students of about the same strength or power choose to fight each other”. The pupils were asked the following question: “During the past 12 months, how many times were you in a physical fight?” The responses were 0 times, 1 time, 2 or 3 times, 4 or 5 times, 6 or 7 times, 8 or 9 times, 10 or 11 times and 12 or more times. Pupils who were involved in 1 or more times of physical fight were labeled as being involved in a physical fight during the previous 12 months to the survey; otherwise they were deemed as not having been involved in a physical fight in the same period.

Data analysis

Weighted prevalence of the main outcome (bullying victimization) and socio-demographic characteristics were calculated. Bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analyses were done to determine associations between bullying victimization and relevant variables according to the literature.

A weighting factor was used in the analysis to reflect the likelihood of sampling each student and to reduce bias by compensating for differing patterns of non-response. The weight used for estimation is given by the following formula:

$$W = W1 * W2 * f1 * f2 * f3 * f4$$

where

W1 = the inverse of the probability of selecting the school,

W2 = the inverse of the probability of selecting the classroom within the school,

f1 = a school-level non response adjustment factor calculated by school size category (small, medium, large),

f2 = a class-level non response adjustment factor calculated for each school,

f3 = a student-level non response adjustment factor calculated by class, and

f4 = a post stratification adjustment factor calculated by grade.

We report unadjusted odds ratios and their 95% confidence intervals from univariate logistic regression analyses for selected predictor variables while considering having been bullied in the past month as a dependent variable. We also report results from a multivariate logistic regression analysis (adjusted odds ratios and their 95% confidence intervals) to determine independent predictors for the outcome.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the study population

Factor	Total	Male	Female
	%* (n**)	%* (n**)	%* (n**)
Age (years)			
<14	11.3 (240)	11.7 (162)	9.7 (7.6)
14	14.8 (338)	13.8 (200)	16.9 (336)
15	24.6 (609)	24.7 (386)	24.7 (607)
16+	49.3 (1494)	49.7 (986)	48.6 (1488)
Gender			
Male	1734 (66.9)	-	-
Female	930 (33.1)		
Alcohol drinking			
Yes	20.7 (530)	23.4 (388)	15.2 (138)
No	79.3 (1918)	76.6 (1210)	84.8 (694)
Smoking			
Yes	3.7 (94)	4.5 (78)	1.7 (14)
No	96.3 (2582)	95.5 (1652)	98.3 (914)
Parental supervision			
Yes	46.4 (1207)	43.9 (730)	52.1 (472)
No	53.6 (1456)	56.1 (995)	47.9 (447)
Physical fighting			
Yes	30.3 (779)	32.0 (528)	27.0 (247)
No	69.7 (1909)	68.0 (1211)	73.0 (683)
Bullying victimization			
Yes	40.1 (993)	39.2 (622)	42.0 (365)
No	59.9 (1476)	60.8 (982)	58.0 (484)

%* - weighted percent; n** - unweighted frequency.

RESULTS

A total of 2,690 in-school adolescents participated in the Benin Global School-Based Survey of 2009. For those study participants whose data were available, 49.3% were of age 16

years or older, 66.9% were males and 40.1% reported having been bullied in the past month (39.2% among boys versus 42.0% among girls). Further description of the study sample is given in table 1.

Factors associated with being a victim of bullying

Bivariate and multivariate analyses produced similar results (see tables 2 and 3). In Multivariate analysis, male adolescents were 11% (adjusted odds ratio (AOR) = 0.89; 95% confidence interval (CI) 0.88–0.90) less likely to be bullied compared to female adolescents. The other risk factors that were identified in the analysis were alcohol use, smoking and physical fighting.

Table 2. Univariate logistic regression analyses results on the association between bullying victimization and selected characteristics among school going adolescents in Benin, 2009

Factor	Unadjusted Odds Ratios (95% CI*)		
	Total	Males	Females
Age (years)			
<14	1.06 (1.03, 1.08)	1.07 (1.04, 1.10)	1.08 (1.03, 1.12)
14	1.00 (0.99, 1.03)	0.99 (0.96, 1.01)	1.02 (0.98, 1.05)
15	1.06 (1.04, 1.08)	1.15 (1.13, 1.17)	0.88 (0.86, 0.91)
16+	1	1	1
Gender			
Male	0.94 (0.93, 0.95)	-	-
Female	1		
Alcohol use			
Yes	1.57 (1.56, 1.59)	1.57 (1.46, 1.60)	1.56 (1.52, 1.59)
No	1	1	1
Smoking			
Yes	1.61 (1.57, 1.66)	1.51 (1.47, 1.56)	2.40 (2.21, 2.61)
No	1	1	1
Parental supervision			
Yes	0.87 (0.86, 0.87)	0.87 (0.86, 0.88)	0.84 (0.82, 0.85)
No	1	1	1
Physical fight			
Yes	1.84 (1.82, 1.86)	1.81 (1.79, 1.83)	1.90 (1.86, 1.93)
No	1	1	1

CI* - confidence interval.

Participants who drank alcohol were 45% more likely to be bullied than those who did not drink alcohol (AOR=1.45; 95% CI 1.43-1.47). Adolescents who smoked cigarettes were 24% (AOR = 1.24; 95% CI 1.21–1.28) more likely to be bullied compared to non-smokers. Those who reported being involved in physical fighting were 77% more likely to be bullied than those who were not involved in physical fighting (AOR=1.77; 95% CI 1.75-1.79). Finally, adolescents who had parental supervision were 10% (AOR=0.90; 95% CI 0.89, 0.91) less likely to be bullied than those who did not have parental supervision.

Table 3. Multivariate logistic regression analysis results on the association between bullying victimization and selected characteristics among school going adolescents in Benin, 2009

Factor	Adjusted Odds Ratio (95% CI*)
Age (years)	
<14	1.02 (0.99, 1.04)
14	1.00 (0.97, 1.02)
15	1.16 (1.14, 1.18)
16+	1
Gender	
Male	0.89 (0.88, 0.90)
Female	1
Alcohol use	
Yes	1.45 (1.43, 1.47)
No	1
Smoking	
Yes	1.24 (1.21, 1.28)
No	1
Parental supervision	
Yes	0.90 (0.89, 0.91)
No	1
Physical fighting	
Yes	1.77 (1.75, 1.79)
No	

CI* - confidence interval.

DISCUSSION

In this most recent 2009 Global School Health Survey conducted in Benin, 40.1% of the students (39.2% among boys versus 42.0% among girls) reported having been bullied in the previous 30 days to the survey. Subpopulations at increased risk for being bullied were adolescents aged 15 years, female gender, alcohol drinkers, smokers and adolescents who were involved in physical fighting. Meanwhile, parental supervision was protective to being bullied. The prevalence in the current study is alarmingly high, although the lowest as compared to other west African countries.

A total of five countries (Benin, Algeria, Mauritania, Ghana and Senegal) have been participating in the Global School Health Surveys in West Africa (28). Among the 13-15 years-olds, the prevalence of being bullied was the lowest in Benin with an overall prevalence of 42.1% (42.7% among boys and 40.7% among girls) compared to overall prevalence rates of the other West African countries ranging from 47.2% to 58.7% (boys 48.0% to 60.7%; and girls 46.3% to 57.3%). The overall prevalence of 40.1% in the current study which included individuals younger than 13 years and older than 15 years is lower than the 52.3% observed in Uganda (29), 51.3% (54.2% males and 52.2% females) reported in Botswana (30) and 62.8% (60.0% of male and 65.0% of female) reported in Zambia (31). Generally, prevalence estimates for bullying victimization have varied within and between countries, within and between

regions, and within and between continents. These variations may reflect cultural differences in the definitions of bullying (32) and bullying victimization (19).

Associations between bullying victimization and gender have not been consistent. Craig et al (19) observed that rates of victimization were higher for girls than boys in 29 out of 40 that they studied. In the current study girls were more likely to be bullied than boys, contradicting a finding reported in Zambia by Siziya et al. (31). Knowledge on the type of bullying may help in clarifying the sex difference in bullying victimization. If verbal, sexual and relational bullying are the dominant types of bullying in a population, more girls than boys may be bullied. Vieno et al (33) reported that girls were more likely to be victims of verbal, relational and sexual bullying than boys, with the boys being bullies in these forms of bullying.

It was observed in the current study that adolescents aged 15 years were more likely to be bullied than older students. This finding is not consistent with the observations of Craig et al (19) that bullying victimization decreased with age among boys in 30 of the 40 countries, and in 25 out of 39 countries among girls. Craig et al. (19) propose that the reduction in victimization by age may partly be due to age related changes in youth adapting socially as they develop or reflect equalization in physical sizes and consequently, increased effectiveness at inhibiting bullying, and partly it may be due to adolescents who bully may be targeting a fewer number of students with increasing age or targeting younger children. It is not clear why there was no difference in the prevalence of being bullied between adolescents aged less than 15 years and adolescents aged 16 years or older.

Drug abuse facilitates risky situations where bullying can occur. The finding in the current study that alcohol is associated with bullying victimization concurs with findings elsewhere (2, 31, 34, 35). Students who drank alcohol might have found themselves in situations that when drunk they might have been involved in some type of bullying such as physical fighting. Bullying victimization has also been associated with smoking cigarettes (34) and dagga (2, 36). The significant, positive association between victimization and substance use underscores the need to intervene with bullying behaviors among adolescents (37).

The finding that students who received parental supervision were less likely to be bullied in the current study is consistent with the observation made in Beijing by Hazemba et al. (34). This finding is also consistent with the observation by Jeong and Lee (38) who indicated that adolescents with parent support were less likely to be victims of school bullying, and lack of involvement and support from parents is likely to increase the risk of bullying victimization (39). While lack of parental supervision has been associated with smoking (40) and less cohesive family behaviour associated with alcohol use in cross sectional studies, cohort studies are needed to establish the protective effect of the parental supervision. Parents who are not involved in fighting are good role models for their children who may not find themselves in situations where bullying may occur. Furthermore, being under the watchful eye of the parents, adolescents may keep out of trouble.

Students who were involved in physical fighting were more likely to be bullied in the current study than adolescents who were not involved in physical fighting. In another study, a dose response has been observed between bullying victimization and physical fight (41), thus providing more evidence that physical fighting may be an exposure to bullying. Adolescents involved in fighting might have been bullied by older adolescents in retaliation for their involvement in fighting.

Factors associated with bullying victimization have varied between studies partly because of the differences in the factors that were selected for the studies. Hence it is important that risk

factors are determined for the population to be targeted for intervention to curtail or prevent bullying victimization.

Because of the cross sectional study design, we are unable to provide adequate evidence that observed factors are predictive risk factors for bullying victimization. For instance, in the association between alcohol consumption and bullying, adolescents might have consumed alcohol as a result of being bullied. Comparisons of the prevalence in the current study with those obtained in other studies may be biased as a result of differences in defining the term bullying victimization. However, comparisons with results from other Global School Health Surveys are valid as they use the same definition. The major strength of the current study was the large sample size. Responses may have been biased towards socially accepted norms. We cannot rule out recall bias as participants were at times required to recall events that may have happened over a long time ago (1-12 months ago).

In-school adolescents in Benin report a lower prevalence of bullying victimization than other countries in West Africa. Parental supervision and being a male were associated with lower likelihood of bullying victimization; Smoking, alcohol drinking, and physical fighting were associated with a history of bullying victimization. Interventions aimed at promoting adolescents health would benefit from taking these observations into consideration. The information contained in the current study would also form as a baseline data for use in such interventions to curtail or prevent bullying among adolescents in schools.

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Chapter 116

BULLYING BEHAVIOUR FOLLOWING STUDENTS' TRANSITION TO A SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOL CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the prevalence and types of bullying behaviour that boarding students experienced during the transition to a secondary boarding school. Cross-sectional data on 76 male and 74 female boarding students in Grades 7, 8 and 9 was used from a larger longitudinal study of 3,462 students. An examination of the combined dataset prevalence figures found that boarding students reported experiencing significantly higher victimization and perpetration of bullying behaviours than non-boarders after their transition into secondary school. The victimization was found to predominantly take the form of verbal bullying. The increase in the prevalence of bullying behaviours over the course of the first year of secondary school suggests that prior to and during this transition period is the most critical time to implement bullying prevention programs. Due to the sustained nature of bullying behaviour over the first two years of secondary school it is recommended that boarding schools develop clear policies and consistent procedures and practices to address bullying and encourage help seeking behaviours. Similarly these students will need support to build positive relationships with their peers to seek support from others early and often if they are experiencing difficulties.

Keywords: Bullying, victimization, boarding school, adolescence

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INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is a developmental stage in life that is associated with major cognitive, emotional, physiological and social change. Adolescence coincides with the onset of puberty and is typically described by parents as a period in which they attune to their child's growing need for autonomy and greater desire to source social support from same aged peers. Many adolescents look forward to the transition to secondary school as it represents a period of possibilities; a time to master new academic, social, emotional and extracurricular activities (1). However, adapting to multiple formal and informal organizational and social relational structures that are inextricably linked with the high school environment can prove particularly daunting to transitioning students (2).

Transitioning from primary school to a secondary boarding school adds another layer of complexity to secondary school life, as students have to simultaneously adjust from a situation where home and school are separate, into a setting where a temporary new home and schooling are merged together. Although some boarding students have reported the transition to boarding school has given them a greater appreciation for family and home, other students have equally reported that the process of adapting to new boarding school duty of care rules and regulations can be difficult as they tend to reduce privacy and personal freedom. Moreover, it commands boarding students to almost instantly display high levels of self-reliance, life skills and independence (3)". Similarly, boarding school requires adjusting from a situation where contact with family members occurs on a daily face-to-face basis to a situation where for extended periods of time contact is limited to contact via telephone, Skype and other means of communication such as email and text messages. Others have also described this change as shifting from vertical relationships with parents to horizontal relationships with peers at school and within the boarding house (3).

Friendship and peer support are needed for the development of social, emotional and mental health and have been identified as important contributors to a successful school transition (4). Peers not only provide support, but information and guidance (5). However, a peak in bullying victimization occurs following the transition to secondary school (6) largely resulting from the pressure to attain high social status and the formalization of relationships and social roles in new social groups (7). The seriousness and negative impact of school bullying is well known contributing to significant physical, psychological and social wellbeing problems (8) which in turn effects academic performance (9).

In boarding schools, a significantly larger amount of time is spent with peers (24 hours a day, 7 days a week) compared to day students (6 hours a day, 5 days a week). Arguably, the residential boarding context provides greater opportunity for bullying to occur (10, 11).

Some have described bullying at boarding school as 'relentless' given that targets have fewer choices to minimize their exposure to bullying, with bullying often following the target from the day school setting into the residential setting (3). Evidence suggests bullying can become institutionalized into the culture of boarding schools that are not vigilant to its presence (11). Poynting and Donaldson (10) described peer-to-peer bullying in one Australian elite boys' only boarding school as endemic and entrenched, taking the form of ridicule and racial slurs, physical and sexualized assault, all contained within a culture of intimidation and non-disclosure. In these instances bullying has been justified through language that constructs it as a 'tradition' or 'initiation' and analogous with a normal a rite of passage (12).

The long term negative mental health and life trajectory implications for individuals that experience bullying and also perpetrate bullying while at school are increasing being acknowledged (13). Bullying at boarding school has been linked to high levels of shame, anxiety, thoughts of revenge, and experiencing relationship difficulties as adults (3). Despite these apparent harms, a dearth of current information on bullying behaviour in boarding schools exists. This paper uses quantitative data to examine the patterns of bullying behaviours in Australian boarding schools during the initial experience of transition and the year immediately following transition. The primary aim of this study is to determine whether a difference exists in the prevalence and type of bullying behaviours between boarding and non-boarding students and examines help seeking behaviours of those who have been bullied.

METHODS

The data in this study were taken from a larger longitudinal study, the Supportive Schools Project (SSP) conducted in Perth, Western Australia (WA). SSP aimed to develop and implement whole-of-school strategies to reduce the prevalence of frequent bullying behaviours as well as positively influence common mediators of bullying. The study was approved by the ethics committee of the administering institution and the relevant Catholic Education school authorities.

Cohort data were collected during the Supportive Schools Project (SSP) from 3,462 students from 21 of the 28 Catholic secondary schools in WA. The seven schools that declined to participate in the study cited other priorities within their school and demanding staff workloads. All invited CEO schools were stratified according to the total number of students enrolled at the school and each school's Socio-Economic Status (SES) to help to control for the influence of these two factors on student bullying behaviour. These schools were randomly selected and randomly assigned to an intervention or comparison group. To collect data relating to their pre-transition experience, all Grade 7 students enrolled to commence in Grade 8 at each of the 21 participating secondary schools received a baseline survey while in Grade 7 at their respective primary schools. A combination of active and passive consent resulted in 93% of parents whose children were enrolled in the 21 recruited secondary schools consenting to their child participating in the study.

The student cohort was surveyed at the end of Grade 7 (mean age 12 years), the beginning and end of Grade 8 (mean age 13 years old) and the end of Grade 9 (mean age 14 years old). In total, 3,462 (92% of the total recruited) students completed questionnaires at least at one time point with 3,123 (90%) responding to at least three of the four data collection points. One half of the students surveyed were male and 70% attended a co-educational secondary school versus a single sex secondary school. A total of 5% of students (76 males, 74 females) identified themselves as living away from home to complete their secondary education at the secondary schools involved in the SSP.

Measures

Boarder Status. Students in Grades 8 and 9 were asked whether they were living away from home while going to school this year. Those who indicated they were living away from home in Grade 8 have been classified as 'boarders'.

Bullying victimization and perpetration. A global measure of victimization was obtained by asking students 'In the previous term, how often did another student or group of students bully you?' with the response options recorded on a 5 point scale (1=never, 2=only once or twice, 3=every few weeks, 4=about once a week, 5=most days). Similarly a global measure of perpetration was obtained. The type of bullying victimization was assessed using a nine-item categorical index adapted from Rigby and Slee (14), Olweus (15) and from the 2004 Youth Internet Survey (16). Students were asked how often they were bullied through physical (hit, kicked and pushed around; had money or other things broken or taken away from them; made to feel afraid they would get hurt), verbal (made fun of and teased in a hurtful way; called mean and hurtful names), relational (students ignored them, did not let them join in, or left them out on purpose; and students told lies about them and tried to make other students not like them) or cyber (were sent mean and hurtful text (SMS) messages; were sent mean and hurtful messages on the internet) means during the prior term at school. For each item students were asked how often they were bullied, rating each item on a 5 point scale (1 = never, 2 = only once or twice, 3 = every few weeks, 4 = about once a week, 5 = most days). Frequent victimization was defined as every few weeks or more often. The type of perpetration was assessed using a similar nine-item perpetration index which asked students how often they were bullied by others in the different ways listed.

Students were also asked how often they were bullied by other students in various year levels. Those students who reported being bullied were also asked if they asked for help, from whom they asked for help (parents, friends, teachers, school staff) and if things got better after they asked for help.

Bystander behavior was assessed through the question 'If you saw a student being bullied, what did you do?' with the response choices being: I joined in the bullying; I watched the bullying; I walked away; and I tried to get help. Students were also asked whether they: thought the bullying was OK; thought it was none of their business; didn't know what to do; or thought they should help the student being bullied.

Lastly, students were asked how serious they thought staff took bullying: they didn't know; not at all seriously; somewhat seriously; very seriously; or extremely seriously.

Statistical analysis

Analyses were conducted using SPSS v21. Chi-square analyses were used to determine differences in categorical variables with respect to boarders and non-boarders and gender.

RESULTS

At the end of Grade 7, 65% of students reported they were not victimized, 25% reported they were victimized once or twice and 11% reported frequent victimization (every few weeks or more often in the past 10 weeks) (Table 1). The majority of students (71%) reported they did not bully others, 26% reported they bullying others once or twice and 3% reported frequent perpetration (every few weeks or more often in the past 10 weeks).

Boarders vs non-boarders: target of bullying

No significant differences were found for the frequency of bullying victimization between boarders and non-boarders at the end of Grade 7. However, after the transition to secondary school, significant differences were found for the frequency of victimization among students who were boarders and those who were day students only. Boarders reported more frequent victimization at the beginning of Grade 8 ($X^2 = 21.965$, $p < 0.001$), the end of Grade 8 ($X^2 = 17.881$, $p < 0.001$), and the end of Grade 9 ($X^2 = 14.316$, $p = 0.001$) than non-boarders. While the increase in reported frequent victimization over the first two years of secondary school was similar for boarders and non-boarders, by the end of Grade 9 twice as many boarders were frequently victimised than non-boarders, with one in five boarders reporting frequent victimization compared to one in 10 non-boarders by the end of Grade 9.

Table 1. Frequency of victimization and perpetration of boarders and non-boarders

	End of Grade 7		Beg of Grade 8		End of Grade 8		End of Grade 9	
%	Boarder	Non-boarder	Boarder	Non-boarder	Boarder	Non-boarder	Boarder	Non-boarder
Victimization by another student ^{abc}								
Not bullied	61.6	64.7	58.0	71.3	53.3	64.0	49.2	64.7
Once or twice	22.1	24.8	26.6	22.6	26.0	25.9	30.5	24.8
Frequently	16.3	10.5	15.4	6.2	20.7	10.0	20.3	10.5
Perpetration of another student ^{dbc}								
Not bullied	65.1	71.0	77.5	79.9	58.5	74.1	55.2	66.8
Once or twice	33.7	26.0	16.9	17.8	27.5	21.7	30.4	25.6
Frequently	1.2	2.9	5.6	2.3	14.1	4.2	14.4	7.6
Victimization and Perpetration ^{abc}								
Not bullied	53.0	52.9	52.1	63.1	39.4	52.7	34.4	50.4
Once or twice	36.1	40.2	38.6	33.3	44.4	41.3	50.8	41.0
Frequently	10.8	6.9	9.3	3.6	16.2	6.0	14.8	8.5

^a $p < 0.01$ at beg of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^b $p < 0.01$ at end of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^c $p < 0.01$ at end of Grade 9 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^d $p < 0.05$ at beg of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders.

Perpetrator of bullying

Similarly, significant differences were found between boarding and non-boarding students and the frequency of perpetration in which they engaged after their transition to secondary school. Boarders reported engaging in more frequent perpetration of bullying at the beginning of Grade 8 ($X^2 = 6.068$, $p = 0.048$), the end of Grade 8 ($X^2 = 35.243$, $p < 0.001$), and the end of Grade 9 ($X^2 = 10.567$, $p = 0.005$) than non-boarders. By the end of Grade 9, 14% of boarders reported frequent perpetration compared to 8% of non-boarders.

Target/perpetrator of bullying

Similarly, boarders who were victimized and who also perpetrate (bully-victims) also reported they had more frequent involvement in bullying behavior at the beginning of Grade 8 ($X^2 = 15.004$, $p = 0.001$), the end of Grade 8 ($X^2 = 26.427$, $p < 0.001$), and the end of Grade 9 ($X^2 = 13.859$, $p = 0.001$) than non-boarders.

Table 2. Frequency and type of victimization of boarders from the beginning of Grade 8 to the end of Grade 9

%		Beginning of Grade 8			End of Grade 8			End of Grade 9		
		Not bullied	Once or twice	Frequently bullied	Not bullied	Once or twice	Frequently bullied	Not bullied	Once or twice	Frequently bullied
I was made fun of and teased in a hurtful way ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	87.0 95.3	6.2 2.9	6.8 1.8	85.9 92.6	5.4 4.1	8.7 3.2	78.6 90.2	7.6 4.8	13.7 5.1
I was called mean names ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	86.2 95.5	7.6 2.5	6.2 1.9	86.6 92.1	8.1 4.8	5.4 3.1	80.9 89.9	6.1 4.8	13.0 5.3
Students ignored me, didn't let me join in, or left me out on purpose ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	94.5 97.4	2.1 1.3	3.4 1.2	89.2 96.0	6.8 2.3	4.1 1.7	88.5 94.6	2.3 2.5	9.2 2.9
I was hit, kicked or pushed around ^c	Boarder Non-boarder	95.2 97.5	2.8 1.2	2.1 1.2	91.9 97.2	5.4 1.4	2.7 1.4	87.8 94.7	3.8 1.9	8.4 3.4
Students told lies about me and tried to make other students not like me ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	93.2 96.4	3.4 1.7	3.4 1.9	91.3 95.4	4.7 2.4	4.0 2.2	86.2 93.2	3.8 2.8	10.0 4.0
I had money or other things broken or taken away from me	Boarder Non-boarder	97.9 99.1	0.7 0.3	1.4 0.7	93.3 98.5	2.7 0.7	4.0 0.8	88.5 96.8	2.3 0.8	9.2 2.4
I was made afraid that I would get hurt ^c	Boarder Non-boarder	97.9 98.4	0.7 0.7	1.4 0.9	93.9 98.0	2.0 0.9	4.1 1.1	88.5 96.2	1.5 1.0	10.0 2.8
I was sent a mean and hurtful text (SMS) message	Boarder Non-boarder	99.3 99.5	0.7 0.2	0.0 0.3	94.6 99.4	2.7 0.2	2.7 0.6	90.8 97.2	3.1 0.7	6.1 2.0
I was sent a mean and hurtful message on the internet	Boarder Non-boarder	99.3 99.2	0.7 0.4	0.0 0.4	95.9 99.0	1.4 0.5	2.7 0.5	93.1 96.5	0.8 1.2	6.1 2.3

^b $p < 0.01$ at beginning of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^b $p < 0.01$ at end of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^c $p < 0.01$ at end of Grade 9 for boarders vs non-boarders.

Boarders, gender and bullying behavior

A significantly higher proportion of male boarders reported frequent victimization ($X^2 = 6.908$, $p = 0.032$) at the end of Grade 9 compared to female boarders (27% compared to 14% respectively). A significantly higher proportion of male boarders also reported engaging in frequent perpetration at the beginning of Grade 8 ($X^2 = 13.847$, $p = 0.001$) and end of Grade 9 ($X^2 = 7.576$, $p = 0.023$) compared to female boarders (beginning of Grade 8: 11% compared to

0% respectively; end of Grade 8: 22% compared to 6% respectively). Similarly, a significantly higher proportion of male boarders reported bully-victim behaviours at the beginning of Grade 8 ($X^2 = 6.073$, $p = 0.048$) compared to female boarders (15% compared to 3% respectively).

Type of bullying experienced by boarders

The most frequently reported forms of bullying reported to be experienced by boarders at the beginning of Grade 8 was verbal (being made fun of and teased and called mean names) and relational means (being ignored and excluded and having lies told about them to make students not like them) (Table 2). Physical and cyber bullying became more prevalent at the end of Grades 8 and 9. All forms of bullying increased in prevalence over the first two Grades of secondary school.

With respect to boarders only, no significant differences were found between males and females and the types of victimization they experienced at the end of Grade 7 and the beginning of Grade 8. However, at the end of Grade 8, a significantly higher proportion of males reported verbal bullying than females. Similarly, by the end of Grade 9 a significantly higher proportion of males reported verbal, and physical bullying than females.

A significantly greater proportion of boarding students than non-boarding students reported verbal and relational bullying in both Grades 8 and 9. By the end of Grade 9 a significantly greater proportion of boarding students reported being physically bullied than non-boarding students.

Types of bullying perpetrated by boarders

The most frequent forms of bullying perpetration reported by boarders was verbal and relational bullying (Table 3). Perpetration of physical and cyber bullying became more prevalent at the end of Grades 8 and 9. All forms of bullying perpetration increased in frequency over the first two Grades of secondary school.

At the beginning of Grade 8, a significantly greater proportion of boarding students reported verbally and physically bullying others compared to non-boarding students. This pattern continued to the end of Grades 8 and 9 with a significantly greater proportion of boarding students than non-boarding students reporting verbal, physical, relational, and cyber bullying.

At the beginning of Grade 8, boarders reported being victimized by students in Grades 8, 9 and 10 (Table 4). However, by the end of Grades 8 and 9, boarders predominantly reported being victimized by students in their own grade levels.

Help seeking and bystander behaviour and perceptions of staff

Over one-quarter of boarders who reported being bullied did not ask for help. The majority of boarders in Grades 7 and 8 who witnessed another student being bullied, thought they should help the student being bullied and tried to help. However, by the end of Grade 9, a greater

proportion of boarders who witnessed others being bullied watched the bullying rather than tried to help and thought it was none of their business.

Table 3. Frequency and type of perpetration by boarders from the beginning of Grade 8 to the end of Grade 9

%		Beginning of Grade 8			End of Grade 8			End of Grade 9		
		Did not bully	Bullied Once or twice	Frequently bullied others	Did not bully	Bullied Once or twice	Frequently bullied others	Did not bully	Bullied Once or twice	Frequently bullied others
I made fun of and teased others in a hurtful way ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	73.1 79.4	20.0 18.6	6.9 1.9	61.8 71.1	26.4 23.9	11.8 5.0	66.4 64.8	19.2 26.1	14.4 9.0
I called others mean names ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	72.4 76.6	20.7 21.1	6.9 2.3	55.9 69.2	29.7 26.1	14.5 4.7	56.8 63.2	25.6 27.5	17.6 9.3
I ignored other students, didn't let them join in, or left them out on purpose ^{bc}	Boarder Non-boarder	79.9 83.4	16.0 14.7	4.2 1.9	59.2 76.4	27.5 19.8	13.4 3.8	62.1 72.1	25.8 21.0	12.1 6.8
I hit, kicked or pushed around others ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	84.1 91.0	15.2 7.8	0.7 1.1	81.3 88.6	8.3 8.7	10.4 2.6	84.0 85.4	7.2 10.0	8.8 4.6
I told lies about others and tried to make other students not like others ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	93.1 94.6	6.9 4.7	0.0 0.7	84.1 92.4	7.6 6.0	8.3 1.6	82.4 89.9	6.4 6.5	11.2 3.6
I took money or other things away from others	Boarder Non-boarder	97.9 98.3	2.1 1.5	0.0 0.2	89.7 96.7	3.4 2.3	6.9 1.0	91.2 93.9	1.6 3.2	7.2 2.9
I made others afraid they would get hurt ^{abc}	Boarder Non-boarder	91.0 94.6	9.0 4.6	0.0 0.7	84.8 92.9	6.9 5.5	8.3 1.6	81.6 89.7	8.0 6.0	10.4 4.3
I sent others a mean and hurtful text (SMS) message ^c	Boarder Non-boarder	97.9 98.8	2.1 1.0	0.0 0.3	88.2 97.3	4.2 1.9	7.6 0.8	86.3 93.7	4.8 3.5	8.9 2.8
I sent others a mean and hurtful message on the internet ^{bc}	Boarder Non-boarder	100.0 97.2	0.0 2.6	0.0 0.3	87.6 95.2	6.2 3.8	6.2 1.0	87.8 91.7	3.3 5.1	8.9 3.2

^a $p < 0.01$ at beginning of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^b $p < 0.01$ at end of Grade 8 for boarders vs non-boarders, ^c $p < 0.01$ at end of Grade 9 for boarders vs non-boarders.

At the beginning of Grade 8, 49% of boarders thought staff took bullying very or extremely seriously, 9% somewhat seriously, 4% not at all seriously, and 39% did not know how serious staff took bullying.

Table 4. The context of bullying, help seeking and bystander behaviours of boarders

%(n)	Beg of Grade 8	End of Grade 8	End of Grade 9
Who are they being bullied by?			
Grade 8	29.6(40)	47.6(68)	14.4(18)
Grade 9	20.6(26)	26.8(37)	42.4(53)
Grade 10	18.9(24)	25.9(36)	21.7(26)
Grade 11 or 12	15.4(20)	18.6(26)	17.4(21)
Don't know	9.4(10)	12.7(15)	13.2(14)
When bullied, asked for help	26.7(16)	29.4(20)	25.0(15)
Bystander behaviour			
Thought bullying was OK	0.7(1)	2.7(4)	4.0(6)
Thought bullying was none of my business	21.3(32)	21.3(32)	10.7(16)
Thought I should help student being bullied	54.7(82)	30.7(46)	18.0(27)

DISCUSSION

This study found significantly higher bullying prevalence rates in boarders after their transition to secondary school. Given, longitudinal research shows that adolescents who are victimised are more likely to experience depression, anxiety, psychosomatic complaints and suicidal ideation (8), and that boarding students are found to have lower levels of mental and emotional wellbeing than non-boarders after the transition to secondary school (17), it seems critically important to prevent and manage these behaviours within the boarding school context.

Unlike non-boarding students whose reported prevalence data was similar to national prevalence data (6), boarders reported significantly higher victimization than the national data and this prevalence increased over time. The increase in prevalence of bullying behaviours following transition and then over time for boarders suggests that their transition to secondary school combined with their transition to boarding school is opportune to skill school staff and students to address bullying behaviours. A case study of an Australian boy's board school (10) found the school minimised and controlled the disclosure of bullying incidents, creating a culture that both tolerated and seemingly admired students who bullied. Students from this boarding school claimed the older students victimised those younger, creating a tradition of bullying within the school. The identification of indecent assaults, sexualised bullying and violence at this boarding school resulted in many Australian private boarding schools reviewing their duty of care and residential supervision practices and procedures (18). Likewise, in response, the Australian Boarding Schools Association (ABSA), which has over 95% of Australian boarding schools as members, developed a Duty of Care: A Certificate Course in Residential Education (19) which set minimal industry based standards (National Boarding Standards (NBS)) in professional training for staff at boarding schools. These standards enable students to be more socially responsible by encouraging pro-social behaviour, discouraging poor behaviour, providing effective anti-bullying policies, and encouraging responsible use of technology (20). While these standards and others developed since are important, a sustainable ongoing strategy of review by schools and governing bodies to prevent and manage bullying is required.

Boarding students in this study perpetrated more bullying than day students. Boarding school practices and policies need to clearly define what social behaviours it expects students

to engage in and what constitutes bullying behaviour and relay this information to all staff and students. Boarding school policies developed in conjunction with boarding students which discourage bullying behaviours, and identify consequences for bullying, need to be administered consistently. Negative outcome expectancies, including adults finding out and adult and peer disapproval, are strong motivational forces to prevent involvement in bullying behaviours (21). Students are less likely to engage in aggressive behaviours if they perceive there will be negative consequences (22). Less than a half of the boarding students in this study believed staff took bullying seriously, with a large proportion of boarders who were victimised not seeking help. Encouraging and enhancing the ability of adults to prevent, detect and intervene in bullying incidents, enabling students to support victimised students, and easy reporting of bullying, will help to reduce victimization (23).

This study showed that boarders who witnessed bullying in Grade 8 thought they should try to help, with this attitude decreasing over time. Participation in perpetration can also be discouraged through encouraging a pro-victim attitude (including support for the victim, empathy towards the victim and disapproval of bullying behaviours) (24). To increase pro-victim behaviour, supporters (those who comfort, support or stand up for those being victimized) need to be acknowledged as positive models for the peer group (25) with students encouraged to perceive all cases of bullying as severe and unjust.

Given, that students in this study were surveyed at the end of Term 1 (10 weeks into the school year) in Grade 8 and again in Term 4 of Grade 8, this six month period resulted in large increases in the prevalence of bullying behaviors for boarders. These changes may be related to changes in boarder attitudes towards bullying due to inconsistent enforcement or lack of bullying policies and procedures. Transition activities and organizational support by boarding schools tend to taper off after the first 10 weeks of the school year as students' are encouraged to take greater responsibility and to self-manage.

The findings from this study suggest it may be necessary to provide mores sustained social support to boarders for the duration of Grade 8. This appears to be a critical time in particular to implement social development programs, clarify boarding house policies and procedures, consistently administer rules, and encourage help seeking behaviours. Preventative steps such as pre-transition seminars and forums for prospective families for new boarding students which outline bullying policies and procedures are also encouraged. The large difference in bullying prevalence between boarders and non-boarders, suggests further research is necessary to explore student socialization processes and staff practices in the residential context and the impact these have on boarding students social and emotional wellbeing and mental health during transition.

Strengths and limitations

There are several strengths of this study. The longitudinal nature of the quantitative research design over the transition from primary into secondary school enabled the investigation of bullying at a time that can be challenging for boarders and non-boarders alike. Moreover, these findings are robust due to the large proportion of boarders (89%) and non-boarders (90%) who completed questionnaires in at least three of the four data collection points.

The limitations of this study include relying on student self-report of bullying victimization and perpetration. The quantitative research was conducted with a sample of Catholic secondary

schools within the Perth metropolitan area which affects the generalizability of results, given they represent only 11% of all secondary schools ($n = 186$) in Perth, Western Australia. School activities over the transition period will likely influence students' experiences. Students were classified as 'boarders' in this study if they indicated they were living away from home while going to school.

These results, however, draw attention to the prevalence of bullying behaviour in boarder populations and suggest opportunities to intercede in the post transition period.

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Chapter 117

BULLYING, CYBERBULLYING, DEPRESSION AND SUICIDE IDEATION AMONG YOUTH: COMPARING ONLINE TO PAPER-AND-PENCIL QUESTIONNAIRES

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ABSTRACT

Data on bullying/cyberbullying and depression/suicide ideation among youth is usually collected via paper-and-pencil questionnaires delivered in classrooms. In recent years data collection methods for psychological questionnaires have seemingly shifted from the classical paper-and-pencil method to web-based questionnaires. There are numerous advantages to web-based methods; however, the exact circumstances in which this method affects data quality are not yet fully understood. Objective: This study will address the question of whether the medium by which data is collected affects results, specifically concerning bullying, cyberbullying, depression and suicide ideation among adolescents. Study group: A total of 230 students participated in the study. Half (n = 115) were recruited online and completed a web-based survey. The other half (n=115) were recruited from five different middle schools and high schools across Israel and completed a paper-and-pencil survey. The participants who completed the paper-and-pencil survey were matched to the online participants in terms of their age, gender and parental occupation status. Methods: Data from both samples were compared and significant differences were further investigated. Results: General cyber-victimization was more prevalent among participants who answered paper-and-pencil questionnaires. Being harassed in virtual chat rooms and suffering from rumors being spread online were the specific types of cyber-victimization that were more prevalent on paper-and-pencil questionnaires. Depression and harassment via e-mail were more prevalent among online

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participants. Conclusions: Recruiting participants online has many advantages but it is important to understand the limitations of this sampling method, especially the extent to which it is possible to generalize findings.

Keywords: Web-based research, suicide ideation, bullying, cyberbullying, depression

INTRODUCTION

Bullying, cyberbullying, depression and suicide ideation are major concerns regarding adolescents, particularly given that suicide is the third leading cause of death among American adolescents (1). Moreover, depression and suicide ideation are risk factors for suicide completion (1) as studies show that roughly 1 out of 8 adolescents suffered from depression (2) and 15.8% of high school students seriously considered attempting suicide (3).

In a nationwide survey conducted in 2011, 20% of high school students reported being bullied and 16% reported being cyberbullied during the past 12 months (4). Most of the data for the research on bullying/cyberbullying and depression/suicide ideation among youth has been collected using classical paper-and-pencil self-report questionnaires. This method is expensive, complicated and time consuming; and therefore researchers are turning to more cost-effective alternatives (5). With the growing ubiquity of Internet access (6), an increasing number of researchers are finding ways to utilize the Internet in order to conduct research in their fields. Research on bullying/cyberbullying and depression/suicide ideation is no exception. Recent studies in this field have started collecting data using web-based questionnaires (7, 8). In order to safely advance from paper-and-pencil to web-based research in this field, it is important to systematically compare the two.

The advantages of conducting web-based research are plentiful. Firstly, it provides access to larger and more diverse samples. In addition, data entry in web-based research is done indirectly by participants themselves (9). Lastly, it has been said to provide a heightened sense of anonymity (10) which is considered advantageous, as it encourages honesty when touching sensitive topics (11). However, this heightened sense of anonymity is becoming increasingly harder to assume. People are becoming more knowledgeable about the potential for infringing on anonymity in cyberspace. Therefore, this may theoretically interfere in truthful self-reporting.

The great advantages and promise that web-based research brings does not come without a price. Samples are still confined to participants who own a computer and have Internet access (12). In addition, recruitment techniques, such as advertising in blogs, forums, or web-sites, make it very difficult to achieve a random sample (13). Furthermore, participants are not in a controlled environment during the experiment, it is impossible to verify demographic information, it is difficult to estimate response rates, and finally, with no experimenter watching over participants, ethical problems may arise (13).

Many studies have compared data that were obtained online against data obtained in the lab and have mostly supported the notion that the quality of data (e.g., sample diverseness, responders seriousness, etc.), obtained online is as good as, if not better, than data obtained in the lab (14). Studies comparing data collected using web-based questionnaires and paper-and-pencil questionnaires on potentially sensitive personal matters drew the same conclusion (15). Computer based surveys may be preferable when targeting sensitive issues as the sense of

anonymity increases and social desirability (i.e., a tendency to answer questionnaires in a socially acceptable or favorably viewed way) decreases (15,16). Furthermore, web-based questionnaires have been shown to reliably detect depressive disorders (17) and other mental disorders (18).

Comparing data collection methods among adolescents is necessary for several reasons. First, the popularity of web-based research among adolescents is rising as conducting paper-based research consumes important school time which is also very hard to obtain. Second, adolescents are growing up surrounded by web-based interfaces and spend more time in front of screens, now more than ever (19). For adolescents, answering web-based questionnaires might be becoming more natural than the paper-based alternative.

To the best of our knowledge, most studies have not been conducted among adolescents and while some compared data on the topic of bullying, none have used an online self-selected sample nor have compared differences for cyberbullying. The purpose of the current study is to compare web-based questionnaire and paper-and-pencil questionnaire data collection techniques in relation to researching the sensitive issues of adolescent bullying, cyberbullying, depression and suicide ideation.

METHODS

A total of 230 Israeli middle school and high school students participated in the study. Half of the students ($n = 115$) completed a web-based survey online and the other half completed a paper-based survey. The paper-based survey completers were matched to the online participants in the terms of their age, gender and parental occupation status. In this regard, the participants in both groups ranged in age from 14-17 years of age ($M = 16.06$, $SD = 1$); 122 were male (53%) and 108 were female (47%); 22 were in 9th grade, 42 were in 10th grade, 66 were on 11th grade and 100 were in 12th grade. Out of 230 participants, 198 (86.1%) reported that both of their parents were working.

Procedure

This study was approved by the institutional review board of the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya. Online participants were recruited via midgam.com, an Israeli web-based survey platform. When signing up to midgam.com, under-aged participants must obtain their parents signature in order to complete their registration. Before answering the questionnaires, all participants signed an online informed consent form. Subsequently, participants were requested to complete the questionnaire in one session and were also informed that the website allows only one entry per participant. All participants were reimbursed 20 NIS (around 6 USD) for their participation in the study.

A paper-and-pencil survey was conducted in 5 middle schools and high schools across Israel as part of a research on the same topic (20). After obtaining approval from a) the Chief Scientist of Israel's Ministry of Education and b) the school principals, all of the participants' parents were contacted via mail and e-mail. Parents were notified about the study and were asked to sign a form if they did not want their child to participate in the study. Students were

asked for their consent in class. Of the 757 participants who completed the questionnaire, 115 were selected to statistically match the online participants in age, sex and parental occupation status.

Measures

Anonymous self-report questionnaires were used to assess participants' experience of bullying, cyberbullying, depression and suicide ideation.

The demographic questionnaire obtained information regarding age, gender and parental occupation status.

Bullying and cyberbullying behavior was assessed using a questionnaire which was previously used by Sourander and colleagues (21). Participants were asked about their involvement in bullying behavior during the past six months, both as a bully and as a victim. The four answer options were 1- never; 2- less than once a week; 3- more than once a week; and 4- almost every day. Participants were regarded as bullies if they reported bullying others during the past six months, either in or out of school, to any extent (i.e., any answer other than "never"). If participants reported being bullied by others during the past six months, in or out of school, they were regarded as victims. Similarly, participants were regarded as cyberbullies or cyber-victims if during the past six months they cyberbullied others or were cyberbullied by others, respectively. In addition to bullying and cyberbullying in general, more specific questions were asked concerning explicit acts of traditional bullying (e.g., hitting, name calling, stealing money, etc.) and cyberbullying (e.g., threatening, rumor spreading, ridiculing, etc.).

Depression was assessed using the Mood and Feelings Questionnaire (MFQ). This self-report questionnaire examines recent depressive symptoms. Participants are asked to mark how true 33 different statements are in accordance with how they have been feeling over the past two weeks (22). Participants can regard each statement either as 0- not true; 1- sometimes; or 2- true. MFQ scores may range between 0-66; this score positively correlates with the prevalence of depressive symptoms. The optimal cut-off point for depressive disorders has been established as 26 or more (23). This point was used to dichotomously differentiate participants as either depressive or non-depressive.

Suicide ideation. In assessing whether a participant had suicidal ideation, any answer other than "Not True" on items 16-18 of the MFQ was taken as indicating passive suicidal ideation. These items included the statements "I thought that life wasn't worth living", "I thought about death or dying" and "I thought my family would be better off without me". Any answer other than "Not True" on item 19 of the MFQ, which held the statement "I thought about killing myself" was regarded as having active suicidal thoughts.

Analysis

To evaluate whether data collected online was significantly different from data collected via paper-and-pencil questionnaires, a series of χ^2 tests for independence was conducted. The tests compared the prevalence of bullying behavior, victimization, cyberbullying, cyber-victimization, depression, passive suicide ideation and active suicide ideation, between the

online and pen-and-paper participants. To better understand the difference between the samples in cyber victimization, an additional series of χ^2 tests for independence was conducted.

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the differences between the online sample and the paper-and-pencil sample regarding prevalence of different behaviors. Bullying, victimization, cyberbullying, passive suicide ideation and active suicide ideation were not significantly different. However, cyber-victimization and depression did significantly differ.

Table 1. Prevalence of behavior among participants in both surveys

Type of Behavior	Online Participants	Paper-and-pencil Participants	Sig of χ^2
Bullying	N=110; 18 (16%)	N=114; 23 (20%)	.286
Victimization	N=110; 24 (21%)	N=114; 36 (31%)	.067
Cyberbullying	N=107; 3 (3%)	N=115; 9 (8%)	.086
Cyber-victimization	N=107; 9 (8%)	N=114; 23 (21%)	.01
Depression	N=115; 21(18%)	N=115; 11(10%)	.043
Passive suicide ideation	N=106; 29 (27%)	N=114; 28 (25%)	.375
Active suicide ideation	N=106; 10 (9%)	N=114; 8(7%)	.342

Table 2. Prevalence of different types of cyber-victimization among participants in both surveys

Type of Behavior	Online Participants	Paper-and-pencil Participants	Sig of χ^2
Ignored by others	N=107; 15 (14%)	N=115; 19 (17%)	.371
Disrespected by others	N=107; 14 (13%)	N=114; 18 (16%)	.353
Called names by others	N=102; 9 (9%)	N=103; 7 (7%)	.39
Had rumors spread by others	N=107; 10 (9%)	N=115; 21 (18%)	.042
Threatened by others	N=107; 4 (4%)	N=114; 5 (4%)	.54
E-mail bombed by others	N=107; 6 (6%)	N=115; 7 (6%)	.554
Picked on by others	N=107; 5 (5%)	N=115; 9 (8%)	.246
Ridiculed	N=107; 12 (11%)	N=115; 19 (17%)	.172
Scared for safety	N=115; 7 (6%)	N=115; 5 (4%)	.384
Virtual chat room	N=107; 12 (11%)	N=115; 24 (21%)	.038
Instant messaging service	N=107; 6 (6%)	N=115; 7 (6%)	.554
E-mail	N=107; 5 (5%)	N=115; 0 (0%)	.025
Phone text messaging	N=104; 2 (2%)	N=115; 0 (0%)	.224
Discussion group	N=107; 7 (7%)	N=115; 9 (8%)	.458
Chat room	N=107; 2 (2%)	N=115; 8 (7%)	.064

Table 2 presents the comparison between specific cyber-victimization experiences. Participants who answered paper-and-pencil questionnaires reported suffering from rumors being spread about them online and being cyberbullied in virtual chat rooms more than did

online participants. More online participants, however, reported being cyberbullied via e-mail. All other comparisons were not significantly different.

DISCUSSION

The current preliminary results indicate that the shift in the social sciences to web-based research must proceed with caution. Our results on bullying, victimization, cyberbullying and suicide ideation generally support previous studies (14) by indicating that web-based research is suitable for adolescents, but further analysis is required, specifically for depression and cyber victimization.

The finding that in the online sample more participants reported being depressed could be explained by the sample characteristics. One major disadvantage of web-based research is that currently there is no method to produce a random sample of Internet users (5). It is possible that adolescents who answer Internet questionnaires spend more time than average online. Intense Internet use has been found to correlate with major and minor depressive symptoms across age, gender and household income (24).

The finding that the online sample reported less cyber-victimization, however, is not consistent with studies indicating that intense Internet use is associated with an increased likelihood of suffering from cyber-victimization (25). According to the leverage-saliency theory of survey participation (26), participants tend to avoid surveys on negatively predisposed topics; hence, the finding that cyber-victimization prevailed less among online participants may be due to a biased sample in which cyber-victims were reluctant to participate in the current online survey. A study investigating cyber-victims' coping strategies found that after being cyberbullied, 20% reported staying offline for a period of time (8). This too, may affect the prevalence of cyber-victims in online studies. Other than sample characteristics, the medium by which data was collected may also play a part in explaining the differences. As suggested by a number of studies, web-based data collection methods may influence responses on computing related items (27, 28). For example, Carini et al. (29) found that students' responses to a questionnaire regarding the degree of engagement in their college experience were more favorable on web-based than on paper-and-pencil questionnaires. Notably, the largest effect they found was generated by the computing and information technology scale.

In our analysis of different types of cyber-victimization we found that more participants from the paper-and-pencil group reported that rumors were being spread about them. This may be due to the nature of this specific type of cyberbullying as it does not require an online interaction (in contrary to other types of cyber-victimization). In fact, one does not even have to have an Internet connection in order for rumors to be spread about them.

When asked about the different mediums where cyberbullying took place, the paper-and-pencil survey reported suffering from more cyber-bullying in virtual chat rooms than did online participants. This finding may support the notion that less cyber-victims answering web-based cyberbullying questionnaires. However, we found an opposite result when asked about cyber-victimization via e-mail. It is possible that cyber-victims' coping strategies like avoiding certain web-sites and discussion groups is very different from avoiding e-mail. First, e-mail is personally delivered and in many cases this is done passively and directly to one's smartphone. This is very different than actively logging into different chat rooms or online forums. Second,

e-mail is harder to disconnect from as it is a more integral part of school than other online communication services. Third, the effect of the platform itself (e.g., computer, smartphone or paper-and-pencil) mentioned earlier may not have as strong an effect being that e-mail, especially among adolescents, is becoming primarily a phone application while web-based studies are still mainly answered using computers.

This is a preliminary study and has several limitations. Firstly, the sample is small. Second, only the online participants were reimbursed for their participation. This may call online participants' motives into question. Furthermore, the two samples might differ in their socioeconomic status, even though parental occupation was controlled for. Third, while the pen-and-paper and web-based groups were not identically controlled, this fits with the objective of the study, namely, to test for differences between a controlled and an uncontrolled environment.

Given these limitations, this study has important implications. Despite the growing popularity of web-based research on sensitive matters among adolescents, it is still uncertain to what extent it is possible to completely generalize findings regarding depression and cyberbullying from self-selected participants recruited online.

We encourage future researchers in the field conducting web-based surveys to acknowledge the restraints of this data collection method. In order to maintain a random sample, surveys completers should not be recruited in a self-selected manner. One option is to continue sampling schools and have as many students of a selected school answer web-based questionnaires from home. This technique may provide many of the advantages of web-based research and strengthen ecological validity.

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Chapter 118

BULLYING: PARENTING STYLES IN VICTIMS AND AGGRESSORS

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ABSTRACT

The goals of the study were to analyze the relationship between being a victim and/or aggressor of face-to-face bullying behavior and the degree of parents' acceptance/coercion, and parental education styles (neglectful, authoritarian, indulgent, authoritative). The sample comprised 3,026 participants aged 12-18 from the Basque Country (northern Spain). Using a descriptive, comparative, and correlational design, we administered two assessment tools to measure bullying and parental education styles. The results confirmed that it is significantly more likely for victims and aggressors to have parents with low levels of acceptance-involvement (affection, dialogue...) and high levels of coercion-imposition (rules, limits, punishment...) towards their children. In addition, it was also significantly more likely for youngsters who had suffered many face-to-face aggressive behaviors in the past year (high scores on victimization) to have mothers who exerted many behaviors of physical and verbal coercion and deprivation, as well as fathers showing few behaviors of dialogue, low levels of affection, high levels of contempt, indifference, physical and verbal coercion, and deprivation. Furthermore, it was also significantly more likely for youngsters who had performed many face-to-face aggressive behaviors in the past year (high scores on aggression) to have mothers and fathers with low levels of affection, high levels of contempt, indifference, physical and verbal coercion, and deprivation. Analyses of variance confirmed that the authoritarian style (low acceptance-involvement, high coercion-imposition) was the most harmful because the children of authoritarian parents had higher scores on the indicators of bullying (victimization and aggression); that is, they had suffered and performed more face-to-face bullying behaviors. The most positive parental educational style was the indulgent one (high acceptance-involvement, low coercion-imposition) because the children of indulgent parents had lower scores on the

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indicators of bullying (victimization and aggression); that is, they had suffered and performed fewer face-to-face bullying behaviors in the past year. The discussion focuses on the importance of the family context to reduce violent peer behavior.

Keywords: bullying, parenting styles, adolescence, youth, violence

INTRODUCTION

This study stems from our concern about the current increase of violence (bullying, racism, sexism, etc.) during childhood, adolescence, and youth. In recent years, interest and social concern about violent peer behavior (bullying) has been increasing. Peer violence has extremely negative consequences for all those involved. Although the most pronounced effects are observed in the victim (anxiety, depression, posttraumatic stress, etc.), aggressors and observers are also the recipients of learnings and negative habits that will affect their current and future behavior. Therefore, studies of the risk and protective factors of bullying are much needed. Within these factors, the variables associated with the family environment hold a relevant position. From a very early age, parents constitute the main means of socialization and development of all individuals. The family is the main socializing agent and, for this reason, it has received much attention from researchers who have explored the influence of variables such as family structure, cohesion, the presence of conflicts, parenting styles, etc. in children's psychological, social, and emotional adjustment.

The parents—relevant socialization agents—represent the culture, and they explicitly or implicitly transmit their social values to their offspring. The family context has considerable influence on the development of social behavior, and there is much empirical evidence confirming that parents who: (1) provide secure attachment; (2) strongly insist that their children should not harm others; (3) make them repair the harm caused when they have hurt and/or attacked others; (4) are altruistic models in their relations with others; (5) reinforce their children's spontaneous acts of sharing, helping, or cooperating through social approval; and (6) adopt a style of inductive discipline within which they discuss their rules—all this increases the probability of the emergence of prosocial behavior in the children (for a review, see Garaigordobil, 2008). Therefore, the family may be the key aspect as a protective and/or a risk factor for the onset of violent behavior. In the family setting, two main parameters of parental behavior conform this influence: (1) the level of affection and communication, and (2) the level of control and discipline.

Bullying is a specific form of school violence, where one or more aggressors intentionally cause pain, harass, and repeatedly submit another classmate. When we talk about bullying, we refer to the existence of a helpless victim, harassed by one or more classmates who perform various types of face-to-face aggressive behavior against the victim (aggressive physical, verbal, social, and psychological behaviors); we refer to sustained physical and mental violence, in which the aggressors have the intention of harming, they behave cruelly and make the victim suffer; there is usually an imbalance of power between victim and aggressors, and the aggressive behaviors are repeated frequently (we do not refer to a punctual aggression); there is a relationship of dominance-submission that is maintained over time (Garaigordobil & Oñederra, 2010).

Olweus (1993), one of the authors of reference in the study of bullying, also found several factors in the family setting that could lead to developing aggressive behavior in children, specifically four factors: (1) Parent's negative attitude along with a lack of affection and dedication would increase the risk of aggressive behaviors, whereas the opposite would act as a protective factor; (2) Parent's lack of clarity when setting limits and rules could, along with the first factor, favor a model of aggressive reaction; (3) If children's caregivers use physical punishment or emotional abuse as a method of affirming their authority, they are promoting these same attitudes in the children; and (4) More impetuous, active, or impulsive children tend to have more aggressive relations with others due to their temperament.

Protective Family Factors against Violence: Communication, Love, Support, Parental Involvement ...

Parental competence is the parents' practical ability to care for, protect, and educate their children, as well as their skills to fulfill their children's needs adequately and appropriately to ensure them a sufficiently healthy development. Various studies have shown that some competent parental behaviors (communication, affection, support, involvement...) stimulate positive development and help to prevent maladaptive behaviors and to protect against bullying.

A positive relationship with the parents, based on the positive expression of feelings (Estévez, Murgui, Musitu, & Moreno, 2008), communication (Georgiou & Stavrinides, 2013; Samper-García, Mestre-Escrivá, Malonda, & Mesurado, 2015) and parental involvement in the lives of the children (Abdirahman, Fleming, & Jacobsen, 2013) are protective factors against victimization.

Low parental support (Cassidy, 2009; Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009) and the perception of the parents as being distant (Accordino & Accordino, 2011) were related to being a victim of bullying. Various studies have found a relationship between being a victim of bullying and low parental support and family conflict (Dehue, Bolman, Vollink, & Pouwelse, 2012; Fanti, Demetriou, & Hawa, 2012; Khamis, 2015; Low & Espelage, 2013; Wang et al., 2009).

Lack of supervision and conflictive environments have been related to being either a bullying victim or an aggressor (Holt, Kaufman, Kantor, & Finkelhor, 2009), and the lack of affection and dedication and low supervision along with a lack of clear limits and rules increase the risk of the onset of aggressive behavior, whereas the opposite acts as a protective factor (Dehue et al., 2012). Various studies (Garaigordobil, Martínez, & Fernández, 2015; Muris, Meesters, Morren, & Moorman, 2004; Repetti, Taylor, & Seeman, 2002; Steinberg, 2001) have found that low levels of affection and support and a predominance of rejection and aggression towards the children are related to problems of aggressiveness, hostility, and delinquency.

Parental Education Styles: Influence on Victimization and Perpetration of Bullying

Various studies highlight that parents' democratic style, characterized by inductive discipline, positive expression of affection and positive control, plays a decisive role in children's social and behavioral adjustment (Torío, Peña, & Inda, 2008). In the study of Gómez-Ortiz et al. (2015), the democratic supervisor style was the least associated with being a victim

and an aggressor, and the most strongly related to better psychosocial adjustment. In a similar direction, the study of Healy, Sanders, and Iyer (2015) found that the facilitating parental style (warm, democratic, comprehensive, and encouraging independence) was a protective factor against being a victim of bullying. Warm, cohesive homes with clearly established rules were protective factors against perpetrating face-to-face bullying (Morcillo et al., 2015). Complementarily, another study showed that the indulgent style (protective) is associated with the absence of aggressive behavior in the children (Georgiou, 2008).

The literature associating parental styles and anti-social behavior, including bullying, is extensive. Years ago, classical studies such as those of Manning, Heron, and Marshall (1978) or Farrington (1978) pointed out that over-controlled children with dominant and punitive parents harassed their classmates more frequently.

Parental styles characterized by coercive and punitive practices and low affection are related to violence. According to Torío, Peña, and Inda (2008), an authoritarian parental style has negative consequences on socialization because it generates a lack of personal autonomy, less social competence, and low self-esteem.

Authoritarian styles are related to aggression, whereas balanced styles are a protective factor (Baldry & Farrington, 2000, 2005; Georgiou, 2008; Gómez-Ortiz, Del Rey, Romera, & Ortega, 2015; Morcillo et al., 2015). Studies on bullying underline that aggressors perceive less support from their parents, and victims have authoritarian parents (Bibou-Nakou, Tsiantis, Assimopoulos, & Chatzilambou, 2013). Other studies find correlations between the authoritarian style and victimization and perpetration of bullying (Georgiou, Fousiani, Michaelides, & Stavrinides, 2013), and that aggressors have authoritarian (punitive) parents and little parental support (Baldry & Farrington, 2000).

Children raised under authoritarian and neglectful styles are more likely to be victims than those whose parents use authoritative (high acceptance-involvement and high coercion-discipline) and permissive (low involvement and few limits) styles, whereas aggressors' parents use permissive and neglectful styles (Dehue et al., 2012). The perception of an authoritarian parental style is associated with expressions of aggressiveness against peers (De la Torre-Cruz, García-Linares, & Casanova-Arias, 2014) and is a risk factor for perpetration of face-to-face bullying (Morcillo et al., 2015). The permissive style predicts engagement in bullying (Atik & Guneri, 2013) and is associated with aggression throughout childhood development (Ehrenreich, Beron, Brinkley, & Underwood, 2014).

In general, studies suggest that both the authoritarian and the very permissive parenting styles are risk factors, whereas a democratic style based on affection is a protective factor against bullying. However, in contrast with investigations that have emphasized the relevance of the family education style, the study of Lee and Song (2012) found that personal characteristics are the most reliable indicators to detect victimization, and that negative experiences in the family had no relationship with bullying behavior at school.

OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

Within this contextualization, the goals of this study were to analyze the relationship between being a victim and/or aggressor of face-to-face bullying behavior and the degree of parents' acceptance/involvement and coercion/imposition, and with parenting styles

(neglectful, authoritarian, indulgent, authoritative). With these goals in mind, and with reference to the findings of prior works, the study proposed two hypotheses.

H1: The parents of victims and aggressors of face-to-face bullying will have a low level of acceptance/involvement in the lives of their children and a high level of coercion/imposition. Moreover, the father's educational behavior (dialogue, affection, contempt, indifference, physical and verbal coercion, deprivation) will have more influence on the likelihood of being a victim of bullying than the mother's behavior.

H2: The authoritarian style (low acceptance/involvement and high coercion/imposition) will be related to high scores in bullying (victimization and aggression), whereas the indulgent style (high acceptance/involvement and low coercion/imposition) will be a protective factor against victimization and aggression.

METHOD

Participants

The sample comprised 3,026 participants from the Basque Country (northern Spain), aged between 12 and 18 years, 1,469 (48.5%) males and 1,557 (51.5%) females. The participants studied Compulsory Secondary Education (75.4%) and High School (24.6%), and were enrolled in various public (45.6%) and private (54.4%) schools of the Basque Country. The distribution of the sample by sex and age is presented in Table 1. To obtain the representative sample of the Basque Country, the latest population survey presented by the Basque Statistical Institute was consulted, confirming a population of students of Compulsory Secondary Education and High School of 101,757.

With a .99% confidence level, a sample error of .024, for a population variance of .50, the representative sample comprises 2,802 students. To select a representative sample of students from the Basque Country, we used a stratified, proportional, and randomized sampling technique, taking into account the proportionality of the schools in each province and balancing the diverse conditions (socio-economic-cultural level, type of network: public-private, urban-rural, secular-religious...).

Table 1. Description of the sample: frequency and percentage of males and females in the three age groups

	12-13 years n (%)	14-15 years n (%)	16-18 years n (%)	Total n (%)
Males	543 (51.2%)	536 (49%)	390 (44.8%)	1,469 (48.5%)
Females	518 (48.8%)	558 (51%)	481 (55.2%)	1,557 (51.5%)
Total	1,061 (100%)	1,094 (100%)	871 (100%)	3,026 (100%)

Measures

With the aim of measuring the dependent variables, we applied two assessment instruments with adequate psychometric guarantees of reliability and validity

Bullying was measured with *Cyberbullying. Screening of peer harassment* [in Spanish, *Cyberbullying. Screening de Acoso entre Iguales*] (Garaigordobil, 2013). This is a standardized instrument to assess bullying and cyberbullying behavior. The Bullying Scale assesses four types of presential bullying (physical, verbal, social and psychological aggression) and has 12 items, grouped according to the role performed by the person being evaluated in the aggression situation: victim, aggressor, and observer. The Cyberbullying Scale explores 15 cybernetic-related behaviors (e.g., sending offensive/insulting messages by mobile/Internet, recording a beating and uploading the video to YouTube, sexual harassment, spreading rumors to discredit someone, stealing someone's password, isolating someone on social networks, death threats...). It has 45 items, grouped according to the role performed in the aggression situation: victim, perpetrator, and observer. The test requires participants to read the descriptions of the behaviors and report the frequency with which they were suffered, performed, or observed during the past year. Each behavior is scored as 0 (never), 1 (sometimes), 2 (fairly often), or 3 (always). The test provides percentile scores of four indicators (levels of victimization, perpetration, observation, aggressive-victimization) of "face-to-face" bullying and cyberbullying behaviors, respectively. In both scales, the fourth indicator is obtained by adding score in victimization and in perpetration. Psychometric studies have confirmed its validity and reliability. The Cronbach alpha coefficient obtained by the Bullying scale (12 items) was adequate ($\alpha = .81$), in the same direction as those obtained in its three factors: Victimization ($\alpha = .70$), Perpetration ($\alpha = .71$) and Observation ($\alpha = .80$). In the scale of Cyberbullying (45 items), the Cronbach alpha coefficients were high ($\alpha = .91$), as in its three factors: Cybervictimization ($\alpha = .82$), Cyberperpetration ($\alpha = .91$), and Cyberobservation ($\alpha = .87$). Factor analysis confirmed a 3-factor structure (victims, aggressors, observers in the Bullying and Cyberbullying Scales that explain, respectively, 57.89% and 40.15% of the variance). Studies of convergent validity showed positive correlations ($r = .58$) between the level of victimization in situations of high face-to-face bullying as measured with the Cyberbullying Test and with the AVE (Piñuel & Oñate, 2006).

Parenting styles were measured with *Parental Socialization Scale for Adolescence* [in Spanish, *Escala de Socialización Parental en la Adolescencia*] (ESPA-29. Musitu & García, 2001). This scale assesses the parents' socialization styles, that is, the parenting styles of the father and mother towards their children. The adolescent rates the father's and mother's action independently in 29 relevant situations. Of the 29 situations proposed, 16 are negative ("If I am dirty and poorly dressed," "If one of my teachers tells him/her that I behave badly in class," "If I am disobedient"), and 13 are positive ("If I take care of my things and am clean and properly dressed," "If I do not skip classes and arrive punctually every day," "If I pick up and take care of things at home"). The respondent reports the way his or her parents act when the situations described in the questionnaire occur. The questionnaire allows identifying 4 parenting styles of the father and mother along the acceptance/involvement - coercion/imposition continuum: authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful. *Authoritative parents* (high acceptance/involvement and high coercion/imposition): They make an effort to guide the activities of their son/daughter rationally, sharing the rationale underlying their policy, they affirm their children's qualities, but they also set limits and the course of future behavior, resorting both to reasoning and to power to achieve their goals. *Indulgent parents* (high acceptance/involvement and low coercion/imposition): They attempt to behave affectionately, they accept their children's impulses, desires, and actions, and allow them to regulate their own activities as much as possible, they offer explanations and rationale, but they avoid the use of

dominant or coercive control. *Authoritarian parents* (low acceptance/involvement and high coercion/imposition): They frequently do not offer any rationale when they give orders and are very reluctant to modify their positions in the face of their children's arguments. They are generally indifferent to their children's demands for support and attention and they are less likely to use positive reinforcement, acting indifferently towards their children's appropriate behaviors. *Neglectful parents* (low acceptance/ involvement and low coercion/imposition): They have severe difficulties to relate to and interact with their children, and to set limits for them, and they express little affection. Psychometric studies of the scale reveal high internal consistency. The results of factor analysis confirmed the theoretical structure of the bidimensional model satisfactorily. In the present study, the internal consistency coefficients were high (mother $\alpha = .91$, father $\alpha = .93$).

Design and Procedure

We used a descriptive, comparative, correlational, and cross-sectional design. With regard to the procedure, the following phases were established: (1) A letter was sent to the directors of the randomly selected schools from the list of educational centers in Basque Country, explaining the project and requesting their collaboration; (2) Communication with the directors: we performed an interview with those who agreed to collaborate in order to present the project and hand out the informed consent forms for the parents of the participants in the study; if the director of the selected center refused to collaborate, the procedure was repeated with the next center on the list, taking into account the type (public-private) and/or the socio-economic-cultural level of the center that declined to participate; and (3) After receiving the parents' consent, the research team (Psychology graduates and Ph.D. students) administered two assessment instruments. The administration was carried out in one 60-minute assessment session. The study respected the ethical values required in research with humans (informed consent and the right to the information, protection of personal data and guarantees of confidentiality, non-discrimination, gratuity, and the possibility to leave the study at any phase), and received the favorable report of the University Research and Teaching Ethics Committee of the University of the Basque Country (CEISH/112/2012).

RESULTS

Degree of Parental Acceptance/Involvement and Coercion/Imposition in Victims and Aggressors of Bullying

In order to explore the level of acceptance/involvement and coercion/imposition of the fathers and mothers of victims of bullying, first we divided the sample into two groups, those who had suffered one or more aggressive behaviors in the past year (1,182) and those who had not suffered any aggression (1,844). Subsequently, an analysis of variance was conducted to compare the level of acceptance/involvement and coercion/imposition of the fathers and mothers in both subsamples, also calculating the effect size (Cohen's d). The results (see Table 2) showed that significantly the participants who had experienced one or more face-to-face

aggressive behaviors in the past year (occasional and severe victims) had fathers and mothers expressing few behaviors of acceptance/involvement in their children's lives and also with many behaviors of coercion/imposition (much discipline, rules, limits, punishments...) towards them. However, the effect size was small.

Table 2. Victims: level of parents' acceptance/involvement and coercion/imposition

	Non-victim (n = 1.844)	Victim (n = 1.182)	F (1, 3024)	d
	M (SD)	M (SD)		
Mother's acceptance/involvement	3.29 (0.41)	3.24 (0.41)	5.69 *	.12
Mother's coercion/imposition	1.72 (0.39)	1.79 (0.36)	12.03 ***	-.18
Father's acceptance/involvement	3.20 (0.49)	3.10 (0.53)	14.66 ***	.19
Father's coercion/imposition	1.71 (0.43)	1.79 (0.44)	14.81 ***	-.18

Regarding the aggressors, the same procedure was carried out: we divided the sample into two groups, those who had performed one or more aggressive behaviors in the past year (1,157) and those who had not attacked anyone (1,869), and we conducted an analysis of variance, the results of which are presented in Table 3. Similar results were found, as can be observed. The data confirmed that significantly those who had performed one or more face-to-face aggressive behaviors in the past year (occasional and severe aggressors) had fathers and mothers expressing few behaviors of acceptance/involvement in their children's lives and also with many behaviors of coercion/imposition towards them (much discipline, rules, limits, punishments...), with a small effect size.

Table 3. Aggressors: level of parents' acceptance/involvement and coercion/imposition

	Non-aggressor (n = 1.869)	Aggressor (n = 1.157)	F (1, 3024)	d
	M (SD)	M (SD)		
Mother's acceptance/involvement	3.30 (0.40)	3.21 (0.42)	18.73 ***	.21
Mother's coercion/imposition	1.72 (0.38)	1.81 (0.37)	20.27 ***	-.23
Father's acceptance/involvement	3.21 (0.49)	3.09 (0.52)	22.95 ***	.23
Father's coercion/imposition	1.71 (0.43)	1.80 (0.44)	17.54 ***	-.20

To examine in more depth the connections between parents' acceptance/involvement and coercion/imposition with victimization and aggression, we calculated partial correlations between victimization and aggression with various specific factors of acceptance/involvement (dialogue, affection) and coercion/imposition (contempt, indifference, physical and verbal coercion, and deprivation), while taking into account sex, age, and socio-economic level. The correlation coefficients obtained are shown in Table 4. The results revealed that: (1) it was significantly more likely for participants who had suffered many face-to-face aggressive behaviors in the past year (high scores on victimization) to have mothers showing many behaviors of physical and verbal coercion and deprivation, as well as fathers with few behaviors of dialogue, low levels of affection, many behaviors of contempt, indifference, physical and verbal coercion, and deprivation; and (2) it was significantly more likely for those who had performed many face-to-face aggressions in the past year (high scores in aggression) to have

mothers and fathers with low levels of affection, many behaviors of contempt, indifference, physical and verbal coercion, and deprivation.

Table 4. Partial correlations between victimization and aggression with parents' behaviors of acceptance/involvement and coercion/imposition

	Mother		Father	
	Victimization	Aggression	Victimization	Aggression
	<i>r</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>r</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>r</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>r</i> (<i>p</i>)
Dialogue	-.03 (.138)	-.01 (.411)	-.06 (.014)	-.04 (.092)
Affection	-.00 (.825)	-.08 (.001)	-.05 (.016)	-.09 (.001)
Contempt	.01 (.595)	.10 (.001)	.06 (.012)	.09 (.001)
Indifference	.04 (.081)	.11 (.001)	.08 (.001)	.12 (.001)
Physical coercion	.12 (.001)	.12 (.001)	.14 (.001)	.13 (.001)
Deprivation	.09 (.001)	.11 (.001)	.12 (.001)	.11 (.001)
Verbal coercion	.07 (.001)	.05 (.011)	.09 (.001)	.06 (.013)

Bullying: Parenting Styles of Victims and Aggressors

After confirming the basic assumptions (normality, homoscedasticity...), in order to analyze the parenting style (neglectful, authoritarian, indulgent, authoritative) of victims and perpetrators of bullying, we performed descriptive (means, standard deviations) and inferential analyses (analysis of variance) with the scores obtained on the two evaluation instruments. In addition, we performed *post hoc* group comparisons (Bonferroni) of the four parenting styles.

Table 5. Means, standard deviations, analysis of variance and *post hoc* (Bonferroni) of the parenting style with indicators of bullying

Mother	Negligent	Authoritarian	Indulgent	Authoritative	<i>F</i> (3,3022)	<i>Post hoc</i>
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
Victimization	0.69 (1.25)	0.88 (1.51)	0.58 (1.18) 0.49 (0.93)	0.83 (1.45)	4.58**	2>3;4>3
Aggression	0.72 (1.29)	1.06 (1.80)		0.76 (1.35)	11.27***	2>1,3,4
Father						
Victimization	0.72 (1.32)	1.11 (1.81)	0.46 (0.93) 0.51 (1.07)	0.77 (1.37)	13.08***	2>1,3,4
Aggression	0.71 (1.31)	0.99 (1.46)		0.69 (1.33)	7.45***	2>1,3,4

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; *Post hoc* = Bonferroni's group comparison.

The analyses of variance confirmed that the authoritarian style (low acceptance/involvement, high coercion/imposition) was the most harmful because the participants whose parents (father and mother) were authoritarian obtained significantly higher scores on the bullying indicators (victimization and aggression); that is, they had suffered and performed more face-to-face bullying behaviors. The most positive parenting style was the indulgent one (high acceptance/involvement, low coercion/imposition) because the participants whose parents (father and mother) were indulgent obtained significantly lower scores on the bullying

indicators (victimization and aggression); that is, they had suffered and performed fewer face-to-face bullying behaviors in the past year. It should also be observed that, after the authoritarian style (low acceptance/involvement and high coercion/imposition), the authoritative style (high acceptance/involvement and high coercion/imposition) was the worst education style, even worse than the neglectful style (low acceptance/involvement and low coercion/imposition).

CONCLUSION

The goals of this study were to analyze the relationship between being a victim and/or perpetrator of face-to-face bullying and the degree of parents' acceptance/involvement and coercion/imposition, and parenting styles (neglectful, authoritarian, indulgent, authoritative).

Firstly, the results have confirmed that adolescents and youth who had suffered and carried out one or more face-to-face aggressive behaviors in the past year (victims and aggressors) had fathers and mothers showing few behaviors of acceptance/involvement in the lives of their children (dialogue, positive expressions of affection...) and many behaviors of coercion/imposition (much discipline, rules, limits, punishment...) towards them. In addition, it was also significantly more likely for youngsters who had suffered many face-to-face aggressive behaviors in the past year (high scores on victimization) to have mothers who exerted many behaviors of physical and verbal coercion and deprivation, as well as fathers showing few behaviors of dialogue, low levels of affection, high levels of contempt, indifference, physical and verbal coercion, and deprivation. Participants who had carried out many face-to-face aggressive behaviors in the past year (high scores on aggression) had mothers and fathers with low levels of affection, many behaviors of contempt, indifference, physical and verbal coercion, and deprivation. Therefore, behaviors related to the parental style of fathers and mothers have a similar influence on the probability of being an aggressor, but the father's behavior has more influence on victimization.

Thus, the results confirm Hypothesis 1, which proposed that victims and aggressors had parents with a low level of acceptance/involvement in the lives of their children and high levels of coercion/imposition. Moreover, the father's behavior (dialogue, affection, contempt, indifference, physical and verbal coercion, deprivation) influenced the likelihood of being a victim of bullying more than the mother's behavior. These results confirm studies that have found that low parental support (Cassidy, 2009; Dehue et al., 2012; Fanti et al., 2012; Khamis, 2015; Low & Espelage, 2013; Wang et al., 2009) and the perception of the parents as being distant (Accordino & Accordino, 2011) are related to being a victim of bullying, and also studies that have identified low parental support in aggressors (Baldry & Farrington, 2000). In addition, we ratify the results of investigations that have shown that the lack of affection, dedication, and low parental supervision increase the risk of the onset of aggressive acts, whereas the opposite acts as a protective factor (Dehue et al., 2012; Muris et al., 2004; Olweus, 1993; Repetti et al., 2002; Steinberg, 2001).

Secondly, the results confirm that adolescents and youth whose parents (father and mother) used an authoritarian education style (low acceptance/involvement, high coercion/imposition) had higher scores on aggression and victimization; that is, they had suffered and carried out significantly more face-to-face bullying behaviors. The most positive parenting style was the

indulgent one (high acceptance/involvement, low coercion/imposition) because the participants whose parents (father and mother) were indulgent had suffered and performed significantly fewer face-to-face bullying behaviors in the past year.

Therefore, the results also confirm Hypothesis 2, which postulated that the authoritarian style would be associated with involvement in bullying situations both as a victim and an aggressor, whereas the indulgent style would be a protective factor against victimization and aggression. In addition, results confirm findings of studies on face-to-face bullying that have found that victims and aggressors had authoritarian parents (Baldry & Farrington, 2000, 2005; Bibou-Nakou et al., 2013; Gómez-Ortíz et al., 2015; Georgiou et al., 2013; Morcillo et al., 2015), whereas the indulgent style (protective) was related to the absence of aggressive behavior in children (Georgiou, 2008; Morcillo et al., 2015).

Two conclusions can be drawn from the results obtained: (1) a high level of acceptance/involvement in the life of the children by both parents (involving high doses of dialogue and affection) is an educational variable that strongly influences the prevention of victimization and the inhibition of aggressive behavior, and it is more important than the degree of parents' coercion/imposition (involving many rules and high levels of discipline and punishment) because the indulgent style (high acceptance/involvement and low coercion/imposition) is associated with low victimization and low levels of aggressive behavior; and (2) the authoritarian education style (low acceptance/involvement and high coercion/imposition) by both parents is the one that most favors engaging in bullying situations, both in the role of victim and in that of aggressor. Parenting styles characterized by coercive and punitive practices and low affection are related to violence. Authoritarian parents often do not give any reasons for their orders and they are very reluctant to change their minds in the face of their children's arguments; they are generally indifferent to the children's demands of support and care, and they are less likely to use positive reinforcement, showing indifference to their children's appropriate behavior. This pattern of parental behavior has been shown to be related to the likelihood of becoming a victim and an aggressor of bullying.

In general, the results obtained point in the same direction as other studies that have emphasized that authoritarian parenting styles are risk factors, whereas a democratic and affection-based style is a protective factor against bullying. The findings of this study emphasize the importance of the family, as opposed to the study of Lee and Song (2012), who concluded that negative experiences in the family have no relationship with bullying behavior at school, granting more explanatory power to personal characteristics. Although it has been proven that some personality traits are more likely in the victims (few social skills, low self-esteem...) or in the aggressors (low empathy, impulsivity, low frustration tolerance...) (Garaigordobil, 2013), both parents' educational behavior towards their children is very important for the development of the children's personalities, ethical values, in their psychosocial adjustment and, therefore, in the probability of being involved in bullying situations.

This study contributes to the identification of family variables that influence bullying and suggests the need to develop programs of family education that lead to changes in parents' way of educating their children, their disciplinary practices, degree of attention, involvement, and affection towards their children. These results suggest the importance of working with parents to promote high acceptance/involvement in the lives of their children, combined with a reasonable level of coercion/imposition, which would result in the prevention of bullying. The indulgent parenting style implies that parents behave affectionately, accepting their children's

impulses, desires, and actions, and allowing them to regulate their own activities as much as possible, giving explanations and reasons for their orders but avoiding negative and coercive control.

However, despite the strong influence of the family in the development of children's ethical-moral values and social behavior, intervention to prevent and reduce bullying must also count on the collaboration of the school because the school context is another very relevant area in the process of socialization. Collaboration between parents and the school is of vital importance for the elimination of bullying. Evidence-based antibullying intervention programs (e.g., Garaigordobil & Martínez-Valderrey, 2014ab, 2015ab, 2016; Olweus 2004, Olweus et al., 2007, Olweus & Limber, 2010ab) should be carried out at school, as well as programs that promote childrens' social and affective-emotional development (i.e., that encourage assertive communication, listening skills, empathy, the prosocial behaviors of helping and cooperation, respect for differences, the ability to resolve conflicts constructively...) because all this will have a significant effect on preventing peer violence.

As a limitation of the study, we note the use of self-reports with the implied bias of social desirability; therefore, for future studies, we recommend administering the assessment instruments concerning their educational practices to the parents, as this would allow contrasting the results obtained in this study. In addition, future studies could explore connections of parental education with bullying, but differentiating pure victims, pure aggressors, and aggressive victims.

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Chapter 119

HOMOPHOBIC BULLYING: AN OLD PROBLEM ONLY RECENTLY BROUGHT TO LIGHT

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is a phenomenon which has been widely studied in our schools in recent years. With the emergence of communication and information technologies, the phenomenon has become more complex, expanding into what is known as cyberbullying. However, in LGBT students these phenomena seem, on the one hand, to be overrepresented and, on the other, show specific characteristics. Thus, while they share some common elements with the original form of bullying, it appears that homophobic bullying and cyberbullying should be considered as phenomena in their own right.

This chapter analyzes the scientific literature on this topic, showing its idiosyncrasy. It starts by addressing the topic of bullying and goes on to show why homophobic bullying should be considered as specific. Social homophobia, as well as the sex-gender norm, are analyzed to gain a more precise understanding of the problem. The chapter then looks at the main data for prevalence across countries and the consequences of these problems on young people. It also includes some specific data about these phenomena in Spain. The chapter ends with conclusions and looks at practical implications.

1. INTRODUCTION

Violence and its manifestations in different contexts constitutes one of the main social problems we are faced with today. The Declaration of Human Rights, a document widely adopted by developed societies, states in Article 5 that “No one shall be subjected to torture or

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to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” (UN General Assembly, 1948). Despite this, violence persists in different areas making the understanding of its causes and the design of strategies to eradicate it a fundamental objective for the development of society. For that reason, it is important to analyze specifically each of the phenomenon which give rise to the violence because, even though they may all share the use of violence, the causes and factors which encourage it and, correspondingly, the way to eradicate it, will be different for each type. In this sense, one of the most widely studied violent phenomena in the school setting is bullying and its more recent counterpart, cyberbullying. The study of these phenomena is making it possible to identify more precise details, thus furthering understanding. It is within this area that a specific type of bullying has been identified, homophobic bullying.

Furthermore, affective-sexual diversity is a subject which has only recently been taken into account in a more or less explicit manner in the school setting. However, this diversity has been included implicitly for some years in the respective child protection legislation. Thus, Article 2 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child (UN General Assembly, 1989) includes the fundamental right to non-discrimination. In the same way, Articles 28 and 29 of said declaration, as well as Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, state that the objective of education is the full development of human personality in the respect of human rights and fundamental liberties. Therefore, although this is sometimes proposed as a recent issue, we understand that, as a part of the development of the personality, its inclusion in the school setting is supported and backed up by the above-mentioned legislation.

2. BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING

Olweus (1999) conceptualized bullying as an intentional aggression perpetrated by a student or group of students repeatedly, and persisting over time, against one or several victims in a relation in which there is an imbalance of power. As has happened with other forms of abuse, while the phenomenon may not be new, the level of awareness and sensitivity that exists towards it certainly is more recent. Since the end of the 1990s, there has been a steady increase in both evaluation measures and intervention proposals to try to eradicate the phenomenon. Likewise, its scientific study has given us a more precise picture of the nature of bullying and the factors associated with it. However, as it is a relational phenomenon, its manifestations have also been changing over time as we have been changing the way we relate to each other. The eruption of information and communication technologies has produced a radical change in peer interaction. In addition to relations where individuals interact physically, people can now interact at a distance without physically being present – and the specific characteristics of this new type of interaction are delimited primarily by the context in which they take place: cyberspace. Negative interpersonal dynamics such as bullying have also moved or, perhaps more accurately, extended to this context, with the rise of what is known as cyberbullying.

Cyberbullying has been defined by Smith et al., (2008), in an extension of Olweus’ definition of traditional bullying, as “an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself” (p. 376). Furthermore, the actual medium in which this takes place confers a series of specific characteristics: the aggression can occur at any time and in any place; it may have an enormous audience and be seen an infinite number of times; and

it can even be anonymous, although in most cases the abuse is carried out by a person known to the victim (Mora-Merchán & Ortega, 2007).

Therefore, both phenomena, bullying and cyberbullying, consist of immoral and harmful relational dynamics which break the reciprocity which should prevail in peer relations.

While any student is a potential victim of these aggressions, it seems that this type of abuse is more likely to occur against those who are perceived as “different” whether this be because of their skin color, cultural background, religious belief, learning or motor impairments or actual or perceived sexual orientation to the rest of their peers (Rivers, 2011). In fact, as we shall explain below, several studies have demonstrated how the prevalence of victimization amongst LGBT students is higher than among the rest of their colleagues. However, when we talk about homophobic bullying we are not just referring to these students.

3. HOMOPHOBIC BULLYING AS A SPECIFIC PHENOMENON

In general terms, homophobic bullying refers to those situations of bullying which are motivated by actual or perceived sexual orientation. However, this definition is reductionist given that, beyond sexual orientation, this bullying occurs when a breach in established gender patterns is perceived.

As Minton, Dahl, O’Moore, and Tuck (2008) state, we find two types of homophobic bullying: heteronormative bullying, in other words, the non-normalization of any aspect which departs from heterosexuality (assuming that all people are heterosexual and referring to them as such); and bullying directed, specifically, at people who are known, or thought, to have a non-heterosexual orientation. Furthermore, as several authors state, this bullying is also aimed at people whose personal characteristics or actions do not reflect socially established gender patterns (Generelo & Pichardo, 2006; Platero, 2008).

There are different reasons which justify the consideration of this type of bullying as a phenomenon which, while it is closely related, has sufficient characteristics of its own to be considered specifically. However, the main cause lies in the “structural” homophobia which exists in society as a whole, and in schools in particular. We shall analyze the latter in the following section.

3.1. Homophobia in the School

Firstly, we need to clarify what we understand by homophobia. The concept refers to a series of negative ideas and emotions towards those behaviors and attitudes which depart from heterosexuality, provoking reactions and discriminatory behaviors ranging from denial to aggression and reaching, in the event of being interiorized by the people involved, self-denial and different negative emotions (Gualdi et al., 2008). Although the term refers to a personal rejection, the reality is that it is “a culturally constructed social prejudice interiorized through socialization” (Pichardo, 2015: 11). This author states that we have all been socialized in sexism and homophobia, in the idea of rejection of homosexuality and people who are, or seem to be, homosexual or bisexual. Hence, these prejudices need to be “unlearned” at a social and individual level. Furthermore, homophobia is not just aimed at people with a non-heterosexual sexual

orientation, it can be directed at any situation, person or behavior which breaches the norms of the sex-gender system. This system establishes a supposedly natural binarism, assigning a series of masculine or feminine features depending on biological sex (boy-masculinity, girl-femininity). Thus, homophobia rejects any behavior perceived as different in this sense: non-heterosexual affective-sexual orientation, manifestations of identity, emotions, behaviors or physical appearance, which do not clearly correspond to the above-mentioned binarism. Here, we would also include the transsexual student, homo-parent families and any other aspect, which departs from what is “heteronormative.”

Thus, it would seem that homophobic attitudes persist in our societies in general. Proof of this is that sexual orientation appears in different countries in the European Union, among them Spain, as one of the main causes of hate crimes (Spanish Ministry of the Interior, 2014, 2015). It has even been linked to such violent phenomena as school shootings in the US (Klein, 2006).

In some schools, an approach towards affective-sexual diversity is conspicuously absent as the family continues to be considered (defended by various associations such as the Foro de la Familia [Family Forum] in Spain) as “that consisting of the matrimonial union between a man and a woman,” thereby emphasizing the reality of “heteronormativity.” In other countries, such as Peru, students propose that the subject of homosexuality should only be dealt with sporadically at school and, when it is covered, there are two contradictory discourses: on the one hand, tolerance is promoted, but on the other, it is suggested that it is something bad (Cáceres & Salazar, 2013). In fact, some studies have shown a greater prevalence of homophobic bullying in religious schools than in secular state schools (Hunt & Jensen, 2007). Romero, Martín, and Castañón concluded in a study in 2006 that minority sexual identities are invisibilized at school, at least in Spain, so that youngsters from these groups feel isolated, rejected and misunderstood. Along the same lines, Kosciw, Greitak, Palmer, and Boesen (2014) showed in their study that more than half of LGBT students stated that they had experienced discriminatory practices or policies associated with their sexual and/or gender orientation in their schools. Furthermore, in both this study and that by Guasp, Statham, Jadva & Daly, (2012), students stated that although the school had been informed and the teachers were aware of this discrimination, they did not intervene to stop it. Some studies, such as that by Rivers (2001), highlight that very few victims of homophobic bullying told their teachers about it (and only 16% told them the reason for the bullying) and over 25% said they had been harassed by a teacher due to their actual or perceived sexual orientation. As a result of this, most thought that it was a risk to tell a teacher about it, particularly in schools where homosexuality was presented as sinful or where teachers either used, or did not penalize, the use of homophobic language in class. In their study of schools in Peru, Guatemala and Chile, Cáceres & Salazar (2013) pointed out that the vulnerability of students perceived as “different” because they did not meet the gender and hetero-normative mandates grew worse as a result of the hidden curriculum. In other words, to different degrees across the countries studied, schools prevented demonstration, silencing and invisibilizing those who were different through homogenization, thereby reinforcing this rejection.

On the other hand, several studies have demonstrated that the construction of masculinity is based on disdain towards what is considered “other, not masculine,” which has important consequences for children’s development. Phoenix, Frosh and Pattman (2003) showed how boys try to show themselves in the school setting as “appropriately masculine” to avoid being victimized or labelled as gay. Similarly, other studies have shown how homophobia is used by boys to defend and reinforce their masculinity, distancing themselves from “the feminine other”

(Nayak & Kehily, 1996; Swain, 2000). As Pichardo (2009) has pointed out, in many societies “being masculine” involves the rejection of homosexuality and LGBT people, so homophobic attitudes among males are more frequent.

This all shapes what Pichardo (2015) has called the homophobia continuum. In other words, homophobia is not just limited to peer relations. Instead we find it in schools, in the street, in groups of friends, associations; in short, in any context. Thus, unlike other types of bullying, the rejection suffered by victims of homophobia is not just limited to peers, thereby making it harder to report the bullying. Hence, this author believes that, as reporting in these cases may mean having to reveal the “reason” for the bullying, the victim will often decide to say nothing. Likewise, witnesses will be more reticent about reporting the bullying or putting themselves on the side of the victim for fear of “stigma contagion”; in other words, for fear of being considered “gay” and themselves becoming the target of abuse. It is important to underline that, although the law of silence was mentioned by Ortega (1998) as a constitutive element of general bullying, in the case of homophobic bullying that concerns us here, this added element of “social stigma” would make it worse.

All these aspects emphasize that while the form and manifestations of this type of bullying share the characteristics of “general” bullying (repeated aggression, with intention to cause harm to a victim who cannot defend him or herself) the actual social and school contexts give it a specificity which deserves to be taken into account.

4. PREVALENCE OF HOMOPHOBIC BULLYING

While there are still relatively few studies quantifying this problem, those that have been conducted have found that aggressions in general, and bullying in particular, are more prevalent among LGBT students than the rest.

A study in the US conducted by the Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (GLSEN), found that approximately 92% of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender students informed that they had heard homophobic comments and 84% said they had been verbally abused (Kosciw, 2004). In Europe, homophobia and transphobia are the main motives for insults, slurs and rejection in schools (British Council, 2010).

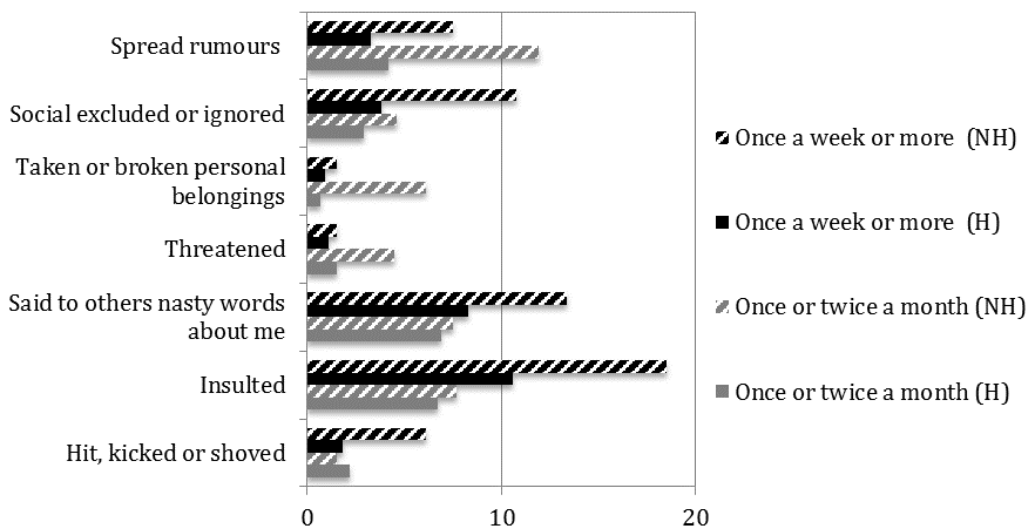
As for bullying itself we find, as with studies on general bullying, that results vary across countries and studies, possibly due to differences in the phenomenon itself or to methodological aspects such as the way samples are accessed or how they are conceptualized and/or evaluated. Thus, in studies performed with the general population, the rates show 67% in Mexico (Baruch, 2012); in Peru 68% compared to 43% in heterosexual students (Cáceres & Salazar, 2013); 48% in boys and 17.7% in girls in Norway (Roland & Auestad, 2009); in Ireland 18.2% of boys and 9% of girls. In Spain, a recent study (Elipse, Muñoz, & Del Rey, under review) found nearly double the victims in the non-heterosexual population compared to their heterosexual counterparts (45.4% v. 26.7%) with the major differences occurring in severe victimization, where the victim informed to have suffered the aggression with a frequency of once or twice a week or more, (16.6% in heterosexual students v. 33.3% in non-heterosexual students).

When LGBT students are interviewed, in most studies, more than half state that they have suffered this type of abuse. In the UK, Rivers (2001) found that 82% of gays and lesbians reported insults, mainly of a homophobic nature: 60% reported having been hit or kicked; 58%

had been teased; 59% had rumors spread about them; and 27% had suffered from social isolation. Also in the UK, a more recent study found that 55% of LGB students reported suffering homophobic bullying (Guasp et al., 2012). In Spain, 57.38% of a sample of students self-identified as non-heterosexuals stated that they had been victims (Marchueta, 2014).

As for cybernetic aggressions, the few studies that have been conducted have found a greater prevalence amongst LGBT students. From a sample in which 9% self-identified themselves as non-heterosexual, Hinduja and Patchin (2011) found that 36% of these had been cybervictims compared to 20.1% of the heterosexual students. Blumenfeld and Cooper (2010) found that more than half of the cybervictims in their study (54%) were so because of their sexual orientation. In Spain, our study found, as with traditional bullying, double the number of cybervictims among non-heterosexual students (21.2% v. 11.1% in heterosexuals); in this case, the rate of severe cybervictims was four times higher (4.1% heterosexual students v. 16.7% among non-heterosexual students) (Elipe et al., under review).

Regarding the most frequent type of behaviors, in relation to traditional bullying, in our study, we found the following, in decreasing order: insults, saying nasty things to others about the victim, social exclusion and spreading rumors (Elipe et al., under review). These last two forms were especially frequent among the non-heterosexual students (see Graph 1). These behaviors coincide, to a great extent, with those found in the study by Rivers (2001).

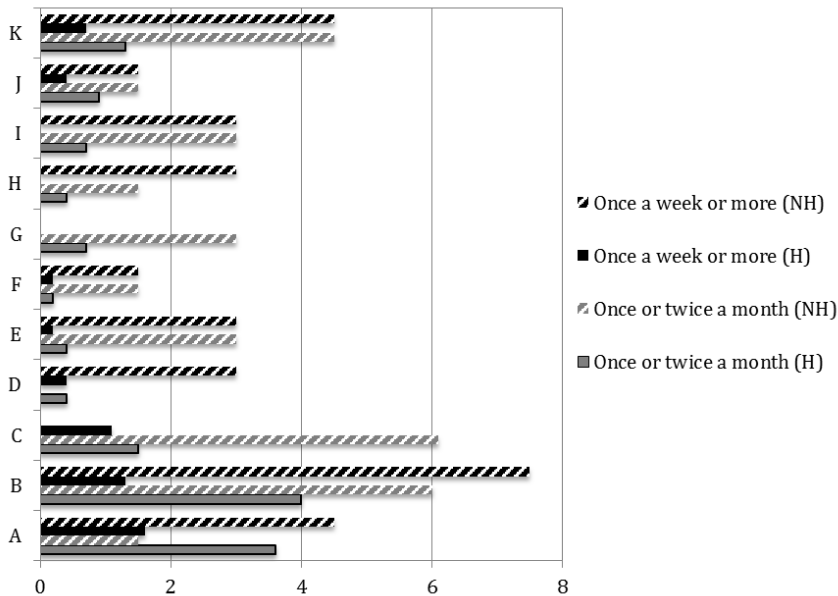


Graph 1. Percentage of students, heterosexual (H) v. non-heterosexual (NH), who reported having suffered each victimization behavior.

These results are in line with previous studies (e.g., Marchueta, 2014; Rivers, 2001) in which verbal aggression, direct insults and humiliation in front of other people, and the spreading of rumors are among the main forms used. It seems to have become normal to insult with words referring to sexual orientation to harm non-heterosexual people. It is also remarkable how both behaviors of indirect (social exclusion), and direct aggression (hitting people, in the most severe form, or threats, in a sporadic form) are triple the number amongst non-heterosexual students. Likewise, the spreading of rumors, both in its sporadic and severe

form, is double in the case of non-heterosexual students. Finally, we should mention the aggression of taking or breaking things, sporadically, which is nine times more likely to happen amongst these students; Rivers (2001) found this aggression in almost half of the victims in that study.

In the case of cybervictimization, as Graph 2 shows, the most frequent behaviors were: to say nasty words to others about the victim using internet or SMS (B); insults using email or SMS (A); sporadic threats using internet or SMS (C) spreading of rumors about the victim via internet (K).



A) Said nasty or insulting words using email or SMS; B) Said to others nasty words about the victim using internet or SMS; C) Threatened through messages via internet or SMS; D) Hacking of email account and extraction of personal information about the victim; E) Hacking of account and impersonating the victim (through instant messaging or social network accounts); F) Created a false account to impersonate the victim (Facebook or MSN); G) Posted personal information about the victim on the internet; H) Posted embarrassing videos or photos of the victim on the internet; I) Manipulated photos which the victim had posted on the internet; J) Excluded from or ignored by a social network or chat; K) Rumors spread about the victim via the internet.

Graph 2. Percentage of students, heterosexual (H) v. non-heterosexual (NH), who report having suffered each cybervictimization behavior.

As Graph 2 shows, in this case, sporadic threats are four times more common among non-heterosexual students; exclusion from social networks or chats is three times more common; and the spreading of rumors is six times more common. Furthermore, in this case, it is worth highlighting how different types of attacks on personal integrity, which in some cases do not even appear in heterosexual students, do appear in non-heterosexual students with percentages oscillating around 3%. This is the case of behaviors of posting or manipulating personal photos or videos on the internet; hacking personal accounts to obtain personal information, impersonating or creating false profiles on social networks; or the spreading of personal information about the victim on the internet.

Once again, these findings underline the specificity of this type of bullying because they demonstrate that, not only is there a greater prevalence of these types of aggressions in LGBT students, but that the type of aggression committed outlines a different profile to that of heterosexual students. Moreover, the results also lead to the conclusion that non-heterosexual orientation increases the probability of suffering bullying, thereby constituting a risk factor.

A study conducted in Spain in 2011 found that roughly 20% of young people manifested a clear rejection of sexual diversity, with 75% of young people aged between 15 and 29 having witnessed homophobic aggressions in their schools in the form of rumors, insults and slurs; 6.4% had seen beatings of lesbians, gays, bisexuals or transsexuals (INJUVE, 2011). This last point reinforces the idea of “stigma contagion” mentioned above. Likewise, these data help us understand the results of the GLSEN which show that 63.5% of non-heterosexual students state that they do not feel safe at school because of their sexual orientation (Kosciw, Greytak, Bartkiewicz, Boesen, & Palmer, 2012).

CONSEQUENCES

In terms of the consequences of this type of bullying we find, on the one hand, a certain similarity with “general” bullying, but we have also found, in line with what we have discussed in this chapter, a certain specificity probably associated with social homophobia and the previously mentioned lack of support.

The consequences of homophobic bullying share similarities with general bullying such as lack of sleep, loss of appetite, isolation, nervousness, anxiety, irascibility, anger, depression, low self-esteem, absenteeism, deceit and poor academic performance (Fineran, 2002; Marchueta, 2014; O’Shaughnessy, Russell, Heck, Calhoun, & Laub, 2004; Rivers & D’Augelli, 2001; Ryan & Rivers, 2003; Warwick Aggleton, & Oliver, 2000). Likewise, a clear relation has been found between this type of bullying and suicide attempts and self-harm (Dyson et al., 2003; Rivers, 2001). However, previous studies have found a greater prevalence of suicide attempts in LGBT youngsters in general, and in victims of homophobic bullying in particular. Rivers (1996) found that 20% of homosexuals and bisexuals interviewed in a social study had tried to commit suicide more than once during their adolescence. Besides, in a matched control study among a sample of same-sex and opposite-sex-attracted Secondary students, the former were more likely to report having symptoms of negative affects, after controlling for exposure to bullying behavior, than the latter (Rivers & Noret, 2008). In a representative study with 750 young Canadians, Bagley and Tremblay (1997) found that gays and bisexuals accounted for 62.5% of total suicide attempts and self-harm behaviors, meaning that they were 14 times more likely to commit suicide than their heterosexual peers.

In terms of bullying, Hershberger and D’Augelli (1995) found that 42% of young LGB Americans had tried to commit suicide on at least one occasion as a consequence of being victimized or isolated by peers, family or members of the community. More recently, the study by Generelo (2012) in Spain found that 43% of young LGBs between 12 and 25 who had been bullied because of their orientation had thought about committing suicide, with 17% having attempted it. In a study into the long-term consequences of bullying, 53% of lesbians and gays stated that they had thought about self-harming themselves as a consequence of being

victimized at school, and 40% indicated that they had tried to commit suicide on at least one occasion (Rivers, 2001).

Findings at a global level also show a greater risk of suicide among these adolescents (Russell, Ryan, Toomey, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2011; Saewyc, 2011; Toomey, Ryan, Diaz, Card, & Russell, 2010). In fact, the internalization of homophobia forms part of risk behaviors (Warwick & Douglas, 2001). As Gómez (2006) points out, the internalization of heterosexist messages and dealing with the prejudice which non-heterosexuality involves, produces emotional pain and wear and tear, leaving marks which are sometimes indelible. The results of research into self-harm behaviors amongst youngsters of sexual minorities suggest that both the personal and social negative assessments of homosexuality and bisexuality affect the mental health of people and their susceptibility to self-harm and suicidal behaviors (Rivers, 2011, p. 86). In turn, in the study mentioned earlier, Hershberger and D'Augelli (1995) found that the best predictor for mental health among young LGB people was self-acceptance. In the same vein, Birket, Espelage and Koenig (2009) showed how diverse negative results of LGBT students in terms of depression, suicide, drug abuse and school difficulties were related to contextual factors such as homophobic victimization and the climate at school, emphasizing school's capacity to eradicate these problems. Hence, it seems that the characteristics and response of the social setting are fundamental mediating elements in this type of violence.

CONCLUSION

Homophobic bullying is considered by UNESCO (2013) to be a universal phenomenon occurring in all countries, regardless of beliefs or cultures. The literature reviewed highlights how being part of a sexual minority currently constitutes a risk factor for being victimized. In turn, there are different reasons which suggest that homophobic bullying has characteristics which merit specific treatment. Specifically, social homophobia means that, in these cases, the silence of the victims intensifies because some students are reticent about explaining their situation to a teacher because they have previously observed examples of homophobia (or at least permissiveness towards it) in the school setting.

The fact that, as different studies have consistently shown, having a minority sexual orientation constitutes a risk factor for our youngsters is a basic violation of a person's right to full development. The invisibilization of minority sexual identities further isolates these young people. Some authors have related this to a range of negative consequences for mental health resulting from this type of bullying. The school, as a key socializing agent, should contribute to optimum personal development, avoiding the transmission of ideas which suggest the acceptance of certain forms of being against others and which reinforce discriminatory practices. This takes us to the need to visibilize diversity in schools in a way that respects the principle of the full development of personality which, as we have mentioned, represents a fundamental objective of education in a range of human rights declarations and legislation. As shown in some of the studies mentioned here, self-acceptance is a key element for mental health. It is therefore a duty for the school environment to foster the full development of the person, with this including gender identity and sexual orientation.

However, it is important to point out that this subject is undergoing a profound transformation owing to the change in how the subject of sexual diversity is considered in social

and legislative terms. Some recent studies have found more open attitudes towards sexual orientation, showing this as just one more aspect of the person and not the only or defining one (Taulke-Johnson, 2009 cit. en Rivers, 2011). Likewise, McCormak (2010) did not find any evidence of homophobia in two out of the three colleges studied. However, when this does happen most students do nothing to support the victim. Other studies have highlighted a change towards a more positive attitude regarding homosexuality amongst youngsters compared to older people (Anand, 2016).

Finally, it is important to reiterate that several studies have demonstrated school's capacity to eradicate these problems, showing how activities performed in the school context can help reduce both explicit and implicit prejudices, blurring the lines and promoting relations between groups (Birket et al., 2009). Similarly, several studies have shown the efficacy of programs aimed explicitly at reducing prejudices. Some have reflected the positive effects of programs in the school setting aimed at reducing prejudice towards transsexuality (Green, 2014; Steward, 2010). However, others aimed at reducing prejudice towards young LGBT students have not been effective (Mundy-Shephard, 2015). In the struggle against homophobic bullying, Cáceres and Salázar (2013) underlined the importance of the social context and the support given to this fight by educational and legal systems. They compared results from Chile, where its system is beginning to penalize discriminatory and homophobic attitudes, with Guatemala and Peru, countries where it is not penalized. They found that in Chile homophobic attitudes were becoming less frequent, at least at a public institutional level, while in Guatemala and Peru these attitudes were minimized, not rebuked or penalized as they were considered "annoying acts," but not bullying.

Thus, it is to be hoped that the legal and social changes which are occurring in different countries in terms of the equalizing of rights and the visibilization of sexual diversity will gradually translate into a progressive acceptance of LGBT students as a part of normality in the classroom. In fact, several meta-analyses have shown how contact with LGBT people reduces prejudice towards this group (Smith, Axelton, & Saucier, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Hopefully, this greater visibilization and normality will be accompanied by a reduction in discrimination. However, the results reviewed highlight that there is still a long way to go before reaching that normalization. The actual characterization and understanding of homophobic bullying has not gone in parallel with the study of other related phenomena which have appeared relatively recently, such as cyberbullying. This reflects, on the one hand, the silence and prejudices that still surround the subject and, on the other, it highlights the need for further research to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon.

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Chapter 120

**THE ROLE OF ATTACHMENT STYLES
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR
AMONG PEERS: AN OVERVIEW ON HOMOPHOBIC
BULLYING WITH A VICTIM'S REPORT**

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ABSTRACT

Strong evidence suggests that attachment relationships developed during childhood can play a key role in the understanding of the process of affect regulation and interpersonal relationships in adolescence and adulthood (Bowlby, 1973, 1988; Pace, Zappulla, & Di Maggio, 2016). The human relationship, however, is not only the product of internal working models that the infant develops in childhood, but also, in a broader sense, a spin-off influence that derives from the social context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bandura, 2001). Indeed, several authors point out how dysfunctional attachment predicts problematic relationships with others, including hostility and bullying among peers in adolescence (Ainsworth, 1979; Bowlby, 1978; Cassidy, 1994; Nickerson, Mele & Osborne-Oliver, 2009; Rispoli et al., 2013). This chapter will thus focus on the role of attachment in both the development of relationships during adolescence and the very genesis of bullying. The characteristics of homophobic bullying will be described together with the role of individual and social variables that can help to develop this phenomenon. A report on victims of homophobic bullying will then be presented in order to understand the nature of this phenomenon in greater depth.

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ATTACHMENT AND AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR TOWARD PEERS

The affective relationship is at the heart of attachment theory as formulated by Bowlby who indicated how humans have an innate tendency to seek contact and proximity with others. Bowlby (1988), referring to the studies in ethology conducted by Harlow, deduced how a compartmental model exists to maintain proximity and nearness with others, particularly in times of distress. The attachment bond indicated a durable relationship that is characterized by affect and emotions with a significant other. To explain this, Bowlby (1979) used the term “working models” that describes how these models are used by a child to understand and predict his relationships with others in adolescent and adult life. In particular, the working models refer to how a child is acceptable or not for others, especially for parents. They are necessary to endow a child with trust and thus help him to “define” his world. “During adolescence and adult life, a measure of attachment behavior is commonly directed not only towards persons outside the family but also towards groups and institutions other than the family. A school or college, a work group, a religious group or a political group can come to constitute for many people a subordinate attachment-‘figure,’ and for some people a principal attachment-‘figure.’ In such cases, it is plausible to assume that the development of attachment to a group is mediated, at least initially, by attachment to a person holding a prominent position within that group [...]. That attachment behavior in adult life is a straightforward continuation of attachment behavior in childhood is shown by the circumstances that lead an adult’s attachment behavior to become more readily elicited. In sickness and calamity, adults often become demanding of others; in conditions of sudden danger or disaster a person will almost certainly seek proximity to another known and trusted person. In such circumstances an increase of attachment behavior is recognized by all as natural” (Bowlby, 1982, pp. 207-208). In others words, for Bowlby the attachment style influences future relationships. Mary Ainsworth (1979), also, through Strange Situations, identified the following styles of attachment: secure, insecure-avoidant and insecure-ambivalent. There is also another style identified by other Authors (Main & Salomon, 1985) that is the most problematic of all: disorganized attachment. Indeed, in the literature it is clear that if parents create a warm atmosphere and, at the same time, severely forbid behavior that is harming to others, they instil feelings of empathy in their children (Hoffman, 1984). Indeed, some studies underlined how children with secure attachment are more likely to develop internal representations of others as supportive and helpful, and to develop positive and satisfactory interpersonal relationships with others (Larose & Bernier, 2001; Meins, Bureau, & Fernyhough, 2017). However, the study conducted by Teti and Ablard (1989) has shown how secure attachment reduces aggressive behavior. In contrast, the study by Renken and colleagues (1989) has shown how insecure-avoidant attachment predicted aggression behavior in boys, whereas maternal hostility predicted aggression in both sexes. Other research showed how insecure attachment is connected with externalizing problems or behavioral problems, such as aggressiveness toward peers (Fagot & Kavanagh, 1990; Pace & Zappulla, 2010; Fearon et al., 2010, Pace & Zappulla, 2011). Nevertheless, some recent studies suggested how disorganized attachment is connected to aggressive behavior toward peers (Lyons-Ruth, Alpern, & Repacholi, 1993, Lyons-Ruth, 1996; Lecompte & Moss, 2014; Paetzold, Rholes, & Kohn, 2015). However, the attachment style is connected with bullying, which is considered to be a particular form of aggressiveness toward peers. Indeed, recent research underlines how secure attachment in children may be a protective factor against

involvement in bullying (e.g., Nickerson, Mele, & Princiotta, 2008; Murphy, Laible, & Augustine, 2017).

BULLYING IN ADOLESCENCE

During adolescence a manifestation of aggression among boys and girls is bullying. Adolescence is a critical and complex moment in which identity is forged and molded not only in relation to family models but also and especially as a function of the surrounding environment (e.g., the peer group) (Bandura, 2001). Bullying can be described as a phenomenon characterized by the implementation of aggressive behavior and repeated with a real power imbalance (Olweus, 1993). These aggressive and intentional behaviors are repeatedly manifested by one or more people, called bullies, toward a victim. Often the victim is unable to defend himself because sometimes he is smaller and/or weaker than his attacker(s). He does not receive adequate social support from his peer group and he is not willing or capable to meet the stereotypical roles of society. The bully's aim is to cause harm to another directly (through physical action such as kicking him, stealing or damaging personal property, etc.), or indirectly (via verbal and social exclusion, the spreading of gossip, etc.). In the literature, in addition to forms of direct and indirect bullying, there also exists cyber-bullying (where the behaviors between aggressors and victims are mediated through social media) and homophobic bullying.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BULLY AND HIS VICTIM

Bullying is a phenomenon which should be read especially in the ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), where individual and social variables are combined. Some studies have shown how anxious attachment is correlated with bullying attitudes. Respectively, anxious attachment was shown by girls to their mothers, by boys to their fathers (e.g., Williams & Kennedy, 2012). Moreover, it is quite clear how bullies show more positive attitudes towards the use of aggression compared to peers (Cole, Cornell, & Sheras, 2006). Therefore, anxious-ambivalent attachment has been seen in previous studies to be connected to interpersonal hostility (e.g., Lieberman, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 1999). Other studies have underlined how bullies, as well as being prone to aggression, have an impulsive temperament (e.g., Fite, Greening, & Stoppelbein, 2008; Passanisi & Pace, 2017). In addition, among the familiar features of the bully, the literature emphasizes that parental divorce (e.g., Malone et al., 2004), child maltreatment (e.g., Cullerton-Sen et al., 2008), an authoritarian parenting style (Lee & Song, 2012), inflexible and neglectful parents (Berger, 2007), encourage interpersonal aggression. However, social factors may also influence the acts of bullying. In homophobic bullying, forms of prejudices and stereotypes, such as social homophobia or sexism, may influence attitudes towards persons belonging to sexual minorities (e.g., Carrera-Fernández et al., 2014; Petrucci et al., 2015). In these cases a study has shown that secure attachment may be a protective factor for gay and lesbian people (Trub et al., 2016).

The victim of bullying can be passive or submissive or a bully-victim (who encourages the bully to act) (Olweus, 1996; Andreou, 2001). In most cases the victim remains passive and

weak. The research by Guarino, Lancellotti and Serantoni (2011) suggests how the victim is often devoid of high esteem and has little capacity to socialize with peers. The victims are chosen by the bully who knows that they will almost certainly not respond to acts of abuse. However, the study recently conducted by Sekol and Farrington (2016) has shown how male and female victims lacked self-esteem, presented neurotic personality traits and had a history of victimization. The victims have probably built an image of the self and others tainted with insecurity based, as they are, on ideas about themselves and their relationships dominated by mistrust and uncertainty. In a study by Mohr (2007), victims of bullying perceive their parents (especially fathers) as not being particularly affectionate.

In this phenomenon, another important figure is the helper of the victim. The literature has shown how the victim's helper is usually someone with secure attachment and high levels of empathy (e.g., Nickerson, Apples & Princiotta, 2008). Encouraging projects to promote empathic abilities is essential in promoting prosocial behavior among boys (e.g., Davis, 2015). Therefore, empathy is a *sine qua non* to tackle the phenomenon of the purely social nature of bullying such as homophobic bullying.

HOMOPHOBIC BULLYING: DEFINITIONS AND INFLUENTIAL FACTORS

In the literature, physical and verbal homophobic bullying is a popular form of aggression among school-age children (Poteat & Espelage, 2005). It is not only a form of aggression towards people belonging to sexual minorities but is also directed towards those who are perceived as such inasmuch as they do not adhere to the dominant models of masculinity and femininity (Kimmer & Mahler, 2003; Swearer et al., 2008). The victims of homophobic bullying, unlike other victims, have a more negative perception of school and higher levels of anxiety and depression than those who were targeted for other reasons (Swearer et al., 2008; Espelage et al., 2008). Unlike other forms of bullying, homophobic bullying is based on the socially-created climate of the classroom. The study conducted by Kosciw and colleagues (2012) has revealed how students in rural or / and small towns in Canada showed higher levels of victimization in schools based on sexual orientation. Indeed, the research conducted by Poteat (2008) has shown how homophobic and aggressive atmosphere of the group in turn encourages acts of a homophobic nature. It can be deduced that a purely homophobic climate is likely to reinforce prejudice according to which the only socially-accepted form of sexual orientation is heterosexual (heterosexist ideology) (e.g., Herek, 2004). Another study shows how non-adherence to gender roles is connected to acts of abuse of power (Friedman et al., 2006). Indeed, persons belonging to sexual minorities experience episodes of victimization, indulge in riskier behaviors (e.g., substance use), including sexual behaviour and suicidal ideation (e.g., Garofalo et al., 1998; Bontempo & D'Augelli, 2002; Friedman et al., 2006). A recent study showed that victimization is related to symptoms of anxiety and depressive nature and the use of alcohol (Tucker et al., 2016). Other research has identified victimization as often related to absenteeism in schools (Rivers, 2000; Fisher & Tanner-Smith, 2016) as well as suicidal ideation and acts of self-harm (Rivers, 2000). The fear of being victimized and losing friends because of sexual orientation can lead to social exclusion. Additionally, victims of homophobic bullying claim they have often suffered attacks in the presence of educators who did not intervene to defend them (e.g., Elze, 2003; Ryan & Rivers, 2003). Especially in adolescence, social support is a protective factor for gay boys and lesbian girls. Paying little or

no attention to these forms of abuse of power or aggressiveness toward peers leads to the normalization of acts of a homophobic nature. The victim, in this way, will remain trapped in the cycle of victimization, which may be a predisposing factor in the genesis of psychopathology. Moreover, in the literature, victimization is a homogeneous phenomenon. Indeed, there are many studies showing that incidents of victimization are not specific to particular periods of the life cycle, but can start at the primary school (e.g., Solomon, 2004), continue at high/middle school (e.g., Williams et al., 2005; Espelage et al., 2017) and carry on at university (e.g., Janoff, 2005; Okanlawon, 2017). Therefore, at school, thinking that homosexuality is only a transitional phase of development and that homophobic attacks are mere instances of bravado is a mistake because the problem is indirectly fueled (Dèttore, Antonelli, & Ristori, 2014). Certainly, secure attachment style in difficult and complex situations is a protective factor in adolescence because it helps to cope with moments of great emotional tension and to develop social competence (Zimmermann et al., 2001; Rispoli et al., 2013). However, investigating attachment in victims of homophobic bullying is not enough because, as we have seen, social-relational variables also impact on both the victim and the bully. Indeed, Allen and colleagues (2007) suggest the importance not only of secure attachment but also of the quality of relationships with peers. Adolescence is an important social-evolutionary stage in which individual factors are combined with those from the social context and relationships with peers. In this period the adolescent is engaged in both the construction of self and social group dynamics (e.g., family and peer group). Significant family ties represent a protective factor for gay and lesbian adolescents because they feel more secure (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 2009). In contrast, the study conducted by Poteat and colleagues (2011) points out how parental support does not moderate the effect on homophobic victimization. At the same time, during adolescence another important role is peer group attachment. The literature stresses how the homophobic culture of the peer group is able to foster homophobic attitudes and behavior in each member of the group in terms of social contagion (Poteat, 2007; Poteat, Espelage, & Green, 2007; Poteat, 2008). In other words, adolescents are afraid that if they help and / or side with the victim they may also be labeled as gay or lesbian. In addition, in order to be accepted by the group, adolescents may try to hide their homosexuality and hope not to be victimized. The study conducted by Costa and Davies (2012) conducted on a group of adolescents showed how high levels of homophobia and/or transphobia are connected with attachment to stereotypes and “traditional” gender representations (i.e., dominant culture), almost as if the study group had been forced into what Butler (2011) calls “compulsory heterosexuality”. Indeed, the victims of bullying are usually children who do not fall into the traditional definitions of masculinity. Conversely, in line with Allport’s contact theory (e.g., Petrucci et al., 2015), knowledge of or contact with the culture of sexual minorities can be associated with the reduction of prejudice towards gay and lesbian people.

HOMOPHOBIC BULLYING: A VICTIM’S REPORT

Luca¹ is a twenty-five-year-old boy from a small Sicilian town who suffered acts of homophobic bullying at school. He was administered an interview with open-ended questions

¹ Luca is a false name respecting the privacy of the person involved.

(Table 1 Interview schema) to help evoke the victimization suffered, and the Italian version of Ca-Mir (Molina, Critelli, & Pierrehumbert, 2007), to evaluate the attachment style.

L. says that he was victimized by all his peers, especially by males. Usually they called him by his name in the feminine version or with negative epithets. Furthermore, he was never chosen by peers for the various activities (whether in the classroom or outdoors). The more serious episodes happened during the third year of elementary school (approximately) and then continued through to middle school. In high school, however, L. was never invited by males for any activity. L. said that “maybe, they are ashamed of me.” These episodes began because he did not like football, and perhaps for the way he looked (thin and fragile). Once his peers teased him because he said he wanted to be a dancer. L. was often teased because he did not make any male chauvinist comments on females. He affirms that the bullying acts continued despite the fact that he had a girlfriend (he is not able to explain why). However, he often tried to conform to his peer group, pretending to be interested in football or things that his male companions typically did. L. wanted to be accepted. Especially, L. remembers that, during middle school, he was spared a few insults if he let his classmates copy his class work. The feelings that L. still feels today are anger and sadness. Specifically, L. remembers feeling almost invisible and often wrong.

Table 1. Interview schema

1. How and by whom have you been victimized?
2. How long did these episodes last and why do you think they happened?
3. How did you feel?
4. Have you ever tried to avoid these episodes in any way?
5. Have you ever thought of suicide?
6. Was there anyone who could help you?
7. Have you ever told anyone about these episodes?
8. How do you feel now (especially thinking back to these episodes)?

The feeling that he did not belong may be due to the fact that L. did not fit into male chauvinist stereotypes, present mainly in small towns. Fortunately, L. has never thought of suicide. The literature, indeed, underlines how these feelings are evident in bullied people. Notwithstanding this, his teachers did not usually perceive that these episodes were in fact occurring. He also remembers that it was almost taboo to talk about homosexuality in the classroom. Sometimes teachers do not perceive the significance of this phenomenon because of which the message that the male or female victim receives is: “you do not exist”/“the problem does not exist” (Dèttore, Antonelli, & Ristori, 2014). Furthermore, L. does not remember anyone ever taking his side. He says that sometimes if the offenses were too strong, someone would say to him “don’t think about it. Let it go!”. However, L. never talked about these episodes with anyone. He was afraid of feeling even “more wrong” for what he was and felt. In other words, L. felt the weight of a culturally stereotyped society (Butler, 2011). Despite the perceived lack of both social support and empathy, L. became resilient on his own, hoping that someone would help him. Today L. feels good and accomplished. He no longer thinks about the past acts of bullying and, if anyone does offend him now, he laughs about it. Recalling these episodes, he does not feel sad but he would like someone to understand him and his feelings.

From the administration of Ca-Mir, L. does not report problematic scores. The highest score, though one standard deviation below, concerns the scale “family distance” ($t = 59.8$). This finding may be related to the fact that L. has always managed his life on his own. He also suffered victimization without requesting the help of his parents and/or peers. Greater parental support would certainly have helped, even though he does not report problematic scores in the “parental support” scale ($t = 54.21$). The predominant attachment style, though one standard deviation below, is “detached attachment” ($t = 57.72$). Nevertheless, L. did want to manage his life on his own. Anyway, now L. has realized that the injury did not diminish his self-esteem. He may have set aside some dreams but he has surely developed an adequate resilience that can be used in critical situations.

This report helps us to understand not only that bullying is a far-reaching phenomenon, both emotionally and socially, but also that social and parenting support systems are crucial where the attachment style with internal working models focused on a secure base represents an important protective factor. Indeed, it would seem that parents often find it difficult to recognize and face their children’s problems, and may even use cognitive distortions to minimize or deny them. This occurs chiefly because parents fear they might otherwise invade their children’s “personal space” and therefore wait for them to ask for help, which of course may never happen. Greater awareness and training of teachers and parents on these important issues is thus called for. Surely, the individual characteristics of adolescence should not be overlooked because bullying, especially if homophobic, affects one’s emotional reactions. In conclusion, what seems to be lacking in the social groups of some cultures that are still rooted in prejudice is a “shared social grammar” (Caprara, 1992) that might otherwise implement social inclusion.

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Chapter 121

**SUICIDAL BEHAVIOR IN ASSOCIATION
WITH IN-SCHOOL BULLYING IN
AFRICAN AMERICAN YOUTH**

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ABSTRACT

Background: The purpose of this literature review was to examine the association of in-school bullying in connection to suicidal behavior in school aged youth, with a specific interest in African American adolescents. In addition, this article examined protective factors against suicidal behavior in adolescents. *Methods:* A thorough literature review was conducted using Academic Search Premier, Academic Search Complete, and Education Research Complete, Psychology and Behavioral Science Complete and various other educational research databases. The following search terms were used: bullying, bullying in adolescence, bullying in primary school aged students, bullying in school aged youth, African Americans and bullying, bullying and suicidal behavior, African Americans and suicide, suicidal risk factors and black adolescents. There were no restrictions on the year of publication, although preference was given to articles published within the last 15 years. A summary of each article was developed and analyzed for common themes. *Results:* Results indicated youth who experienced bullying behavior in conjunction with co-occurring risk factors, such as poor mental health and substance use were more likely to exhibit suicidal behavior in comparison to youth not experiencing co-occurring risk factors.

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Results also revealed parental connectedness, other adult connectedness, spirituality and school connectedness served as protective factors in school aged youth. *Discussion:* Going forward, anti-violence/in-school bullying prevention programs should incorporate self-esteem building curriculum in combination with activities that enhance parental involvement and school connectivity. In addition, research examining the relationship between in-school bullying and suicidal behavior in African American youth is scarce and warrants additional investigation. A more thorough examination of this population would allow for the development of more specialized programs better able to meet the needs of this populace.

Keywords: African Americans, bullying, suicidality

INTRODUCTION

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), suicide is defined as: “death caused by self-directed injurious behavior with any intent to die, whereas suicidal ideation is defined as the contemplation and or consideration of suicide (CDC, 2016a; CDC, 2014). A suicide attempt is defined as the direct result of a non-fatal attempt to take one’s own life; the attempt may or may not result in injury (CDC, 2016a; CDC, 2014). These various phases of suicidal behavior indicate suicide is rarely ever an isolated incident, but rather a culmination of thoughts, attitudes and behaviors potentially leading to suicide.

In 2015, firearms (49.8%), suffocation (26.8%), and poisoning (15.4%) were the top three methods used to commit suicide (American Foundation for Suicide Prevention, 2017; CDC, 2015). Research indicates females are more likely to attempt suicide in comparison to males; although many deaths related to suicide are attributed to male deaths (American Foundation for Suicide Prevention, 2017). Differences in suicidal behavior have also been observed on the basis of race/ethnicity, with Whites, Native Americans, Alaskan Natives, Asian and Pacific Islanders and African Americans having the highest rates of suicidal behavior, in this respective order (American Foundation for Suicide Prevention, 2017). Within the United States, suicide is the second leading cause of death in youth aged 10 to 24, with approximately 4,600 deaths resulting annually (National Vital Statistics System, National Center for Health Statistics, CDC, 2014; CDC, 2015).

According to the Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS, 2016) females (23.4%) are more likely to seriously consider suicide in comparison to males (12.2%). With prevalence rates of having seriously contemplated suicide higher among Hispanic (18.9%) students in comparison to African American (14.5%) students (YRBS, 2016). Within the past year, 8.6% of high school students attempted suicide, with prevalence of attempted suicide higher in female students (11.6%) in comparison to male (5.5%) students (YRBS, 2016). Based on race, suicide attempts were higher in Hispanic (11.3%), African American (8.8%) and White (6.3%) students (YRBS, 2014).

Several risk factors have been associated with suicidal behavior in school aged youth, including: familial history, previous suicide attempts, history of mental illness, alcohol and/or drug abuse, and feelings of hopelessness (CDC, 2016b; Bazrafshan, Sharif, Molazem and Mani, 2016; Bhatta, Jefferis, Kavadas, Alemango and Shaffer-King, 2014; Wolfe, Foxwell and Kennard, 2014). Most strikingly, research also indicated youth involvement in bullying behavior was associated with increased suicidal behavior (Borowsky, Taliaferro and McMorris,

2013; CDC, 2014; Espelage and Holt, 2013; Kaminski and Fang, 2009; Klomek, Sourander, and Gould, 2010). Youth who reported involvement in bullying activity (bully, victim & bully-victim) displayed increased levels of suicidal behavior in comparison to youth who reported no involvement in bullying activity (Borowsky, Taliaferro and McMorris, 2013; CDC, 2014; Espelage and Holt, 2013; Kaminski and Fang, 2009). In addition, youth who indicated bully-victim behavior, showed higher rates of suicidal behavior in comparison to any other group of students indicating bullying behavior (Borowsky, Taliaferro and McMorris, 2013; CDC, 2014).

African American students were found to be an extremely vulnerable population, exhibiting a multiplicity of risk factors associated with bullying onset (Albdour & Krouse, 2014). Risk factors included low socioeconomic status, substance abuse, and exposure to high crime and violent environments (Albdour & Krouse, 2014; Bettencourt and Farrell, 2013; Demaray, Malecki, Davidson, Hodgson, and Rebus, 2005; Goldweber, Waasdorp and Bradshaw, 2013; Marsh and Cornell, 2001). Research has shown African American school-aged youth are more likely to be involved in bullying behavior in comparison to their Caucasian peers (Albdour & Krouse, 2014; Bettencourt and Farrell, 2013; Fitzpatrick, Dulin and Piko, 2010; Goldweber, Waasdorp and Bradshaw, 2013; Low and Espelage, 2013; McDade, King, Vidourek, 2017; Wang, Iannotti, and Nansel, 2009).

Currently, research has been able to link bullying activity to suicidal behavior (CDC, 2014). However, researchers are unable to delineate a clear causal pathway by which bullying involvement influences suicidality (CDC, 2014). The purpose of this literature review was to examine the causal pathway between in-school bullying and suicidal behavior in African American Adolescents.

METHODS

A thorough literature review was conducted using Academic Search Premier, Academic Search Complete, and Education Research Complete, Psychology and Behavioral Science Complete and various other educational research databases. The following search terms were used: bullying and suicidal behavior, bullying in adolescence, African Americans and bullying, black adolescents and suicidal risk factors. There were no restrictions on the year of publications, although preference was given to articles published within the last fifteen years.

RESULTS

The present literature review indicated a significant link between bullying behavior and suicidality. Bullying behavior in association with substance abuse and/or poor mental health have both been shown to increase risks for suicidal behavior and provide a mediation pathway for suicidality. Examination of the following articles provided further insight into the causal relationship between in-school bullying behavior and suicidality.

Klomek et al., (2011) were one of the first to examine the longitudinal effects of bullying in relation to mental illness and suicidality. Participants included 9th through 12th grade high school students from the state of New York, USA; baseline data were observed, followed by a four-year follow-up. Three distinct groups were identified at baseline: Bully Only, At Risk

Only, and At Risk Bully (Klomek et al., 2011). The “Bully Only” group was asymptomatic of depression, suicidal behavior, and substance use. The “At Risk Only” group presented with depressive symptoms and suicidal behavior and substance use in the absence of bullying. The “At Risk Bully” group presented with depressive symptoms, suicidal behavior and involvement in bullying activities (Klomek et al., 2011). At follow up, the “Bully Only” group was significantly less likely to report depression, suicidal behavior, and substance use problems in comparison to the other “At Risk” groups (Klomek et al., 2011). Youth in the “At-Risk Bully” group were also more likely to report poor mental health, increased substance use and suicidal behavior in comparison to the “At-Risk Only” group.

In a previous study conducted by Mitchell, Ybarra, and Finkelhor (2007), investigators examined the relationship between victimization (online/internet and offline/in person) and depressive symptomology, high delinquency, and substance use. Sample size consisted of 1,501 youth, ages 10-17; a phone survey methodology was utilized. Results showed youth experiencing multiple types of offline-victimization (physical assault, theft, sexual assault, etc.) were significantly more likely to report depressive symptomology, high delinquency (stealing, damage to property, physical assault, and being picked up by police) and substance use in comparison to youth not experiencing these various forms of offline bullying. In a similar study conducted by Litweller and Braush (2007), authors examined two models: 1) The relationship between online (cyber) victimization and suicidal behavior and 2) The relationship between offline (physical) victimization and suicidal behavior. Violent behavior, substance use and sexual behavior were tested as mediators between the two forms of bullying and suicidal behavior. Results indicated both physical bullying and cyber bullying had a significant direct effect on all three-mediating variables. Substance use and violent behavior were shown to have a significant direct effect on suicidal behavior for both models; effect of sexual behavior on suicidal behavior was not significant. Also, the overall effect for both physical and cyberbullying on suicidal behavior was significant.

Lardier, Barrios, Garcia-Reid and Reid (2016) examined the relationship between in-school bullying and suicidal ideation via mediative factors including: family conflict, depressive symptoms and substance use. The sample size consisted of 488 adolescents 10-18 years of age, from a northern New Jersey suburban community. Study findings indicated when mediators were added, the relationship between bullying and suicidal ideation was no longer significant. Two significant pathways emerged: 1) school bullying in the presence of family conflict mediated suicidal ideation and 2) school bullying in the presense of family conflict and depression mediated suicidal ideation. Both pathways were significant for both men and women. In addition, two other significant pathways for females only emerged: 3) school bullying in the presense of depression mediated suicidal ideation and 4) school bullying in the presense of depression and substance use mediated suicidal ideation.

In a study conducted by Stewart, Valeri, Esposito, and Auerbach (2017) researchers examined non-suicidal self-injury behaviors and risky behavior engagement as potential mediators between peer victimization (overt and indirect {reputational e.g., another teen gossiped about me and relational e.g., a teen left me out of what they were doing}) and suicidal thoughts and behaviors (suicidal plan and suicidal attempt). The sample population consisted of 349 depressed adolescents ages 13-19 within 48 hours of admission for acute psychiatric treatment. Path analysis indicated both the direct effects of overt victimization on suicide attempts and indirect effects through risky behavior engagement were significant. Concerning indirect victimization, path analysis indicated a significant direct effect of reputational

victimization on suicide attempts and a mediating effect via risky behavior engagement. There were no significant direct effect or indirect effects of relational victimization on suicide plans; Path analysis was not reported for relational victimization on suicide attempts.

Mitchell et al., (2016) examined depression, perceived burdensomeness (perceived ideology that one's death is worth more to others than one's life) and thwarted belongingness (extreme isolation and disconnection from others and lack of reciprocal caring relationships) as potential mediators between cyberbullying and suicidal ideation. Mediation analysis indicated that cyberbullying, perceived burdensomeness and depression had significant direct effects on suicidal ideation. Path analysis also showed perceived burdensomeness has a significant effect on thwarted belongingness; however, thwarted belongingness does not have a direct effect on suicidal ideation.

A predominant amount of literature has explored risk factors associated with in-school bullying and suicidality. Less research has explored protective factors against suicidality in relation to in-school bullying. We now shift gears to further explore protective factors associated with this public health disparity.

Fitzpatrick, Piko, and Miller (2008) examined protective factors in association with suicidal ideation and suicide attempts in African American adolescents in grades 5-12 in southeastern United States. Regression analysis indicated students who reported higher levels of self-esteem were less likely to engage in suicidal behavior (ideation and/or attempt). Analyses also indicated students were significantly less like to engage in suicidal ideation when a part of a spiritual community. In a study conducted by Borowsky, Taliaferro and McMorris (2013) researchers examined protective factors against suicidal behavior in association with verbal/social bullying among junior high and high school students in Minnesota. Students were categorized into three groups: perpetrator only (perpetrated once a week or more, and victimized less than once a week), victim only (victimized once a week or more, and perpetrated less than once a week), and perpetrator and victim (victimized and perpetrated once a week or more). Results indicated parent connectedness and friends caring were significant protector factors against thinking about or attempting suicide across all three groups; other adults caring was a significant protective factor for the perpetrator and the victim only group. In a similar study, Taliaferro and Muehlenkamp (2014) examined protective factors against against suicidality in 9th and 12th high school students in Minnesota. Three research questions emerged: 1) protective factors differentiating adolescents who engage in suicidal ideation versus adolescents who do not engage in suicidal ideation; 2) protective factors differentiating adolescents who engage in suicide attempts versus adolescents who do not engage in suicide attempts; and 3) protective factors differentiating adolescents who engage in suicide attempts versus adolescents who engage in suicidal ideation only. For both males and females, parent connectedness was a significant protective factor across all three groups. Concerning suicidal ideation versus suicidal attempt, students were significantly less likely to engage in suicidal attempt in the presence of academic achievement and perceived neighborhood safety. Additional significant protective factors that emerged included sports participation, friends caring and school safety; protective factors were not significant across all groups. Stone, Luo, Lippy and McIntosh (2015) examined protective factors associated with minority sexual youth (students identifying as homosexual or bisexual) in connection to suicidality in high school students. Regression analysis indicated minority sexual youth who reported higher rates of parent connectedness, other adult connectedness, and school connectedness were significantly

less likely to engage in suicidal ideation. Concerning suicidal attempt, only parent connectedness and other adult connectedness proved to be statistically significant.

DISCUSSION

Upon completion of a thorough literature review, it is most evident bullying in and of itself is not always a direct causal factor for suicidal behavior. More often than not, results indicate involvement in bullying activities, in association with poor mental health (e.g., depression, low self-esteem, and perceived burdensomeness) and/or substance use precipitate suicidal behavior in youth. Poor mental health has been consistently identified as a precursor to involvement in risky behavior (Dual Diagnosis, 2017). Research also indicated involvement in risky behavior is often utilized as a coping mechanism to lessen the effects of physical and emotional trauma (Lardier, Barrios, Garcia-Reid and Reid, 2016; Jackson, Seth, DiClemente and Lin, 2015). As a result, inhibitions may decrease therefore allowing youth to more easily engage in suicidal behaviors (Sinyor and Cheung, 2014; Mitchell, Ybarra and Finkelhor 2007). This pathway seems to be represented within the Litweller and Braush (2007) article, in which substance use and violent behavior were shown to have direct impacts on suicidal behavior.

Both Taliaferro and Muehlenkamp (2014) and Stewart et al., (2017) showed youth were more likely to attempt suicide in the presence of mental/emotional health problems and self-injurious behavior. This aligns with the Interpersonal Psychological Theory of Suicidal Behavior (Joiner, 2017), which posits both the desire to die and the capability to do so, must both be present before suicide can take place. A person must hold two overarching states of mind, a sense of perceived burdensomeness and a sense of low belongingness (emotional/mental health problems). In addition, a person will no longer fear death, and will have developed a fearlessness of pain and injury via repetitive exposure to harmful stimuli, such as self-injury (Joiner, 2017).

Concerning protective factors, the presence of parent connectedness and friends caring were the most consistent shielding influences against suicidal behavior in adolescents across multiple studies (Borowsky, Taliaferro and McMorris, 2013; Taliaferro and Muehlenkamp, 2014; Stone, Luo, Lippy and McIntosh, 2011). Parent connectedness and friends caring allows youth to have a strong support system within their immediate circle, which provides adolescents with the emotional and physical supports needed to withstand stressful stimuli (Taliaferro and Muehlenkamp, 2014). Other adults caring was also a significant protective factor; additional support may provide youth with a more robust social backing that enhances school connectivity and thwarts bullying onset (Whitlock, Wyman, and Moore, 2014). Specifically in African Americans, self-esteem was shown to be a significant protective factor against suicidal ideation and suicide attempt, whereas being apart of a spiritual community was a significant protective factor against suicidal ideation, but not suicide attempt (Fitzpatrick, Piko, Miller, 2008). Within the African American community, “the church” has typically been the nucleus or apex within this population (Austin and Harris, 2011; Hays, 2015). Close ties to a spiritual community allow for the development of a cultural stigma towards taking one’s own life (Marion and Range, 2003; Walker, 2007). This overarching norm may prevent youth from engaging in such behavior because of the shame and disgrace associated with suicidality. The presence of hope, family connectedness and effective coping strategies were also seen to buffer against suicidal behavior

in African American college students. (Davidson, Wingate, Sligh, & Rasmussen, 2010; Wang et al., 2013). Within the African American community, suicide is regarded as a “White Persons” issue in addition to being deemed immoral (Davidson et al., 2010; Walker, 2007). These ideologies provide a cornerstone on which individuals base their decisions, thus protecting this population against engaging in suicidal behavior. Although this data was not specific to African American adolescents, it still provides insight into protective factors specifically associated with African Americans.

LIMITATIONS

Articles utilized in this literature review were restricted to papers written in English. Preference was also given to articles written in the past 15 years. In addition, articles examining the relationship between in-school bullying and suicidality were not specific to African American adolescent populations, as literature was not in extreme abundance for this populace.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Future research should focus on the examination of in-school bullying and suicidality specifically within African American youth. African American youth are drastically under-researched in this topic area, which is especially apparent for studies utilizing mediative analysis to determine suicide causality. Most studies have examined this health disparity across groups (e.g., race, age and sexual orientation) versus within one group (e.g., African Americans). Further examination would allow investigators to determine risks and protective factors unique to this population. Moving forward, anti-violence/in-school bullying prevention programs should incorporate self-esteem building curriculum in combination with activities that promote parental involvement and school connectedness.

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Chapter 122

BIOPSYCHOSOCIAL DIFFERENTIAL PREDICTORS OF SUICIDE AND BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

Suicide, the second leading cause of death for 15-29 year olds globally (WHO, 2017), is undoubtedly connected to another ubiquitous problem during adolescence, bullying. However, the connection between suicide and bullying is misunderstood at times, because some believe that bullying causes suicide. Psychological research conveys a different picture in that it shows that suicidal ideation and suicidal behavior represent possible risks for adolescents who experience bullying. Being bullied, however, does not cause suicidal ideation or suicidal behavior because not everyone who is bullied engages in suicidality. The limitation of previous research is that most previous research focuses on the individuals who experience suicidal thoughts and behaviors after they have been bullied. Far fewer research investigates factors that differentiate those who were bullied and experienced suicidal thoughts and behaviors compared to those who did not. This study used data from 2,386 7th through 12th graders who completed Wave I of Add Health. Results revealed that sex, grade point average, self-esteem, depression, optimism, sense of school belongingness, and closeness to both mothers and fathers differentiated youth who were bullied and experienced suicidality compared to youth who were bullied and did not experience suicidality. Implications of these findings for intervention programming are discussed.

Adolescence consists of a time when there are numerous ubiquitous problems, some of the most notable being suicidality and bullying. Suicidality includes both suicidal ideation and suicidal behavior. More specifically, suicidal ideation is when an individual thinks about or wishes to end their life, while suicidal behavior consists of nonfatal events (van Geel, Vedder, & Tanilon, 2014). Suicidality has become a public health concern, given that suicide is the second leading cause of death for individuals between the ages of 15 through 29 years (WHO, 2017). This declaration is understandable given that suicide is perceived to be largely

preventable, and it seems non-sensible that 5,491 adolescents took their own lives in 2015 (American Association of Suicidology, 2017). When looking at suicidality longitudinally, utilizing the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance Survey (Kann et al., 2016), suicidal ideation and making a suicide plan has increased since 2009. However, suicidal behavior has shown an overall decreasing trend since 1991. In 2015, 17.7%, 14.6%, and 8.6% of youth reported they “seriously considered attempting suicide”, “made a suicide plan”, and attempted suicide, respectively (Kann et al., 2016).

A second ubiquitous issue during adolescence—bullying—includes the following aspects: repeated harassment, a power differential between bully and victim, and the bully possessing an intent to harm the victim (Smith & Brain, 2000). Bullying includes different modes such as in person or electronic (Smith & Slonge, 2010) and includes different types such as physical, verbal, or relational abuse (Hoover, Oliver, & Hazler, 1992; van Geel et al., 2014). For ease of understanding this chapter, we use bullying and peer victimization interchangeably. When examining peer victimization prevalence rates roughly over the last decade, the rates have been relatively stable since 2009 (Kann et al., 2016). The 2015 Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance Survey found that 20.2% and 15.5% of high schoolers reported peer victimization at school and stated that they experienced electronic peer victimization in the past 12 months, respectively (Kann et al., 2016).

Given the ubiquitous nature of these two aforementioned problems during adolescence, it is logical that people began pairing them. Simply based on the information in the previous two paragraphs, it appears that there is something about 2009 that changed in both suicidality and bullying. Wayne (2013) argued that this change may be at least partially explained by how the U.S. news media has covered stories that involved both suicide and bullying. She posited that prior to 2008, when a story involved a youth suicide, the article did not mention bullying. However, after 2008, bullying became a standard explanation for any youth who committed suicide (Wayne, 2013). Now it appears common place for youth who commit suicide after being victims of peer victimization to receive an abundance of publicity (Marr & Field, 2001; Wayne, 2013). As much as media would like us to believe, and as hard as they push this agenda, empirical evidence alludes to a positive correlation between suicidality and bullying, not a causal relationship.

SUICIDALITY AND BULLYING

The body of research over the past two decades has established an association between suicidality and peer victimization (Barzilay et al., 2017). More specifically, peer victimization increased the risk of suicidal ideation by 2.23 times for every one unit increase of peer victimization, whereas peer victimization increased the risk of suicidal behavior by 2.55 times for every one unit increase of peer victimization (van Geel et al., 2014). These results are demonstrated for both children and adolescents, and for a variety of modes of peer victimization—bullying in school or via electronic methods. Now with that said, the type of peer victimization—physical compared to relational victimization—demonstrated differences with suicidality (Barzilay et al., 2017). Physical peer victimization increased the likelihood of suicidal ideation by 39%, whereas relational peer victimization increased suicidal behavior by 28% (Barzilay et al., 2017).

The pattern of these results suggests that the association between suicidality and peer victimization is significant and moderate in strength (Holt et al., 2015). However, it is not a one to one correlation. This means that it is not a causal relationship, as US media would like us to believe. The association appears to be best described as multifinality (Cicchetti & Toth, 1998)—in other words, not all those who experience peer victimization react with suicidality (Bonanno & Hymel, 2010).

BIOPSYCHOSOCIAL MODEL

One major limitation of the previous research on the association between suicidality and peer victimization consists of focusing on the basic association, and not investigating the fact that a greater percentage of youth do not react with suicidality as a way to cope with being victimized by their peers (Bonanno & Hymel, 2010). More specifically, Bonanno & Hymel (2010) found that suicidal ideation and peer victimization had a zero order correlation of .24. This focus on the basic association prevents a comprehensive view of what factors serve as risk and protective factors. Therefore, we may need a different way to understand the association between suicidality and bullying.

Considering the body of literature on the association between suicidality and peer victimization, we have opted to apply a biopsychosocial approach (Engel, 1977) to the fact that a substantial percentage of youth who experience peer victimization do not become suicidal. The biopsychosocial approach posits that to better understand human behaviors, we need to adopt a systemic view (Engel 1980)—one that incorporates biological, psychological and social factors of the behavior of interest. Biological factors include the biological vulnerability each of us of have for a certain behavior or mental illness, mostly due to our genetics or our biochemical make-up (Engel, 1977). Whereas psychological factors incorporate aspects of the person such as mood, personality, and behavior (Engel, 1977). Lastly, social factors include how an individual is impacted by cultural or familial aspects of their lives (Engel, 1977). By adopting a biopsychosocial approach, we can investigate how a variety of factors differentially predict those who are bullied and react with suicidality compared to those who do not in one sample.

Biological Factors

Sex

One of the most significant factors to consider when attempting to better understand suicide, is the individual's sex. It is well documented that females report more suicidal ideation and are more likely to attempt suicide, whereas males are more likely to successfully complete suicide (Kirkcaldy, Eysenck, & Siefen, 2004; Lewinsohn, Rohde, Seeley, & Baldwin, 2001).

When considering sex differences on prevalence rates of the broad conceptualization of peer victimization, the results are equivocal (Carlyle & Steinman, 2007). However, when the different types of peer victimization were considered, the results became more consistent—males were more likely to report physical and verbal peer victimization, whereas females reported higher levels of relational victimization (Barzilay et al., 2017).

When sex is investigated as a moderator for the association between suicide and bullying, again, the results are inconsistent—some previous studies have found that the risk of suicide to be higher for males who have been bullied (Laukkanen, Hintikka, Hintikka, & Lehtonen, 2005), whereas other studies demonstrate the risk of suicidality to be higher for females who have been bullied (Klomek, Sourander, & Gould., 2010). Finally, in an attempt to shed more light on these inconsistencies, Holt and colleagues (2015) investigated sex as a moderator in their meta-analysis and found that overall, sex did not moderate the association between suicidality and bullying. This pattern of results across multiple empirical articles may be inconsistent, but it appears that sex still needs to be included whenever the association between suicidality and peer victimization is investigated.

Cognitive Faculties

The next factor that may shed some light on differentiating the groups, deals with individuals' cognitive faculties—whether those are conceptualized as intelligence, cognitive deficits, or grade point average. For example, adolescents with lower grade point averages reported higher levels of suicidal ideation (Field, Miguel, & Sanders, 2001). Additionally, individuals with increased cognitive deficits were more likely to attempt suicide compared to individuals with fewer cognitive deficits (Huntington & Bender, 1993).

When investigating the impact of intelligence on peer victimization, Bowes and colleagues (2010) found that youth with lower intelligence possessed a lower likelihood of being both emotionally and behaviorally resilient to the effects of peer victimization. Additionally, youth who were bullied demonstrated lower grades and lower scores on standardized assessments of achievement (Nakamoto & Schwartz, 2009). Given these findings, we wanted to discover if cognitive faculties would act as differential predictor of those who are bullied and experience suicidality from those who are bullied and do not experience suicidality.

Psychological Factors

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem has a profound effect on a person's thoughts, feelings, and actions (Kernis, 1993; Trzesniewski, et al., 2006). The associations between both suicidality and peer victimization with self-esteem consistently shows the same direction—a negative one. In other words, those who experienced peer victimization reported lower self-esteem (O'Moore & Kirkham, 2001), and those who reported lower levels of self-esteem were more likely to report suicidal ideation (Wilburn & Smith, 2005). Wrapping our heads around the complete picture of these associations would suggest that self-esteem may mediate the association between suicidality and peer victimization. Therefore, this study will investigate the differential predictive ability of self-esteem between those who experience peer victimization and report suicidality compared to youth who experience peer victimization and do not report suicidality.

Depression

Depression is typically included in studies that explore suicidality (Field et al., 2001) because it is commonly believed that depression is a good warning sign of suicidality (Borowsky, Taliaferro, & McMorris, 2013). However, the association between suicidality and depression shows to be much more complex. Research typically shows that mild to moderate

levels of depression predict suicidal ideation, however, extreme levels of depression do not predict suicidal ideation (Field et al., 2001). This finding supports previous research and clinical intuition that individuals who are severely depressed are not at great risk for suicide. This is because they most likely lack the energy and motivation to engage in most everyday behaviors, let alone behaviors that entail taking their life (Auerbach, Millner, Stewart, & Esposito, 2015; Mittal, Brown, & Shorter, 2009).

When investigating the association between peer victimization and depression, the research supports a positive association for both immediate and delayed elevation (Stapinski, Araya, Heron, Montgomery, & Stallard, 2015). In other words, youth who experienced victimization reported higher levels of depression both immediately and later on.

Optimism

Optimism can be defined as a belief that the good will prevail in future outcomes (Scheier & Carver, 1985). Not a lot of research has been conducted on the relationship between optimism with neither suicide or bullying. Therefore, we have decided to include empirical support on a construct that is the opposite of optimism—hopelessness. The relationship between hopelessness and suicidality is so strong that hopelessness is typically viewed as a warning sign for suicide (Lester, McSwain, & Gunn, 2011). Empirical studies have demonstrated that individuals who attempted suicide reported higher levels of hopelessness compared to non-attempters (Morano, Cisler, & Lemerond, 1993). Somewhat surprisingly, research does not support a relationship between peer victimization and hopelessness (Siyahhan, Aricak, Cayirdag-Acar, 2012).

Social

In Joiner's Interpersonal Psychological Model of Suicide (Joiner, 2005), he posits that individuals become more suicidal when they lack interpersonal connections—a construct he coined as thwarted belongingness. This model was created with adults in mind, however, in recent years, researchers have tested whether this model also applies to adolescents (Jones, Schinka, van Dulmen, Bossarte, & Swahn, 2011).

Sense of School Belongingness

In Mata et al. (2012), the connection was made between suicidality and bullying, stating that bullying during adolescence characterizes thwarted belongingness. In that paper, they investigated the role of school belongingness on the relationship between participation in extracurricular activities and suicidality. They found that, generally, youth who participated in extracurricular activities demonstrated lower levels of suicidality through their increased connection to school (Mata, et al., 2012). Therefore, a sense of connection to the school was important for suicidality. However, we want to investigate what other social relationships during adolescence are important in reducing the connection between suicidality and bullying.

Closeness to Parents

Building off of this previous work, adolescents who reported better relationships and closeness with their parents also reported lower levels of suicidality (Field et al., 2001; Kandel, Raveis, & Davies, 1991). Similarly, adolescents who reported that their parents were not readily

involved in their lives were also more likely to be bullied compared to adolescents with parents who were more involved in their lives (Flouri & Buchanan, 2003).

Closeness to Friends

Parents continue to play a role in their adolescents' lives. However, we would be remised to solely focus on parents instead of friends. We know that throughout adolescence, adolescents become more influenced by their friends compared to their parents (Brown, Lohr, & McClenahan, 1986). Participants who were classified into a suicidal ideation group reported significantly fewer friends, worse peer relations, and were less popular compared to adolescent participants who were not classified in the suicidal ideation group (Field et al., 2001). Throughout adolescence, Borowsky et al. (2013) reported that perceived caring by friends was a protective factor across those who were victims of bullying. Additionally, victims of peer victimization typically showed lower peer acceptance compared to their peers who had not experienced peer victimization (Borowsky et al., 2013).

CURRENT STUDY

The goal of this study is to better understand what factors differentiate youth who are bullied and experience suicidality from those who are bullied and do not experience suicidality. Utilizing a biopsychosocial model, we plan to investigate if sex, cognitive faculties, self-esteem, depression, optimism, sense of school belongingness, and closeness to mother, father and friends differentiate these two groups of youth. It is our hope that the findings from this study will inform intervention programming to address the association between suicidality and peer victimization.

METHODS

Participants

This study used data from Wave I of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health; Bearman, Jones, & Udry, 1997). An in-school questionnaire was distributed to more than 20,000 students from 132 schools during the 1994-1995 school year. We limited the sample to include only those participants who reported experiencing some form of physical peer victimization in the past 12 months and those who had data on all of the study variables. Through a screening of suicidality and victimization, the sample size of 2,386 students from grades 7 through 12 was created. The sample consisted of more males (73%) than females (27%). The average age of the participants in the current sample was 16.29. The distribution of ethnicity in our sample was 46.8% White, 17.8% Black, 10.2% Hispanic, 6.9% Asian, and 17.7% Other.

Measures

Suicidality. We operationalized suicidality as suicidal ideation and suicidal behavior. Suicidal ideation was measured with one dichotomous item, inquiring whether the participant had seriously thought about committing suicide during the past 12 months. Suicidal behavior was measured using a five-point scale (0 times, 1 time, 2 or 3 times, 4 or 5 times, 6 or more times), but we dichotomized it (no reported suicidal behavior = 0, 1 time = 1) for the present study due to the low frequency of the higher responses (Kaminski & Fang, 2009). In our sample, 20% of the adolescents experienced suicidal ideation and 7.1% reported at least one incident of suicidal behavior in the past 12 months.

Peer Victimization. The peer victimization variable was constructed using four items: the participant had experienced a knife or a gun being pulled on him/her, someone shooting him/her, someone cutting or stabbing him/her, or being jumped (Kaminski & Fang, 2009). For these four items, the participants identified from a range of never (0) to more than once (2) that each of these events occurred in the past 12 months. The vast majority of our sample (63.2%) solely experienced one of these items, followed by 25.8%, 9.4%, and 1.6% of our sample reporting that they experienced two, three, or four of these physical peer victimization items in the past 12 months, respectively. Similar to the suicidal behavior items, we dichotomized the participants' responses to distinguish if the participant had reported being physically victimized by their peers or not.

Based on participants responses from the two suicidalities and the peer victimization items, we created four groups: those who were bullied and did not experience suicidal ideation ($N = 1908$; 80%), those who were bullied and experienced suicidal ideation ($N = 478$; 20%), those who were bullied and did not attempt suicide ($N = 2216$; 93%), and those who were bullied and attempted suicide ($N = 170$; 7%).

Biological Factors

Grade Point Average

For this study, grade point average (GPA) serves as an assessment/ proxy for the participants' cognitive faculties. The participants reported during their last school year, whether they earned an A, B, C, or a D or lower in the following subjects: English/Language Arts, Mathematics, History/Social Science, and Science. We recoded the four items so that higher scores on these four items were indicative of earning the more desirable grades (e.g., A's). The four items were averaged ($\alpha = .69$) and the mean GPA score for our sample was 2.51 ($SD = .76$).

Psychological Factors

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem was measured using five items: one believing he/she had a lot of good qualities, he/she had a lot to be proud of, he/she liked himself/herself just the way he/she was, he/she felt he/she was doing everything just about right, and he/she felt socially accepted. Participants reported on a five-point Likert scale whether or not they strongly agreed (1) or

strongly disagreed (5) with these five items. We opted to recode these five items so that higher scores on these five items represented more positive views of oneself. These five items were averaged ($\alpha = .80$) and the mean self-esteem score for our sample was 4.02 (SD = .62).

Depression

Depression was measured with 15 items: he/she had been bothered by things, had poor appetite, had the blues, felt he/she was just as good as other people, had trouble focusing, felt depressed, felt too tired, hopeful about the future, felt that life was a failure, felt fearful, felt happy, talked less, felt lonely, sensed people were unfriendly, and enjoy life. Participants reported on a four-point Likert scale whether or not they never/rarely (0) or most/all of the time (3) experienced these 15 items. We opted to recode four items (felt he/she was not as good as other people, hopeful about the future, felt happy, enjoy life) due to them being reversed coded in the original data collection. For these the 11 normally coded and four recoded items, higher scores suggest higher levels of depression. The 11 normally coded and four recoded items were averaged ($\alpha = .82$) and the mean depression score for our sample was .73 (SD = .42).

Optimism

Optimism was measured by four items: likelihood of whether he/she would live to age 35, if they would be married by age 25, if they would be killed by age 21, and if he/she will get HIV/AIDS. Participants chose using a five-point Likert scale the likelihood that these events would occur from almost no chance (1) to almost certain (5). We recoded two items (chances killed by age 21, chances get HIV/AIDS) so that higher scores on the items indicated a more positive outlook on their life. The two originally coded and two recoded items were averaged ($\alpha = .44$) and the mean optimism score for the sample was 3.99 (SD = .58).

Social Factors

Sense of School Belongingness

Closeness to school was measured utilizing three items: whether one felt close to people at his/her school, felt like he/she were a part of his/her school, and he/she was happy to be at school. These three items were measured on a five-point Likert scale in which the adolescent could indicate the degree to which they agreed (1 = strongly agree) or disagreed (5 strongly disagreed) with each of the statements. We recoded these three items so that higher scores on them indicated higher levels of closeness to school and then averaged the three recoded items ($\alpha = .76$). The mean score of closeness to school was 3.55 (SD = .92).

Closeness to Mother and Father

Closeness to mother and father was measured using the same five questions but separate items for mother and father: mother/father was warm and loving, if he/she was satisfied with how they communicate, and if he/she was satisfied overall with the relationship to the mother/father, how close he/she felt to your mother/father, how much did he/she think the mother/father cared about him/her. For the first three listed questions, participants reported on a five-point Likert scale whether they strongly agreed (1) or strongly disagreed (5). We recoded these three items (mother/father was warm and loving, if he/she was satisfied with how they communicate, and if he/she was satisfied overall with the relationship to the mother/father) so

that higher scores reflected higher levels of closeness with the respective parent. For the latter two questions, participants were asked on a five-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = very much) whether they were close to their respective parent and whether they believed the respective parent cared about them. We averaged the three recoded questions and the two originally coded items for mothers ($\alpha = .83$) and fathers ($\alpha = .88$) separately. The mean score of closeness to mother was 4.33 (SD = .66) whereas the mean score of closeness to father was 4.09 (SD = .82).

Closeness to Friends

Closeness to friends was measured with one item: how much one felt his/her friends cared about him/her. The participants used a five-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = very much) for this item, where higher scores indicated higher levels of closeness to friends. The mean score of closeness to friends was 4.14 (SD = .82).

RESULTS

Biological Factors

Sex

Chi-square analyses indicated a statistically significant association between biological sex and both suicide ideation ($X^2(1) = 64.588, p < .001$) and suicide attempt ($X^2(1) = 62.29, p < .001$). Of those who were bullied and engaged in suicidal ideation, 30.9% were females while 16.0% were females. Of those who were bullied and attempted suicide, 14.0% were females while 4.6% were males. In other words, these results suggest that females are 2.33 and 3.38 times more likely to engage in suicidal ideation and attempt suicide as a result of being bullied compared to males, respectively.

Grade Point Average

A statistically significant difference on GPA was revealed between individuals who attempted suicide and those who did not ($t_{2384} = 2.26, p < .05$). Those who attempted suicide earned a lower GPA ($M = 2.38, SD = .81$) compared to those who did not attempt suicide ($M = 2.52, SD = .77$).

Psychological Factors

Self-Esteem

An independent samples t-test found a statistically significant difference in self-esteem scores between participants who engaged in suicidal ideation and those who did not ($t_{660.48} = 11.55, p < .001$). Those who did not engage in suicidal ideation ($M = 4.1, SD = .58$) reported higher self-esteem compared to those who did ($M = 3.7, SD = .68$). A statistically significant difference in self-esteem scores was also shown between those who attempted suicide and those who did not ($t_{183.98} = 7.67, p < .001$). Those who did not attempt suicide demonstrated higher self-esteem ($M = 4.06, SD = .59$) compared to those who did ($M = 3.58, SD = .79$).

Depression

Depression scores were statistically significantly different between those who engaged in suicidal ideation and those who did not ($t_{624.67} = -15.87, p < .001$). Those who engaged in suicidal ideation reported higher depression scores ($M = 1.03, SD = .48$) compared to those who did not ($M = .65, SD = .37$). Similarly, there was a statistically significant difference in depression scores between those who attempted suicide and those who did not ($t_{185.33} = -11.76, p < .001$). Individuals who attempted suicide reported higher depression scores ($M = 1.16, SD = .51$) compared to those who did not attempt suicide ($M = .69, SD = .38$).

Optimism

Those who engaged in suicidal ideation had statistically significantly different optimism scores compared to those who did not ($t_{690.33} = 5.84, p < .001$). Participants who engaged in suicidal ideation exhibited less optimism ($M = 3.85, SD = .62$) compared to those who did not ($M = 4.03, SD = .57$). Similarly, there was a statistically significant difference in optimism between those who attempted suicide and those who did not ($t_{190.71} = 4.80, p < .001$). Those who attempted suicide also showed less optimism ($M = 3.77, SD = .64$) compared to those who did not ($M = 4.01, SD = .58$).

Social Factors***Sense of School Belongingness***

There was a statistically significant difference in school belongingness between those who engaged in suicidal ideation and those who did not ($t_{666.28} = 5.43, p < .001$). Those who engaged in suicidal ideation reported less feelings of school belongingness ($M = 3.33, SD = 1.02$) compared to those who did not ($M = 3.60, SD = .88$). Additionally, there was also a statistically significant difference in school belongingness scores between those who attempted suicide and those who did not ($t_{186.93} = 4.44, p < .001$). Those who attempted suicide reported less school belongingness ($M = 3.19, SD = 1.09$) compared to those who did not attempt suicide ($M = 3.58, SD = .90$).

Closeness to Mother

There was a statistically significant difference between those who engaged in suicidal ideation and those who did not regarding closeness to their mother ($t_{641.60} = 8.70, p < .001$). Those who engaged in suicidal ideation reported lower scores ($M = 4.07, SD = .76$) compared to those who did not engage in suicidal ideation ($M = 4.40, SD = .62$). There was also a statistically significant difference regarding closeness to their mother between those who attempted suicide and those who did not ($t_{187.53} = 5.86, p < .001$). Those who attempted suicide demonstrated lower scores ($M = 4.00, SD = .77$) than those who did not attempt suicide ($M = 4.36, SD = .65$).

Closeness to Father

Levels of closeness to one's father were statistically significantly different between those who engaged in suicidal ideation and those who did not ($t_{641.58} = 9.01, p < .001$). Those who

engaged in suicidal ideation reported lower scores ($M = 3.76$, $SD = .94$) compared to those who did not ($M = 4.18$, $SD = .76$). Similarly, there was a significant difference regarding closeness to their father between those who attempted suicide and those who did not ($t_{187.52} = 4.63$, $p < .001$). Those who attempted suicide showed lower scores ($M = 3.77$, $SD = .95$) compared to those who did not ($M = 4.12$, $SD = .80$).

Closeness to Friends

Regarding closeness to friends, there were no statistically significant differences between those who engaged in suicidal ideation compared to those who did not ($t_{697.25} = -.42$, $p = .691$), or between those who attempted suicide compared to those who did not ($t_{187.57} = -.75$, $p = .45$).

DISCUSSION

This was the first investigation, at least to our knowledge, that applied the biopsychosocial model to investigate the differential predictors of youth who are victimized by their peers and react with suicidality compared to youth who are victimized by their peers and do not respond with suicidality. The pattern of our results suggests that biological, psychological, and social factors differentiate these two groups.

In regards to sex, the results show the direction we expected for suicidality, given the previous research demonstrating that females are more likely to think about killing themselves and attempt suicide, whereas males are more likely to complete suicide (Kirkcaldy et al., 2004; Lewinsohn et al., 2001). The pattern of findings from the current study support findings from Klomek and colleagues (2010), in that females appear to be more impacted by bullying compared to males. Females were found to be 2.33 and 3.38 times more likely to react to bullying with a form of suicidality, compared to males. This suggestion makes inherent sense, given that bullying is very much a behavior that falls in the realm of relatedness—and we know that females are socialized to be more interpersonal (Sanathara, Gardner, Prescott, & Kendler, 2003). Therefore, if females are victimized by their peers they may take it harder compared to their male counterparts, and react with suicidality. McBride and Bagby (2006) made a similar argument to help explain why females are more prone to depression—they argued that because females are more interpersonal, they are more vulnerable to depression. In this current study, sex differentially predicted which adolescents exhibited suicidality due to experiencing peer victimization—females. In other words, being female statistically significantly increased the likelihood that a youth would experience suicidality as a result of being victimized by their peers.

The second biological factor that differentiated the two groups—cognitive faculties—demonstrated an interesting pattern. Grade point average differentially predicted when suicidal behavior was the outcome variable, but not when suicidal ideation was the outcome variable. Therefore, this finding suggests that cognitive faculties may mean more for suicidal behavior compared to suicidal ideation. People with higher cognitive faculties may experience suicidal ideation at the same rate as youth with lower cognitive faculties, however, youth with higher cognitive faculties may not leap to the level of suicidal behavior because they may be able to contemplate alternative options. This finding may be explained in that youth who have the ability to consider other options do not experience the high levels of hopelessness as a reaction

to being victimized by their peers. They may have the ability to engage in a cognitive coping skill such as reattribution—in that they consider that maybe their peer is victimizing them because of something external to themselves and internal to the bully.

All three psychological factors differentially predicted the two groups of youth who experienced suicidality as a result of being victimized by their peers. In other words, those who function better psychologically—have higher levels of self-esteem, lower levels of depression, and higher levels of optimism—are less likely to engage in suicidality in reaction to being victimized by their peers. These three psychological factors may serve as proxies for coping skills that the individual youth possess. It very well may be that the youth who function better psychologically may have more coping skills, and it is these coping skills that allow the majority of youth not to react with suicidality as a result of peer victimization.

Considering the social factors in our model, the pattern of results with the exception of the statistically non-significant results for closeness to friends, provides further support for Joiner's Interpersonal Psychological Model of Suicide (Joiner, 2005) and, more specifically, the construct of thwarted belongingness. A sense of being close to their mother and/or father and a belonging at their high school seems to be a strong protective factor against suicidality for youth who have been bullied. These three constructs further support previous findings that feeling like belonging (Mata et al., 2012) and having attachments (Borowsky et al., 2013; Fields et al., 2001) makes youth less likely to respond with suicidality when bullied.

The one interesting non-statistically significant finding in the realm of social factors was that closeness to friends did not differentially predict the different groups. One explanation for this null finding is how we measured closeness to friends—solely with one item. However, Borowsky and colleagues (2013) found that closeness to friends, using the exact item that we used, was statistically significantly associated with a reduction in suicidality for youth who have been bullied. The major difference between this study and Borowsky and colleagues' (2013) study was not only the sample, but the way they conceptualized suicidality—they combined suicidal ideation and suicidal behavior into one outcome variable. However, separating suicidality into suicidal ideation and suicidal behavior remains important in research, given that the majority of research demonstrates that different results occur when using these two as the main outcomes (van Geel et al., 2014).

Our findings further provide evidence that US news media has exaggerated the association between suicidality and peer victimization. In our sample, which was made up solely of individuals who had been victimized by their peers, a mere 7% reacted to this victimization with suicidal behavior. Even when considering the more prevalent suicidality outcome variable, suicidal ideation, only 20% of our sample reported suicidal ideation in response to being victimized by their peers. Putting these numbers into practical use, simply means that based off of statistics, only 1 in 5 children who are bullied will report experiencing suicidal ideation, and the odds are even smaller for youth who experience suicidal behavior in response to being victimized by peers.

Based on this pattern of results, it appears that experiencing peer victimization is a stressful life event—and those who have more developed coping skills and are socially connected are less likely to react with suicidality. Therefore, it appears that if society would like to further reduce the number of youth who react with suicidality after being victimized by their peers from 20% for suicidal ideation and 7% for suicidal behavior, then we need to adopt and implement intervention programs that would provide our youth with more coping skills. This suggestion corresponds nicely with recent empirical findings demonstrating that the generation

that is currently enrolled in college possess significantly fewer coping skills compared to previous generations (Chew & Thompson, 2014; Wilson, 2015).

The future directions of this study include searching for or developing a program that focuses on aiding youth in the development of coping skills, in an attempt to reduce suicidality in response to bullying. We argue that society should take a more individual route when it comes to intervention, in addition to or in replacement of anti-bullying programming. We take this stance for multiple reasons. First, a meta-analysis reviewed high quality anti-bullying programming that was based on empirical evidence, and found that these types of programs reduced bullying by 20 to 23% (Ttofi & Farrington, 2009). We acknowledge that this is a wonderful reduction. However, we are cognizant of the fact that the meta-analysis solely included programs that were high quality and empirically based (Ttofi & Farrington, 2009). Therefore, not all, and probably not the majority, of anti-bullying programming that is implemented across the nation in high schools consists of one of these high quality and empirical supported programs.

The second reason we are taking this stance of focusing more on helping youth develop coping skills to address the issue of bullying placing some of our youth at risk for suicidality, is that as previously mentioned, youth desperately need more coping skills (Chew & Thompson, 2014; Wilson, 2015). Implementing a program that focused on all youth developing coping skills would not only address the association between suicidality and bullying, but it could also significantly reduce the sheer number of youth being diagnosed with psychological disorders. Comparatively, anti-bullying programs are much more specific in the behaviors they are targeting and hence, students may not generalize the gained knowledge and skills from these programs to their everyday lives.

Given that it appears that bullying is considered a stressful life event, developers of this program would be well-advised to dive into the Clinical Health Psychology literature on how to develop coping skills to address stressful life events. Based on our findings, we believe that a program that would help increase reattribution skills, self-esteem, optimism and social bonds, and decrease depression would be a good start.

Like all other studies, this study is not without limitations. The primary limitation of this study is that we used secondary data analysis and therefore, we were restricted by the questions that were asked. This might have most notably been an issue with how we constructed the closeness to friends construct—solely with one item. Had we collected our own data, we would have measured closeness to friends with multiple items, possibly including a measure on friendship quality.

Additionally, we did not utilize the longitudinal nature of Add Health. We simply looked at how these variables were associated with each other when investigating the different constructs over the past 12 months. Therefore, we do not know whether suicidality is driving these associations, or whether the biopsychosocial factors or bullying is driving the associations. This will need to be teased apart in future studies.

The third limitation of the current study consists of when the Add Health data was collected, considering the importance of 2008 and 2009 for the suicide and bullying association. The Add Health team collected the utilized data in 1994 and 1995—this is a full decade prior to when the connection between suicidality and bullying was first introduced. The findings may not be replicated if a study utilized data from a more recent time period. However, this study can serve as a jumping-off point for use to collect more recent data.

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Chapter 123

MODELING BULLYING PROPAGATION IN GREECE

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ABSTRACT

Bullying can be defined as an unwanted, aggressive behavior among school aged children that involves a real or perceived power imbalance. The behavior is repeated, or has the potential to be repeated, over time. Both kids who is bullied and who bullies others may have serious, lasting problems. The aim of this chapter is to forecast and quantify the propagation of bullying in the Greek school population aged [12, 18] during the period July 2015- January 2020. Finally, the results obtained are compared with the situation in Spain.

Keywords: bullying, Greece, propagation, forecast, victim, aggressor, outsider, defender

INTRODUCTION

Bullying is a social phenomenon in a universal range. A large number of studies conducted in different countries indicate that bullying at school occurs all over the world and is not confined to any geographical region, socioeconomic or cultural group. The involvement in bullying and victimization can affect on children concerning their psychology, behavior, emotions, academic career, and social consequences, as well as their mental and physical health, [1].

Literature shows scarce researchers trying to analyze this phenomenon in Greece. According to a recent research about bullying behavior in Greek schools [2], approximately one in five students is involved in incidents related to bullying at least once a month. The

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percentage decreases to four students in one hundred, referring to a weekly basis of involvement.

Moreover, it has been observed a strong cross-sectional association between frequent victimization and suicidal ideation in late adolescence [3]. Victims of bullying behavior, especially those who were bullied on a weekly basis, were apt to express suicidal ideation. On the other hand, the perpetrators were not as much sensitive to express similar behavior as the aforementioned team.

A recent research in 2016 [4] provides a quantitative and qualitative aspect on bullying propagation in Greek schools, taking into consideration the family's socioeconomic situation, the reason of the victimization, the gender of the participants, and their feelings and reactions on these occasions. Also, the reaction of the teachers is necessary because the students come to them for mentioning bullying behaviors and policies to deal with this phenomenon. According to the results obtained, approximately one in three students has become a victim and, likewise, a perpetrator during the years of education. As far as the gender, males participate more often in bullying in comparison with females. Moreover, only two in ten students choose to express their feelings and mention possible events to their teachers. On the contrary, they prefer to talk to their parents, friends or not at all. Finally, but importantly, the results show that the main reason for victimization is the ancestry of the victim. This fact is highly important if someone considers the present situation of the country (financial-economic crisis; immigration from Middle East countries; Greek emigration; etc.).

This chapter focuses on applying a population dynamics model [5] to forecast the propagation of bullying in a Greek school population aged (12, 18) over the period from July 2015 to January 2020, by taking into account qualitative and quantitative factors. Additionally, one of the main aims of this chapter is to provide a comparison between the number of victims in Greek schools and the number of victims in Spanish schools over the same period of study following [5]. Following [5], we replicate the same model for the particular case of Greece. Thus, we present the study population; then, the transition coefficients are modelled and the mathematical model applied is shown. Afterwards, results are presented and a sensitivity analysis is performed. To conclude the study, the bullying propagation in Greece is compared with the situation in Spain and conclusions are detailed.

STUDY POPULATION

The target study (S) population embraces all Greek schoolchildren whose ages fall within the interval (12, 18) during the study period, which went from July 2015 to January 2020.

The first hypothesis of the model construction consists in splitting the population into five categories, as in [5-7], and by paying attention to the active, passive or neutral role adopted by students in the event of bullying:

- Victims (V)
- Defenders (D)
- Outsiders (O)
- Cooperators (C)
- Aggressors (A)

The study period from July 2015 to July 2020 was split into semesters, where $n = 0$ is the initial study time and corresponds to July 2015.

The vector of subpopulations (1) represents the amounts of subpopulations after n semesters.

$$X(n) = [V(n), D(n), O(n), C(n), A(n)]^T \quad (1)$$

Then the study population (S) quantifies the total of subpopulations at the beginning of our study period (July 2015).

Thus $S(0) = 723,404$ is the population aged (12,18) in July 2015 in Greece, [8]. Next, we obtained the initial subpopulations in July 2015 by collecting and managing data from [4]. Below we provide the numbers of scholars and the percentage that each subpopulation represents:

- $V(0) = 261,149$, victims represent 36.1% of $S(0)$
- $D(0) = 44,489$, defenders represent 6.15% of $S(0)$
- $O(0) = 116,034$, outsiders represent 16.04% of $S(0)$
- $C(0) = 67,494$, cooperators represent 9.33% of $S(0)$
- $A(0) = 234,238$, aggressors represent 32.38% of $S(0)$

Following [5] both $V(n)$ and $A(n)$ are cumulative categories that grow continuously during the study period because the condition of being a victim or aggressor remained with time. This implies that those who became victims in the first semester (July 2015) would still be considered victims in July 2020, $V(10)$.

MODELING TRANSITION COEFFICIENTS

In this section we explain very briefly the transit coefficients. Since this study is an application of the model proposed by [5].

Thus, we assumed that the net balance of the demographic change was equally distributed according to the initial proportions of each subpopulation at the initial time, $n = 0$, which corresponded to July 2015. We denote the demographic net balance by the notation*. This coefficient was assumed constant for the study period.

We denoted the vector of the net demographic balance by:

$$P^* = [V^*, D^*, O^*, C^*, A^*]^T \quad (2)$$

The net demographic balance provides an amount of incomers, expressed as follows following [5]:

$$P^* = \begin{bmatrix} V^* \\ D^* \\ O^* \\ C^* \\ A^* \end{bmatrix} = \frac{(Z-H)}{2} \cdot r = \frac{(Z-H)}{2} \cdot \begin{bmatrix} 0.361 \\ 0.0615 \\ 0.1604 \\ 0.0933 \\ 0.3238 \end{bmatrix} \quad (3)$$

where $Z=107,661$ represents the new incomers into the system; $H=115,074$ is the sum of those who left the system as they had reached the age of 19, along with the annual rate of mortality and the net migration amount, [8].

Then r is the vector that contains the original proportion of each subpopulation.

Following [5], the coefficients $\beta(DV)$, $\beta(OV)$, $\beta(OD)$, $\beta(CO)$, $\alpha(DO)$ were assumed constant for the study period. (see Table 2).

On the contrary, the coefficients $\alpha_n(OC)$ and $\alpha_n(CA)$ are depending on the rate of unemployment in Greece, so they were computed as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}\alpha_n(OC) &= 0.06 - \frac{1}{2} \cdot 0.01 \cdot dn \\ \alpha_n(CA) &= 0.05 - \frac{1}{2} \cdot 0.01 \cdot dn\end{aligned}\quad (4)$$

where dn is the employ recovery rate per semester.

Table 1. The Greek unemployment rates for the period 2016-2020

Year	Unemployment rate (%)
01/2016	24.3
07/2016	23.3
01/2017	23.2
07/2017	22.2
01/2018	21.7
07/2018	21.3
01/2019	20.9
07/2019	20.5
01/2020	20.1
07/2020	19.8

Source: OECD, Hellenic Statistical Authority and tradingeconomics.com.

Mathematical Model and Simulations

The mathematical formulation of the model is as expressed as follows according to [5]:

$$\begin{aligned}V(n+1) &= V(n) + \beta(DV) \cdot D(n) + \beta(OV) \cdot O(n) + V^* \\ D(n+1) &= \beta(OD) \cdot O(n) + (1 - \beta(DV) - \alpha(DO)) \cdot D(n) + D^* \\ O(n+1) &= \alpha(DO) \cdot D(n) + \beta(CO) \cdot C(n) + (1 - \beta(OV) - \beta(OD) - \alpha_n(OC)) \cdot O(n) + O^* \\ C(n+1) &= \alpha_n(OC) \cdot O(n) + (1 - \beta(CO) - \alpha_n(CA)) \cdot C(n) + C^* \\ A(n+1) &= A(n) + \alpha_n(CA) \cdot C(n) + A^*\end{aligned}\quad (5)$$

Then by computing the difference system of model equations and subpopulations $V(n)$, $D(n)$, $O(n)$, $C(n)$ and $A(n)$ for each semester, we forecasted the subpopulations expected at the end of semester n and, in particular, at the end of the study period (July 2020).

RESULTS

In this section we firstly show each subpopulation size according to the assumed hypotheses (see Table 4), along with the relative proportion of each subpopulation at the initial time, $n = 0$ and $n = 10$ (see Table 3).

As the category of victims and aggressors was cumulative, we considered interesting to estimate the semester variation of both categories (see Table 5). The increase in victims was higher than 1% per semester. This observation indicated that measures should be implemented to break this pattern.

Table 2. The transition coefficients of the subpopulations

	$\beta(DV)$	$\beta(OV)$	$\beta(OD)$	$\beta(CO)$	$\alpha(DO)$	$\alpha_n(OC)$	$\alpha_n(CA)$
Jan 2016	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.125	0.2	0.0565	0.0465
July 2016	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.125	0.2	0.055	0.045
Jan 2017	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.125	0.2	0.0595	0.0495
July 2017	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.125	0.2	0.055	0.045
Jan 2018	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.125	0.2	0.0575	0.0475
July 2018	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.125	0.2	0.058	0.048
Jan 2019	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.125	0.2	0.058	0.048
July 2019	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.125	0.2	0.058	0.048
Jan 2020	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.125	0.2	0.058	0.048
July 2020	0.06	0.02	0.08	0.125	0.2	0.0585	0.0485

Source: Own performance.

Table 3. Subpopulations expressed as percentage

	V (%)	D (%)	O (%)	C (%)	A (%)
July 2015 ($n = 0$)	36.1%	6.15%	16.04%	9.33%	32.38%
July 2020 ($n = 10$)	42.33%	4.29%	12.2%	5.30%	35.83%

Source: Own performance.

Table 4. The forecasted subpopulations per semester

July 2015	261,149	44,489	116,034	67,494	234,238
Jan 2016	264,801	41,977	114,615	62,129	236,176
July 2016	268,274	40,004	112,416	57,525	237,772
Jan 2017	271,584	38,368	109,083	53,829	239,161
July 2017	274,730	36,891	105,983	50,332	240,383
Jan 2018	277,725	35,550	102,366	47,398	241,574
July 2018	280,567	34,268	98,632	44,789	242,649
Jan 2019	283,258	33,021	94,906	42,416	243,599
July 2019	285,799	31,800	91,222	40,237	244,435
Jan 2020	288,193	30,602	87,604	38,221	245,166
July 2020	290,443	29,425	84,022	36,369	245,820

Source: Own performance.

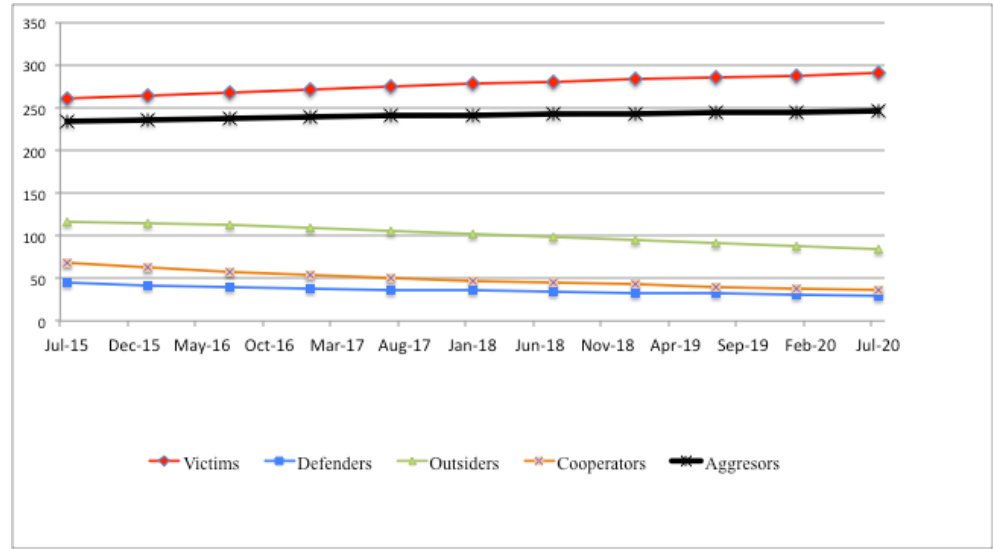
Sensitivity Analysis

The transit coefficient $\beta(DV)$ was built based on the hypotheses of the random meetings occurring between defenders and victims according to [5]. Then, it was assumed a probability about 0.1 due to the approximate amount of victims (36.1%) obtained from the data at the beginning of the study (July 2015). However due to the uncertainty about the value adopted by the parameter, a sensitivity analysis was performed by changing this probability.

Table 5. Forecast growth of victims and aggressors per semester for the period 2016-2020

	$V(n + 1) - V(n)$	$A(n + 1) - A(n)$
n = 1 (January 2016)	3,652	1,938
n = 2 (July 2016)	3,473	1,596
n = 3 (January 2017)	3,310	1,389
n = 4 (July 2017)	3,146	1,222
n = 5 (January 2018)	2,995	1,191
n = 6 (July 2018)	2,842	1,075
n = 7 (January 2019)	2,691	950
n = 8 (July 2019)	2,541	836
n = 9 (Janurary 2020)	2,394	731
n = 10 (July 2020)	2,250	654

Source: Own performance.



Source: Own performance.

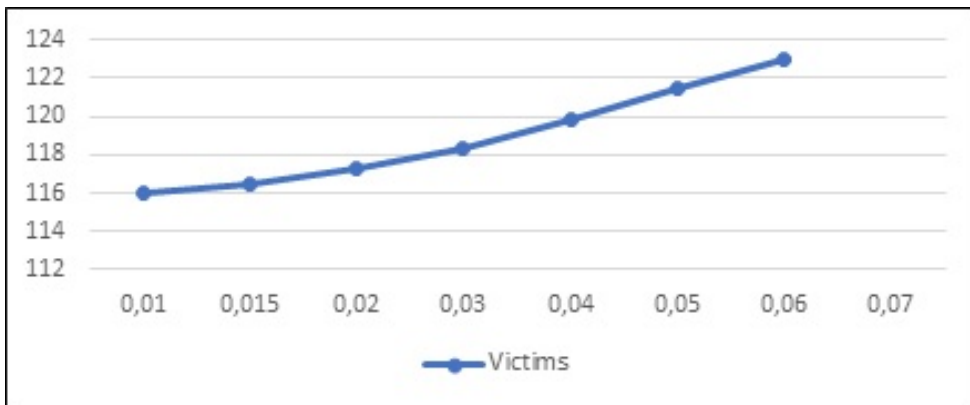
Figure 1. Trend of the subpopulations for the study period (×10000).

Table 6. Sensitivity analysis $\beta(DV)$

	V (%)	D (%)	O (%)	C (%)	A (%)
$\beta(DV) = 0.06$	42.33	4.29	12.25	5.30	35.83
$\beta(DV) = 0.03$	40.74	5.01	12.95	5.39	35.91
$\beta(DV) = 0.015$	40.09	5.42	13.18	5.44	35.87

Source: Own performance.

As the results in Table 6 show, when the $\beta(DV)$ value doubles, the percentage of victims grows. Figure 2 draws the amount of victims' trend when modifying the $\beta(DV)$ value at $n = 10$ (July 2020).



Source: Own performance.

Figure 2. Sensitivity analysis of the victim subpopulations to the $\beta(DV)$ values at $n = 10$ ($\times 1000$).

Comparison between Greece and Spain

Following, we compared the subpopulations of victims and aggressors of Greek and Spanish [3] populations (table 7 and 8). As we can observe, at the beginning of the research ($n = 0$) (see Table 7), there was a great difference between the two countries according to the number of victims and aggressors. More extensively, the difference of number of the victims is 26.8% and of the number of the aggressors is 22.48% .

As time goes by, the amount of the populations of each country are getting closer. Specifically, at the end of the research ($n = 10$) (see Table 8), the difference of number of the victims is 17.74% and of the number of the aggressors is 14.54% Figure 3 and 4 draw both populations in Spain and Greece during the study period.

Table 7. Populations of victims and aggressors share, expressed as a percentage at the beginning of the research ($n = 0$)

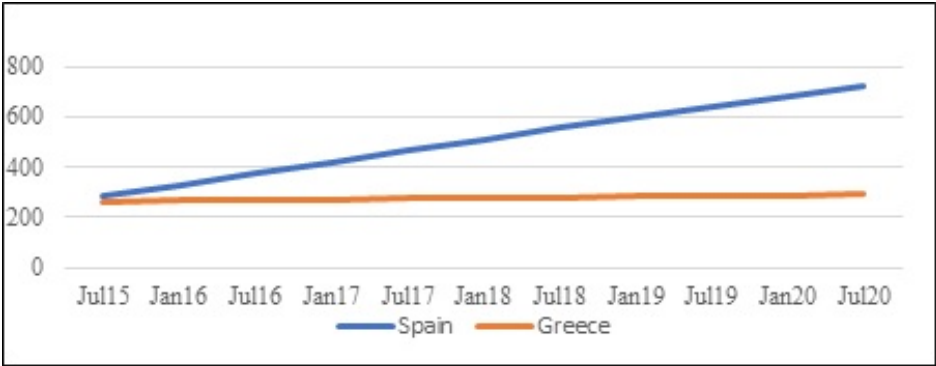
	Victims	Aggressors
Spain	9.30%	9.90%
Greece	36.1%	32.38%

Source: Own performance.

Table 8. Populations of victims and aggressors share, expressed as a percentage at the end of the research (n = 10)

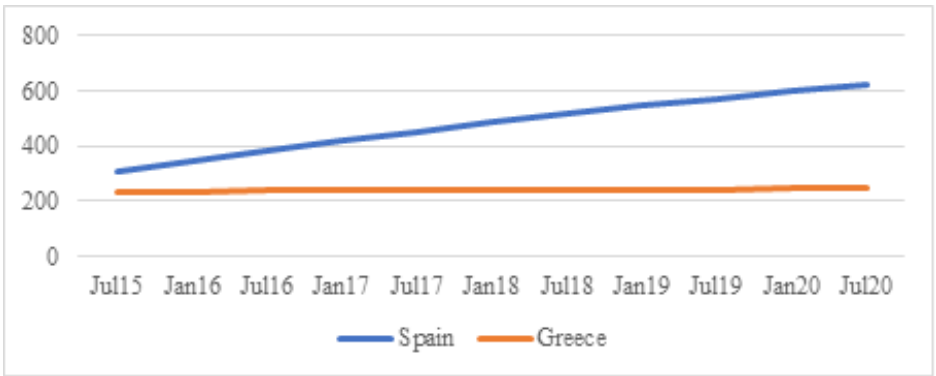
	Victims	Aggressors
Spain	24.59%	21.29%
Greece	42.33%	35.83%

Source: Own performance.



Source: Own performance.

Figure 3. Trend of the victim population of each country (x1000).



Source: Own performance.

Figure 4. Trend of the aggressors subpopulations of each country (x1000).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we applied a dynamic population model developed by [5] that reckons with sociological factors, such as demography, economy, culture, consumption of drugs, alcohol and social contagion. The proposed model quantifies the amount of victims and aggressors of school bullying in Greece by assuming that the policy does not change over a short study period.

During this research, we follow two assumptions: at first, the victims and aggressors categories are cumulative. Furthermore, there is no recovery about the category of aggressors. They can potentially express themselves in other violent ways, for example, against their partners or the members of their families.

We quantified the measure of this phenomenon in Greece and according to the results, the trend of the victims, as much the aggressors, are quite high. That means that the victimization of a child in the school area is much more common than we may think. Society as a whole needs to pay attention to this phenomenon. Initially, the government must apply the appropriate measurements in schools. Moreover, the teachers should remain watchful for possible cases and, finally, the family members have to listen to and take care of their children.

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Chapter 124

ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS OF BULLYING IN SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

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COUNTRY CONTEXT

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) is a federated high income country, covering approximately 83,000 square kilometres with just over 9.1 million people.¹ The UAE became a Federal State in 1971, and it comprises 7 Emirates: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Ajman, Al-Fujairah, Sharjah, Umm Al-Quwain, and Ras Al-Khaimah. The three largest Emirates *Abu Dhabi, Dubai, and Sharjah* - are home to nearly 85% of the population. All seven Emirates have a large degree of independence and substantial spending on health, education, and social protection programmes.² For 2015, the UAE has a human development index (HDI) value of 0.840, placing it in the very high human development category with a rank of 42 out of 188 countries and territories.³ Basic provisions for the rights of children in the areas of health, education, and child protection are provided under Federal Law No. 3 of 2016 on Child Rights (*‘Wadeema’s Law’*).⁴ While the majority religion is Islam, the UAE has a legal framework and customs of tolerance for other cultures and beliefs.

UAE Vision 2021 aspires for all Emiratis to have equal opportunity to a first-rate education and to achieve their full potential. Schools are expected to nurture well-rounded citizens, confident and ready to play an active and positive role in society. Key elements are⁵:

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¹ Demographic data from Federal Competitiveness and Statistics Authority (FCSA), dld Oct 2017.

² Spending by the 7 Emirates accounts for 88.5% of total government spending. This is the highest in the world in terms of the share of sub-national government spending. IMF, United Arab Emirates – Selected Issues, IMF Country Report No. 17/219, July 2017, 2.

³ UNDP, Human Development Report 2016, United Arab Emirates, 2015.

⁴ Federal Law No. 3 of 2016, Issued on 08/03/2016, corresponding to 28 Jumada Al-Awwal 1437 H.

⁵ UAE, Vision 2021, Ibid. 10.

- A progressive national curriculum that encompasses critical thinking and practical abilities,
- Achieving ambitious educational targets, including high scores on standard international examinations,
- Reducing school drop-outs, enhancing vocational education, and increasing university and post-graduate enrolments
- Integrating special needs students within the education system, along with support programmes and infrastructure that guarantee fair access.

Recent policies and strategies that continue to promote and protect the rights of children include the Ministry of Education Strategy 2010-2020, which aims to improve the performance of Emirati children in science, math, and English, and reduce drop-out, especially at the upper-secondary level (cycle 3).

Education is compulsory for all Emirati children aged five and above, including expatriate residents. The public schools are government-funded and the curriculum is created to match the UAE development's goals and values. The medium of instruction in the public school is Arabic, and English as a Second Language is emphasized. There are also many private schools which are internationally accredited. Public schools in the country are free for all UAE Nationals up to university level, while the fees for private schools vary. Non-UAE nationals may attend public schools as fee-paying students. The public education system in the UAE is comprised of different cycles: cycle 1 includes grades 1-5 (6-11 years); cycle 2 grades 6-9 (12-15 years) and cycle 3 grades 10-12 (16-18 years). All government/public schools are gender segregated.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last twenty five years or so bullying in schools has increasingly been the subject of research in many countries. Bullying has been defined in general terms as the systematic abuse of power and takes various forms, both physical and non-physical (Smith and Sharp, 1994). The negative effects of school bullying on the health and wellbeing of children, both short term and long term, has been widely documented (Rigby, 1998, 2003). More recently studies have confirmed that bullying can lead to clinical depression (Ford et al., 2017) and to suicidal ideation (Lardier et al., 2016). Such findings have raised widespread interest among educators in how bullying in schools could be reduced and the negative effects of bullying on the health and well-being of school children thereby prevented.

For the most part the relevant research has been conducted in western countries, more especially in Europe and North America. Only recently has such research been undertaken in Arab countries. Based upon a literature search of research publications on bullying in the Arab world, Kazarian and Ammar (2013) identified only one empirical study providing data on bullying prevalence in Arab schools. Conducted in 2004/2005 that study reported by Fleming and Jacobsen (2010) included estimates of bullying prevalence among students aged 13-16 years attending schools in Jordan, Lebanon, Oman and the United Arab Emirates. Based upon the proportion of students in a survey reporting that they had been bullied at least once during

the previous month, figures ranged from 20.9% (UAE) to 44.2% (Jordan). Results for the UAE indicated that boys were being bullied more frequently than girls and that the level of bullying reduced as students got older. No distinction was made in the reports between the different forms of bullying experienced by students, such as verbal, physical and through cyber technology. The prevalence of cyber bullying worldwide has, however, been estimated in a survey reported in 2012 by Cross-Tab Marketing Services and Telecommunications Research Group for Microsoft Corporation [internet]. In the UAE it was estimated 7% had been targeted in this way.

In the 2005 UAE Global School Health Survey (GSHS), an overall 20.8% of 13-15 years old students were bullied on one or more days during the past 30 days (Ministry of Health, 2005). Male students (24.5%) are significantly more likely than female students (17.2%) to be bullied on one or more days. Among students who were bullied during the past 30 days, 15% were bullied most often by being hit, kicked, pushed, shoved around, or locked indoors. Victims of bullying had increased stress and a reduced ability to concentrate and are at increased risk for substance abuse, aggressive behavior and suicide attempts. The 2010 GSHS survey showed an increase in prevalence of bullying in the UAE, with the percentage of students who were bullied on one or more days during the past 30 days increased to 22.8%, with male students (25.8%) significantly more likely than female students (20.7%) to be bullied (Ministry of Health, 2010). A more recent international report on bullying across 47 countries has estimated that on average 29% of students report being bullied on a monthly basis (Mullis et al., 2016). The figure for the UAE of 31% was slightly higher than the international average.

UAE PROGRAM

In 2014, UNICEF Gulf Area Office (GAO) in cooperation with UAE Supreme Council for Motherhood and Childhood (SCMC) carried out a preliminary situation analysis of the school environment in the UAE to develop a framework for the protection and safety in the school and learning environment. UNICEF GAO's experts visited a total of 11 schools (primary and middle schools) across different Emirates to assess the school environment through conducting focus group discussions with the students, school staff, parents and school management, in addition to individual interviews and observations. Results from the preliminary school assessment indicated an increase in bullying behaviour in schools especially among cycle II students (aged 11-15 years).

Some of the key findings of the preliminary assessment include:

- Students were subjected to bullying amongst each other;
- Students were subjected to bullying by their teachers;
- Younger students (11-12 years) were more frank about the problems they experienced;
- Verbal bullying was the most common form of bullying;
- Students were under constant surveillance by the school staff;
- School staff and parents did not acknowledge the negative impact of bullying on children;
- Parents were not actively involved in their children's school.

In 2014, due to the unavailability of an anti-bullying and anti-violence program in schools in the Gulf and the needs for such a program, a seminar was organized by UNICEF GAO and SCMC to present successful models of anti-bullying programs in schools in their respective countries (Olweus program in the United States, and KIVA programs in Finland), in the presence of all relevant authorities mainly from the health and education authorities. The main aim of the seminar was to highlight the prevalence of bullying worldwide and the negative impact this has on students; hence initiating the process of developing a bullying prevention model suitable for implementation in schools in the UAE. The seminar resulted in forming a national committee to oversee the implementation of the program.

In 2015, UNICEF GAO with SCMC and Education Authorities in the UAE developed a school-based anti-bullying program. The program was under the patronage of Her Highness Sheikha Fatima bint Mubarak, Supreme Chairwoman of the Family Development Foundation, Chairwoman of General Women's Union, Chairwoman of the Supreme Council for Motherhood and Childhood. A total of 44 international school anti-bullying programs were extensively reviewed. The intervention adopted was in some respects similar to ones employed in some other countries, for example, the program designed to improve social and emotional learning (see Brown et al., 2011) delivered in classrooms and for which claims have been made regarding its effectiveness in reducing bullying. But in addition, the intervention utilised in this study provided classroom instructions directly concerned with improving knowledge of bullying and ways of addressing the problem. To deliver this program, teachers made use of manuals developed for the project, one focussing on the development of appropriate social skills, the other on addressing bullying directly. Teachers were instructed that they could choose from the lessons described in the manuals. Figure 1 provides a summary with examples of the themes and content of the lessons that were provided.

Bullying	Social Skills
1. Recognizing bullying behaviour	1. Developing listening skills
2. Students making agreed rules for acceptable behaviour	2. Promoting empathy
3. Promoting positive bystander behaviour	3. Saying 'no' to unfair demands
4. How one can respond if bullied	4. Expressing emotions and feelings appropriately

Figure 1. Examples of themes and content for lessons.

The methodology of the school-based bullying program is based on:

- Active involvement of students;
- Changing the attitudes of school staff;
- Improving the social environment;

- Raising awareness amongst parents

The program included:

- Forming a school committee (composed of a social worker, a nurse, a member from the management) in each school;
- Conducting training workshops with the school committees to build their capacities in carrying out the intervention program and increase their awareness of the nature and cycle of bullying, the actions to counter bullying and the different methods that can be used to deal with various cases of bullying within their respective schools;
- Requesting each school to develop an implementation plan which includes selecting the classes/students and activities that will be used during the school year.
- By the end of the intervention, schools' committees met to present their progress reports along with all relevant documentations. These reports and documents provided qualitative data.

Two surveys of students were undertaken in samples of schools in the UAE, one in 2016, and another in 2017. Both made use of a common set of questions designed to provide estimates of the prevalence of bullying in the schools, based on self-reports of (i) being bullied and (ii) bullying others. Estimates of the effects of the intervention were derived in the first study from a comparison of results obtained from students who had experienced the intervention and a control group that had not. In the second study comparisons were made between results obtained from schools where students were assessed both before and after the intervention.

METHODS OF ASSESSMENT

The Tools

To assess the prevalence of bullying in the schools a set of items was devised, adapted from those used originally by Rigby and Slee (1991) and translated into Arabic Language.

To assess the prevalence of being bullied, students were asked to say how often the following happened to them (i) I get called names by others (ii) Others make fun of me (iii) I get picked on by others (iv) I get hit and pushed around by others (v) I receive unpleasant messages from other students through my computer/phone/on-line or on social media such as Facebook. To assess the prevalence of bullying others these items were employed: (i) I am part of a group that goes around teasing others (ii) I enjoy upsetting weak people (iii) I like to make others scared of me (iv) I like to get into a fight with someone I can easily beat.

To provide the opportunity for students to furnish information that was more positive about themselves students were also asked to say how often the following was true of themselves: (i) I like to make friends (ii) I enjoy helping others (iii) I share things with others (iv) I like to help people who are being harassed. Each of the three sets of items was provided with four possible response categories (a) Never (b) Once in a while (c) A few times a month (d) A few times a week.

Finally a question was asked about how safe students felt at school. Respondents were asked: How safe do you feel at school? The response categories were (i) I usually feel safe (ii) I feel safe about half the time (iii) I usually don't feel safe (iv) I never feel safe.

In order to produce multi-item scales, scores in response to the relevant items were summed to produce (i) a Victim Scale (ii) a Bully Scale and (iii) a Pro-social Scale. High scores on the scales indicated (i) being bullied relatively often (ii) bullying others relatively often and (iii) engaging in pro-social behaviour relatively. The reliability of each of the measures as assessed using Cronbach alpha was considered acceptable for short multi-item scales. The obtained values were as follows: Victim Scale, 0.78; Bully Scale, 0.67; Pro-social Scale, 0.66.

In the 2017 survey a further question was added. Students were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: (i) The activities were helpful in reducing bullying between students at my school (ii) I learnt some ways to handle bullying when it will happen to me (iii) The activities gave me sufficient knowledge of bullying (iv) The relations with my colleagues improved after doing the exercises. Response categories were: agree strongly, agree, uncertain, disagree, disagree strongly. The items were used to constitute a multi-item scale reflecting the extent to which respondents were positive about the intervention. The reliability of this scale was assessed using Cronbach alpha 0.73. Finally respondents were asked an open-ended question: Do you have any recommendations to improve the activities?

The Samples

Sample 1 consisted of 1,779 students who answered the questionnaire in 2016 prior to any intervention. In this sample there were 841 boys and 938 girls attending grades 6, 7, 8 or 9. They were recruited from 20 schools in the Emirate. Of these ten were exclusively boys' schools; seven were exclusively girls' schools and three were schools attended by both boys and girls. These mixed gender schools were private, non-government schools.

Sample 2 included a set of 1,093 students (577 boys and 516 girls) from 14 schools who had undertaken the intervention and answered a post-intervention questionnaire. In addition there was a set of students (246 boys and 75 girls) from four schools. These students served as a control group in subsequent analyses.

Sample 3 was answered by a new sample of students in 2017. This consisted of 882 boys and 1,386 girls again from grades 6 to 9. In this sample the schools were all single sex government schools: 11 were schools attended by boys, and 13 schools attended by girls. All the students undertook the intervention. Questionnaires were administered to these students before and after the intervention. In some cases, due to absences on the day of the testing, there were minor discrepancies in the numbers of students from whom both pre and post questionnaire results were available (see Table 1 for details).

RESULTS

Estimates of Bullying Prevalence

The estimated prevalence of bullying in the schools was derived from responses of students who completed questionnaires *prior* to any intervention, which is from Sample 1 in 2016 and

Sample 3 in 2017. These samples were not collected on a random basis therefore cannot be regarded as representative. Hence no conclusions can be drawn regarding changes that may have occurred in bullying prevalence over time. Results are given in Table 2 regarding responses to items assessing frequency of reporting being bullied and in Table 3 regarding the frequency of reporting bullying others at school.

Table 1. Completed questionnaires from students in the 2017 study

	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Total Sample
Boys					
Pre-test	153 (17.3)	218 (24.7)	313 (35.5)	198 (22.4)	882
Post-test	180 (21.0)	220 (25.6)	272 (31.7)	186 (21.7)	858
Girls					
Pre-test	357 (25.8)	282 (20.3)	431 (31.1)	316 (22.8)	1,386
Post-test	322 (23.6)	307 (22.5)	423 (31.0)	313 (22.9)	1,365

Numbers of questionnaires completed are given in parentheses.

**Table 2. Percentages of students reporting being bullied
'a few times a month or more often'**

Forms of Bullying	Boys		Girls	
	2016	2017	2016	2017
Being picked on	28.1	26.3	20.7	20.5
Called names	32.5	30.2	19.6	23.7
Made fun of	22.2	25.7	14.6	16.8
Hit	15.8	18.4	8.0	12.6
Cyber	12.4	17.4	8.5	10.3

As indicated in Table 2 for both boys and girls the most common form of bullying was non-physical – being called names, picked on and made fun of. Cyber bullying was the least common form. Notably, on each of the five measures boys reported being bullied more often than girls. The results in Table 3 suggest that 'scaring people' is the most frequently employed mode of bullying others among both boys and girls, and that upsetting 'weak' people is the least common. For the most part these results also suggest that boys are more often involved in bullying others. Again it should be noted that it cannot be inferred from these results that bullying prevalence changed between 2016 and 2017.

**Table 3. Percentages of students reporting bullying
others 'a few times a month or more often'**

Forms of Bullying	Boys		Girls	
	2016	2017	2016	2017
Scaring people	17.7	17.4	11.8	16.7
Teasing in a group	12.0	16.4	9.0	10.9
Fighting with weaker students	11.0	12.2	8.6	13.9
Upsetting 'weak' people	7.0	8.3	4.6	6.0

Estimates of the Effects of the Intervention

In the first 2016 survey comparisons were made between the results from students following the intervention and results for a control group that did not receive the intervention but were assessed at the same time. Because the two groups were not matched for either gender or grade level, multiple regression analyses were used to identify the separate effects of the intervention, gender and grade level. The results suggested that the intervention was probably effective in reducing the reported prevalence of being bullied and bullying others (Rigby and Al Falasi, 2017). However, the sample sizes (especially that of the control group) were quite small and the matching of the intervention and control groups with respect to gender and grade arguably less than adequate. A further study was justified to examine this question.

In the 2017 study comparisons were made between the responses of students to questionnaires before the intervention began and approximately 4 months after the intervention had been completed. The results of the comparisons can be considered in three ways, according to (1) changes in student responses to forms of bullying, (2) changes in scale measures of overall bullying and (3) changes in results for individual schools.

1. Changes in Responses to Forms of Bullying

The results in Table 4 indicate consistent reductions in each form of bullying as experienced by girls. The changes for boys are notably smaller and inconsistent in direction. For ‘being hit by others there was a small increase. Again, as indicated in Table 5 there was a consistent reduction among girls in modes of bullying others. With the exception of teasing in groups, for boys bullying behaviour tended to increase.

Table 4. Percentages of students reporting being bullied ‘a few times a month or more often’

Forms of Bullying	Boys		Girls	
	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test
Being picked on	26.3	25.0	20.5	17.4
Called names	30.2	26.5	23.7	19.2
Made fun of	25.7	23.4	16.8	12.6
Hit	18.4	20.3	12.1	9.5
Cyber	17.4	14.9	10.3	9.0

Table 5. Percentages of students reporting bullying others ‘a few times a month or more often’

Forms of Bullying	Boys		Girls	
	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test
Scaring people	17.4	19.3	16.8	12.4
Teasing in a group	16.4	11.7	10.9	9.8
Fighting with easily beat	12.2	13.9	13.9	8.6
Upsetting ‘weak’ people	8.3	10.5	6.0	5.5

2. Changes in Scale Measures of Overall Bullying

In order to assess overall changes in bullying behaviour mean scores were compared on the Victim Scale and the Bully Scale before and after the intervention using a t-test for independent samples. As individual scores for boys and girls pre and post-test were not available, the samples were regarded as 'independent' in this analysis.

Table 6. Scale scores for boys and girls, pre and post tests in 2017

	Pre-test			Post-test			t	df	p-value
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N			
Boys									
Victim Scale	8.79	3.38	767	8.62	3.55	748	0.10	1513	ns
Bully Scale	5.79	2.49	793	5.78	2.59	787	0.08	1578	ns
Girls									
Victim Scale	7.82	3.11	1262	7.38	3.00	1229	3.59	2489	0.001
Bully Scale	5.55	2.31	1274	5.25	2.11	1257	3.41	2529	0.001

As indicated in Table 6 differences were not significant for boys, but were highly significant for girls on both measures ($p < 0.001$). For girls but not for boys the intervention proved to be effective in reducing bullying.

3. Changes for Schools

Changes in mean scores for schools on the Victim and the Bully Scale before and after the intervention were computed separately for boys and girls. As indicated in Figure 2a reductions were reported in relation to being bullied in 7 of the 11 schools for boys and for girls, a large majority, 13 of the 14 schools.

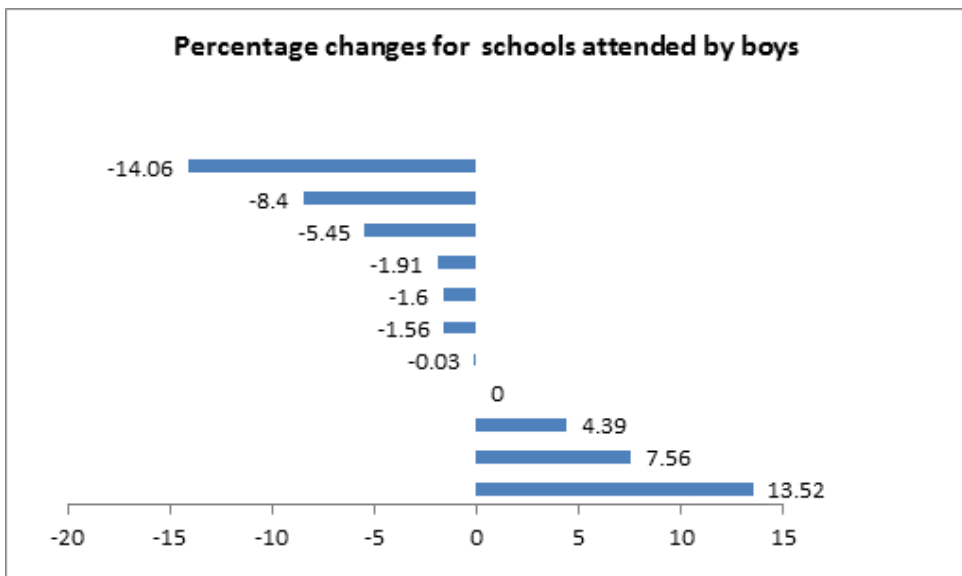


Figure 2a. (Continued)

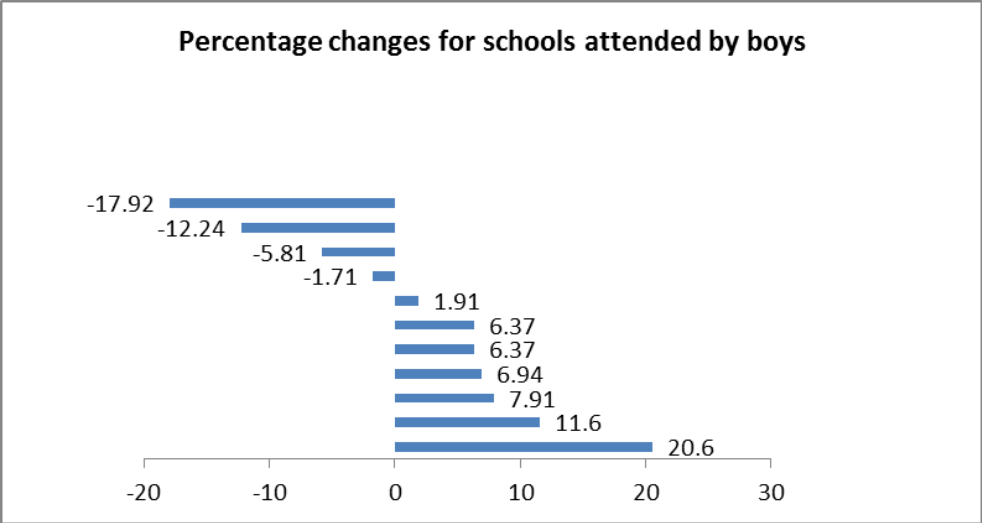


Figure 2a. Percentages changes in mean scores on the Victim Scale for respondents attending schools in the United Arab Emirates between pre and post testing.

Changes in mean scores on the Bully Scale were more positive for girls for whom 11 of the 14 schools showed a decrease; among boys only four of the 11 schools showed a decrease in bullying others (see Figure 2b).

Overall, it is clear from the Figures 2a and 2b that there was wide variation between schools regarding the impact of the intervention. This was true for both boys’ and girls’ schools.

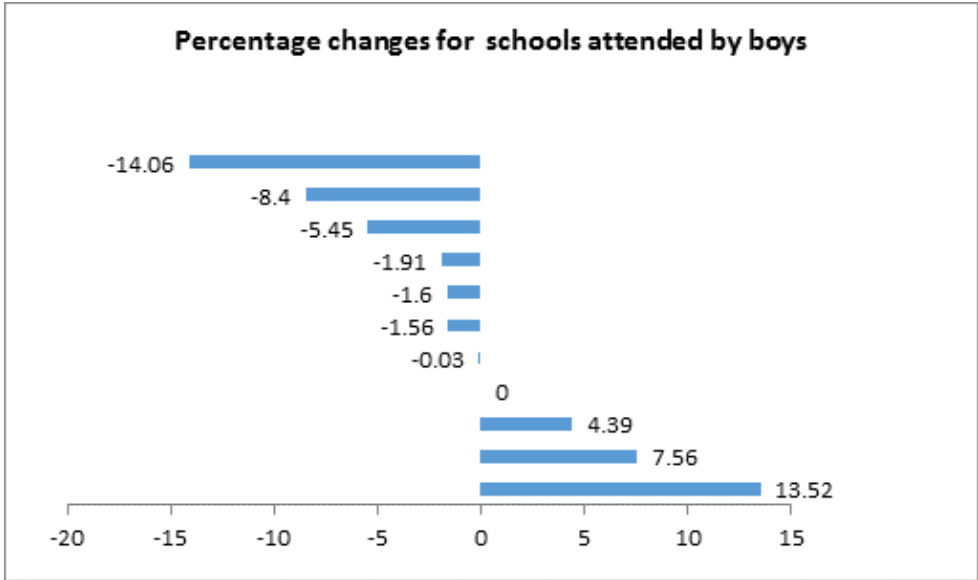


Figure 2b. (Continued)

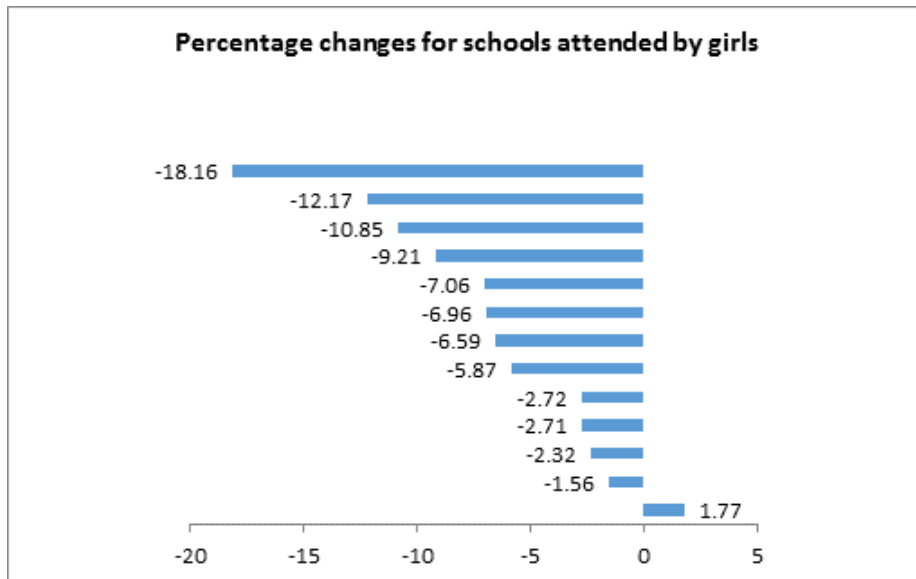


Figure 2b. Percentage changes in mean scores on the Bully Scale for respondents attending schools in the United Arab Emirates between pre and post testing.

How Safe Did Students Feel at School?

In the context of bullying at school students in both studies indicated how safe or unsafe they felt at school. Results were drawn from responses made by students prior to any intervention in 2016 and 2017. Overall, approximately one in six students indicated that usually they did not feel safe or never felt safe at school. This comprised 16.9% of all boys in 2016 and 18.7% in 2017. The corresponding figures for girls were 14.6% in 2016 and 14.4% in 2017. These figures suggest that boys feel less safe at school than do girls.

Did Students Feel Safer After the Intervention?

Contrary to expectations students undertaking the intervention did not feel safer after the intervention. Among boys the percentage of respondents reporting usually or never feeling safe increased from 18.7% to 23.2%. Among girls there was an increase from 14.4% to 15.5%. In hindsight it seems likely that the awareness of bullying at the school raised by the classroom lessons and activities could have increased concerns about bullying, despite (in the case of girls) a reported reduction in being bullied at school.

Did the Students Report Being More Pro-Social Following the Intervention?

Results on the Pro-Social scale following the intervention scale pre and post intervention indicate that there was a reduction in the tendency to report acting pro-socially for both boys and girls. For boys the mean Pro-Social score reduced from 11.72 to 11.40. For girls the

reduction was from 12.48 to 12.15. By t-test both of these results indicated a significant reduction in reported pro-social behaviour at the .05 level. This outcome may appear paradoxical. However, it seems likely that discussions of interpersonal behaviour in classes resulted in students being more realistic in their reporting of their behaviour and less inclined to report in a socially desirable manner (See Fisher, & Katz, 2000).

Evaluations of the Intervention by Students

Responses to questions seeking student views of the effectiveness of the intervention were generally positive (See Figure 3).

A majority of boys and girls saw the intervention as positive in each of the four ways, and especially in improving student relationships. Girls, however, were more positive in their appraisals. The differences between the responses of boys and girls were significant regarding (i) gaining more knowledge about bullying with a higher percentage of girls agreeing with this and (ii) personally handling bullying better.

Comments provided by students about the intervention were in nearly all cases positive.

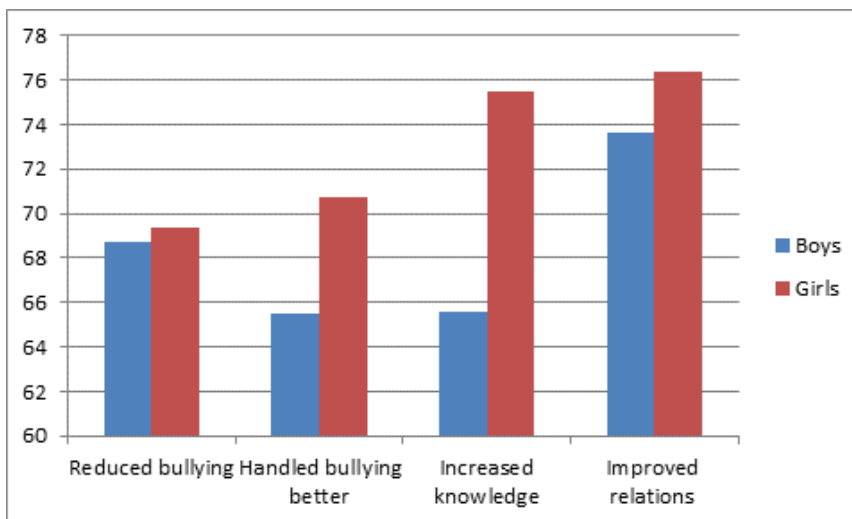


Figure 3. Percentages of boys and girls evaluating the intervention as positive in different ways.

Evaluative Comments from Students

In illustrating the comments made by students the following notation is employed. The letter 'b' is used to signify boy; 'g' to signify girl. The number following is the grade level.

In general students commended of the schools' initiative in providing the program.

- It is very good and very beautiful (b, 9)
- Excellent. (b, 6)
- Excellent and good (b, 7)

- Beautiful thing (b, 6)
- All activities are beneficial (g, 9)
- Thank God, I am happy with everything. My school is beautiful and great (g, 9)
- They provided good activities (b, 9)
- I enjoyed my time (b, 7)
- It is beneficial because it has taught me to build friendships. (b, 9)
- Apply to all schools (g, 8)
- I like the activities that were implemented (b,7)
- Student collaboration and support for teachers (b, 6)

There were three students who indicated that they did not approve of the intervention (Reasons were not given).

Some students made specific suggestions for improvements:

- I suggest that they increase the number of activities to cap bullying (g, 9)
- Do these activities once a week (g, 7)
- Increase the sessions of activities to face bullying and respect (g, 9)
- Increasing the activities because there are students who do not respect each other, so suggestions should be put to improve this thing (g, 9)
- Increase the number [of activities] and make them for all categories and levels of students (g, 9).
- Provide beneficial activities to improve morals (g, 9)
- The skill-based activities reinforced the knowledge of students (g, 9)
- To have every day a session for development or activities (g, 7)
- Add fun activities (g, 9)
- Improve the school and increase morals (b, 7)
- The activities could also be done 'at home' (b, 6)
- More direct instruction such as lectures (g, 6 and g, 7)

Some students indicated that more awareness of bullying should be encouraged:

- Add an awareness session per week (g, 8)
- More awareness campaigns (b, 8)
- Awareness campaigns about bullying (g, 6)
- Build awareness programs (g, 8)
- More awareness sessions to increase knowledge (g, 6)

A strong desire was expressed by some students for the school to address the problem of bullying (and also anti-social behaviour generally) in various ways:

- Dismiss noisy students from the school (b, 7)
- Dismiss the student who creates a problem in school (b, 7)

- Dismiss the noisy students so that the school can become at a high level (b, 7)
- Put rules and punishments, motivate the students by prizes and appreciate them for their behaviour (g, 9)
- Encourage students to do good deeds. (g, 9)
- Expel all bullies (sic) (b, 9)
- More strict rules about bullying (g, 8)
- More student supervision (g, 8)
- Put in interventions for bullying (g, 6)
- Assign teachers in the corridors (m, 9)

Some students felt that particular attention should be paid to what students could contribute in countering bullying:

- Give attention to children with special needs (g, 6)
- Listen to students' complaints (g, 8)
- More student support (g, 9)
- Gather students' opinions (g, 7)
- Focus on the activities that students like or prefer (g, 9)

Finally, specific suggestions were made on what could be done to improve the lessons employed in addressing bullying in the school.

- Debate and discuss issues (g, 6)
- Show videos about school bullying (g, 9)
- Make plays about bullying (g, 6)
- Put books about bullying in the school library (g, 8)
- Do sessions about self-defence (b, 9)
- Assess the student who got bullied (b, 8)
- Give instruction through school broadcasts (g, 8).

DISCUSSION

The two surveys reported in this chapter confirm earlier findings that bullying in schools in the UAE constitute a serious problem (Kazarian,& Ammar, 2013; Zych et al., 2017), as is the case in many other countries (Modescki et al., 2014) The reported prevalence in UAE schools varied according to the kind of bullying being reported, with name-calling reported as occurring at least monthly by one student in four; being physically bullied by around one child in eight; and being cyber bullied by slightly fewer students. Approximately one student in ten reported that they never felt safe from being bullied.

Unlike previous studies conducted in the UAE, this study provides detailed evidence relating to the effects of an intervention designed to decrease the prevalence of bullying through

the use of classroom instruction and activities. Significant reductions in reported bullying were found specifically for girls, with respect to being bullied at school and also bullying others. Although reductions in bullying prevalence related to the intervention were found for some bullying behaviours in some boys' schools, overall the intervention did not prove to be effective for boys.

The question naturally arises as to why the intervention was generally successful with girls but not with boys. Previous studies on gender differences on the effectiveness of interventions undertaken in different countries have produced conflicting results. In one of the earliest interventions undertaken in schools in Norway the results were more positive for girls (Olweus 2004). It was reported that girls were more receptive to anti-bullying initiatives. By contrast following an intervention reported in England, it was reported that the reductions were more positive and sustained for boys (Smith et al., 2003), Smith et al., commented that bullying by girls is more difficult to tackle. Although there have been a large number of interventions evaluated in many countries (see Ttofi and Farrington, 2011) few have reported on gender differences in the effectiveness of the intervention.

It may be surmised that the nature of the intervention could play a part in explaining gender differences. The intervention employed in this study focussed strongly on student feelings and social skills, rather than the threat of using sanctions or punishment to address the problem. A further factor concerns what is thought appropriate in a given community in interacting with others, especially in the use of force to achieve dominance. An examination of cultural differences between communities may throw some light on aggressive behaviour. In an Arab culture, such as the Emirati culture, bullying in schools can be a sensitive issue to report to the school teachers or administrators. The victims may feel embarrassed to disclose the bullying incidents or report it to anyone. In addition, culturally, parents may encourage their children to respond with violence, thus, making it even more problematic.

It should nevertheless be noted that there were some boys' schools in which the intervention appears to have had the effect of reducing bullying. Two explanations are worth considering. One is the skill employed in delivering the intervention program – a challenging task for some teachers, especially (as some teachers reported) in gaining the cooperation of older students in the activities. It is possible that female teachers in schools for girls are generally more able relate to girls over matters concerned promoting empathy towards others than is the case for male teachers working with boys (Mestre et al., 2009). A further consideration is the classroom climate and school culture which could in some places be highly supportive and in some places not so supportive of such work (Yoneyama and Rigby, 2006).

It should also be understood that the intervention undertaken in this study focussed on one aspect only of the work considered desirable in addressing bullying. Especially, at this stage there has been no evaluation of what could be achieved in schools in the UAE in reducing bullying through the way interventions are carried out in cases of bullying. It is generally held that alternative methods can be used depending on the nature of the bullying, for example whether it is carried out by groups or by individuals and whether it includes violent physical behaviour or covert verbal harassment (Rigby, 2011).

Contrary to expectations the intervention employed in this study did not result in an increase in reported safety at school or in an increase in reported pro-social behaviour for neither boys nor girls. Given the reduction in reported bullying among girls one might have expected girls, at least, to report feeling more safe and acting more pro-socially. It seems probable however that the focus on bullying in the lessons could have resulted in some students

feeling alarmed by the information that was presented. A reduction in feeling unsafe may occur only in the long run after it becomes more apparent that the threat of being bullied has reduced. The lowering of reported pro-social behaviour could have been a result of the lessons producing a greater sense of realism among students about how in fact they behave and lessened any tendency to respond in a socially desirable way. In further studies it could be useful to ask students to indicate how they saw other students behaving at their school.

An encouraging outcome of the intervention in the schools was the positive way in which students appraised the school's initiative in addressing bullying. This suggests that the students on the whole recognised the problem of bullying at their school and welcomed the steps taken by the school to reduce it. Feedback from staff members attested to the value they saw in the enterprise and support for its continuation.

CONCLUSION

Recent research has confirmed that bullying behaviour in schools in the UAE constitutes a social problem, as is the case in other countries. Our findings provide baseline data for the Education Authorities in the UAE to act on, helping decision makers to develop interventions to tackle this issue and support the victims of bullying. It is evident from this study that the use of content as part of the school curriculum to promote social skills and counter bullying can be effective in reducing bullying, at least among girls and also in some schools attended by boys. This approach was strongly supported by most students. Although schools have student misconduct policies and discipline, our data indicate that student bullying is still occurring, creating fears among students and their parents, as well as causing concern among educators and administrators. Further studies are still needed to identify the effects of bullying on the mental health and academic performance of students - and especially to determine what further approaches can be employed in reducing the problem, for example in working more effectively with cases of bullying and working closely with families.

WHAT'S NEXT?

To build on current efforts to reduce prevalence of bullying in schools in the UAE, it is recommended that work should be undertaken in ensuring that all other aspects of the school environment are improved making the schools healthier, safer and more enjoyable to students.

There exists no comprehensive integrated strategies in schools in the UAE on how to promote a safe, healthy and enabling environment. Hence, the development of an integrated model culturally suitable for implementation among schools in the UAE will need to be developed based on the different international successful experiences. The strategies can particularly work on enhancing the school climate and culture, student conduct, social, emotional and character development and will include, but are not limited to:

- Engage parents, families and communities- by providing schools with a deeper understanding of parental engagement and to support the schools' efforts in building full partnerships with parents to enhance student success;

- Increase student engagement and increase the likelihood of participation in extra-curricular activities- by creating opportunities for students to assess school needs, envision and lead improvement projects, and advise school administration to create positive school change;
- Reduce the incidence of violence and bullying;
- Promote mental health- by increasing the awareness of school staff about student social-emotional wellness, factors, symptoms and implications of mental health concerns in a classroom setting, and provide specific skill-based techniques for classroom use;
- Enhance school management and leadership style by harmonizing the relations between staff from mixed nationalities, and increasing their job satisfaction.

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Chapter 125

HOMOPHOBIC AND SEXUAL MINORITY BULLYING: RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE

James O'Higgins Norman and Mairéad Foody

Homophobic bullying is a 'moral outrage, a grave violation of human rights and a public health crisis...' UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon

Bullying undermines the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child and the current United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Both of these important documents, despite being published several years apart, set a specific agenda for the reduction in violence against, and discrimination of, children and teenagers. Bullying falls directly within this remit. In this sense, bullying of any individual because of their race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or perceived difference is considered a significant violation of human rights and a public health concern.

According to the United Nations World Report on Violence against Children (2006), sexual and gender-based bullying is a significant concern for educational institutions internationally.¹ In this sense, individuals with sexual orientations, identities or expressions of gender that are perceived to be alternative to the norm are at increased risk of victimisation in a school setting. Tackling this specific form of discrimination is thus a public health concern of great urgency. In 2012, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) prepared a report reviewing up-to date literature on homophobic bullying. This report recognised the scale of the problem in relation to educational institutions and the need to tackle it head on to reach their goals of achieving education for all and stopping school violence². More recently, the prevention of homophobic/sexual minority bullying falls under the remit of the Sustainable Development Goals set out by the UN, specifically, Goals 4 and 5. Goal 4 aims to ensure inclusivity and the equitable quality education and the promotion of lifelong learning opportunities for all. The objective is to improve both the school environment and access to

¹ P. Sérgio Pinheiro, United Nations World Report on Violence against Children (Geneva: UNESCO, 2006).

² United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Review of Homophobic Bullying in Educational Institutions (Paris: UNESCO, [2012]).

schooling for all individuals, especially lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and questioning (LGBTQ+) youth. This goal will go a long way to ensuring a culture of peace and non-violence in our schools and digital environments. Goal 5 aims to *achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls*. This sets an agenda to better empower young women and educate young men to achieve their goals regardless of gender and/or sexual identity.

The current chapter is particularly concerned with the bullying of sexual minority children and teenagers within school systems. While we recognise that bullying can happen anywhere, including online, schools continue to be significant sites of harassment for LGBTQ+ youth.³ While previous research in the area has highlighted important issues regarding prevalence and consequences, this chapter attempts to synthesise all available research and provide a timeline of how the literature arrived to where it is today. This is an important feat when we consider the changing face of policy, legislation and freedoms for this group internationally. Investigations of sexual minority youth are imperative if we are to adequately track our progress in creating societies free from discrimination. We will begin the chapter by considering how homophobic bullying is conceptualised in research and its relation to privilege and dominance in schools and society.

SEXUAL MINORITY BULLYING, PREVALENCE AND MENTAL HEALTH

While the term homophobic bullying has its use in particular contexts concerned with people who identify as same-sex attracted it has recently been left aside in favour of the term 'sexual minority bullying' and the term 'sexual minority youth' refers to students who have non-normative sexual orientation and/or identity. These individuals may identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual and/or transgender.⁴ Regardless of the label, the meaning refers to the repeated, intentional abuse (verbal or other) of an individual who displays or is perceived to display sexual or gender identity counter to normative behaviours and identities. In the nature of the specific term bullying, a power hierarchy is always present where the bully is indefinitely more powerful than the victim. What is known about school experiences for these individuals is discouraging and they are reported to be at increased risk of victimisation by peers compared to students identifying as heterosexual.^{5;6;7} There are many influences on an individual's sexuality including explicit and implicit rules imposed by society.⁸ It has been argued that human sexuality can be understood in terms of a continuum with heterosexuality at one end

³ L. J. Wernick, A. Kulick and M. H. Inglehart, "Factors Predicting Student Intervention When Witnessing Anti-LGBTQ Harassment: The Influence of Peers, Teachers, and Climate," *Children and Youth Services Review* 35 (2013), 296-301.

⁴ L. Kann et al., "Sexual Identity, Sex of Sexual Contacts and Health-Related Behaviors among Students in Grades 9-12-United States and Selected Sites, 2015." *Surveillance Summaries* 65, no. 9 (2016), 1-202.

⁵ D. L. Espelage et al., "Homophobic Teasing, Psychological Outcomes, and Sexual Orientation among High School Students: What Influence do Parents and Schools have?" *School Psychology Review* 37, no. 2 (2008), 202-216.

⁶ J. G. Kosciw et al., *The 2009 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in our Nation's Schools*. (New York: GLSEN, 2010).

⁷ J. P. Robinson and D. L. Espelage, "Bullying Explains Only Part of LGBTQ-Heterosexual Risk Disparities: Implications for Policy and Practice," *Educational Researcher* 41, no. 8 (2012), 309-319.

⁸ S. Zeidenstein and K. Moore, eds., *Learning about Sexuality: A Practical Beginning* (New York: Population Council, 1996).

point and homosexuality at the other and varying realities between them.⁹ Not only might there be a continuum of sexuality, but it might also have the element of being fluid. That is, depending on our education, development, emotions, needs for intimacy, etc., as the years go on, our sexual preference may move along the continuum. However, schools as agents of society tend to reproduce dominant ideologies which means that where sexuality is concerned heteronormativity is the key stone of normative behaviour in schools. Homophobic bullying is therefore understood as a symptom of difference from normative expressions of sexuality in society.

Prevalence rates for victimisation of this group varies from country to country and by the research methods used. The National School Climate Survey in the United States assessed school experiences of over 10,000 lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer 13-21 year olds. This large school study found that 48.6% of the sample had been victimised online, 27% has been physically harassed and nearly 60% had been sexually harassed.¹⁰ Nearly all of the sample (96%) reported that they had heard other students use homophobic remarks about them. Increased risk of victimisation for LGBTQ+ students have also been reported in both Ireland and Northern Ireland^{11,12}.

There is overwhelming evidence to support the fact that sexual minority youth report more short and long-term health and academic problems compared to their heterosexual comparisons.¹³ It is important to note that these differences are explained by the adversary these individuals experience as a result of the fear of prejudice that can be attached to their identity in society.¹⁴ In this sense it is feelings of loneliness, isolation and fear that may have a negative impact on an LGBTQ+ individual's school life, mental and physical health. The chronic stress of experiencing discrimination, bullying or any form of prejudice for something inherently related to your sense of self, undoubtedly can have clinical implications.

In terms of mental health, increased levels of anxiety,^{15,16} depression,¹⁷ suicidal ideation¹⁸ and substance abuse¹⁹ have been reported for these individuals. A recent study in Ireland, reported a sevenfold increase in the odds of self-injury or suicide attempt for sexual minority

⁹ A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy and C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1948).

¹⁰ J. G. Kosciw et al., *The 2013 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in our Nation's Schools*. (New York: GLSEN, 2014).

¹¹ H. McNamee, K. Lloyd and D. Schubotz, "Same Sex Attraction, Homophobic Bullying and Mental Health of Young People in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Youth Studies* 11, no. 1 (2008), 33-46.

¹² J. O'Higgins Norman, "Still Cathing-Up: Schools, Sexual Orientation and Homophobia in Ireland." *Sexuality and Culture*, 13, no. 1 (2009), 1-16.

¹³ E. O'Malley Olsen et al., "School Violence and Bullying among Sexual Minority High School Students, 2009-2011." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 55 (2014), 432-438.

¹⁴ C. Kelleher, "Minority Stress and Health: Implications for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Questioning (LGBT+Q) Young People." *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (2009), 373-379.

¹⁵ A. Jones et al., "Anxiety Disorders, Gender Nonconformity, Bullying and Self-Esteem in Sexual Minority Adolescents: Prospective Birth Cohort Study." *The Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 58, no. 11 (2017), 1201-1209.

¹⁶ M. Ploderl and P. Tremblay, "Mental Health of Sexual Minorities. A Systematic Review." *International Review of Psychiatry* 27 (2015), 367-385.

¹⁷ C. M. Burton et al., "Sexual Minority-Related Victimization as a Mediator of Mental Health Disparities in Sexual Minority Youth: A Longitudinal Analysis." *Journal of Youth Adolescence* 42 (2013), 394-402.

¹⁸ S. T. Russell et al., "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Adolescent School Victimization: Implications for Young Adult Health and Adjustment." *Journal of School Health* 81, no. 5 (2011), 223-230.

¹⁹ J. T. Goldbach et al., "Minority Stress and Substance use in Sexual Minority Adolescents: A Meta-Analysis," *Prevention Science* 15 (2014), 350-363.

youth compared to heterosexual peers of the same age (19-24 years).²⁰ This risk factor for increased mental health difficulties also relates to individuals who do not necessarily report as sexual minorities but are perceived to be so and victimised for such. Swearer, Turner, Givens and Polack (2008) found that boys verbally bullied by being called 'gay' were more likely to experience psychosocial stress, regardless of their actual sexual orientation.²¹ On the other hand, individuals who were questioning their sexual orientation reported more bullying and mental health issues compared to heterosexual or LGBTQ+ students.²² In addition, sexual minority males showed increased risk of injury with a weapon and truancy as a result of safety concerns in the United States due to peer victimisation.²³ Peer victimization may also lead to school truancy and reduced academic achievement for LGBTQ+ students.²⁴

HOMOPHOBIC BULLYING AND HETEROSEXUAL PRIVILEGE

Hamarus and Kaikkonen (2008) argue that only acts that conform to a particular definition of bullying are identified and labelled as bullying thus excluding whole aspects of conflict and aggression that may also occur.²⁵ Olweus (1993) suggests that "a person is bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons, and he or she has difficulty defending himself or herself."²⁶ Use of Olweus' definition and related self-report questionnaire on bullying has been extensive in international research. However, this approach has been critiqued from the point of view that it does not account for nuances in different cultural meanings and terminology associated with the concept of bullying nor does Olweus' approach allow for an examination of social structures that preference what is considered to be normative in societies and in schools. The criticism meted out by Cullingford and Brown (1995) and Lee (2006) towards the approach recommended by Olweus (1993) argues that his approach could possibly be regarded as value-laden and reflects the power of the researcher to define bullying and related behaviours are excluded.^{27,28} This has implications for schools. As agents of society, schools will often reflect dominant social ideologies that privilege one group over another. The core challenge here for schools is how to develop workable definitions of bullying that focus as much on the implications of wider social structures and not so much on those who are perceived to be different.

²⁰ E. Power et al., "Nonsuicidal Self-Injury, Suicidal Thoughts and Suicide Attempts among Sexual Minority Youth in Ireland during their Emerging Adult Years," *Early Intervention in Psychiatry* 10 (2016), 441-445.

²¹ S. M. Swearer et al., "You're so Gay!": Do Different Forms of Bullying Matter for Adolescent Males?" *School Psy* 37 (2008), 160-173.

²² M. Birkett, D. I. Espelage and B. W. Koenig, "LGB and Questioning Students in Schools: The Moderating Effects of Homophobic Bullying and School Climate on Negative Outcomes," *Journal of Youth Adolescence* 38 (2009), 989-1000.

²³ O'Malley Olsen et al., "School Violence and Bullying among Sexual Minority High School Students, 2009-2011," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 55 (2014), 432-438.

²⁴ S. R. Aragon, D. L. Espelage and B. W. Koenig, "the Influence of Peer Victimization on Educational Outcomes for LGBT+Q and Non-LGBT+Q High School Students," *Journal of LGBT + Youth* 11, no. 1 (2014), 1-19.

²⁵ P. Hamarus and P. Kaikkonen, "School Bullying as a Creator of Pupil Peer Pressure," *Educational Research* 50 (2008), 333-345.

²⁶ D. Olweus, *Bullying at School: What we Know and what we can do.* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 14.

²⁷ Cedric Cullingford and Gary Brown, "Children's Perceptions of Victims and Bullies," *Education* 23, no. 2 (1995), 3-13.

²⁸ C. Lee, "Exploring Teachers' Definitions of Bullying," *Emotional & Behavioural Difficulties* 11 (2006), 61-75.

In terms of current research on homophobic bullying it is frequently framed within existing definitions of bullying as addendum that includes reference to “words or actions associated with sexuality.” For example, Douglas, Warwick, Kemp and Whitty (1997) defined homophobic bullying as “taking place where general bullying behaviours such as verbal and physical abuse and intimidation is accompanied by or consists of the use of terms such as gay, lesbian, queer or lezzie by perpetrators.”²⁹ The fact that the definition is written in this way reinforces the difficulty surrounding homophobic bullying and conceptualising it as one distinct phenomenon. It is complex because it combines both homophobia and bullying into one issue, when in fact they are two very distinct issues. Redman (2000) argues that use of the term homophobia implies a “psychological fear and loathing of homosexuality”³⁰, but as Espelage and Swearer (2008) recognise, victimisation as a result of homophobia, is not confined to lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender identified individuals³¹. In other words, when homophobic terms are used as pejoratives in schools they are not always intended to contribute to the victimisation of pupils who may identify as LGBTQ+. In many cases they are used as a way to police the boundaries of what is considered normal and to support the privilege of a heteronormative school environment. In that context we note findings from studies conducted in primary schools in the UK³² and in the USA³³ which show that children use the terminology associated with homophobia to target others who are different in dress, language, style and personality, but do not necessarily have a fear of or loathing of homosexuality *per se*. In fact, Payne and Smith (2013) concluded that the majority of peer to peer conflict ultimately supports some form of heteronormative privilege in schools. As stated above, schools play a very significant role in reproducing dominant ideologies in society and despite emerging changes in attitudes heteronormative culture still dominates society and as such expressions of this culture will be celebrated and validated in schools in the most unconscious fashion.

THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

The implication of this heteronormative orientation by schools is that we equally need to be able to recognise behaviour as bullying, whilst also being aware of the power of a normative environment to produce bullying against those who are perceived as different. In other words, homophobic bullying can be understood as a phenomenon that underpins the heteronormative ethos of the school environment. The negative language often associated with homophobic bullying is used to describe something that cannot be separated from the sexual and gender connotations they carry as in the case of heteronormative cultures.³⁴ In many schools, children

²⁹ N. Douglas et al., “Playing it Safe: Responses of Secondary School Teachers to Lesbian and Gay Pupils, Bullying, HIV and AIDS Education and Section 28.” Terence Higgins Trust, London (1997), 12.

³⁰ P. Redman, “‘‘Tarred with the Same Brush’’: Homophobia and the Role of the Unconscious in School Based Cultures of Masculinity”.” *Sexualities* 3 (2000), 485.

³¹ Dorothy Espelage and Susan Swearer, “‘‘Addressing Research Gaps in the Intersection between Homophobia and Bullying”.” *School Psychology Review* 37 (2008), 155-159.

³² E. Renold, “‘‘Coming Out’’: Gender, (Hetero) Sexuality and the Primary School.” *Gender & Education* 12 (2000), 309-326.

³³ E. Payne and M. Smith, “‘‘LGBTQ Kids, School Safety, and Missing the Big Picture: How the Dominant Bullying Discourse Prevents School Professionals from Thinking about Systemic Marginalization Or Why we Need to Rethink LGBTQ Bullying’’, QED,” *A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking Inaugural Issue* (2013), 1-36.

³⁴ Renée DePalma and Mark Jennett, “‘‘Homophobia, Transphobia and Culture: Deconstructing Heteronormativity in English Primary Schools.” *Intercultural Education* 21, no. 1 (2010), 18.

are only taught about heterosexuality and a great silence exists in relation to sexual diversity i.e., expressions of sexuality other than heterosexuality. As DePalma and Jennett (2010) suggest, this is an example of how schools reinforce the view sometimes held within sections of wider society- that sexualities other than heterosexuality are at least unacceptable, if not deviant. If children use homophobic language, and it is accompanied by or coupled with other negative behaviours, then this is a very specific form of bullying which is directed at individuals, or groups of individuals for a variety of reasons; including because of the perception that they are different.

There is an abundance of literature documenting the ill-effects of involvement in bullying for our young people. Yet, schools in general have been slow to develop specific policies and support for these individuals. One important element in this equation is school climate and research is beginning to document the importance of a positive one in preventing and intervening with bullying. School climate refers to the quality and character of school life and takes into account the atmosphere and behaviours of the school.³⁵ In one large-scale meta-analysis, Marx and Hensman Kettrey (2016) found that schools who engaged with organisations to encourage dialogue between sexual minority and heterosexual youth had significantly less students reporting victimisation and a more positive general school climate overall.³⁶ On the contrary, bullied LGBTQ+ youth were less likely to report aggressive behaviour and suicidal behaviours when they had one adult they felt connected to in the school environment.^{37,38}

It is no surprise that students perceived as being different due to their gender or sexual identity are more likely to be the target of bullying.^{39,40} What is surprising is that schools have not always been productive with preventative policies and the same barriers to education that faced our children decades ago are still in place today. It is important that we understand homophobic bullying both as an individual and a sociological problem. Such a shift in how we understand homophobic bullying involves a recognition that while certain individuals are more likely to bully due to social and/or emotional deficits, the social context in which they live and study can also contribute towards a school climate where bullying is more acceptable. Young people are rarely bullied in schools because they are perceived to be the same as everyone else. Rather they are often bullied because they stand out in their environment as being different from their peers. This reality points to the need for schools to promote diversity as a “normal” part of life and to develop policies and structures that challenge, limit and reshape heteronormative cultures. The research shows that where young people are provided with an

³⁵ J. Cohen, E. M. McCabe and N. M.: Pickeral Michelli T., “School Climate: Research, Policy, Practice and Teacher Education.” *Teachers College Record* Volume 111, no. 1 (2009), 180-213.

³⁶ R. A. Marx and H. H. Kettrey, “Gay-Straight Alliances are associated with Lower Levels of School-Based Victimization of LGBTQ+ Youth: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis.” *Journal of Youth Adolescence* 45 (2016), 1269-1282.

³⁷ J. Duong and C. Bradshaw, “Aggressive and Suicidal Behaviors among Sexual Minority Youth: The Moderating Role of Connectedness.” *Journal of School of Health* 84, no. 10 (2014), 636-645.

³⁸ L. A. Taliaferro and J. J. Muehlenkamp, “Nonsuicidal Self-Injury and Suicidality among Sexual Minority Youth: Risk Factors and Protective Connectedness Factors,” *Academic Paediatrics* 17, no. 7 (2017), 715-722.

³⁹ J. Norman, M. Galvin and G. McNamara, *Straight Talk: Researching Gay and Lesbian Issues in the School Curriculum* (Dublin: DCU Press, 2006).

⁴⁰ Norman J. O'Higgins, “Still Catching Up: Schools, Sexual Orientation and Homophobia in Ireland,” *Sexuality & Culture* 13 (2009b), 1-16.

opportunity to reflect on difference as a positive aspect of life, levels of sexual minority bullying and other forms of discrimination decrease.^{41,42,43,44,45,46,47}

THE SITUATION IN IRELAND

The first study specifically on homophobic bullying in Ireland was conducted by O'Higgins Norman (2008, 2009). This research highlighted the difficulties facing LGBTQ+ individuals, their teachers and school systems in tackling bullying and discrimination in what was previously a state highly influenced by the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. Almost a decade later, some of these challenges still exist in Irish schools. Dramatic legislative change in Ireland in recent years has impacted on the lives of LGBTQ+ individuals, not least the extension in 2015 of the right to marry same-sex partners. Yet, despite this significant change, young people in Ireland still report negative experiences and 47% of young LGBTQ+ people still feel there is a lack of acceptance and understanding in Irish society.⁴⁸ While legislative change marks a formal acceptance of same-sex partners, it can take years before this trickles down to all sections of society and there is a real sense of acceptance at the community level. Kitching (2013) identifies the low response by parents to proposed changes in school patronage in Ireland to the continuance of what Inglis (2007) describes as an unquestioned Catholic habitus⁴⁹ which intersects with, and is expressed in lived ways through the politics of class and race.⁵⁰ From Foucault's perspective it stands to reason that Irish society will not be able to free itself from its traditional habitus except at a considerable cost "nothing less than a transgression of laws, a lifting of prohibitions... a reinstating of pleasure within reality and a whole new economy in the mechanisms of power will be required."⁵¹ The ultimate outcome of the marriage equality referendum in Ireland in May 2015 revealed that while the majority of people in Ireland may still operate many aspects of their life through a Catholic habitus they are also capable of setting it aside and making choices that are not necessarily reflective of that habitus to which they adhere to in other parts of their lives. This parallels with the problems facing our schools who may in effect have appropriate policies and anti-bullying initiatives in place, yet display a heteronormative ethos counter to these efforts. For example, on one hand,

⁴¹ P. G. Devine and K. A. Vasquez, eds., *The Rocky Road to Positive Intergroup Relations* (London: Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998), 234-262.

⁴² Daniel Chirot and Martin E. P. Seligman, *Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2001).

⁴³ T. F. Pettigrew and L. R. Tropp, "A Meta-Analytic Test of Inter-Group Contact Theory," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90, no. 5 (2006), 751-783.

⁴⁴ Norman J. O'Higgins, "Equality in the Provision of Social, Personal and Health Education in the Republic of Ireland: The Case of Homophobic Bullying?" *Pastoral Care in Education* 26, no. 2 (2009a), 69-81.

⁴⁵ J. O'Higgins Norman, M. Goldrick and K. Harrison, "Pedagogy for Diversity: Mediating between Tradition and Equality in Schools." *International Journal of Children's Spirituality* 14, no. 4 (2009), 323-337.

⁴⁶ M. O'Moore, *Understanding Bullying, A Guide for Parents and Teachers* (Dublin: Veritas, 2010).

⁴⁷ K. Sullivan, *The Anti-Bullying Handbook* (London: Sage, 2010).

⁴⁸ C. Noone, *Budding Burning Issues: The Issues Facing Ireland's LGBT and Young People*, (2017).

⁴⁹ T. Inglis, "Catholic Identity in Contemporary Ireland. Belief and Belonging to Tradition." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 22, no. 2 (2007), 205-220.

⁵⁰ K. Kitching, "Governing 'Authentic' Religiosity? The Responsibilisation of Parents beyond Religion and State in Matters of School Ethos." *Irish Journal of Sociology* 21, no. 2 (2013), 30.

⁵¹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (London: Random House, 1978).

a school's anti-bullying policy may state that homophobic bullying is not tolerated, while on the other hand, it may unwittingly not include same-sex relationships in various syllabi.

CONCLUSION

While Ireland may appear to be taking positive steps in promoting equal rights of LGBTQ+ individuals at the policy level, the extent to which young people are experiencing this 'acceptance' in schools has yet to be established. For many teenagers, marriage is seen as something in the future and not entirely relevant to their life stage. What may be conducive to promoting positive mental health in our young people (LGBTQ+ and others) may need to involve their direct environment such as schools and peer to peer interactions. Positive school climates, where differences are not just tolerated or 'allowed' but embraced are required along with communities which promote diversity at all levels. Various systems in society (such as schools) will need to shift perspective and recognise that all interventions (e.g., anti-bullying programmes) will be limited if implemented from a heteronormative view point. We need to develop our view of the individual who is bullied as one who doesn't fit to standard gender or sexual norms for example, to considering how our norms actually allow for diversity in the first place.

Until very recently, there has often been a refusal by Western societies to listen to people who identify as LGBTQ+ and their experiences of not identifying with heteronormative behaviours and cultures. For a long time both civil and religious society have treated any attempt to even question the predominant assumptions about sexuality (and homosexuality) with a prohibiting silence, which inhibits any further questioning. This silence has been maintained and carefully controlled historically through a variety of processes in wider society. A primary function of schools, like other social institutions, is the reproduction of the dominant social ideology. Schools legitimate and sustain cultural practices. While our current understanding of bullying and homophobic bullying is incomplete,⁵² the daily worlds of our schools continue to teach a script for what is considered to be appropriate gender and sexual behaviour during adolescence and later on in adulthood.

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⁵² United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Respuestas Del Sector De Educación Frente Al Bullying Homofóbico* [Education Sector Responses To homophobic Bullying]. (Paris: UNESCO, 2013).

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Chapter 126

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL OF PREDICTORS OF FACE TO FACE BULLYING: THE FINDINGS OF A TWO-WAVE LONGITUDINAL STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Although the research on bullying is almost in its 50th year, still there is need for longitudinal studies. Therefore, the main purpose of this research was to examine the individual-level predictors of face to face bullying among a Turkish Cypriot adolescent sample in two waves (time interval: one year). A total of 268 adolescents (143 females, 124 males, 1 missing; Mean age = 14.7, SD = .52) have been recruited from public schools which settled in four different districts of Northern Cyprus. Age, gender, media use, perceived popularity vs unpopularity, prosocial and antisocial behaviors (both in real life and cyberspace) were analyzed as predictors in Time 1. Face to face bullying in Time 2 was predicted by face to face bullying, perceived unpopularity, age and using chat rooms in Time 1 positively. On the other hand gender (1 = female, 2 = male), helping others in cyberspace, perceived popularity and using blogs in Time 1 predicted face to face bullying negatively in Time 2. All coefficients were significant at $p < .05$. The results indicated that face to face bullying had a stability; older ones and females perpetrated bullying more; perceived unpopularity and using chat rooms were risks for future bullying. The findings will be discussed in both theoretical and practical implications.

Keywords: school, face to face bullying, adolescents, longitudinal study, individual factors

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1. INTRODUCTION

Bullying is an aggressive behavior which is repeated, targeting a weaker victim or victims (which indicates a power imbalance physically, psychologically and/or socially) and intending to harm. When the empirical research about bullying started in the late 1960s and early 1970s (see Heinemann, 1972; Olweus, 1973) the main context was focused on the school. Therefore *school bullying* term is often used instead of peer bullying (ex: Evans, Fraser, & Cotter, 2014; Sharp, & Smith, 2002; Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009; Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007). Olweus (1993) arrayed a series of factors which were related with school bullying: the size of the school and classrooms, monitoring during break times, the rate of competition in the school, discipline style of adults (i.e., authoritative vs authoritarian) and group dynamics at school. Following studies consistently confirmed that school related factors such as monitoring by teacher, teacher support, classroom management skills of teachers, school bonding and psychological climate of the school was strongly related with bullying (Demaray & Malecki, 2003; Limber, Olweus, Wang, Masiello, & Breivik, 2018; Parault, Davis, & Pellegrini, 2007; Sprott, Jenkins, & Doob, 2005; Welsh, 2000). It is clear that school as a main socialization context during childhood and adolescence includes both opportunities and risks for social-emotional development and bullying is one of the major risks.

Although there is an enormous literature about school bullying, most of the research is cross sectional (see Kljakovic and Hunt's (2016) meta-analysis study for longitudinal research on bullying and victimization, also see Alvarez-Garcia, Garcia, and Nunez's (2015) review on school bullying). In those cases (i.e., cross sectional studies) it is difficult to talk about risks and protective factors which can be analyzed through longitudinal or experimental studies. Therefore, the main aim of this research was to examine the individual-level predictors of face to face bullying among a Turkish Cypriot adolescent sample in two waves (time interval: one year). The reason to choose individual level factors (but not school related factors) was the empirical proof which indicated that these factors were the strongest predictors of aggressive behaviors (ex: Bayraktar, 2012; Khoury-Kassabri, Benbenishty, Avi Astor, & Zeira; 2004; Lee, 2000; Welsh, Greene, & Jenkins, 1999; Zych, Farrington, & Ttofi, in press) beyond the school related factors. Also, adolescence was suggested as a risky period of life compared to other developmental stages (see Troop-Gordon's (2017) review article for peer victimization in adolescence). Age, gender, media use, perceived popularity vs unpopularity, prosocial and antisocial behaviors (both in real life and cyberspace) were analyzed as predictors in Time 1. The variables were selected to explain the demographical links (i.e., age and gender), to contribute to the literature with longitudinal findings (i.e., perceived popularity vs unpopularity, prosocial and antisocial behaviors in the real life) and to present new links (i.e., media use, prosocial and antisocial behaviors in cyberspace) to the best of our knowledge. Below the literature which shows the links between those variables and bullying will be reviewed briefly.

1.1. Age and Bullying

Although some studies argue that bullying is a stable behavior which continues through the life course in different and more complex forms (Kaukiainen, Björkqvist, Österman, & Lagerspetz, 1996; Scheithauer, Hayer, Petermann, & Jugert, 2006), there are also some research

findings which indicated that bullying decreases with age (ex: Eslea & Rees, 2001; Rigby, 1996). From a life span developmental perspective, none of the behaviors can be counted as stable throughout the life because of flexibility characteristic except the negative contextual factors are not be able to decreased or eliminated. Therefore as well known the prevalence of bullying can be decreased with prevention and intervention programs which aim to improve the contextual conditions (i.e., home and school related factors). However, in every case the age (i.e., developmental stage or grade) of the bully and the victim must be counted (Albayrak, Yıldız, & Erol, 2016).

It is expected that patterns of bullying (if it continues) will change over time and older students will show more indirect, verbal and manipulative strategies to bully others because of developing cognitive and social skills (Henington, Hughes, Cavell, Thompson, 1998; Scheithauer et al., 2006). Although there is not a certain peak of bullying behaviors, adolescents can show a wider behavioral spectrum compared to children. Therefore the sample of the current study included adolescents. Also the age was used as an independent variable to predict (or not to predict) bullying. This possible link can show whether the age is a risk or not. Because bullying was measured as a sum score of different forms, it is hypothesized that age will predict bullying positively (Hypothesis 1).

1.2. Gender and Bullying

There is a robust literature which indicated that males are more at risk as perpetrators (ex: Berthold & Hoover, 2000; Spriggs, Iannotti, Nansel & Haynie, 2007). Male tendency to bullying and in general to aggressive/violent behaviors can be explained biologically (i.e., higher levels of testosterone) or via socialization processes (e.g., Bettencourt, & Miller, 1996; Windle & Windle, 1995). Therefore the first studies in bullying focused on males as usual suspects of aggressive behaviors, the subsequent literature clearly indicated that bullying was not only typical for males but also for females. Yet when the sub-types of bullying are counted a lot of studies showed that both males and females are tended to be bullies. However when direct and indirect forms of bullying are considered, a lot of research showed gender differences; males were found to be more at risk for direct forms while females were showing more indirect forms (ex: Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen, & Brick, 2010; Putallaz et al., 2007).

In the current study, similar to the *age*, gender was used as a predictor of bullying in long term. Because the bullying measure included both overt and relational forms (see Methods) instead of hypothesis a research question was asked: “Does being male or female increase the risk of bullying in time?”

1.3. Media Use and Bullying

Media use may shape the perceptions about the phenomena and may have an effect on human actions (Kuntsche, 2004). There are consistent findings that exposing violence on TV may trigger aggressive thoughts and under frustration increase the risk to show aggression (e.g., Bandura, 1994; Hughes & Hasbrouck, 1996). A lot of research indicated similar effects of playing violent video games (e.g., Dill & Dill, 1998; Sherry, 2001). When contemporary world

is considered although watching TV or playing video games are not rare among adolescents, new media use (i.e., Information Communication Technologies) are becoming much more popular. This can be explained via the concept of *Electronic Nomads* which was used first by Russell and Holmes (1996) to define the adolescents' ability to adapt digital media platforms and tools. Accordingly a new form of bullying called cyberbullying became a risk factor since 2000s because of increasing internet penetration rates and increased number of smart phone use throughout the world (Nocentini et al., 2010).

In the current study cyberbullying was not measured although there are a lot of empirical findings which indicate an overlap between face to face bullying and cyberbullying (e.g., Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007). The main focus was to find the link between electronic media use and bullying. It was hypothesized that the digital media platforms which may enhance the possibility of cyberbullying (i.e., chat rooms, online games, social media platforms etc.) would also be related with higher face to face bullying rates but not the others (i.e., blogs, personal web sites etc.) (Hypothesis 2).

1.4. Popularity and Bullying

Acceptance (being liked by the peers) and popularity (perceived dominance and visibility in the peer group) are the related but interdependent indicators of social status among students. Although the victimization was consistently found to be associated with being disliked and unpopularity (e.g., De Bruyn, Cillessen, & Wissink, 2010; Prinstein & Cillessen, 2003), the links between bullying and social status are more complex. While some of the bullies were found less liked and popular among the peers, the same bullies were having higher perceived popularity scores (e.g., Farmer, Estell, Bishop, O'Neal, & Cairns, 2003; Vaillancourt, Hymel, & McDougall, 2003). This distinction is based on the difference between socio-metric popularity and perceived popularity (Parkhurst, & Hopmeyer, 1998). Later these dimensions were explained in Cillessen's (2008) *dual-component model of social competence* which stressed that peer acceptance (or socio-metric popularity) and perceived popularity were two components of social competence. The first component was related with being prosocial, cooperative, empathic, and having higher social cognitive abilities. The second component was related with being coercive, forceful, assertive and manipulative. Therefore a bully could have higher scores from one component but having lower scores from the other.

In the current study, popularity was tested as a self-report measure to focus on self-perceptions of the participants. It was suggested that interpersonal and intrapersonal factors were related with each other (e.g., Mayeux, & Cillessen, 2008; Peets, Pöyhönen, Juvonen, & Salmivalli, 2015) and therefore bullying would negatively be related with self-reported popularity (Hypothesis 3).

1.5. Prosocial Behaviors and Bullying

As mentioned above prosocial behaviors were one of the components of social competency and theoretically they are expected to be negatively related with bullying. However some studies indicated that *Machiavellian* bullies were socially competent and had higher perspective

taking and theory of mind abilities compared to typical bullies (e.g., Andreou, 2006; Sutton and Keogh, 2000). This was in line with Davis' (1994) *multidimensional model of dispositional empathy* which stressed that empathy had two main components; cognitive component (i.e., perspective taking) and emotional component (i.e., concerning the others and being sympathetic). In the other words some bullies may use only the cognitive component of empathy but still not being empathetic. Resource Control Theory (Pellegrini, 2008) stress that social status and social dominance are the sources of power and generally gained by either using coercive strategies or prosocial strategies. Although coercive strategies (i.e., threatening, forcing, excluding etc.) are often called anti-social, these are also social dominance strategies and somehow adaptive. On the other hand prosocial behaviors may also benefit the individual via cooperation and allies to enhance the source control. Accordingly Hawley (2003) defined four statuses of source control: using both prosocial and coercive strategies (i.e., bi-strategic controllers); using only coercive strategies, using only prosocial strategies and using none of the strategies Hawley, Little and Pasupathi (2002) found that the ones who gain the source by using both prosocial and coercive strategies were found to be popular and socially dominant. On the other hand the ones who use neither of the strategies were found to be submissive (an indication of victimization). In sum bullies may use prosocial behaviors to get benefit.

In the current study the prosocial behaviors were measured in the real life also in the cyberspace as cyber-prosocial behaviors. Previous research indicated that real life and virtual life behaviors are mostly overlapped (e.g., Bayraktar, & Amca, 2012; Subrahmanyam, Reich, Waechter, et al., 2008; Valkenburg, & Peter, 2007). To the best of our knowledge, there was no study to test the link between cyber-prosocial behaviors and bullying. Therefore instead of hypothesis a research question was written: "Are the face to face and cyber prosocial behaviors correlated with bullying in time?"

1.6. Theoretical Background

Theoretically Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model and Masten's (2006) principle of multi-dimensionality were used. Bronfenbrenner (1979) stated that human development occurs within a series of systems respectively shape the development from more directly to more indirectly. However at the center there are always individual level variables which have the strongest effects over developmental outcomes (See the review of the ecological system analysis by Hong and Espelage, 2012). Similarly Masten's (2006) principle of multi-dimensionality stresses that the researchers must study individual level, proximal and distal factors to understand the risks and protective factors of human development. However, individual level factors are the core variables as risks and protective factors for later developmental outcomes (Ttofi, Bowes, Farrington, & Lösel, 2014; Ttofi, Farrington, Lösel, & Loeber, 2011). Therefore to understand the long term associates of bullying the current study focused on individual level variables.

2. METHODS

2.1. Participants

A total of 268 adolescents (143 females, 124 males, 1 missing; Mean age = 14.7, SD = .52) have been recruited from public schools which settled in four different districts of Northern Cyprus. School system in Northern Cyprus include primary school level (from 1st to 5th years), secondary school system (three years after primary school education) and higher school system (another three years after secondary school). When the first wave of data was collected most of the students were at the second year of secondary school. Therefore when the second wave of the data was collected they were the oldest students in their schools which may increase the probability of the bullying. Public schools were selected to increase the socio-economic representativeness of the sample.

2.2. Measurement Tools

2.2.1. New Media Use

The frequency of use for nine information and communication technologies were asked (1- Never, 5-All of the time). The ICTs were as following; Social Networking Sites (e.g., Myspace, Facebook, Instagram), Chat Programs (e.g., AOL Instant Messenger, Yahoo), Text Messages (through cell phone), Email, Public or Private Chatrooms, Blogging Sites (such as Live journal, MSN Spaces), Online Gaming, Forums (i.e., discussion boards), Video Chat Programs (e.g., Skype).

2.2.2. Face-to-Face Bullying and Prosocial Behavior Scale (Wright, Li, & Shi, 2014)

This scale measured overt and relational bullying with face to face prosocial behaviors (1- Never, 5- Always). In the current study the sum score of overt and relational bullying was used (Sample items: *How often do you leave a peer out of a group because you are mad at him/her?*; *How often do you hit others at your school?*) The Cronbach Alpha for eleven items which measure bullying was .83.

The scale also measured prosocial behaviors (Sample items: *How often do you do something that makes your peers feel happy?*; *How often do you say something nice to your peers?*). The internal consistency of this sub-dimension was found as .79.

2.2.3. Cyberbullying and Cyber-Prosocial Behavior Scale (Wright, & Li, 2012)

This scale measured both cyberbullying and cyber-prosocial behaviors (1- Never, 5- Always). In the current study only the cyber-prosocial behavior dimension was used (Sample items: *How often do you help other peers online or through text messages?*; *How often do you say something nice to other peers online or through text messages?*). Cronbach alpha for four items was found as .79.

2.2.4. Self-Perceptions of Status (Mayeux & Cillessen, 2008)

This questionnaire was designed to measure the self-perceptions of perceived popularity and social preference (1- Almost nobody, 7-Almost everybody). There were two items; *How*

many people in your grade think that you are popular? and *How many people in your grade like you?* Internal consistency between the items was .84.

2.3. Procedure

First the research ethics approval was obtained from Eastern Mediterranean University Department of Psychology Research Ethics Committee. Then the permit to collect the data from the schools was authorized by Ministry of Education. The school administrations and school counselors were informed about the study. The data were collected during lecture hours with the attendance of school counselor and one research assistant to answer the questions. One year later the same schools were revisited and by using the school numbers the students were reached again with the help of the counselors.

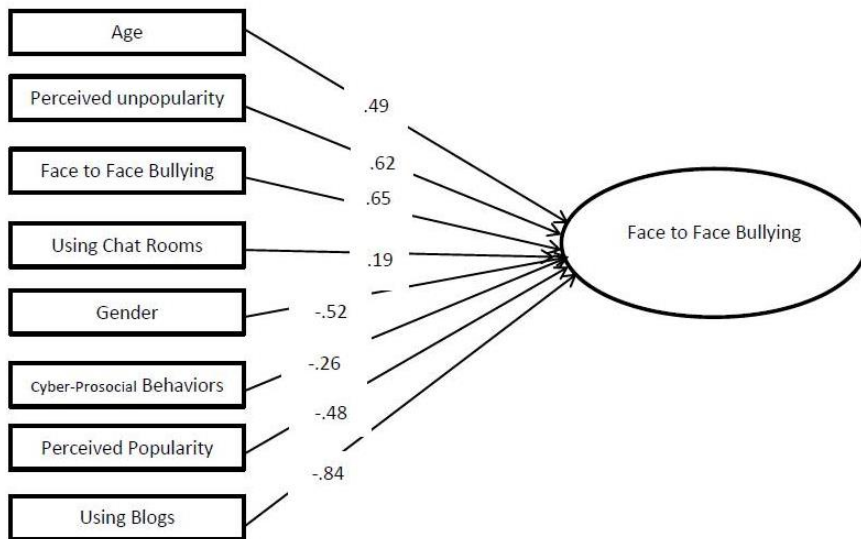


Figure 1. The Associations between Individual Level Predictors in Time 1 and Bullying in Time 2 (All coefficient are significant at $p < .05$).

3. RESULTS

3.1. Incidence and Prevalence of Bullying in Time 1 and Time 2

The mean score of bullying increased from 13.48 (SD: 5.12) in Time 1 to 15.77 (SD: 7.64) in Time 2. When 1 Standard Deviation over the mean score was used as a cut-off point the prevalence of bullying was 18.4% in Time 1 and 19.04% in Time 2.

3.2. Longitudinal Associates of Bullying in Time 2

As mentioned above, bullying in Time 2 was used as a dependent variable and age, gender, media use, self-reported perceived popularity vs unpopularity, prosocial behaviors (both in real life and cyberspace) were analyzed as predictors in Time 1 (See Figure 1).

4. DISCUSSION

Although the research on bullying is almost in its 50th year, still there is need for longitudinal studies. Therefore, the main of this research was to examine the individual-level predictors of face to face bullying among a Turkish Cypriot adolescent sample in two waves (time interval: one year). Face to face bullying in Time 2 was predicted by face to face bullying, perceived unpopularity, age and using chat rooms in Time 1 positively. On the other hand gender (1 = female, 2 = male), helping others in cyberspace, perceived popularity and using blogs in Time 1 predicted face to face bullying negatively in Time 2.

The positive association between face to face bullying in Time 1 and Time 2 (which validated Hypothesis 1) indicates that the bullying was stable at least within one year. This was not consistent with the research which found that bullying decreased in time (ex: Eslea & Rees, 2001; Rigby, 1996). As mentioned above this stability can be explained through complicated bullying behaviors (Henington et al., 1998; Kaukiainen et al., 1996; Scheithauer et al., 2006). In the current study bullying was measured as a sum score of overt and relational bullying. It can be expected that more relational (so complicated) bullying behaviors occur in time. This stability was also supported by incidence and prevalence rates of bullying.

The second explanation of positive association between Time 1 and Time 2 face to face bullying can be the status of students within the school. When the data were collected in Time 2 the students were at third year in the secondary school which means that they were the oldest ones at school. Both physical growth and using more complex social cognitive skills compared to younger ones might increase the risk of bullying. Also being older itself can create a kind of hierarchy, inequality and power imbalance (which is one of the main criteria of bullying) among students (e.g., Elgar, Craig, Boyce, Morgan, & Vella-Zarb, 2009; Garandeau, Lee, & Salmivalli, 2014).

In the current research gender (1 = female, 2 = male) predicted face to face bullying in Time 2 negatively. In other words being female increased the risk of bullying in time. This finding can be explained through the measurement of bullying in the current research. As explained above the bullying measure included relational form items and the previous study consistently indicated that females use more indirect forms (ex: Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen, & Brick, 2010; Putallaz et al., 2007). However it is also possible that females use both overt and covert forms of bullying. In an early meta-analysis, it was shown that gender differences in aggression were getting smaller between the years 1978-1981 (Hyde, 1984). This decrease was explained through the gradual disappearance of traditional gender stereotypes which stress the aggressiveness-dominance of maleness and vulnerability-submissiveness of femaleness. It is obvious that when 'gender norms' disappear (ex: in sports or in cyberspace) both males and females might show similar aggressive behaviors. For example some research on cyberbullying indicated that females show more bullying compared to males (e.g., Bauman, 2012; Kowalski

& Limber, 2007). Also in earlier times of life it was found that there was no difference in aggression between males and females (Lansford et al., 2012). This also supports that aggressive behaviors are mainly related with gender socialization and when genders become equalize, males and females start to resemble each other.

Second hypothesis of the current study was that the digital media platforms which might enhance the possibility of cyberbullying (i.e., chat rooms, online games, social media platforms etc.) would also be related with higher face to face bullying rates but not the others (i.e., blogs, personal web sites etc.). This hypothesis was accepted. It was found that using chat rooms was positively associated with face to face bullying in Time 2, on the other hand there was a negative link between using blogs and bullying. These links can be explained through the overlap between cyberbullying and bullying (e.g., Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007). In other words chat rooms can enhance the students to bully others both in cyberspace and trigger face to face bullying in real life. The previous research supported this finding which indicated that chat rooms extend the bullying at schools (e.g., Campbell, 2005; Juvonen, & Gross, 2008; Kowalski, & Limber, 2007). To the best of our knowledge the negative link between using blogs and bullying has not been found in the previous research. On the contrary some studies counted blogs among ICTs which enhance cyberbullying and bullying (e.g., Keith, & Martin, 2005; Menesini, Calussi, & Nocentini, 2012). Therefore this empirical finding can be counted as the first positive connotation for using blogs. However, this link has to be reevaluated by future research.

Hypothesis 3 was also accepted. The findings showed that self-reported popularity was negatively associated with face to face bullying while there was a reverse link between self-reported perceived unpopularity and bullying. Although the literature on popularity-bullying association has been growing since 1990s, still there is confusion. This uncertainty can raise from the domination of *typical* perceptions or definitions about bullies. Typically most of the bullies are perceived as unpopular, cognitively immature, socially incompetent etc. However as mentioned above there is also *allure of a mean friend* (Farmer, et al., 2003; Hawley, Little, & Card, 2007; Vaillancourt, et al., 2003). As stressed before the confusion can be solved when acceptance/ to be liked (i.e., socio-metric popularity) and perceived dominance within the peer group (i.e., perceived popularity) is differentiated. The current findings indicate that the students who bully others more are aware that they are not liked. This shows the link between interpersonal and intrapersonal perceptions (e.g., Mayeux, & Cillessen, 2008; Peets, et al., 2015). Moreover, this self-reported perceived unpopularity was found as a risk in the long term. In other words students who perceive that they are not liked within the peer group because of bullying end in more bullying. One of the possible reasons can be emotion of anger that was not analyzed in the current research. However previous research indicated that anger is one of the basic motives in bullying (e.g., Bosacki, Marini, & Dane, 2006; Gradinger, Strohmeier, & Spiel, 2009). So the future research may take the link between popularity and bullying by taking both motives and the different dimensions of bullying.

Last research question was about the association between cyber/real life prosocial behaviors and bullying. There was not a significant relationship between prosocial behaviors in real life and face to face bullying. However, it was found that cyber-prosocial behaviors in Time 1 were negatively associated with bullying in Time 2. Because there was not an empirical finding in the previous researches which showed the similar link, we may have some suggestions: First, this association might be found because of the overlap between cyberbullying and bullying. Although the current research didn't focus this link, in another

research which used the same data it was found that face to face bullying in Time 1 was significantly correlated with cyberbullying in Time 2 and cyberbullying in Time 1 was again positively correlated with face to face bullying in Time 2 which clearly showed the overlap (Bayraktar, under review). Therefore the negative link between cyber-prosocial behaviors and bullying might be an expected finding when these behaviors were evaluated as the opposite of cyberbullying. Second, when Davis' (1994) multi-dimensional model of dispositional empathy was counted, we may suggest that the students in our sample who bully others more might be using the cognitive component more compared to emotional component. This could result in less prosocial behaviors when the emotional empathy was considered as the core of these behaviors. Third, when Resource Control Theory (Pellegrini, 2008) was counted it seems that the perpetrator students in our sample use more coercive strategies instead of being bi-strategic controllers. This possibility might also explain the negative link between cyber-prosocial behaviors and face-to-face bullying. However, these are all suggestions and must be tested by future research.

4.1. Implications

School is still one of the major socialization contexts for children and adolescents. Therefore all prevention and intervention programs must focus on the risk and protective factors in the school. However, a holistic approach is also needed to take into account the other factors. Aforementioned, maybe the most critical risk and protective factors are the ones at the individual level. Our findings may have some implications at this point.

First, the age (or grade) of the student must always be counted. The current findings indicated that face to face bullying increased in one year interval. When the programs are designed the highest grades within the school may be evaluated at risk for bullying others. Because power is a key word for bullying, using power for prosocial aims (ex: helping the students at lower grades, protecting them against the dangers) can be encouraged especially for those students.

Second, the males must not be the usual suspects of bullying. The adults in the school can be informed about the nature of bullying which is not related with maleness or femaleness but stereotypical gender roles which link power/dominance to masculinity and victimization/submissiveness to femininity. This awareness can catch more bullying cases among females at schools.

Third, using blogs was found as a protective factor against bullying. Using a critical but not an encouraging language about bullying in personal blogs can increase the sensitiveness of other students. Especially those who were victimized can tell their stories to increase the empathy; the defenders of victims may write how they stopped the bullying to encourage the other students; or the bystanders can explain how passively observing the bullying may increase the problem.

Fourth, especially the negative link between self-reported perceived unpopularity and bullying indicated that the bullies/perpetrators are not the ones who must be fought against but the ones who must be helped. The students who bully others seem to be aware about their negative impression and unfortunately this awareness makes them bully more. Therefore to break this reciprocal link, the emotional motives behind the bullying must be included in any kind of intervention.

Fifth, the negative link between cyber-prosocial behaviors and face to face bullying clearly indicated that any intervention or prevention program must equally take school bullying and cyberbullying into account. The students in the world (except some countries which restrain internet penetration or countries with worse internet infrastructure) has born and grew with Information Communication Technologies (See Zych, Ortega-Ruiz and Del Rey's (2015) review which focus on disadvantaged populations related with face-to-face bullying and cyberbullying). Therefore they are called digital nomads as explained above. Neglecting this reality will only postpone the solution of problems related with bullying and victimization. As Tokunaga (2010) defined in his review article: it follows you home from school. A recent research by Chan and Wong (2015) also showed how school bullying and cyberbullying can be included in a whole-school intervention approach.

4.2. Conclusion

As a conclusion despite some limitations such as relatively small sample, self-reported measures, a short term longitudinal data, and the quantitative nature of the research (see Thornberg (2011) for a review on qualitative research related with school bullying) the current findings have the potential to be integrated to both national and international prevention/intervention programs as risk/protective factors. Also the empirical findings may have future directions for following research. So, it can be said that the current research had both theoretical and practical implications.

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Chapter 127

EXPERIENCES AND MEANINGS OF BULLYING AMONG BULLIES, VICTIMS, AND BYSTANDERS IN AN ALL-GIRLS SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

This study used phenomenological research design to explore the bullying experiences and determine the meaning of bullying among fourteen Grade 4 to Grade 8 female students in an all-girls school as identified bullies (N = 5), victims (N = 6), and bystanders (N = 3). Findings of this study showed that a student can play more than one role in the bullying circle; that is, they can either be a bully, a victim, or a bystander, or all those three. Furthermore, bullies, victims, and bystanders understood that the bullying experiences they had were caused by the bullies' dislike of the victims and that the victims were not randomly picked. Bullies, victims, and bystanders formed different meanings of their bullying experiences based from the roles they played in the bullying circle. Results are indicative that an effective anti-bullying program must be developed based from the bullies', victims', and bystanders' understanding of the bullying phenomenon.

Keywords: bullying, bully, victim, bystander, phenomenological research

INTRODUCTION

Bullying involves a desire to hurt others manifested through hurtful actions, power imbalance, repetition of unjust use of power, and evident enjoyment by the aggressor, with a sense of being oppressed on the part of the victim (Rigby, 2002). A student is bullied when he

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or she is exposed repeatedly and overtime to negative actions done by one or more persons (Olweus, 1993).

Bullying is damaging to the bullies, victims, and bystanders. Those who experienced bullying are more likely than others to suffer serious psychological problems later in life (www.kenrigby.net). They are more likely to experience depression and anxiety, increased feelings of sadness and loneliness, and loss of interest in activities which may persist through adulthood. Their academic achievement may also decrease (www.stopbullying.gov/at-risk/effects/). Bullies also suffer long term effects of their acts when they engage in violent and risky behaviors until adulthood. They get into frequent fights, get poor grades, perceive negative climate in school, and commit crimes (www.gomasa.org). Bystanders, on the other hand, are also negatively affected by bullying. They feel that they are in an unsafe environment. They are also fearful, feel powerless to act, experience guilt for not acting, and are tempted to participate in bullying (www.violencepreventionworks.org). Bullying destroys the fundamental concept of order in the society (Mapue, 2010).

In the Philippines, the Philippine Women's University, Council for the Welfare of Children and United Nations Children's Fund (PWU-CWC-UNICEF) Plan for the Philippines in 2009 recorded that 73.58% of children in Grades 4-6 and 78.36% in high school surveyed in urban areas have suffered verbal bullying from their peers, 30.17% of children in Grades 4-6 and 37.57% in high school surveyed in rural areas experienced physical bullying. In 2008, a study released by a child rights monitor in the Philippines showed that "at least five out of 10 children in Grades 1-3, seven out of 10 in Grades 4-6 and six out of 10 in high school have experienced some kind of violence in school" (France-Presse, 2008). Ridicule, teasing, being shouted at or cursed are common forms of bullying, with physical violence most common among male children, the British-based study added.

Television and newspaper reports reveal the continuing prevalence of bullying in the Philippines. These reports showed how bullying resulted to death and threats of physical harm which happened in different public and private schools in the country. For example, on September 28, 2012, two students who wanted to avenge their bullied classmate punched, kicked slapped without provocation and pointed a gun to a 17-year-old student in a public school in NCR. Another was last February 3, 2013 when a 14-year-old high school male victim from Quezon City, died after his 13-year-old classmate bullied him. Cyberbullying was blamed for death of a 14-year-old male student of a private Catholic school in Batangas who shot himself on March 18, 2013. On August 9, 2013, a grade school boy from Naga died after his classmates bullied him by punching him and twisting his arms. Meanwhile last October 5, 2013, *Bandila* ABS-CBN News Channel, reported another bullying case where new young volleyball athletes from a notable Catholic University received harsh initiation rites from the senior athletes.

Republic Act 10627 or the "Anti-Bullying Act of 2013," approved last June 6, 2013, prohibits bullying in the elementary and secondary school throughout the country. The bill defines bullying behaviors in schools and authorizes schools to impose sanctions on student bullies. All elementary and high schools are required to provide anti-bullying policies and programs and to sanction students who are found guilty of bullying their classmates.

With the above-statements, it can be implied that bullying is a sounding problem not just in other countries but also in the Philippines today. This, what Filipinos have considered before as "*away-bata*" (children's petty quarrels) turned out to be a serious dilemma in the Philippine

schools. Responding to these bullying situation calls for a deeper understanding of the dynamics of the said phenomenon.

Bullying has been studied for so many years in other countries and in the Philippines. However, there is a scarcity of research on school bullying in the Philippines (Bayhon, 2001) and in cases when research on this is undertaken, it is still yet in its infancy (Zorilla, 2012). Also, there are a limited number of qualitative studies on bullying especially in the Philippine context.

The Anti-Bullying Act of 2013 has not yet reached the stage when it becomes a full blown law after its approval. Schools are still in the process of complying with the requirements set by the law. It is only when a clear definition and description of bullying experiences in school can the educational system address them by designing appropriate intervention programs that can adequately deal with bullying (Oano, et al., 2013). More importantly, it is only when the lived bullying experiences of bullies, victims and bystanders can schools take in hand with efficient counseling methods and proper intervention for those who have been part of the bullying experiences.

Conceptual Framework

Using Phenomenological Research Design, this study explored the bullying experiences of children and the meaning they developed from their bullying experiences.

Bullying is defined as negative actions done to a victim repeatedly and over time by one or more persons with evident enjoyment on the part of the bully and a sense of being oppressed to the victims. It involves power imbalance and the bully's desire to hurt (Rigby, 2002; Olweus, 1993). According to Olweus in the website *The Knowledge Network for Innovations in Learning and Teaching* (2010), in order for bullying to occur, three individuals or group of people must be involved: the bullies, victims, and bystanders. Bullies repeatedly use power to physically and/or psychologically harm their victims; victims who are targeted by the bullies and are exposed repeatedly and overtime to negative acts done by the bullies; and the bystanders, who are anybody, aside from the bullies and victims, present during a bullying incident. The bystanders may have ignored the event entirely, may have witnessed bullying but did not do appropriate actions to stop it, may have witnessed the event and did direct intervention to stop it or helped the victim, or may have engaged in the event by supporting the bully (Coloroso, 2002).

Sutton (2001) used the theory of mind (TOM) framework in exploring bullying. Theory of mind is a branch of cognitive science which investigates how persons ascribe mental states to other persons and how they use the states to explain and predict the actions of those other persons. It investigates mind reading or mentalizing or mentalistic abilities (Marraffa, 2014). Sutton (2001) believed that strong TOM skills is useful in certain kinds of bullying: spreading gossip, social exclusion, organizing gangs and avoiding detention—forms of bullying common among girls (Murphy, et.al., 2009). In his study, Sutton (2001) distinguished 'bullies' from their 'assistants' and 'reinforcers,' 'defenders' and 'victims.' Similarly, this study identified the participants' roles in the bullying experiences they had as a bully, a victim, or a bystander ('assistants', 'reinforcers' and 'defenders' classified as bystanders).

Oliver and Candappa (2003) emphasized the significance of starting with the children's bullying experiences and taking into account their perceptions of the effectiveness of the school

in handling such experiences. This study started from exploring the bullying experiences of children. Anchored in phenomenology, Faber (1996) said that it is necessary to begin with the conscious experience of an individual to achieve certainty. Husserl elaborates that natural knowledge begins with experience and remains within the experience (Natanson, 1973).

From these experiences, children develop their descriptions and their perspectives of the experiences (Patton, 1990). From these perspectives, they understand and make meaning of their experiences (Smith, 2013). The theory of mind also served as a basis of describing how the students ascribed mental states in the understanding and meaning of their bullying experiences.

Purpose of the Study

Using Phenomenological Research Design, this study looked into the lived bullying experiences of a bully, a victim, or a bystander and how the students understand and give meaning to this phenomenon. Although a range of issues was covered during the interviews, this article gives a picture of how bullying occurs in an all-girls school; the children's understanding of bullies, victims, and bystanders, their behaviors, and their emotional experiences.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study used Phenomenological Research Design (Groenewald, 2004) in drawing out, describing, exploring, and analyzing bullying experiences of children. It was selected for the intention of discovering the experiences of the students as it was lived by them. Also, this method is deemed to be useful in assessing the student's perception to the interventions done by the school to resolve their bullying experiences and the meaning they developed from them.

Phenomenological approach focuses on the descriptions of what people experiences and how it is that they experience what they experienced. A researcher can use a general phenomenological perspective to explain the importance of using methods that capture people's experiences of the world without conducting a phenomenological study that focuses on the core of shared experience (Patton, 1990). Phenomenological researchers examine the perceptions or appearances from the point of view of the participants from what things really are (Campbell, 2011). A phenomenologist must have an understanding of the existence of others' experiences through one's own consciousness (Quito, 2001). They are fully interested in the important relations and structures and not facts or events. Moreover, to achieve certainty in knowledge, it is necessary to begin with the conscious experiences of the individual (Farber, 1966). Husserl elaborates that natural knowledge begins with experience and remains within the experience (Natanson, 1973). In the conduct of phenomenological method, a researcher must be in direct contact with the phenomenon itself, assume that he/she does not know the phenomenon but wishes to, and use methods which will portray human experience in experiential terms (Seamon, 2000).

Sampling Procedure

The Student Formation Coordinator and the Guidance Facilitators were asked, in their discretion, for the names of all the students who were reported to be part of bullying, either as bully, victim or bystander for school year 2013-2014.

Criterion sampling was utilized to select specific participants in the study and limit them in number. The cumulative records and anecdotal reports of the participants were reviewed by the researcher and middle school girls had to meet at least two of the following criteria for inclusion in the study: (1) Involvement in bullying either as a bully, victim or bystander over a period of time (bullying which lasted for at least one week); (2) Has been part of bullying either as bully, victim, or bystander repeatedly (at least three or more times); (3) Involvement in bullying where the victim reported significant physical and/or emotional pain or trauma; (4) Bullying experience where perception that the bully is stronger than the victim is evident; and (5) Part of a bullying case where the bully was sanctioned by the Student Formation Coordinator and/or was counseled by the Guidance Facilitator.

Participants of the Study

The participants of this study are five identified bullies (Grade 4 = 1, Grade 5 = 1, Grade 6 = 1, Grade 7 = 1, Grade 8 = 1), six identified victims (Grade 4 = 1, Grade 5 = 2, Grade 6 = 1, Grade 7 = 1, Grade 8 = 1), and three identified bystanders (Grade 4 = 1, Grade 6 = 1, Grade 8 = 1).

Each participant was given a pseudonym which came from the names of the researcher's friends and from the list of the popular names in the website www.babynames.familyeducation.com/popular-names/girls/ and has no connection whatsoever with the real names of the participants.

Identified Bullies

Jessica: a 10-year old grade 4 pupil who cyberbullied her classmate on August 2013.

Erika: a 10-year old grade 5 pupil who teased, physically harmed, and verbally harassed her classmates from June to July 2013. She was placed under strict disciplinary probation.

Marianne: a 12-year old grade 6 pupil who socially excluded her classmate in October 2013. She also got involved in verbally harassing another classmate.

Rosette: a 12-year old grade 7 student who was reported for teasing and socially excluding a classmate on September 2013.

Sheriline: a 13-year old grade 8 student who cyberbullied, name-called and teased a classmate on July 2013.

Identified Victims

Gwen: a 9-year old grade 4 pupil who was cyberbullied by her classmates without her knowledge.

Tyra: a 10-year old grade 5 pupil who was verbally bullied by her classmate on June 2013. Her grandmother was the one who reported to her previous class adviser about the bullying. Her oppressor was reprimanded by her class adviser.

Mary Joy: a 10- year old grade 5 pupil who was physically bullied by her classmate on July 2013 and was verbally harassed on December 2013.

Aimee: an 11- year old grade 6 pupil who was insulted and verbally harassed by her classmate. The verbal bullying lasted for more than three months.

Olivia: a 12- year old grade 7 pupil who was teased and socially excluded by her friends on September 2013. She underwent counseling and was referred for a professional help from an external professional, particularly from a psychologist, as requested by her mother.

Ava: a 14- year old pupil who was cyberbullied, name-called, and teased by a classmate.

Identified Bystanders

Emily: an 11- year old grade 4 pupil who reported the cyberbullying perpetrated by her classmates. Primarily, she got herself involved in cyberbullying but eventually reported the case to the guidance facilitator. She claimed she was haunted by her conscience and saddened by her action.

Mia: an 11- year old grade 6 pupil who comforted a classmate deliberately excluded by her friends from the group. In the interview, she shared a lot of stories about bullying which she witnessed this school year. Her friend refused to go back to school because of what had happened.

Madison: a 13- year old grade 8 student who witnessed how her friend was cyberbullied on Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram. She also heard gossips about her. Her friend left school after what had happened.

Research Instruments

The main research instrument used in this study is semi-structured interview consisted of questions in response to the purpose of this study. In the conduct of the semi-structured interview, the researcher made use of an interview guide which roughly contained the topics to be covered as well as the sequence of the questions. Three interview guides were prepared: Interview Guide for the Bullies; for the Victims; and for the Identified Bystanders. Although the items in these three interview guides were the same for the three groups, these were rephrased according to their roles in the bullying situation.

Journal writing was another tool used to gather data. If participants felt at ease more on writing than speaking during the interview, they were asked to write essays or journals which could fully discuss their thoughts and feelings about their experiences.

Data Gathering Procedure

This study made use of semi-structured, open-ended questions during the data collection phase of this study. The interview was conversational. The participants were encouraged to answer the questions as if they were telling a story. They were free to speak either in Filipino and in English but the questions were asked in English.

The researcher allowed the participants to have some control in the interview but did not lose track of her purpose and tried to redirect them especially when they were telling stories not related to their bullying experiences anymore.

Debriefing followed after the interview. This was to process some tension or anxiety after the participant opened up personal and emotional experiences and wondered about the interview's purpose and how the information would be used (Kvale, 1996).

Explication of Data

The data gathered from the 14 transcribed interviews (with the accompanying researcher's field notes) and one journal (written by one participant) were analyzed and underwent explication, or the investigation of the constituents of the phenomenon while keeping the context of the whole (Groenewald, 2004). The researcher searched through each participant's statements for those that were especially relevant—those that appeared to be particularly meaningful to the participants. Units of meanings were formed into themes which were then summarized to validate each theme. The synthesis of the findings of the study was presented in a manner analogous to assembling a jigsaw puzzle.

This study followed Hycner's explication process as demonstrated by Groenewald (2004). Explication of data was used in this study because according to Hycner (1985), the term analysis means breaking into parts whereas explication implies investigation of the elements of the phenomenon, while keeping the context of the whole. Since phenomenology is concerned with the essence of an experience from the perspective of the participant, the researcher must keep the whole intact and must not be dismissed because of the process (Valentine, Analysis or Explication, 2011).

This explication process has five steps, namely:

1. Bracketing and phenomenological reduction
2. Delineating units of meaning
3. Clustering of units of meanings to form themes
4. Summarizing each interview, validating it, and where necessary, modifying it
5. Extracting general and unique themes from all the interviews and making a composite summary

(Groenewald, 2004)

Validity and Credibility

After the generation of core ideas, subthemes and major themes, the researcher submitted the raw data (transcriptions) to an expert for cross-analysis. The researcher discussed with her the context of the study, findings, insights, and perceptions. The cross-validator then checked whether the raw data matched with the core ideas classified by the researcher. She also changed the words used by the researcher for the core ideas to better represent the meaning derived from them. Appropriateness and clarity of the subthemes and major themes in representing each core idea were also checked.

After the core ideas, subthemes and major themes were cross-analyzed done by an external auditor who validated the findings of the study. External auditing means having another person not involved in the research process examine both the process and the product of the research

study. Its purpose is to evaluate the accuracy and evaluate whether or not the findings, interpretations, and conclusions are supported by the data (www.qualres.org). The external validator is also an expert in qualitative research and a developmental psychologist.

Another procedure used in validating the data gathered was member checking where the participants themselves re-read and checked whether the researcher translated the interviews in accurate words.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Bullying Experiences

Bullies', victims' and bystanders' identified in this study experienced verbal, physical and indirect bullying. Most participants (N = 12; 85.7%) experienced verbal bullying such as name calling, teasing, derogatory remarks, being shouted at and threatening. They also experienced indirect bullying (N = 11; 78.6%) such as social isolation, rumor-spreading, and cyberbullying. Some experienced physical bullying (N = 6; 42.9%) in the form of hiding things, tripping and hitting.

In relation to age, common among this middle-school participants were verbal bullying (12 out of 14 participants) in the form of name-calling, teasing, receiving derogatory remarks, being shouted at and being threatened; and indirect bullying (11 out of 14 participants) in the form of social isolation, rumor-spreading and cyberbullying. This confirms the National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence in 2013 which revealed the drop off of physical bullying compared to emotional bullying as age increases (Child Trends Data Bank, 2013).

In bullying, participants of this study commonly experienced not a single role of being a bully, a victim or a bystander—victim turned into a bully, bystander turned into a bully, bully turned into a victim, bystander turned into a victim, victim turned into a bystander, and bully turned into a victim then into a bystander.

According to the website *The Knowledge Network for Innovations in Learning and Teaching* (KNILT) in 2010, the bullying circle was developed by Olweus and in order for it to take place, three individuals or three people must get involved: the bullies, the victims, and the bystanders. The website added that the bullying circle is how the role players in the bullying situation react and participate in the bullying.

Figure 1 shows that the participants in this study (N = 12; 85.7%) played more than one role in the bullying. Three identified bullies turned into victims; one identified bully became a bystander; one victim turned into a bully; one identified victim was a bully; two victims were bystanders; two bystanders were victimized; and two participants from being a bully, became a victim and then a bystander.

Social influence can also be perceived as the cause of the bystanders' transformation from being a bystander to a bully and being a victim to a bully. The participants' claims that bullies learned their behavior from what they have seen from others which they thought to be correct as well as the behavior they learned from their own oppressors may have caused them to resort into bullying.

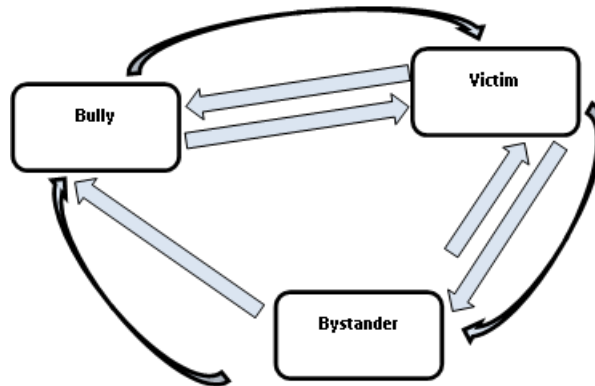


Figure 1. Changing of Roles in the Bullying Circle.

It is important to note that none among the participants turned into a bystander from being a bully but there were those bullies who turned into a bystander after being victimized. From this, we may suggest that the bully, herself, has to experience victimization before choosing to be just a bystander.

Meanwhile, common action done by victims and bystanders was standing up against bullying; however, there were still those victims and bystanders who chose not to act for fear of the bullies' retaliation or because acting will just make the situation worse. Most bystanders choose not to act for fear that they will be the next target of the bullies (www.eyesonbullying.com). In this study, victims chose to ignore the incident and keep quiet. Four participants who experienced victimization said that they just kept quiet and let the bullies bully them. In their narratives, they use words such as *binale-wala* (disregarded), *pinabayaan lang* (let out), *hindi pinansin* (ignored) and *tahimik lang* (kept quiet).

"Ginawa ko na po yun siguro ilang beses, kaso binabale wala lang po nila yun...Hindi na lang po ako nagsasalita..." ("I did that a lot of time but they just disregarded it so I just kept quiet") Marianne as Victim, Grade 6, 12 years old

"Teacher hindi ko na lang siya pinapansin, yung mga sinasabi niya. Kasi teacher tahimik na lang ako." ("Teacher I ignored them, everything she said. I just kept quiet") Mary Joy as Victim, Grade 5, 10 years old

"Ah.. Wala... ako teacher hindi ko na pinapansin. Kasi wala rin naman magagawa pag papansinin ko eh. Papalakingin ko pa...." ("I just ignored them. Nothing will happen if I will pay attention to them. The problem might become bigger if I do") Aimee as Victim, Grade 6, 11 years old

On the other hand, some bystanders comforted the victims. One remarkable response was from Mia when she told the victim to pray for the bullies.

"I told her not to make them pansin na lang. Just... just pray for them or whatever. Coz, coz if... you should be yourself naman pero if there's something bad about you, you should change it but no one's perfect naman siguro di ba." ("I told her to ignore them and just pray for them. I told her to be herself. If there is something bad about you, you should change it but no one's perfect anyway") Mia as Bystander, Grade 6, 11 years old

Another meaningful word came from Olivia when she told her classmates who got victimized that the bullies won't be successful in the future because of their wrongdoings.

“Pero pag sumosobra na, nakita ko nang umiiyak, sinasabihan ko na po yung ano, yung nabully na, yaan mo na lang sila, kasi someday, ikaw din naman magiging successful kesa mas sa kanya eh... Kasi siya yung nabully.” (“But when it is too much, like when I saw someone crying, I tell the victim to ignore them because someday, she will be more successful and better than the bully”) Olivia as Bystander, Grade 7, 12 years old

One unique response came from Aimee when she apologized to the bully because she thought that it was her fault and not the bully's. She believed that it was her fault that's why she got bullied.

Among bullies, it was their mothers who first knew of the bullying experiences. Participants also tell their bullying experiences to their guidance facilitator and friends. One told her sister and father and another kept the experience to herself.

Meaning of the Lived Bullying Experiences

The Ones Who Bullied

In this study, eight out of 14 participants (57.1%; Gr4 = 1, Gr5 = 2; Gr6 = 2; Gr7 = 1; Gr8 = 2) admitted that they bullied their classmates this school year. The participants said that they bullied their classmates because they dislike them. They found them to be annoying, *maarte*, immature, naughty, easily-angered, boastful, too sensitive and mean to others. They also bully their classmates to release their anger towards them. Bullies rationalize their actions. For them, they did not really mean to hurt them, that they're attitude was really like that or that the victim deserved to be bullied. Some also said that they learned bullying from their past experience of victimization or they were influenced by other people to do it.

Similar to Ong Ante's study in 2001 and Williams' in 2008, the participants in this study who experienced bullying others felt regret after realizing their mistakes (N = 5; 62.5%). They regretted their actions and wished to correct them. In William's study in 2008, bullies regretted their actions when the victims confronted them, when there were members of their families who experienced victimization and those who were affected of the bullying they did. Likewise, the participants in this study regretted their actions upon realizing that their actions gave negative Effects to the ones they bullied. Also, they regretted that they received sanction from the school.

The participants who bullied their classmates also experienced repression. They said that they forgot some details of their experiences, especially the reasons why they hurt their classmate. In addition, bullies also experiences fear that the teachers will find out about their bullying behaviors and reprimand them.

What is really remarkable in this study is that the bullies felt empathic towards their victims. They were aware of what their victims feel towards them and with regards to their victimization. Some said that they know that their behaviors were hurtful to others, noticed that their victims felt sad when they left them out, felt pity towards them and perceived that their victims were annoyed of their bullying behaviors (N = 4; 50%).

Empathy is defined as experiencing the emotional state of someone else (Lamia, 2010). Common sense may tell that bullies lack empathy. Andreou (2013), in his study of primary students in Greece found out that compared with pupils who were not involved in bullying, bullies were more likely to endorse Machiavellian beliefs—moral disengagement which permit people to harm others without suffering the pangs of conscience (Dewar, 2013). Meanwhile, Zorilla (2012) emphasized empathy in her study of high school students and developed an empathy-building program. Her study revealed that a good number of bullied showed empathic concern. Similarly, Lamia (2010) said that bullies have the capacity to empathize. However, they use empathy to manipulate and to cause pain to others. They withhold their compassion in order to give distress to others. This supports Sutton's (2001) idea that bullies have a strong mind that is why they can manipulate friendships.

Another significant result in this study is when one participant admitted that she enjoyed bullying her classmates as a result of her past experience of victimization. It can be implied that she was satisfied of her actions because she felt superior when she bullied others after her inferiority feelings when she got victimized.

In their bullying experiences, the participants perceived their victims feelings of guilt when the bullied was sanctioned because of them and feelings of fear that the bully will retaliate when they report them. Meanwhile, they saw bystanders as persons who do not really care about the victims but interested for rumors about bullying.

The Ones Who Are Bullied

In this study, 13 out of 14 participants (92.9%; Gr4 = 3, Gr5 = 4; Gr6 = 3; Gr7 = 2; Gr8 = 2) admitted that they experienced bullying victimization. Most of them said that they got bullied because the bullies dislike them ($n = N$; 38.5%). The bullies found them *maarte* and were annoyed of them. Some participants experienced victimization because they got backed at by the bullies ($N = 3$; 23.1%). They said that they had past mistakes to the bullies which the bullies did not forget. One participant said that she got bullied because her classmates wanted to test if she will fight back. Another said that the reason why she got bullied was because her classmate felt threatened that she might replace her in being the leader of their batch.

Victims felt socially isolated ($N = 5$; 38.5%). They felt as if they had no friends, they were abandoned and that nobody loved them. The victims also felt sad ($N = 4$; 30.8%) because of the pain inflicted to them and because the experience deepened their sadness in school. Two of the participants (15.4%) who got bullied felt so frustrated to fight back to the bully. One victim said that she felt scared to fight back because the bullies might retaliate and bully her more. Similar to this result was that of Rana in 2006. In her phenomenological study of victims, she concluded that victims felt fear and dread. Learned helplessness was also a common feeling for some of the victims ($N = 3$; 23.1%). Victimization was a common school experience to them because it happened almost every day. Victims with this kind of mentality were called perpetual victims. Perpetual victims are students who are victimized all their life. These victims might have developed a victim mentality where being victimized becomes part of their being (Definitions/ Characteristics of Bullying, 2009). Other emotional experiences the victims had were inability to defend self, anxiety, hopelessness and unwillingness to retaliate.

For victims, bullies are mean because they want to see victims' misery and that they encourage others to join them in bullying. Also, victims said that bullies are popular and see themselves as popular. Victims said that bullies have small chance to change themselves, They do not believe that bullies will be changed even by intervention programs because they still

bully after being subjected to it. Victims perceived bullies as someone who has stronger personality compared to others, are seniors or someone older than the victims, want to seek attention, immature, and have learned their behavior and got used to it. They also said that bullies fail to recognize their own behavior. They bully others for the same reason that they also do and do not realize that their actions are wrong. Similar to the phenomenological study of Nash in 2011, the participants of this study also viewed bullies as insecure individuals and that they wanted to validate their power by targeting innocent and inferior victims.

Talking about bystanders, most victims have negative perception of them (N = 4; 30.8%). Victims believe that bystanders are influenced by the bullies to join them in bullying. For them, the bystanders do not want to help them and do not feel that they were in pain. Bystanders were also perceived as feelingless and untrustworthy. Bystanders also do not stand up against bullies or defend the victims because they were scared to be the next target of the bullies. Similarly, Lamia (2010) said that bystanders' fear of being excluded or being bullied themselves allows their collusion with the bullies.

The Ones Who Witnessed Bullying

In this study, six (N = 6; 42.9%) of the participants shared their experiences as bystanders. For bystanders, they were just influenced by the bullied into joining them in bullying.

In their experience as a bystander, all of the (N = 6; 100%) felt empathy towards the victims. They felt pity and sad for them and felt that whoever was in their position would be in too much pain. They also felt sad for the bullies because they bully just to let out their feelings, regret of defending the victims because of the negative consequences they received from the bullies and guilty of being involved in the bullying. Gordon (2010) believed that bystanders, in a bullying situation experience fear and are weighed down with guilt. This combination of fear and guilt caused them to have the strong desire to help but an equally strong desire to avoid the situation. The anxious feeling of being targeted, may also be the bystanders' reason of joining in bullying as a coping mechanism (Gordon, 2010).

Bystanders, in their bullying experience, believed that victims did not want to be helped, they are in pain and they hate themselves. Meanwhile, for them, the bullies felt angry of their victims, insensitive of the victims' feelings because they do not care about how they feel and consider their behavior as an unserious act and felt ashamed of their behavior. Most bystanders (N = 3; 50%) said that bullies bully because of dislike. Also, they bully to get attention from other, especially from the teachers. Bullies also have family problems, want to be popular, receive social support so their bullying behaviors are strengthened and are threatened of the victims' abilities in the sense that victims will perform better than them in the class. Other bystanders, for the participants, join in bullying because they were influenced by the bullies but felt sad when they got included in bullying. On one hand, there were bystanders who ignore the bullying event or joined in because they were interested of rumors.

CONCLUSION

In the light of the findings, the following conclusions were drawn and are limited to the number of participants in this study and their experiences:

1. Bullying experiences of girls mostly include verbal bullying such as teasing, receiving derogatory remarks, being shouted at and being threatened and indirect bullying such as isolating from the group, rumor-spreading and cyberbullying.
2. A student can play more than one role in a bullying circle. They may have experienced hurting or bullying another classmate, being bullied or witnessing another person being bullied or all the three roles—bully, victim and bystander.
3. Bullies, victims and bystanders understand that the bullying experiences they had were caused by the bullies' dislike of their victims and that the victims were not randomly picked.
4. Bullies regretted their actions and experienced empathy towards their victims but used this feeling to manipulate and hurt others. Some bullies also tend to repress what they did for the trauma which the experience brought them.
5. Some victims believed that bullies have a small chance to change and that intervention programs wouldn't bring immediate change to the bullies' behaviors. They also believed that bullies enjoy when they hurt others but not all bullies admitted such feeling of happiness.
6. Some victims see bystander's unwillingness to help them in a bullying situation while some bystanders see the victims' refusal to be helped by them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Guidance counselors must understand clearly the dynamics of the bullying phenomenon and how it is experienced by bullies, victims and bystanders before giving them counseling and in providing effective anti-bullying program. Educators who wish to provide bullying intervention program must create one which would respond to the needs of all its role players—bullies, victims and bystanders. Teachers must handle bullying reports appropriately. They must assure the students of its confidentiality.

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Chapter 128

PARENTS' PERCEPTIONS ABOUT BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is a pervasive problem which has a profound impact on the development and psychosocial adjustment of children. It is well documented that preschool children exhibit all forms of bullying (physical, verbal, relational). Moreover, parents have a vital role in preventing and intervening in bullying situations. Parents' involvement in school-based prevention is of fundamental importance. Their views influence their responses. The aim of this study was to explore parents' views about bullying at preschool age. A questionnaire was developed based on previous research. The findings indicate that the parents of this sample value the collaboration between school and family, the implementation of socio-emotional interventions in school context as well as the activities for diversity tolerance within the classroom. Moreover, they regard that interventions for preschool children should include emotion recognition and expression skills, emotion regulation, anger management and impulsiveness control skills. The results of this study could be utilized in designing school-based prevention programs at early childhood settings, as a key component of the effectiveness of anti-bullying programs is their implementation at preschool age.

Keywords: bullying, children, communication, early childhood, family relationships, interpersonal relationships, parents, preschool age, preschoolers, perceptions

INTRODUCTION

Bullying is a widespread social phenomenon which has gained international attention. It emerges in early childhood settings (e.g., Alsaker & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2010; Nikolaou

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& Markogiannakis, 2018) and it is a risk factor for children's development, as it is associated with psychosocial adjustment difficulties (Nansel et al., 2001). Bullying is conceptualized as a form of aggression which is repeated over time. There is an imbalance of power between the victim and the perpetrator, who have the intention of harming victims (Olweus, 1993). All forms of bullying (physical, verbal, relational) are observed in preschool classrooms and playgrounds (Crick, Casas & Ku, 1999). Relational aggression which aims to damage children's relationships is common among young children (Crick et al., 2004). It includes spreading nasty rumors and social exclusion. Within this framework, the purpose of the present research was to explore parents' perceptions about bullying. Goryl, Neilsen-Hewett & Sweller (2013) point out the importance of anti-bullying policies in early childhood settings. Parents' perspectives who are among the stakeholders for implementing anti-bullying policies are crucial to bullying prevention.

There is limited research conducted regarding parents' perceptions about bullying. The social-cognitive model posits that perceptions motivate behavior (Bandura, 2001). Parents' views on harassment from peers impact their responses to peer victimization and are associated with children's well-being. Parents' beliefs are also linked to their socio-emotional development and their misconceptions about bullying may have negative effects on children's adjustment, as they can lead to inadequate emotional support and parental assistance (Troop-Gordon & Gerardy, 2012). Children's reactions to peer victimization may reflect their parents' beliefs about coping strategies.

Parents' conceptualizations about bullying affect their responses and moreover they have an impact on children's disclosure of their victimization. Children are often reluctant to bring a bullying incident to the attention of their parents and school personnel. Therefore parents should be alert to the unusual behaviours that children who are victimized display, signs and indicators of bullying. Parents' definitions of bullying are consistent with the relevant literature (Sawyer et al., 2011).

Bullying prevention is essential to be based on a social-ecological perspective. Bullying is a social phenomenon that is determined by multiple factors associated with the contexts in which children are embedded (family, peer group, school, community and culture). The characteristics of these contexts interact and produce bullying behaviour. Therefore, family and school systems collaboratively shape the identity of bullies and victims (Espelage & Swearer, 2011). Parental use of corporal punishment, poor parent-child communication, lack of parental monitoring, high family conflict, maternal and paternal depression, poor relationships with classmates are among the risk factors associated with bullying (Shetgiri, 2013). Authoritarian child-rearing practices, parental punitiveness and aggression are family variables that make children vulnerable to aggression (Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004). School variables that are considered risk factors are teacher attitudes, and school climate. Societal factors include discrimination, racism and prejudices (Swearer-Napolitano, 2011). In addition, preschool behavioral, emotional and motor problems, socio-economic status and family breakup have been linked to bullying at a later age (Jansen et al., 2011).

Parent intervention is considered a crucial factor in bullying prevention. The collaboration of parents with school administrators, teachers and staff contributes to the effectiveness of bullying (Demaray et al., 2013; Stamatis & Nikolaou, 2016; Nikolaou & Markogiannakis, 2017). Parent involvement in bullying prevention is a critical aspect of addressing bullying. Parents should be involved in anti-bullying initiatives and participate in developing strategies for countering this phenomenon.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ABOUT PARENTS' PERCEPTIONS REGARDING BULLYING

Smorti, Menesini, & Smith (2003) investigated parents' definitions about bullying, as it influences the communication with their children about bullying episodes. The participants in their research took into account characteristics such as the imbalance of power between the bully and the victim, and repetition of the aggressive actions. They recognized various forms of bullying incidents and distinguished fighting from bullying. They also identified verbal, physical and social types of bullying.

Mishna, Pepler & Wiener (2006) found that the participants included direct and indirect forms in their definitions. They were aware of the power imbalance and the intent to cause harm which are integral to bullying, although they did not mention repetition. However, the majority of the respondents tended to underestimate the impact of indirect forms of bullying. In some instances they found it difficult to distinguish bullying from teasing. Half of the parents were not aware of their children's victimization.

In Repo's study (2015) parents perceived bullying as a part of normal development. Participants also found it difficult to distinguish bullying from quarrelling and believed that preschool children are not yet capable of controlling their aggressive behaviour.

Exclusion from play, threats and the victim's perception of being bullied were identified by parents and preschool workers as delineated by Cameron and Kovac (2016). The majority of the respondents believed that bullying can take place only once and one in four reported that there must be an intent for harming behind the behaviours regarded as bullying.

PARENTS' ROLE IN BULLING PREVENTION

Research data indicate that parents recognized the importance for collaboration between them and school personnel. They also sought the collaboration with community agents (counselling services, child psychologists, community health services). Parents reported that schools should support and provide guidance for children and parents. They expressed the need for being actively involved in anti-bullying initiatives. This research study findings advocate for improved communication between school and family. Schools are required to have clear processes, roles and responsibilities about tackling bullying issues (Harcourt, Green, & Bowden, 2015).

According to Waasdorp, Bradshaw and Duong (2011) parents responded to their children's reports of victimization by talking to their children and contacting a teacher or an administrator. These were the most prevalent strategies adopted by the majority of the participants. Gravesteijn, Diekstra and Petterson (2013) argued that parents construed bullying as a shared responsibility of school and family. Moreover, the respondents asserted that bullying rates decreased when parents and children were offered assistance by the school.

Karga (2013) found that the majority of parents in a study in Greece, regard active strategies as the most appropriate for handling bullying incidents, which involve concern and dialogue with children and prevention programs with the aim of promoting mental health, development of social skills, and cooperation with family. They expected from schools to take systematic measures for dealing with bullying. The vast majority acknowledged the importance of school-family collaboration and simultaneously they recognized their responsibility in

reducing bullying. Ratkidou et al. (2016) research findings point out the necessity for cooperation with teachers for discussing students' behaviour and several school issues. Parents in their study also expressed their need for guidance from experts regarding the phenomenon of bullying. They argued that workshops, seminars, actions and consultation from specialized staff are very critical for addressing bullying and emphasized the collaboration between all stakeholders that are involved in addressing bullying. Giovazolias et al. (2010) suggested that it is essential that all stakeholders understand the dynamics of bullying. They delineated the importance of cultivating a school climate based on respect, and an active interest for children's issues.

Engagement of families and the partnership of school personnel and family is considered a key element in violence prevention. Their knowledge, information, and experience can be utilized for designing prevention programs for students. Their perspectives are valuable. Parent education could empower a resilient family environment, as interventions are including effective strategies for setting clear limits and supporting children (Brubaker, Brubaker, & Link, 2001). Furlong et al. (2005) argued that effective approaches for establishing school safety include skills building, parent and community involvement and improved school climate. These factors can enhance the effectiveness of bullying prevention and the creation of a safe environment that will foster children's healthy development and learning (Stamatis & Ntouka, 2018).

Students' and family's participation in policy development and the implementation of programs is one of the guiding principles to bullying prevention that enhances school safety. Parents may be the members of a school safety team that establishes and communicates the roles of each member with the aim of creating a safe and supportive school environment (Rossen & Cowan, 2012).

Smith & Low (2013) posit that a key component of the whole-school approaches is the socio-emotional curricula which aim to teach children social and emotional skills. These programs can enhance positive behavior, reduce conduct problems and emotional distress. They also foster student's sense of belonging to school community and commitment to school. These programs include empathy skills such as perspective-taking skills, which is the cognitive element of empathy. These competencies cultivate the acceptance and tolerance for children who deviate from social norms and have an impact on bystanders' behavior and their attitudes toward peers. Emotion regulation skills are also part of these interventions which are associated with self-control and social problem-solving skills through which children can accurately assess social situations and cues in order to handle effectively peer conflicts. All the above competencies can eliminate social marginalization, rejection by peers and establish positive norms within the school environment. In addition, they diminish aggressive, retaliatory and emotionally reactive responses.

METHODOLOGY

Within the context of the present research, parents' perceptions of preschool children regarding the phenomenon of school bullying are explored. The aim of this research is to explore parents' definitions about bullying, as well as the prospects of bullying prevention and intervention in preschool environments.

A questionnaire was the data collection tool, which was completed by 52 participants (40 women and 12 men). The participants were parents whose children were attending kindergarten, nursery schools in three Greek regions (Crete, Rhodes and Patra). The questionnaire was based on previous research and consisted of close-ended questions and one open-ended regarding the definition of bullying. According to the analysis of data, 62% of the sample were parents with children who attended kindergarten, whereas 38% of the participants had children which attended nursery schools. The age range of the majority of participants (68%) was between 31 to 40 years old. Within the 21-30 age groups, the percentage of participating parents was 25% and within the age group 41-50, the percentage was 7%. There were no participants above 51 years old.

RESULTS

After having completed data collection, the researchers proceeded to the quantitative analysis and interpretation of data. The statistical analysis was conducted by the statistical package SPSS (v.19). The findings show that the participants regard that the following behaviors constitute bullying, as they are presented in Table 1, with the equivalent percentages.

Table 1. Parents' perceptions about the definition of school bullying

Nr	Vignette	Yes		No	
			%		%
1	"Child A is approaching child B which is one year younger, takes his toys and tells him that if he tells, he will hit him. This happens every day".	48	92.5	4	7.5
2	"Child C and his friend, almost every day wait for child D at the school's entrance, they surround him and start pushing him around and throwing his bag and jacket".	49	94	3	6
3	"Child D takes from child Z the album with his stickers to see it and tears it".	36	69	16	31
4	"Child H takes from child J the sticker album to see it and it tears it by accident. Child H is very sad about it".	16	31	36	69
5	"Child I makes fun of child K for the way he speaks, as child K does not speak Greek very well".	43	83	9	17
6	"Child L makes fun of child M for his/her new hair-cut. Child M gets sad".	41	79	11	21
7	"Child N makes fun of O for his new haircut and then both of them begin to push each other and laugh".	17	33	35	67
8	"Child P plays quietly at the yard of the kindergarten with his/her peers, when a group of children is approaching them. One of these children, child Q says: "Do not talk to P, he ingratiates himself with the teacher, do not play with him". His/her playmates leave and he/her stays alone".	46	88.5	6	11.5
9	"Child P is spreading rumors and saying bad things about Child S to the class. Most children in the class make fun of Child S and he/she stays alone most of the time".	49	94	3	6
10	"Some students do not let a classmate play with them, because he is a boy".	24	46	28	54
11	"Some students do not let a classmate play with them, because she is a girl".	22	43	30	57

The repetition and frequency of several negative behaviors were included into the goals of the present study. Within this context, the participating parents gave the following responses, which are presented in detail in Table 2. The majority of parents (67%) responded, bearing in mind that their children attend the same class as the bullies.

Table 2. Repetition and frequency of school bullying behaviors

Nr	Description of behavior	Never		1-2 times a week		2-3 times a month		Several times	
			%		%		%		%
1	I have seen or understood that a child (or some children) said bad words, made fun of or taunted another child (or some other children)	8	15.5	21	40,5	9	17	14	27
2	I have seen or understood that a child (or some children) deliberately did not play another child (or some other children), excluded him/her from his/her company or ignored him/her	11	21	26	50	6	11.5	9	17.5
3	I have seen or I have understood that a child (or some children) hit, kicked, or pushed another child (or some other children)	11	21	21	40,5	7	13,5	13	25
4	I have seen or understood that a child (or some other children) lied or spread bad rumors for another child (or some other children) and tried to make other children not like this child (or these children).	11	21	26	50	6	11.5	9	17.5
5	I have seen or I have understood that a child (or some other children) took the toy or other things from another child (or some other children) or destroyed the property of another child (or some other children).	14	27	22	42	8	15.5	8	15.5
6	I have seen or understood that a child (or some other children) threatened another child (or some other children) or forced another child (or some other children) to do things that they did not want to do	29	56	11	21	8	15.5	4	7.5
7	I have seen or I have understood that a child (or some other children) made fun of or said mean words about the country of another child (or some other children) or about the way another child (or some other children) speak Greek.	26	50	17	33	6	11	3	6
8	I have seen or I have understood that a child (or some other children) frightened another child (or some other children)	31	60	12	23	3	6	6	11

With regard to the gender of the children who exerted violence over another child, whether they displayed violent behavior against their peers or younger children, 36% of parents reported that the perpetrator was a boy and a similar percentage (34%) stated that both sexes equally exhibit violence. 24% of the parents reported that most of the time a group of boys were the bullies, whereas with regard to girls, the percentage was very low as only 4% stated that a group of girls were bullying.

Regarding the number of children that exerted violence on their classmates, the majority of parents (55%) reported that were usually seeing 2-3 persons exhibiting violence against children or against their child. In addition, a high percentage of parents (32%) stated that the violence was mainly displayed by one child. In contrast, a very low percentage of parents (5%) reported that the aggressive acts were displayed by a group of 4-9 children. Furthermore, a very low percentage of parents (8%) stated that different children or groups of children participated in every aggressive action.

Regarding the frequency of being bullied, the items that were included in the questionnaire ranged from 1-2 weeks to over a year. Based on these categories, 42% of parents answered that the victims are exposed to school bullying nearly 1-2 weeks, 21% stated that victims are exposed to violence once a month, 20% of the participants reported 6 months, 14% of the respondents one year, and 3% of the sample reported for more than a year.

Table 3. School Bullying Prevention Strategies

Nr	Prevention Strategies	1		2		3		4		5	
			%		%		%		%		%
1	School-Family collaboration	0	0	0	0	3	4	7	13	42	83
2	Collaboration between school, family and community services	4	8	5	9.5	7	13.5	10	19	26	50
3	Implementation of socio-emotional interventions (training in social and emotional skills)	1	2	1	2	5	10	11	21	34	65
4	Peer support schemes for training children to prevent and respond to bullying	1	2	4	8	11	21	9	19	26	50
5	Activities for diversity tolerance within classroom	0	0	3	6	4	8	6	11	39	75
6	Prevention activities for school bullying within school environment (For ex. creation of material, posters, videos for school bullying)	2	4	3	5.5	4	8	14	27	29	55.5
7	Students' participation in developing anti-bullying policies	1	2	2	4	3	5.5	13	25	33	63.5

1: Not Effective at all, 2: Slightly Effective, 3: Somewhat Effective, 4: Effective, 5: Very Effective

Table 4. Effective Strategies for bullying intervention

Nr	Strategies	1		2		3		4		5	
			%		%		%		%		%
1	School-Family Collaboration	0	0	1	2	2	4	4	8	45	86
2	Discussion with students for addressing bullying	1	2	2	4	2	4	10	19	37	71
3	Cooperation of teachers with their colleagues	1	2	2	4	3	5.5	8	15.5	38	73
4	Cooperation between teachers and principals	2	4	2	4	10	19	11	23	26	50
5	Cooperation between school and community services	3	5.5	3	5.5	8	15.5	16	31	22	42.5
6	In-service training of teachers	3	5.5	2	4	4	8	1	2	42	80.5
7	Sanctions to perpetrators	5	10	7	13.5	8	15.5	7	13.5	24	46
8	Cooperation with mental health specialists	3	5.5	3	5.5	8	15.5	3	5.5	35	68
9	Supervision throughout the school	1	2	4	8	4	8	13	25	30	57
10	Peer Counselling	3	5.5	4	8	9	17.5	10	19	26	50
11	Development of Empathy	1	2	1	2	4	8	8	15.5	38	72.5

1: Not Effective at all, 2: Slightly Effective, 3: Somewhat Effective, 4: Effective, 5: Very Effective

Table 5. Development-implementation of school bullying prevention programs

Nr	Development-implementation of programs	1		2		3		4		5	
			%		%		%		%		%
1	Active Listening Skills-Communication Skills	1	2	3	5.5	8	15.5	15	29	25	48
2	Non verbal Decoding skills (For ex. facial expressions)	3	5.5	7	13.5	1	2	14	27	27	52
3	Recognition and expression of emotions	0	0	2	4	5	10	13	25	32	61
4	Emotion Control Skills	0	0	1	2	5	10	9	17	37	71
5	Empathy skills	0	0	3	5.5	5	10	10	19	34	65.5
6	Conflict Resolution Skills	1	2	2	4	5	10	11	21	33	63
7	Social Problem Solving Skills	0	0	3	5.5	5	10	16	31	28	53.5
8	Anger Management Skills	0	0	2	4	4	8	9	17	37	71
9	Training in Assertive Skills	2	4	1	2	7	13.5	20	38.5	22	42
10	Impulse Control Skills	0	0	3	5.5	7	13.5	13	25	29	56

1: Not Important at all, 2: Of Little Importance, 3: Somewhat Important, 4: Important, 5: Very important.

Finally, regarding the place that bullying incidents are taking place, 62% of parents asserted that bullying incidents takes place in the playground during intervals, and within the classroom whether the teacher is present or not (31%). It also occurs at the corridors, staircases or at any place of the school (7%).

Table 6. Definitions of School Bullying

<i>School bullying is regarded when verbal or emotional violence is being practiced against one or all students. Violence may also come from teachers and it is difficult for parents to understand ... I do not want to mention a specific incident, but pushing a child to eat and shutting the nose, in order to bite, it can be considered violent behavior ... I believe that teachers have to go through a psychologist's committee and unexpected workplace inspection.</i>
<i>A child in a private nursery school about 4 years old, which displays autistic behaviors, with a variety of adaptation problems is subjected to bullying from peers, 2 boys who scare it or exert violence against him/her.</i>
<i>Threat "Bring me a present, in order to remain my friend".</i>
<i>To make fun of a child for his glasses or braids every day.</i>
<i>Example: To request money from a child by blackmailing.</i>
<i>A child who speaks badly of other younger or older children and offensively.</i>
<i>Not to play one of the children.</i>
<i>Anybody within the school environment that exerts any form of violence against a child.</i>
<i>If you do not play with me, I will hit you.</i>
<i>"You are fat".</i>
<i>Any kind of expression (verbal, physical, using gestures or facial expression) of one person towards another that will make the recipient feel insecurity.</i>
<i>To terrify weaker or sensitive children with actions or words within school environment.</i>
<i>Verbal or physical maltreatment.</i>
<i>A child becomes a target of bullying of a group of children.</i>
<i>To taunt a child or some children.</i>
<i>To hit a classmate.</i>
<i>Actions or words within school environment by older children or classmates.</i>
<i>To scare children at the restroom, to push them, steal their food and property.</i>
<i>The maltreatment of a physically and psychologically weak child by a stronger child.</i>
<i>A child is inflicting fear or feelings of inferiority upon a child, verbally or by his/her actions.</i>
<i>Marginalization, verbal violence, emotional blackmail.</i>
<i>Violence with words or actions and humiliation of a group of children.</i>
<i>A child is afraid of expressing his opinion or of reporting his problem, because he/she worries that they will not believe him and they will accuse him of something.</i>
<i>A child becomes a target of victimization and is marginalized.</i>
<i>Terrorism.</i>
<i>Any kind of a "clique" that excludes other children from being integrated and taunts them for the "disadvantages" of other children according to their opinion.</i>
<i>To eat their food without giving it voluntarily.</i>
<i>A verbal threat or physical violence by an older or stronger child or a group of children against another child. In addition, a threat by a teacher who compares children with their classmates highlighting their defects and not their positive traits.</i>
<i>Any form of violence, a simple act of hitting.</i>
<i>Young and weak children are afraid of older children, "not always". They are more afraid of brash children.</i>
<i>Older children or spoilt, hit weak children or steal their property or destroy them.</i>
<i>A boy from our neighborhood was telling my daughter that if she did not give her a lollipop, he would not play with her, and he would kick her, etc.</i>
<i>Bullying is when somebody exerts physical or psychological violence on another person.</i>
<i>Bullying is the use of violence against students and their peers, with the aim of causing pain or discomfort. I do not have any incident to describe.</i>

<i>The phenomenon of bullying is one of the worst phenomena in my opinion. Nowadays, this phenomenon is one of the most common, a very short example is that children with mental or physical disabilities that are being subjected to bullying by children who do not have such a problem.</i>
<i>When somebody threatens and lays down the rules for something.</i>
<i>Any form of physical or psychological violence.</i>
<i>Bullying is a phenomenon that emerges in school settings among peers. Violence or aggressive behaviour is displayed against weak children that cannot defend themselves.</i>

Given the global upsurge of the phenomenon, prevention, intervention as well as the development and implementation of anti-bullying programs are crucial issues for counteracting bullying. The results of the present research, focusing on the aforementioned dimensions, are summarized below in Tables 3, 4 and 5 respectively.

Finally, with regard to the open-ended “How would you define school bullying? Please describe briefly an example”, parents gave the following answers that are summarized in Table 6.

CONCLUSION

As can be deduced from the presentation, analysis and interpretation of the above-mentioned results, most parents generally regard school bullying as a “phenomenon” that makes child victims feel bad. However, there were many parents who, having a vague picture of school bullying, indirectly defined the phenomenon by citing an example of violence that their children experienced. Also, many parents conceptualize school bullying as any form of violence within the school environment that can offend or hurt a child. Almost all parents are dissatisfied with this phenomenon, incriminating and criticizing teachers for its occurrence at school.

As it emerges from the survey, the phenomenon of school bullying is a major concern for parents of preschool children who are willing to participate in preventing this phenomenon. Most parents state that they are aware of the upsurge of school bullying despite the fact that they do not have a clear picture of its incidence in their child’s school unit. However, most parents believe that preventing, tackling and developing-implementing school bullying prevention programs within school environment could effectively contribute towards the desired direction.

Some of the findings of this study are consistent with related research on parents’ views on the phenomenon of school bullying among preschool-aged children. The survey of Karga (2013) for example, has shown that school bullying according to parents (a) is a rapidly growing phenomenon and is a very serious problem even in countries with a small population and a medium socio-economic level such as Greece and others, (b) it is considered to be a normal phenomenon because it is part of the development of children and (c) it is considered non-harmful within school environment, because it increases the range of real negative social experiences by teaching many children not to be so sensitive to the pressures of peers, situations that will certainly encounter in later life.

In contrast to previous research, parents believe that school bullying is a very dangerous and not a didactic phenomenon that needs to be dealt with effectively by both parents and educators, without the use of strict practices and physical punishment.

Finally, as can be seen from this survey, most parents believe that the most frequent attacks at the nursery school and kindergarten occur at breaks. The offenders are mostly boys who act individually or in very small groups, completing their aggression cycle against a child within 2 weeks.

Despite the limitations of this research, researchers were given the opportunity to study and record clearly some of the trends that emerge regarding the perceptions of parents. The study of these trends could contribute to some extent to the fullest understanding, prevention and counteracting of school bullying at the extremely sensitive preschool age.

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Chapter 129

BULLYING OR PEER ABUSE

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ABSTRACT

Violence has been part of the lives of individuals. The term “bullying or peer abuse” is currently used to designate violence among children of about the same age at schools. It is characterized by the presence of an intentionally repeated and unjustified aggressive behavior of a child or group of children towards another with the objective of inflicting physical or emotional harm to the victim. In developed countries, the prevalence is very high. Usually, physical abuse is common among boys and young men while discrimination and psychological abuse are more frequent among girls and young women. In recent years, there has emerged a new form of bullying known as “cyberbullying.” This form of bullying is defined as an aggressive act by a student or group of students using electronic devices.

Customarily, the actors in play in the issue of bullying are constituted by the provokers, the aggressor, the victim, the observers or witnesses and the authorities. Usually, the authorities are the last to know about the situation and this normally happens when the victim’s parent raise their voice or file in a report.

Apart from the physical harm, victims of bullying may suffer different associated pathologies such as depression and suicidal attempts. For this reason, the development of a program of actions involving the participation of the school authorities, the students, parents and the society in general directed to the prevention of the phenomenon through communication with the responsible authorities, students supervision within the classrooms, the school environment and their immediate surroundings, and the psychological therapy of the victims if the need be.

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In this chapter, we review all aspects of bullying, bringing into limelight the actors in play, the sites of occurrence, its modalities, and the basic and extreme clinical characteristics as well as the curative and preventive interventions necessary to curb this phenomenon.

Keywords: aggressive children, discrimination, peer abuse, physical abuse, violence

INTRODUCTION

Violence has been part of the lives of individuals, their communities and population settlements since the record of human existence. Within the society, it is used as a way to impose and exercise power on others and to bring order. By definition, violence is a deliberate use of physical force or power as a threat either on oneself, another person, a group of people or a community. The consequences on the victim can be injuries of varying severity, alteration on his/her physical and emotional development, psychological damage and even death [1-6].

Violence in the school among children of about the same age is known as “bullying” or peer abuse. This problem is characterized by the presence of an intentionally repeated and unjustified aggressive behavior of a child to physically or emotionally harm a classmate or schoolmate with less power or strength either in the classroom or in other areas of the school. Because of its worldwide frequency, peer abuse is regarded as a public health problem [7-9].

The origin of the study of this type of child abuse is dated back to 1973 when Dan Olweus started to study it in Norway. Olweus was concerned to know why some adolescents had committed suicide. He discovered that such adolescents were people who had suffered bullying during their childhood. In the decade of the 1980, the problem was studied in some European countries, North America and Japan, as well as in Australia. The clinical, social and economic results of those studies were very similar to what were initially described [10-11].

On analyzing the frequency of the problem in 40 countries in North America and Europe, it was found that this varies from 8.6% to 45.2% in boys and from 4.8% to 35.8% in girls [12-15].

RECENT STUDIES

A report of the Swedish National Agency for Education established that 9% of 4th and 6th grade students, ages 10 to 12, and 3% of 7th to 9th grades with ages ranging from 13 to 15 years have been assaulted by other students [16]. In some places in China, the frequency ranges from 2% to 66% and in Hong Kong, it is from 24% to 50% [17].

Recently in the Czech Republic, there has been a clear decline in reported cases from 1994 to 2014. It is pointed out that probably this change was secondary to the modification in the political regime of this country, the establishment of a school program, the preventive action of the police and to a clearer understanding of the problem by the society [18].

In recent years, a new form of bullying problem known as “cyberbullying” has emerged and is defined as an aggressive act by a student or group of students using electronic devices. The evolution of this modality of bullying and its consequences on the victims have increased and it is changing in line with the advances in electronic devices [19-24].

In Mexico, “bullying” became known through some research works carried out in primary schools in the cities of Guadalajara, Colima and Mexico [25-27]. Considering that in Mexico, 24% of the children and adolescent population is in school age, the distribution of bullying is 92% in public schools and the remainder in private schools.

In a pilot study of 485 students (51% males and 49% females, aged 11 to 16) conducted by the Comprehensive Care and Abused Children Clinic of National Institute of Pediatrics (CCACC-NIP) in a secondary school located in Coyoacan Local Government Area, Mexico city, it was found that:

- There was “bullying” in 30% of the students.
- The behavioral distribution of the studied population was aggressive in 11%, provokers in 11%, victims in 8.4% and the rest were observers.
- Aggression types were verbal in 53%, physical in 20%, social in 18% and others 9%.
- The places where the phenomenon occurred were mainly in the classroom in 62% and in the school yard in 18%.
- The reported frequency of aggression was one to two acts per week in 30%.
- The physical aggression predominated in boys and psychological in girls (data not published).

This behavior of the victims is very similar to the report of research works performed in other countries [28-29].

Violence experienced in the schools or in their classrooms is a situation that has always happened and traditionally it is regarded as something normal. The perpetuation of this type of negative conducts is simply because it is often a common treatment between students and teachers [30].

ACTORS IN BULLYING

In this type of abuse (bullying or peer abuse), there are always three actors:

The Victim

The victim is a minor of any sex with some physical, racial, emotional or religious characteristics that make him or her appear weaker than and different from the aggressor. These peculiarities can be skin color, short stature, very thin or fat, use of eye lens, shyness or timid, insecure and unsociable.

In a series of 35,013,000 students studied in the USA, there was no significant difference in the gender (boys 12,862,000 and girls 12,151,000) of the victims however; the aggression was slightly more frequent in girls [12, 31-33].

The behavior of the victim changes remarkably as a consequence of the type of aggression, its frequency and severity. Usually, the victim suddenly becomes sad and shy, loses some personal or school objects without justification and unlike before, asks money from the parents.

These changes should points of alert to the parents, the teachers, the school authorities and the classmates or peers; however, most adults very often say, “it also happened to me” or “it is a good experience for him or her to learn to defend himself/herself from others” or “if we intervene, in the school, they will attack him/her more” or even say, “nothing will happen to him/her” [34].

Finally, we must consider in these cases the racial difference that exists in some countries of the world. In the US, the problem has been shown to be more common in African-American adolescents than in Asian and Latin adolescents [35].

The Aggressor

The aggressor is the minor who carries out the aggression or induces it and obviously he or she is physically and emotionally superior to the victim. The aggression could be physical, emotional, intellectual or economic. Usually, the aggressor is characterized by lacking the sense of guilt and by having impulsive and aggressive temper with uncontrolled anger. Frequently they are people who come from homes that are characterized by their high aggressiveness, violence and lack of love among the family members as well as an absence of operating rules of conducts or norms in the family and hence, they cannot control their temper. In most of the cases, they are bad students and have no interest in studies. Despite these characteristics, a high percentage of them have a history of living or suffering from family violence or being physically, emotionally or sexually abused in their homes.

Usually, the aggressor is surrounded by other school mates that support him and in occasions, these supporters carry out the aggression on his or her behalf for fear of or to please the aggressor and in this way avoid being a victim of the phenomenon. Literature report shows that the aggressor enjoys the grief of the aggravated partner (60%) and that he or she is able to inflict pain regardless of the suffering of the victim, while 65% of them do it in order to “demonstrate their power and strength” over other school mates.

Boys and young men generally perpetrate physical abuse while girls and women deal with discrimination and psychological abuse.

An English study showed large differences between women victims of bullying in England with Pakistan and Caribbean women being the most assaulted when compared with women from other ethnic groups [36].

It should be emphasized that the most aspect of this situation is that, in all likelihood, the aggressor does not know the short, medium and long term consequences of his or her attacks on the child or the partners and these could at times be lethal and may, in part, explain the high level of juvenile suicide [37-38].

On the hand, the influence exerted by various situations or actions of the actors in some societies of the world must be born in mind. For instance, it is very evident that high consumption of alcohol and marijuana as well as the location of the school plays a vital role in this. If the school is located in a poor neighborhood and with a high level of delinquency, this will undoubtedly exert an influence in this situation [39-42].

The Witnesses

They are usually schoolmates of almost the same age and sex who witness the aggression without doing something about it due to fear or inability to stop it. Nevertheless, sometimes some of the witnesses may brave it and go to the teacher to inform him what is happening or talk about it at home and ask their parents for active and effective intervention with the school authorities. Frequently, the intervention of these adults is very minimal. It is also likely that the observer students are unaware of the consequences and the severity of the problem in the short, medium and long term.

It has been established that the passive reaction of the observer students may be associated with a low moral level and inability to defend themselves. Other factors may be the existing empathy with the other actors, inability to see and consider the negative consequences of “bullying” and lack of moral disagreement with the subject [43-45].

It may be interesting to point out a characteristic event that happened for many years in Mexico which lies on the tolerance of school authorities, teachers and students for actions known as “hazing”. This action or harassment was usually towards newly admitted students in secondary and high schools or in colleges or universities. In this event, newly admitted adolescent students were the victims of physical, emotional or moral aggressions which though did not put their physical integrity at risk but affected their emotions and rights. Traditionally, this action was considered as a celebration of welcome to the newly admitted students to a school. Presently, such activities have almost disappeared from national schools.

SITE OF OCCURRENCE OF THE PHENOMENON

The problem of “bullying” is usually staged inside the schools, especially in the classrooms, hallways, staircases and in lesser degree in the yards, bathrooms, cafeteria, on the streets near the schools or in the school buses. The type of school, its academic quality and the neighborhood in which it is located should be considered when the school is being evaluated.

In an analysis of 49,698,000 public and private schools in the United States, it was shown that “bullying” occurred more frequently in private schools and even more in non-Catholic private schools [12, 46-47].

In the face of this knowledge, it must be emphasized that the primary function of the school authorities and the teachers is to detect and to directly or indirectly intervene, as soon as they are aware of “bullying” situation.

MODALITIES OF BULLYING

Bullying types can be diverse and regularly depend on the age of the victims and the school grade of the actors. On these bases, we can distinguish the following types of bullying:

- Physical abuse. It is more often observed in primary schools and less frequent in middle and upper schools (junior and senior high schools and the university). The type of aggression normally observed in this abuse is characterized by injuries caused by

blows, pinching, pushing, and damage to various personal objects of the victim, theft of personal school materials and demand of money. The victims can be threatened with white weapons or firearms. In this modality, in addition to the aggressor, there are “guards or beaters” who carry out the act of intimidation.

- Psychological, moral and sexual abuse. Usually, this type occurs inside secondary schools or higher education. The main characteristics of this modality of abuse are: spreading malicious rumors about the victim, insults, prohibit the victim from integrating in the school dynamics or extreme isolation. An associated modality to the above is the incorrect use of social webs known as “cyberbullying.” This medium propitiates the staging of aggressive attacks through mockery, threats and discredit.
- Sexual abuse is characterized by harassment, induction to sex, touching or sexting which is the sending of sexual materials by electronic means.
- Homophobic bullying or gay bashing. It refers to any kind of psychological, physical and moral damage for having or pretending to have a different sexual orientation.

Table 1. Basic facts of bullying

a) There is a clear imbalance in physical, emotional, intellectual or economic between victims and perpetrators.
b) The phenomenon is frequent and repeated.
c) There is little or no peer intervention to detain the action.
d) There is little intervention of the parents or little likelihood that they are attended by the school authorities and teachers.
e) Usually, the teachers are unaware or the last to know that the phenomenon occurs.
f) School authorities generally do not accept or bluntly negate the existence of the problem. This situation is more common in private schools.

Table 2. Clinical characteristics of bullying

a) The child attacked offers little or no resistance to the aggression due to fear or unequal power with the perpetrator.
b) There is intentionality of the aggressor. The purpose of the actions is to physically and emotionally harm the victim and to inspire fear, distress and physical or emotional suffering. Apparently in this way, the aggressor enjoys or derives pleasure.
c) The aggressor ignores the physical and emotional development of the victim as well as the severity of the long-term consequences.
d) The classmates have a passive attitude towards the existence of the problem.
e) The teacher and the school authorities usually do not want to get involved in the problem for the mere fact that they are ignorant of how to resolve the situation, afraid of losing the enrollment of the problematic student and not willing or wanting to face the parents of the aggressor student.

The basic characteristics of bullying are presented in Table 1 and the clinical characteristics in Table 2 [48-51].

There are other manifestations that the minor refers to and that parents and teachers should know and consider. In this way, they can establish the suspicion of abuse among peers or confirm their existence (Table 3) [52].

Table 3. Behavior of the victim of bullying

a) The child reports that he is being assaulted by one or more of his classmates. b) The child has problem making friends and greater difficulty in relating to peers. c) A sudden drop in school performance is observed. d) The victim tells the parents that he/she does not want to attend school and manifests that he/she is suffering various discomfort, usually subjective, such as abdominal pain, headache, nausea, diarrhea, feeling tired, etc. e) Suddenly, he/she requests to be changed from school on flimsy reasons that he/she does not understand the teachers, because the courses are more difficult and because he/she has no friends. f) Sometimes, even if he/she changes school, the child or the adolescent says that he/she no longer want to go to the new school or continue schooling and that probably he/she wants to work, play sports or rest.
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EXTREME ACTIONS

It is very probable that the aggressor students or classmates, the teachers, the school authorities and parents do not know the extreme behaviors of the victims of “bullying.” In Table 4, we present the most important of these extreme behaviors [53-56].

Table 4. Extreme clinical aspects of the victim of bullying

a) On quitting school, the child may begin the consumption of licit and illicit drugs. b) The child may begin to go with groups of youths that do not study or work and begins with criminal activities. c) The child may fall into a state of major depression. d) A state of psychosis can become evident. e) The child thinks in suicide attempts and may succeed in carrying it out. f) The child can decide to injure the schoolmates with white arm or firearm in his/her possession without the permission of the parents.
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As previously pointed out, the behavior of the child or adolescent should alert the parents, the teachers, the school authorities, the pediatric physicians and the family members to intervene immediately, dynamically and effectively.

INTERVENTION OF THE PARENTS

Initially, parents must assume a real responsibility and begin a talk with the child to know what is happening to him/her. The following action must be carried out:

- 1) If parents become aware that their child has problems with one or more of his/her classmates, they should listen and believe the child, go to the school to speak with the teacher, the higher authorities of the school and with the parents of the child shown as the aggressor.
- 2) The parents should take the child to be checked by a pediatrician or family doctor to rule out a disease that explains the clinical manifestations already noted. The doctor must issue a certificate of physical and emotional health. If necessary, the physician should refer the child to a mental health professional (psychiatrist or psychologist).
- 3) The teacher and the school authorities should be involved in investigating the problem and listen to the parents on both sides. Often, the parents of the aggressor child are violent, with history of different addictions and generally do not accept their child's actual behavior.
- 4) When the victim presents data suggestive of important alteration in his/her self-esteem, depression, anxiety or distress, he/she and the family should be attended by a mental health professional.
- 5) The mental health professional should analyze and try to resolve the situations of family violence, different addictions in any of the progenitors, the existence of any modality of child abuse and attend the problem of school dropout as well as possible contact with illicit drugs and organized crime.
- 6) At school, a general program should be developed to explain to all students what bullying is and its consequences.
- 7) School authorities should make an effective decision in the event that the parents of the aggressor child refuse to accept the measures indicated at school. Certainly in private schools, this action is very difficult to carry out because there is a possibility that the parents remove the child from the school on knowing about the problem and therefore the school loses the enrollment and hence the corresponding income.

What Should Be Done Once the Diagnosis Is Established?

Without doubt, all the actors in this problem need to have complete information on the subject and the school must have a group of professionals trained to resolve the physical, emotional and legal situations.

In all cases, adults should carry out the following actions:

- a) The victim must be attended by the family and teachers with affection, interest and knowledge of the cause so as to recover his/her self-esteem, social security and attachment to school. The existence of depression, anxiety and distress requires (in

some cases) the intervention of a psychiatrist or psychologist, qualified in the subject, to attend and resolve the situation of the child or adolescent. The parents and the pediatricians should be attentive to the progress achieved on the emotional and physical condition of the child.

- b) As a personal action, the victim should try to improve his/her physical aspect by engaging in sports and in correct form, eat suitable diet.
- c) Another fundamental situation arises from the need for the aggressor child or adolescent to receive the necessary family and professional support to treat some psychological pathology aimed at avoiding that he/she continues having or showing arrogant attitude and with that, avoid that the child direct his/ her interest towards the consumption of licit and illicit drugs, engaging with gangs, delinquents etc.

In the face of bullying, the parents of the victim and the perpetrator, the teachers and the school authorities must understand and accept that these children have a problem and that it must be effectively attended in order to gain their trust. Channeling him/her towards practicing a sport, artistic activities (playing guitar, piano and drum or enrolling him/her in a choir, musical band or theater group) or participating in social support activities to the community can be extremely useful actions.

School officials should understand that the parents of both the victim and the aggressor can develop frustration when they do not receive specific and adequate attention on the problem that their children are experiencing. Therefore, we must emphasize on the development of a two-way intervention to confront the problems inherent in bullying [57].

The existence of an emotional disorder such as autism or attention deficit hyper-reactivity disorder (ADHD) must be medically treated depending on the severity of the problem [58].

PREVENTIVE PROGRAM

We must be aware that measures to combat bullying through punishment, sanctioning and lawsuit do not seem to be the ideal strategy.

Several programs have been developed and published for the prevention of this problem. Nevertheless, few indicate positive results because the socio-cultural and economic differences of the people are a major barrier [59-60].

Faced with this global reality, development and implementation of practical and low-cost programs for the prevention of bullying is imperative. It is important that such program should consider boys and girls, adolescents, parents, teachers and school authorities.

At the CEAMI center of the National Institute of Pediatrics, a comprehensive care project has been designed to prevent bullying. It proposes the development of a strategy with transversal axis that, though involves all the actors who take part in the same, suggests considering in a primordial way the students, even when the basic actions fall on the school authorities. This proposal differs from the traditional vertical action that begins with the school administrative authorities and ends with the students – people who are not given the importance they deserve.

Obviously, to be successful with this program or similar programs; an active, dynamic and consensual participation of all the actors living and coexisting in an educational establishment is required. It is also desirable that the implementation of any program considers and involves primary and higher educational institutes, both officials and privates.

BASIC ACTIONS

Although the initiative begins almost always with the school staff, the novelty proposed is the primordial intervention of the students as well as the thinking and actions of the parents. In this way, it is insisted that the parents and children develop an active and purposeful intervention.

Initial Activity

Obviously, the initial action must fall, as already mentioned, on the administrative authorities of the school. These authorities and the teachers must propose and conduct an initial interview with the parents and members of the student society (if it exists) to present the general idea of the project.

The people involved are:

- a) Students
- b) Parents
- c) Educators and teachers
- d) Officials of the school.

The materials required are:

- a) Handbook of Procedures for the Prevention of Bullying. Every school must have this handbook which must contain basic aspects of the subject.
- b) Handbook of Values. Also every school and colleges must have this kind of handbook that reiterates and emphasizes the values of the school.
- c) Academic Program. The schools must have academic program which contains the basic theme of Civics.

SPECIFIC ACTIONS

- 1) All the school staff – the principal, the teachers, the administrative staffs and the quartermaster - must know and analyze the “The Handbook of Procedures for the Prevention of Bullying” before the beginning of each school year.
- 2) The handbook of Procedures for the Prevention of Bullying will be given to parents or guardians upon enrollment of the students and before the beginning of the school year.

- 3) At the beginning of the school year, the administrative authorities will hold a meeting with the tutors, parents and some senior students to explain the strategy that has been designed to detect and prevent bullying, as well as the importance of engaging all the people involved to participate actively.
- 4) Parents must sign an internal register testifying that they have received, read and totally understood the “The handbook of Procedures for the Prevention of Bullying.”
- 5) The handbook would establish the participation and commitment that the following people acquire:
 - School authorities
 - Tutors
 - Parents
 - Students

PROCEDURE

Students

A. Actions of the Administrative Authority

- 1) All members must have and know the Handbook of Procedure for prevention of Bullying.
- 2) A basic program of civics and values will be implemented in all groups in the school. The teachers may make a brief interview on the impact achieved in the students and in the families. Value information must be included as a subject in the school curricula. Its basic focus is to reach the projection of the best of every human being incorporated in the society.
- 3) Complaints or expressions of violence among peers, whether verbal, written and electronic or by direct observation is detected and analyzed. In addition, strategies will be implemented to resolve them and in this way, prevent the problem from increasing.
- 4) Direct and permanent contact is maintained with the teachers, parents and students following an established schedule. The academic board must include a section that evaluates the strategies outlined for the healthy coexistence of students, analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of the program and adjusts the action plans according to the results obtained during the period under review.
- 5) It is proposed that the administrative authority of the school names two teachers who will anonymously develop the supervision of the students. This function could be rotating and will last the period the school authority considers pertinent.
- 6) The naming of two students from each group of higher grades of basic education (4th, 5th and 6th) and senior high (7th, 8th and 9th) and their coexistence should be supervised

to ensure that they carry out an anonymous monitoring. These students must be changed in a pre-established period.

- 7) Two parents will be requested to make analysis of the comments of their children, peers, other students and parents.

B. Actions of School Teachers

- 1) The teachers should emphasize with their students the meaning and the consequences of bullying and keep a close watch on the behavior of the students, especially in the class room, and of course, the spaces the students occupy in the recess and breaks should not be neglected. In this period, situations of violence should be monitored because the students think that they are less watched. Other areas to monitor in addition to the yard and playground are mainly the stairs, restrooms and school buses.
- 2) The teachers should listen to students' opinions on peer behavior. This constitutes a tool for data collection for making proposals that would help to establish and maintain healthy students' coexistence. The anonymity of such opinions should be strictly maintained.
- 3) Also, the teachers should constantly reinforce the concepts established in the Handbook of Procedures for the Prevention of Bullying.
- 4) With the periodicity established in the program, the teachers should emphasize and reiterate compliance with the Program of values and Civics of the school.
- 5) The teachers will maintain an environment of healthy coexistence through each and every one of the activities, emphasizing the positives of the group and helping to create in every one a healthy self-esteem.
- 6) The teachers will formulate and encourage strategies that will permit the students to express their feelings through painting, music, dance and sports. The aim is to detect the emotional situations which the students of each group are passing through.

C. Actions of the Teachers Assigned to Surveillance

The surveillance teachers will detect, register and notify (at a pre-established periodicity) to the administrative authority of the events and results of their intervention.

D. Actions of the Students

- 1) The selected students will receive a talk supported with pictures to explain the importance of knowing the risks of bullying among school children and the need to develop a harmonious coexistence within a framework of respect and responsibility.
- 2) They should maintain constant contact with the surveillance teachers and the school administrative authorities.
- 3) They will actively be part of permanent campaigns that address and encourage ethical values essential for coexistence among peers.

E. Parents

- 1) The selected parents will receive a talk supported with pictures to explain the importance of knowing the risks of bullying and the need to develop a harmonious coexistence within a framework of respect and responsibility in the school.
- 2) They should maintain constant contact with the surveillance teachers and the school administrative authorities.
- 3) They will actively participate in permanent campaigns that address and encourage ethical values essential for coexistence among peers.

Considering the consequences of bullying which can be observed in the victim and the perpetrators, a maximum and integral effort must be made to promote the development of socio-personal skills, the teaching of values and individual attention to the actors in the conflict.

It should be borne in mind that any innovative change generates rejection and criticism, but it is better to face them than doing nothing. Remember that if we fail in this action, the future of the school children will be very somber and they do not deserve it [61-63].

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS AND STRATEGIES

Parents should be attentive to the presence of this phenomenon, whether their child is the victim or the perpetrator. Also, it should be mentioned that the family is fundamental in the job of instilling principles and values that will make it possible to avoid and, sometimes, to confront bullying.

Remember that the family influences the socio-affective development of the children, since the models, values, norms, roles and abilities are learned during this period of life and are related to handling and resolving conflicts principally with the social and adaptive abilities, with the pro-social behaviors and with the emotional regulation [64].

On the other hand, there is evidence that adults who perpetrate bullying in their childhood develop family violence.

According to the proposals described, it will be possible to identify, stop and prevent school, environmental and family violence. For that, it is necessary to:

- 1) Involve the parents, teachers, physicians and families.
- 2) Promote the development of protocols of detection and attention. To propose cycles of conferences on violence, licit and illicit drug consumption, as well as human upbringing.
- 3) Insist on the children and the adolescents about the need to notify the school authorities or their parents of the existence of the problem.
- 4) Prohibit "hazing."
- 5) It is essential to eliminate violent and sexist content in the announcement sites.
- 6) Permission to use cellphones, cameras and devices of various natures must be controlled. These objects will only be allowed for academic activities.

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Chapter 130

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF ANTI-BULLYING STRATEGIES: KEY ASPECTS IN EVERY CURRICULUM AREA

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ABSTRACT

This is a concept chapter and it argues that learners should be taught anti-bullying strategies in schools. Bullying is the use of force, threat, or coercion to abuse, intimidate, or aggressively dominate others and can be another obstacle to learners' academic success. School should be a place to learn and grow and not to be intimidated and harassed or brutalized. It is suggested that by putting a stop on bullying, learners can learn in an environment which is conducive to learning and can learn how to be good citizens. Teaching anti-bullying strategies well is a key aspect of developing learners' physical and emotional health. In line with social cognitive theory, bullying is an anti-social whereby learners are subjected to threats and abuse. Challenges of such conceptualization and implementation of anti-bullying strategies are numerous. This conceptual paper examines strategies used to teach anti-bullying in schools. The chapter reviews literature on the philosophical concept of bullying strategies. The chapter analyzes the significant usage of anti-bullying strategies as prominent strategies in teaching bullying as informed by conceptual and theoretical frameworks of cognitive and metacognitive theories which have been proved by researchers in teaching contexts. Because it is a concept paper, no empirical investigation was undertaken. The chapter is constructed using a number of data bases in fields such as sociology, policies, early childhood, psychology and newspaper commentators was used to examine literature on anti-bullying. According to Burger, Christoph; Strohmeier, Dagmar; Spröber, Nina; Bauman, Sheri; Rigby, Ken (2015) bullying may be defined as a subcategory of aggressive behavior characterized by the following three minimum criteria: (1) hostile intent, (2) imbalance of power, and (3) repetition over a period of time. Bullying may thus be defined as the activity of repeated, aggressive behavior intended to hurt another individual, physically, mentally or emotionally.

Keywords: socio cognitive theory, bullying, strategies, policies, teaching

INTRODUCTION PERSPECTIVE

This is a concept paper which discussed what literature says about bullying and what strategies can be taken to reduce bullying in schools.

While bullying is a pervasive problem in many schools, schools can take specific steps to improve the school climate and encourage positive interactions designed to reduce or prevent bullying.

Bullying may be the most frequent form of school violence (Nansel et al., 2001). Surveys consistently indicate that almost one-quarter of all students experience hurtful interactions with peers on a monthly or daily basis (Dinkes, Cataldi, & Lin-Kelly, 2007).

Bullying is a significant problem that needs to be reduced, and one way to do this is by intervening directly with the bully perpetrators with the goal to help these individuals change their cognitive and social behaviors that underlie their bullying perpetration.

Although this is a concept paper, the following are some of the recent cases of bullying that is happening in schools.

Africa Check, Published: 30th January 2017 09:15 (GMT) Reality check: Are SA pupils the ‘most bullied’ in the world?

Comments 1 South African pupils are “the most bullied kids in the world,” according to the country’s education minister. The Africa Check team sharpened their pencils to verify the claim. Researched by Gopolang Makou & Julie Bourdin.

Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) from (2015) South African Grade 9 pupils are reported the third highest incidence of bullying out of 38 countries, behind Botswana and Thailand. The majority of Grade 9 pupils (47%) reported being bullied “about monthly” and 17% reported being bullied “about weekly.”

Cape Argus 28 February 2017. A 13-year-old boy will have to undergo surgery on his face, after a bully beat him up. Cape Town – After being bullied at his primary school in Parow, a 13-year-old boy will have to undergo expensive surgery to repair the damage to his face.

According to the WCED, 81 cases of bullying were reported last year. “Many schools deal with bullying in terms of their school code of conduct and do not necessarily report incidents to our Safe Schools Directorate,” Shelver said.

Marius Lotter, owner of Shido Fighting Systems in Centurion, said.

A simple push in the line is all it takes to initiate a cruel form of punishment that haunts hundreds of children in South Africa. Shocking as it may be, a survey conducted by consumer-insights company Pondering Panda found that 57% of children felt they had been victims of bullying at school. “This statistic is alarming and should be addressed by parents and all bodies involved in a child’s development.”

The latest statistics from the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) showed that South Africa is the country with the highest bullying rate in the world for grade 4 pupils. Lotter saw this as an opportunity to develop a program for children where they could learn fighting techniques in a controlled and disciplined environment, while being taught that hand-to-hand combat is not the prime solution.

Researchers Hoover and Oliver (2008, p. 10)) stated “Bullying is always directed by a stronger student against a weaker one” (p. 10). The National Center for Educational Statistics (2015, p2) identified statistics relative to bullying incidents:

- One out of every four students (22%) report being bullied during the school year.
- 64 percent of children who were bullied did not report it; only 36 percent reported the bullying.
- The reasons for being bullied reported most often by students were looks (55%), body shape (37%), and race (16%).

THE PURPOSE OF THE CHAPTER

This conceptual paper is envisioned to classify and augment understanding of the strategies that can enhance anti-bullying in learners. Therefore, the probe questions for this paper are:

- How can various anti-bullying strategies be employed to enhance learners’ learning?
- How can various anti-bullying strategies enhance learners ‘learning?

METHODOLOGY

The methodology of the chapter is content analysis. Authoritative sources relevant to bullying in schools were selected and consulted. The reason of using content analysis is to investigate the topic through document analysis and scholarly documents. According to Leedy and Omrod (2005) content analysis identified specific characteristics of a body of material.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Bullying is a widespread problem that has significant deleterious effects on the physical, mental, and social health of youth. In a recent survey of over 30million U.S. students between the ages of 12 and 18, nearly 32 percent reported that they were bullied at school (US Department of Education 2011).

Bullying is a phenomenon that occurs in most societies around the world (Child Helpline International, 2012). On a global level, 48% of boys and 57% of girls state that they have been bullying victims (Child Helpline International, 2012). Bullying is a pervasive social problem that is believed to have affected about one-third of students in their lifetime (Cooper & Nickerson, 2013).

There is no universally accepted definition of the term bullying; however, a widely-cited and influential definition of bullying is that of Olweus (1993(p. 125): “a student is being bullied or victimized when he [sic] is exposed repeatedly and over time to negative actions on the part of one or more other students.”

Bullying may be defined as a subcategory of aggressive behavior characterized by the following three minimum criteria: (1) hostile intent, (2) imbalance of power, and (3) repetition over a period of time Burger, Christoph; Strohmeier, Dagmar; Spröber, Nina; Bauman, Sheri; Rigby, Ken (2015). Bullying may thus be defined as the activity of repeated, aggressive behavior intended to hurt another individual, physically, mentally or emotionally.

Bullying is a group process and the peer group dictates whether a bully can establish dominance (Salmivalli, 2010). Bullying is the use of force, threat, or coercion to abuse, intimidate, or aggressively dominate others. The behavior is often repeated and habitual. One essential prerequisite is the perception, by the bully or by others, of an imbalance of social or physical power, which distinguishes bullying from conflict (Juvonen, and Graham, 2014) Behaviors used to assert such domination can include verbal harassment or threat, physical assault or coercion, and such acts may be directed repeatedly towards particular targets. Rationalizations of such behavior sometimes include differences of social class, race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, appearance, behavior, body language, personality, reputation, lineage, strength, size, or ability (Nels, June 2001). If bullying is done by a group, it is called mobbing (Davenport; Schwartz and Elliott, 1999).

Literature (Cornell et al., 2013, p. 139) indicates that bullying is a chronic stressor which causes traumatic impacts on adolescent development, damages an individual's "self-concept and trust in others, and leads to avoidant behavior and social withdrawal."

Bullying is considered a pervasive social problem affecting schools and students, as well as often being associated with tragic outcomes such as suicide (Jimerson et al., 2010; Pepler & Craig, 2008; Smith, Pepler, & Rigby, 2004).

According to Cornell, Gregory, Huang and Fan, (2013) bullying may affects individuals regardless of gender, age, and nationality although the highest frequency of bullying occurs during middle school, while one out of four experienced teasing and harassment during the previous year.

Olweus says bullying occurs when a person is "exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons." He says negative actions occur "when a person intentionally inflicts injury or discomfort upon another person, through physical contact, through words or in other ways." Individual bullying is usually characterized by a person behaving in a certain way to gain power over another person (Besag, 1989).

While there are various definitions of bullying (Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefhoghe, 2002; Polanin, Espelage, & Pigott, 2012), the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the U.S. Department of Education, along with a panel of researchers and practitioners, recently established the following definition:

"Bullying is any unwanted aggressive behavior(s) by a youth or group of youths who are not siblings or current dating partners that involves an observed or perceived power imbalance and is repeated multiple times or is highly likely to be repeated. Bullying may inflict harm or distress on the targeted youth including physical, psychological, social, or educational harm (Gladden, Vivolo-Kantor, Hamburger, & Lumpkin, 2014, p. 7.)"

Characteristics of Bullying

Scholars identified three characteristics of bullying namely repetition, intent to harm, and power inequity.

Repetition

The majority of definitions emphasize bullying as repetitive behavior (Salmivalli & Nieminen, 2002). Doing so distinguishes bullying from single acts of aggression, and to call attention to how bullying not only leads to immediate harm and but also threat of future victimization.

Consequently, researchers started promoting the notion that victimization and bullying should be conceived as falling along a continuum (Goldsmid & Howie, 2014). Because of this, research on bullying in schools tends to measure bullying according to combined variables of frequency and different behaviors within a given span of time (Gregor, 2004).

Intent to Harm

Intent to harm is theoretically significant in defining bullying because it sets bullying apart from accidental, and thus unintended, harm (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). Although most definitions of bullying contain terms such as deliberate and intentional, in practice, the concept of intention is problematic (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). This is because it assumes adequate honesty and self-awareness on the part of the bully. However, it is crucial that bullying be distinguished from inadvertent harm, which is why it is necessary to keep this criterion.

Power Inequity

Power inequity can be physical, psychological, economic, or hierarchical (Connell & Farrington, 1996).

Types of Bullying

There are four general types of bullying namely, physical, verbal, social exclusion, and cyberbullying (Lehman, 2015).

Physical bullying is manifested through hitting, kicking, pinching, spitting, pushing, tripping, taking or breaking the victim's things, and making rude gestures, among others.

Physical bullying involves the use of physical force (Gladden et al., 2014) and includes behaviors such as hitting, kicking, punching, spitting, tripping, and pushing. All of these behaviors fall within the realm of "violence," and are not considered "bullying" if they occur only one time and without a perceived power imbalance. Thus, the key differences between physical bullying and school violence are that bullying involves an observed or perceived imbalance of power and is repeated or is highly likely to be repeated.

Verbal bullying refers to either spoken or written forms of bullying, including name calling, inappropriate sexual comments, abusive language, and threatening to cause harm.

Verbal bullying involves oral or written communication that causes harm to the targeted youth (Gladden et al., 2014) and includes name-calling, taunting, threatening words, notes, or gestures, and sexual comments.

Social bullying involves harming relationships or another person's reputation (Pabian & Vandebosch, 2016); therefore, it includes intentionally excluding someone from activities;

persuading other people not to be friends with the victim; spreading false rumors; and, shaming or embarrassing the victim in public.

Cyberbullying is perpetrated through the use of information or electronic technology, including mobile devices, computers, and social media through text messages, chat, and social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter (Carter & Wilson, 2015). The cyberbully can capture the attention of a larger audience to initiate their attack, which leaves the victim with minimal protection and escape (Mishna, Khoury-Kassabri, Gadalla, & Daciuk, 2012).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories are used to explain, understand, or predict phenomena (Dubin, 1978). Given the complexity of bullying behavior, this chapter is underpinned by theoretical frameworks that are typically utilized to understand and address bullying. Four theories namely, social capital theory, dominance theory, the theory of humiliation, and organizational culture theory. This will help to understand this phenomenon and to inform effective prevention and intervention strategies and programs and to better understand the motivations behind bullying behavior.

Social Capital Theory

Social capital refers to the benefits gained from social relationships (Putnam, 2000). Specifically, individuals form and invest in social relationships with the expectation of fulfilling goals and profiting from their interactions with others (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2001). Putnam described the mutual benefit of social capital as the force that drives people to maintain social networks: “Social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam, 1995; p 67). Social capital can be categorized as either bonding social capital or bridging social capital. Bonding social capital consists of social ties (i.e., interpersonal relationships) between similar individuals who belong to a homogenous group that creates a feeling of cohesion and shared belonging, whereas bridging social capital consists of social ties with people outside the homogenous group that creates a wider social network (Beugelsdijk & Smulders, 2003; Putnam, 2000).

To sum up, in social capital theories, both individuals and groups benefit from the resources of information, social influence, social credentials, and reinforcement of self-worth that social ties provide.

Dominance Theory

Social Dominance theory (SDT; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and dominance theory (Long & Pellegrini, 2003) provide insight into the bullying dynamic. Both theories indicate that youth bully one another in their attempts to gain group and individual-levels of social dominance, and then maintain their social status through ongoing bullying. In other words, bullying perpetration is used as means of establishing and maintaining dominance.

SDT focuses on group-based social hierarchies whereas dominance theory centers on individual-based social hierarchies. The fundamental tenant of SDT argues that all societies consist of group based social hierarchies that are based on gender (e.g., males have more power than females), age (e.g., adults have more power than children), and an arbitrary.

The Theory of Humiliation

Humiliation is “excessive overt derogation” that occurs when a more powerful individual publicly reveals the inadequacies of a weaker victim, who feels the treatment is unjustified (Jackson, 1999, p. 2). The concept of humiliation is distinct from shame. An individual can shame himself or herself, whereas humiliation requires action from an outside agent who engenders feelings of powerlessness in the victim (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999; Klein, 1991). Further, shame results in an internal feeling of inadequacy and embarrassment, whereas humiliation often causes anger towards the perpetrator and the desire for retaliation (Jackson, 1999). Conversely, the rage generated by humiliation can also be turned inwards in the form of depression (Lindner, 2007). These emotional reactions are quite common for victims after bullying incidents.

Humiliation involves “putting down and holding down” (Lindner, 2006, p. xi) and has such intense power that it is considered “the nuclear bomb of the emotions” (Lindner, 2006, p. 3). With the emergence of human rights and that all persons are deserving of dignity, humiliating another person became morally and ethically wrong (Lindner, 2001b). The basis for Lindner’s theory is the notion that all humans’ desire and deserve recognition and respect and humiliation violates this fundamental human right, resulting in eroded interpersonal relationships and disrupted social cohesion (Lindner, 2007). The humiliation dynamic involves three roles: humiliator (i.e., person who inflicts humiliation), victim (i.e., Bullies physically, verbally, or to a lower social status in an effort to establish power and witness - those who observe what happens and agree that it is disparagement).

Building on the work of Smith (2001), Lindner (2006, 2003) posited humiliation had four forms namely:

Conquest Humiliation — an individual uses conquest humiliation to force a former equal into a subordinate position. Conquest humiliation is a precursor to bullying because this form of humiliation establishes the power differential inherent in the bullying dynamic.

Reinforcement Humiliation is used to maintain the social hierarchy established by conquest humiliation.

Exclusion Humiliation is the most stringent form of humiliation and involves banishing victims altogether by exiling or killing them. In the realm of bullying, this form of humiliation would occur if the queen bee ensured that everyone in the class completely ignored and avoided her rival, perhaps until the rival left school or, in extreme situations, committed suicide.

The humiliation of being bullied violates the individual’s fundamental need for respect and recognition. Humiliation also undermines social standing, engendering the psychological pain of ostracism. Being bullied results in anger; this anger can be externalized as retaliation or internalized as depression. The outward expression of anger as retaliation can take the form of bullying, which fits with the description of the bully/victim as a person who is a victim of a bully, but also bullies others. In contrast, other victims internalize the humiliation and feel deep despair, which manifests as depression; this reaction leads to humiliation.

Organizational Culture Theory

Culture refers to shared values, beliefs, rituals, and customs (Deal & Kennedy, 1983). Although typically applied to ethnic or religious groups, the concept of culture also applies to organizations, and organizations have unique cultures that impact their success (Peters & Waterman, 1982). Indeed, the foundation of organizational culture theory is the notion that every organization has its own culture (Geertz, 1973). That is, organizational norms, beliefs, and behaviors impact how the organization functions and solves problems (Schein, 2010). The organizational culture in the context of a school is often referred to as the school culture or school climate. School culture is a broader concept than school climate (Schoen & Teddlie, 2008) and refers to “[A school’s] unwritten rules and traditions, norms, and expectations... that seems to permeate everything...” (Deal & Peterson, 2009, p. 2). School climate is more specific and refers to the “quality and character” of a school and includes elements such as the level of social, emotional, and physical safety; the presence of respectful behavior; an emphasis on the importance of learning; and collaboration between students, families, and educators (National School Climate Center, 2014). School culture and climate significantly impact rates of youth involvement in risky behaviors in the school setting. Accordingly, school culture and climate are associated with other social problems such as bullying.

A positive school culture and climate denote a feeling of safety and the presence of support; teachers are aware of their students’ needs, intervene in social disputes such as bullying, and encourage students to stand up for one another. Thus, a positive school climate is significantly associated with less bullying behavior (Lee & Song, 2012).

Anti-Bullying Strategies

Strategies to prevent bullying: what does literatures say?

The following are strategies:

- Creating a positive school environment as prevention
- Immediate, clear, and consistent intervention strategies
- Teachers as effective catalysts for bullying prevention
- Barriers to effective bullying prevention

Creating a Positive School Environment as Prevention

The research is clear that a major part of bullying prevention does not stem from specific techniques or strategies, but from establishing a school environment that is positive and supports students. Effective prevention and intervention strategies create a sense of accountability among all members of a school in creating and implementing an effective approach to dealing with harassment, intimidation, and bullying (Oneil et al., 2012). The creation of a positive school environment does not happen overnight, and it may be that one of the reasons that much of the research on bullying prevention programs has found these programs to be ineffective is because they are only looking at immediate, short terms changes in behavior. However, positive impacts of bullying programs do not occur over a short term period (three months), but take a longer time to take effect (one to five years). These programs

need time to penetrate a school culture and influence attitudes and behaviors (Smith et al., 2005).

Much of the research around effective bullying prevention centres on Jon Olweus, one of the few researchers to implement an effective anti-bullying program. Olweus, a pioneer of anti-bullying research in Norway, emphasizes the importance of creating a school environment characterized by warmth, positive interest, and involvement from adults (Olweus, 1996). He indicates that the overall value system of the school needs to incorporate caring, respect, and responsibility. The interesting outcome of Olweus' program is that not only does it see a 50 percent reduction in bullying behavior, but there is also a noted reduction in other anti-social behaviors among students, such as drinking, fighting, and vandalism. Furthermore, there is a noted increase in pro-social behaviors such as increased discipline, and a more positive attitude towards schoolwork and peer relationships (Olweus, 1996). This suggests that bullying behavior does not exist in isolation, and that there is a link between the occurrence of bullying and the general frequency of both positive and negative behaviors in the school environment.

Combating these negative behaviors, and promoting positive ones may be a more effective way to deal with bullying than measures meant to target bullies and victims directly.

Teachers can play a main role in establishing and leading this change. While research on bullying prevention has signaled the involvement of the school staff in general, incorporating teachers, principals, guidance counselors, and psychologists, there is little research exclusively examining teachers' roles. It is reasonable to think that teachers play a large role in affecting the atmosphere in a school, both because they make up a large number of the staff body and because of the close contact they have with large groups of students.

Immediate, Individualized, and Consistent Intervention Strategies

Bullying intervention, as opposed to bullying prevention, refers to the strategies and procedures that a school has in place in order to deal with a bullying incident that has already occurred. The foundation of an effective bullying intervention strategy is to provide immediate support to the victim. The literature on bullying intervention emphasizes the support of early intervention (Feinberg, 2003) and that each bullying incident should be treated with urgency and sensitivity (Oneil et al., 2012). Olweus (1994) states that providing support for victims is essential. This notion that the victim should be treated with compassion and sensitivity by the school community is one that is consistent throughout the research on bullying intervention. The goal of this immediate and sensitive response is that the victim is not made to feel as if he or she bears the responsibility to respond to the bullying incident (Oneil et al., 2012).

Literature (Feinberg, 2003) emphasized the importance of meeting the individual needs of the victim. Support for the victim necessitates that school administrators schedule follow-up meetings with victims to assess the social and emotional wellbeing of the student, as well as express the support of the school community. Maintaining open lines of communication between teachers, parents, students, and administrators is also essential (Oneil et al., 2012).

In comparison to actions taken towards the victim, there is less agreement within the literature on actions taken towards the bully. There is some, although not much, research supporting peer mediation and conflict resolution between the bully and the victim, although other research denies this approach (Oneil et al., 2012). Oneil et al. (2012) emphasize that a bullying incident is not a debate between two people of equal power and therefore should not be handled by having the two parties talk it out. Other strategies emphasize a zero tolerance approach, emphasizing that the bully has lost people's trust and will be guilty in future incidents

even if he or she is in the vicinity of another bullying event. However, this approach has been criticized for being ineffective. Joseph (2000) states that “the difficulty in laying accountability at the feet of the bully is that it pretty much guarantees that there will be repeat incidents. Bullies are in that business for the power they perceive themselves to have and the attention that is given to them.”

The research on bullying intervention is consistent that the establishment of a bullying response team, composed of different members of the staff body, is integral to effective intervention (Feinberg, 2003). Feinberg (2003) states that “the goal of bullying intervention is to create a culture in which adults stop bullying immediately.” Consistent throughout the research is the notion that increased adult supervision leads to a reduction in bullying and a more immediate response to bullying incidents (Olweus, 1994). Teachers can play a crucial role in effective bullying intervention. Teachers’ positions in the classroom make them a natural fit to be the first ones on hand to intervene in a bullying situation.

Thus, the failure of teachers to respond to a bullying situation conveys the message to students that they condone this behavior (Feinberg, 2003). She finds that between an education program aimed at the community at-large, current teachers, and preservice teachers, the one aimed at current teachers is the most effective in reducing bullying.

Another study examining prevention programs aimed at teacher education was also found to be effective, and concluded that teachers have the ability to change the social climate of a school (Bell, Raczynski, & Horne, 2010). Teachers’ roles, overall social climate, and reduction of bullying paints an optimistic picture that teachers can make a difference in bullying research.

Part of Olweus’ (1994) anti-bullying strategy is a focus on the effectiveness of non-mental health professionals in the reduction of bullying behavior. His philosophy highlights the importance of using the existing social environment of the school to protect against bullying, and indicates that teachers can act as agents of change in the social environment. O’Neil et al. (2012) further point out the need for consistency amongst the staff body of a school, both in understanding what constitutes a bullying act and in conveying to the school community at-large that the staff body has a vital interest in understanding and addressing the bullying situation. Teachers can play a vital role in both aspects.

Barriers to Effective Bullying Prevention

Barriers that do exist that prevent effective bullying programs from taking place.

However, the more information accumulated about these barriers, the sooner we can overcome them. Teachers themselves perceive a number of barriers to dealing with bullying effectively (Marshall, 2012), and this perceived helplessness can lead to a lack of action. A school’s large size can impede a staff’s belief that creating ongoing connections with students can lead to a reduction in bullying (Coyle, 2008). Another challenge to effective bullying prevention lies in the fact that much of bullying usually occurs outside the view of supervisors, which often leads to a ‘he said’, she said scenario where no definitive resolution can be reached (Joseph, 2000). However, this would indicate that Olweus’ (1994) focus on increasing adult supervision is an effective measure for reducing bullying. Lastly, there are a number of barriers that prevent effective bullying intervention from a cultural standpoint. The local community’s lack of openness to change and diversity, and intolerance to diverse groups of people are found to impede the implementation of an effective anti-bullying program (Coyle, 2008).

Themes that emerged from literature are as follows:

From the literature and theories, the following themes emerged

- Conducive school environment
- Importance and application of effective anti-bullying strategies
- The role of teachers and their theoretical knowledge base

CONCLUSION

- The impacts of bullying are widespread and can lead to serious long- and short-term problems, including physical, psychological, academic, and employment-related issues. Literature has confirmed that teachers have the ability to influence the school environment to be conducive for learning and to avoid anti-bullying theories. From the literature review it became clear that anti-bullying strategies can be taught and learnt.
- Variety of anti-bullying strategies are supposed to be used. The teacher, who looks for opportunities to use interesting words and is an active, enthusiastic word learner, can instill effective anti-bullying by implementing the strategies appropriately. School environment should be that espouses warmth, caring, and mutual respect. This can be achieved if teachers can use various strategies and understand the theories that can prevent bullying in schools.

RECOMMENDATION

Impact in the School

To impact bullying behavior, the entire school organization— students, teachers, staff, administrators, parents, and the community—must be committed to the anti-bullying mission.

This literature review analyzes multiple sources in the field of bullying prevention, some of which stem from research based articles, and others which recount first hand experiences in the classroom. The most intriguing aspect of research on bullying prevention lies not in any one solution but in the more general establishment of a school environment that espouses warmth, caring, and mutual respect. My own opinion coincides with this approach, and my hope is to focus my research on how teachers can contribute to this positive school climate.

Holt and Keyes (2004) report that “a greater proportion of studies have found that teachers report lower prevalence rates of bullying than students do” (p. 122), which likely indicates that students are aware of bullying to a much greater extent than teachers.

Efforts to help teachers increase their depth of content knowledge, as well as their pedagogical content knowledge (i.e., present content in ways that actively engage learners and promote deep understanding as opposed to rote memorization), are also important contributors to an environment that discourages bullying. However, unless teachers come to the classroom with skills that allow them to establish a culture that proactively minimizes student behavior problems and at the same time allows them to intervene in positive, educative, effective ways when students are disruptive, there is likely to be an environment that is predisposed to bullying problems.

In the light of the foregoing discussion the following recommendations are made:

- Constant monitoring of anti-bullying strategies amongst learners is imperative and clear early warning signs for bullying should be communicated to the learners.
- To address the bullying problem, various school-based bullying prevention programs and approaches have been developed, implemented, and evaluated. Support programs should be in place and constantly evaluated by experts.

Further studies have also shown that programs need to be intensive and long-lasting to reduce bullying (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011).

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Chapter 131

CYBER BULLYING PARTICIPATION ROLES: EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMPATHY AND PSYCHOPATHY

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ABSTRACT

Bullying behavior, both perpetration and victimization, has generated a significant amount of attention in the wake of high profile bullying linked school shootings and youth suicides. The empirical research estimates that as many as 30-40% of youth experience bullying each year. Bullying has been linked to a host of psychosocial consequences stemming from both perpetration and victimization including: low self-esteem, depression, suicide, eating disorders, early drug and alcohol experimentation, deficits in educational achievement and motivation, relationship conflict, and aggression. While considerable knowledge has been gained about traditional bullying behavior and participation roles among the youth population (grades k-8), early adolescence (grades 9-12) and even workplace bullying, limited information exists about college students' participation in bullying behavior, specifically cyber-bullying, and the mediating/moderating influences of empathy and psychopathy. While the results have been mixed and often do not include cyber bullying, evidence supports a negative correlation between bullying and both affective and cognitive empathy. Further, though again mixed, prior research supports a relationship between bullying behavior and psychopathy with bullies scoring higher on measures of psychopathy than non-participants. The present exploratory and descriptive study utilizes a large sample of college students to examine the relationship between cyberbullying participation roles (cyberbullies, cybervictims, cyberbully-victims, and non-participant controls), empathy (cognitive and affective), and psychopathy (primary and secondary). The work also examines these relationships by gender to identify whether male and female differences exist among cyberbullies, cybervictims and cyberbully-victims across these traits.

Keywords: cyber bullying, bullying, empathy, psychopathy

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INTRODUCTION

Bullying behavior in its various forms is now pervasive in society. While the behavior is not new and was once viewed as a rite-of-passage among youth (Wolke & Lereya, 2015), bullying has been reconsidered and reconceptualized in light of a growing body of new evidence and established knowledge. This reorientation has been driven by the empirically documented immediate, lingering, and long-term adverse psychosocial effects/consequences of bullying, both perpetration and victimization, over the lifecourse from childhood through adulthood and across multiple domains including: mental health, physical health, relationships, criminal involvement, victimization, and more. With links to tragic incidents of school shootings (Raitanen, Sandberg, & Oksanen, 2019) and implication tied to elevated/increasing youth suicide rates (Holt et al., 2015), combined with attention from policy makers, public officials, parents, school boards, and scholars, awareness of the consequences of bullying behavior has reached a new peak. Extant research has explored bullying behavior across many social contexts and settings including elementary school children (Hymel & Swearer, 2015), junior high school youth (Di Stasio, Savage, & Burgos, 2016), high school age adolescents (Walsh, Krienert, Thresher, & Potratz, 2018), and more recently, young adult college/university students (Gibb & Devereux, 2014). Bullying research has even extended to employees/co-workers in the workplace (Einarsen & Nielsen, 2015). Further, while traditional bullying – relational, verbal, and physical (Olweus & Limber, 2018) – remains of paramount concern garnering much of the attention and resources, attention is building for the newest subcategory of bullying – cyberbullying. Cyberbullying, the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices as a medium for bullying behavior (Steffgen & König, 2009), is gaining traction, upending some of our basic understanding of bullying behavior acquired over the years, creating a new, expanded, and vastly more complex bullying paradigm. Traditional bullying research has informed a host of factors which may increase cyber bullying incidents and the myriad consequences, and although the correlates of traditional bullying may assist in understanding cyber bullying, to be certain, cyberbullying is a unique phenomenon with important distinctions from traditional forms of bullying (Bottino, Bottino, Regina, Correia, & Ribeiro, 2015; Brewer & Kerslake, 2015) requiring thorough in-depth empirical investigation, intervention, and prevention. Also, while prior literature and empirical study of bullying has frequently emphasized childhood and early adolescent bullying, college/university students have been largely neglected from much of the prior work though research finds that bullying continues into college (Adams & Lawrence, 2011). In fact, research finds evidence of continuity between the roles of bullies, victims, and bully-victims from elementary school through college (Chapell et al., 2006). Falling victim to cyberbullying in high school presents a significant risk of then being victimized in college (Kraft & Wang, 2010). Similarly, a growing body of research indicates that cyberbullying continues in college and at higher rates than previously reported (Gibb & Devereux, 2014).

Studies of traditional forms of bullying behavior have frequently found strong relationships between bullying and empathy, and bullying and psychopathy, with individuals who score lower on empathy measures, both cognitive and affective, engaging in more frequent and severe bullying (Brewer & Kerslake, 2015). Jolliffe and Farrington (2011) also found that males and females who bullied had lower scores on both cognitive and affective empathy compared to non-participants though other contradictory research has found that bullies may feel empathy

and therefore know how to more effectively manipulate, hurt, or control victims (Lamia, 2010). In essence, empathy may be a tool in the repertoire of bullying tactics. Similarly, bullying has been empirically linked to high scores on psychopathy measures with emphasis on callous-unemotional traits such as narcissism, grandiosity, lack of remorse, and impulsivity or the tendency to not consider longer-term consequences of actions. Research by Fanti and Kimonis (2013) and others has found that adolescents scoring high on narcissism, impulsivity and careless-unemotional traits were more likely to be bullies. Importantly, cyberbullying, and specifically cyberbullying among college/university students, has been under examined with regard to many of the noted correlates of traditional bullying. As Gibb and Devereux (2014) note, more research is needed to examine cyberbullying behaviors on college campuses given that few studies have done so to date. The advent of digital education has led more college campuses towards cyber communication as a means of academic and social student engagement. Similarly, college students today have grown up in the digital era that has moved communication towards electronic formats on personal devices accessing a vast landscape of social media and cyber platforms.

The present chapter expands the extant work examining the topic of cyberbullying addressing several limitations. The present study: 1) draws much needed attention and empirical investigation to the understudied, though rapidly emergent, bullying subtype of cyber bullying; 2) utilizes a large sample ($n = 1,095$) of college/university students, an under examined population in the broader bullying literature that has most frequently emphasized elementary or middle school aged youth; 3) extends cyberbullying participation categories beyond just cyberbullies and cybervictims to include the more comprehensive participation categories of cyberbully-victims and non-participants, providing more thorough context and insight with a four category cyberbullying participation typology; 4) utilizes leading psychometric instruments to assess the relationship between empathy, psychopathy, and cyberbullying participation roles to further inform the broader bullying paradigm, and finally; 5) extends prior bullying research along gender lines of inquiry examining the understudied area of male and female differences and similarities related to cyberbullying with respect to the four cyberbullying participation categories, along with empathy, and psychopathy. Greater understanding of cyberbullying and cybervictimization and associated correlates among college/university students will inform the current base of knowledge, help guide future empirical study, and enhance cyberbullying prevalence estimates, interventions, and prevention efforts.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Cyberbullying

The internet, social media platforms, changes in preferred modes of communication, and the ease of access and availability of electronic devices for social engagement have impacted our daily lives. These changes have exponentially expanded social networks, outreach, and impact in ways once unimaginable. These advances provide great societal advantage, opportunity, and positive impact as well as great social responsibility. This new digital media and technology era of email, chat, forums, blogs, social networking sites, messaging, and

numerous other applications (Pfetsch, 2017) allows for around-the-clock communication with audiences reaching far and wide. A consequence of expanded electronic communication is the opportunity for new forms of abuse and victimization. Cyberbullying, a subtype of bullying behavior (Olweus & Limber, 2018) accompanied by many of the attendant characteristics of more traditional bullying such as, intentionality, repetition, and harm to others (Patchin & Hinduja, 2015), is a rapidly growing social concern reflective of our increasing integration of technology into our daily routines. Cyberbullying has been defined as, “the intent to consistently harass another individual to cause harm via any electronic method, including social media, and includes defamation, public disclosure of private facts, and intentional emotional distress” (Watts, Wagner, Velasquez, & Behrens, 2017, p. 268). Similarly, Smith et al. (2008) define cyberbullying as aggressive, intentional acts, involving electronic forms of contact, repeated and over time against another who is unable to easily defend themselves. Studies of cyberbullying, similar to traditional bullying, have emphasized youth and adolescent populations with fewer studies undertaken at the college/university level (Watts et al., 2017).

Cyberbullying at the college level is viewed as a bridge in the continuum of bullying behavior from childhood through youth and into adulthood (Faucher, Jackson, & Cassidy, 2014). Accurate prevalence estimates of cyberbullying and victimization remains challenging due in large part to definitional inconsistencies across studies, study parameters related to the measurement and inclusion/exclusion of cyberbullying behaviors, participant reporting practices, and socially desirable responding reflective of the negative response bullying behavior has received throughout mainstream media. Estimates that exist suggest rampant involvement in cyberbullying as either a cyberbully, cybervictim, or observer/witness with rates ranging from 10-40% of youth involved in some capacity with between 8-11% percent of college students having been cyberbullied and approximately 22-50% having been victimized (See Doane, Pearson, & Kelley, 2014; Gibb & Devereux, 2014). More specific to college freshmen, Marcum, Higgins, and Ricketts (2010) found that 35.2% of male freshmen had experienced some form of cyberbullying compared to 16.0% of female freshmen (Marcum, Higgins, Freiburger, & Ricketts, 2012). At the upper-bound, Gibb and Devereux (2014) found that 51.5% of college age students engage in cyberbullying behavior. “Although prevalence rates among college students vary widely, all studies suggest that a substantial portion of college students are victims and/or perpetrators of cyberbullying” (Doane et al., 2014, p. 155). In a somewhat alarming revelation considering what is currently known about youth bullying behavior, some studies find the rates of college student participation are higher than adolescent cyberbullying participation (Kokkinos, Antoniadou, & Markos, 2014). Similarly, differences in gender based involvement in cyberbullying in college yields mixed results across studies. A review of the literature by Lund and Ross (2017) found that males perpetrate cyberbullying behavior more frequently than females with male prevalence between 10%-15% and female prevalence ranging from 3%-8% depending on study methodology. Lund and Ross (2017) also found that college student cybervictimization prevalence ranged from no differences noted between genders to studies suggesting males were victimized more frequently (15% vs 11%), and yet other studies suggesting females were victimized more frequently (10% vs. 5%)(p. 355). Gibb and Devereux (2014) in a study of 297 university students examining college cyberbullying behavior and personality found no differences between the sexes. However, males were more likely to engage in a wider range of behaviors than females suggesting there may be gender specific cyberbullying behaviors.

Cyberbullying has several notable distinctions from traditional bullying contributing to its effectiveness and impactfulness. The anonymity afforded cyberbullies provides a sense of power and control that could not be maintained through face-to-face bullying (Watts et al., 2017). Traditional bullying tends to accentuate physical stature and social status as mechanisms to embolden the bully, exert control, and render the victim powerless (Pettalia, Levin, & Dickinson, 2013). These characteristics become irrelevant to the cyberbully with the fear of reprisal significantly diminished and even unlikely when the bullying is done anonymously via the cover of technology. Similarly, the aspect of time is uniquely advantageous to the cyberbully in ways not experienced in traditional bullying incidents while at the same time being uniquely disadvantageous to the cybervictim. For example, cyberbullying can take place at any time of the day, 24 hours a day, for any duration of time. Unlike traditional bullying, cyberbullies can reach their victims long after the school day is done, class is over, or the victim has left the setting for the day. Technology allows for the posting of pictures, videos, and messages, for large audiences to see, read, hear, and share at any point in time for extended periods of time, inflicting repeated and prolonged harm on the cybervictim (Pettalia et al., 2013). The opportunity for an expanding audience of friends, acquaintances, and strangers is far beyond the reach of traditional bullying incidents. Traditional bullying tends to be much more confined in both audience exposure and incident duration. Traditional bullying is often conceptualized as repeated actions of antisocial behavior committed by the bully. Cyberbullying may occur as a singular action (ex. posting a photo, video, or negative message on social media) but with an expanding audience and no expiration date or end to the initial action. That singular act may also be conceptualized as a repeating and prolonged harm to the cybervictim.

Empathy

The extant literature defines empathy as both an affective trait facilitating the experience of the emotional state of another, as well as a cognitive ability facilitating the understanding of the emotions of another, with the intended end result being prosocial behavior inhibiting antisocial behavior (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006, p. 540). The link between empathy, both affective and cognitive, and aggressive behavior, even bullying behavior, has been established though the results are inconclusive and often contradictory across studies. Few studies have examined the link between cyberbullying and empathy and even fewer still among a college/university population (Pfetsch, 2017). This line of inquiry, similar to traditional bullying, has resulted in inconsistent and contradictory findings across studies. For example, in a sample of 521 vocational students, Graf, Yanagida, and Spiel (2019), studying cyberbullying behavior, found as hypothesized, a negative relationship between cognitive empathy and cyberbullying. No significant relationship was identified between affective empathy and cyberbullying and they found no significant gender based differences in their models. Research by Steffgen, König, Pfetsch, and Melzer (2011), drawing on a sample of 2,070 students in grades 7-13, studying the relationship between cyberbullying and empathic response compared to traditional bullying, found that cyberbullies showed a greater lack of empathy for others being cyberbullied than did non-cyberbullies. There was no significant gender effect for

cyberbullying. Traditional bullies on the other hand, both males and females, were associated with a greater lack of empathy.

Zych, Baldry, Farrington, and Llorent (2018), in a small meta-analysis of 25 published scholarly articles examining cyberbullying and empathy, found that cyberbullying behavior was related to low empathy though cybervictimization was not. More specifically, while there was some evidence that cybervictims may have higher affective empathy, the authors conclude that more research is needed to clarify the relationship. Similarly, research by Brewer and Kerslake (2015) in a sample of 90 participants age 16-18, examining cyberbullying, self-esteem, empathy, and loneliness, found that despite noted differences between traditional and cyberbullying with regard to the context and content of bullying behavior, both traditional bullies and cyberbullies lack empathy. Further, while both cognitive and affective empathy are important to social interaction, affective empathy appears to play a particularly salient role in the development of bullying behavior. This finding needs to be further explored among college cyberbullying participation roles. The authors, due to sample size limitations, did not distinguish male and female differences in their work and instead used the aggregated sample. Alternately, research by Pfetsch (2017), studying a group of young adults between 18 and 40 years of age recruited on two campuses, found that cybervictimization was a predictor of cyberbullying behavior but that self-reported cognitive and affective empathy did not predict cyberbullying behavior. Additionally, the authors concluded that gender was not a significant predictor in the study. In the examples noted here, we identify three lines of incongruent findings symbolic of the larger body of extant literature supporting the need for additional research.

In contrast to the above empathy deficit oriented explanations, and employing a younger sample of participants, empirical work by Pettalia et al. (2013), examining 263 junior high students in grades 7 and 8 across 12 schools in Canada, found that cyberbully-victims scored significantly higher on measures of both cognitive and affective empathy than youths not involved in cyberbullying. They also found that cyberbully-victims scored higher than cyberbullies on measures of affective empathy. Similar to a small body of traditional bullying research (See Sutton, Smith, & Swettenham, 1999a, 1999b; Walsh et al., 2018), these findings suggest that cyberbully-victims are a unique group capable of understanding the perspective of others and the emotional impact of cyberbullying on others given their own cybervictimization experiences. However, cyberbully-victims are also willing to engage in the same hurtful behavior as cyberbullies (Pettalia et al., 2013). This evidence supports the social competency model suggesting that cyberbullies may be uniquely adept at understanding the emotions their victims feel and use that knowledge to their advantage. In other words, similar to some findings in the traditional bullying literature, cyberbullies may possess a strong sense of empathy or theory-of-mind that they use to their advantage to manipulate and bully most effectively (See Baughman, Dearing, Giammarco, & Vernon, 2012; Gini, 2006).

A review of the extant literature reveals that the complex link between empathy and traditional bullying is unclear and remains similarly confounding in the subtype of cyberbullying as well. There is currently no clear empirical basis established from which to draw definitive conclusions about the relationship between cyberbullying and empathy (Steffgen et al., 2011). While it is generally assumed that high levels of empathy are associated with prosocial behaviors, there is a need for additional empirical inquiry into the association between empathy and antisocial behaviors including both traditional bullying and

cyberbullying (Pettalia et al., 2013; van Noorden, Haselager, Cillessen, & Bukowski, 2014). The present chapter seeks to contribute to this important foundation in the empirical literature.

Psychopathy

Another important construct related to both antisocial behavior and empathy, and similarly understudied in both traditional and cyberbullying, is psychopathy. Psychopathy is a disorder characterized by antisocial behavior including narcissism, callousness, impulsivity, disregard for the rights of others, manipulation, lack of guilt, and participation in illegal behavior (Lockwood, 2016; Ragatz, Anderson, Fremouw, & Schwartz, 2011). Bullying among the youth population has been empirically linked to high scores on psychopathic measures with emphasis on callous-unemotional traits such as narcissism, grandiosity, lack of remorse, and impulsivity or the tendency to not consider longer-term consequences for actions. These associations have been studied much less extensively in the college/university population and among cyberbullies. Bullies have been characterized as callous towards objects of their aggression, pursuing power, control and domination over others, and participating in dangerous and risk taking behavior (van Geel, Goemans, Toprak, & Vedder, 2017). Gibb and Devereux noted in 2014, “there have been no studies to date...that directly link psychopathy to engagement in CBB [cyber bullying behavior] in either adolescent or college samples” (p.10). Fortunately, today this statement is no longer accurate though the research remains scarce and the relationship under examined.

Extant work suggests that personality traits including psychopathy predict cyberbullying behavior (Goodboy & Martin, 2015) and psychopathic attributes, in particular grandiose/manipulative behavior, has been linked to internet use (Kokkinos et al., 2014). Research by Gibb and Devereux (2014) drawing on a sample of 297 undergraduate and graduate students, found that students who scored higher on psychopathy were also more likely to report participation in cyberbullying behavior. These individuals were also more likely to occupy the dual role of victim and offender. Gender differences were not significant on measures of psychopathy. These results are similar to work with younger populations that has found traditional bullies and bully-victims score higher on measures of psychopathy than victims and controls (Ragatz et al., 2011). Kokkinos et al. (2014) in a sample of 430 college students, found that cyberbully-victims had the greatest involvement in cyberbullying and scored higher than cyberbullies, cybervictims, and uninvolved students on measures of psychopathy. Their work found notable gender differences at more finite levels of the analyses. For example, males scored higher on experience seeking, grandiose/manipulative, impulsive/irresponsible and callous/unemotional dimensions. Female participants scored higher on cognitive empathy, emotional reactivity and interpersonal sensitivity (p. 209). In sum, cyberbully-victims had significantly higher scores on all but one dimension of the psychopathy measure than the other three cyberbullying participant groups. Goodboy and Martin (2015) employed a sample of 227 undergraduate students to study visual-based and text-based cyberbullying and associations with the personality constructs present in the dark triad (Machiavellianism, psychopathy and narcissism). Their findings reveal that psychopathy was the only significant predictor in the dark triad of visual-based cyberbullying and the only significant predictor of text-based cyberbullying. The findings suggests that psychopathy is the

uniquely problematic dark triad trait. Gender differences were not included in the study and the sample was discussed in the aggregate.

The following sections of this chapter explain the methodology employed to examine the relationships between cyberbullying participation roles, empathy, and psychopathy, as well as the results of the analyses. A conclusion/discussion section is included to offer some interpretation of the results.

METHODS

Participants

Students ($N = 1,095$) from a Midwestern university were administered a confidential esurvey inquiring about their involvement in cyberbullying behavior during the past year. Replicating prior methodology utilized by Walsh et al. (2018) in their study of traditional bullying, participants were categorized into one of four participation roles: cyberbullies, cybervictims, cyberbully-victims (individuals who reported being both cyberbullies and cybervictims), or uninvolved/non-participants, based on their esurvey responses. The four cyberbullying participation categories were examined to identify differences and relationships across normed empathy and psychopathy scale scores, and by respondent sex.

Instrument

The esurvey consisted of approximately 100 multiple choice and Likert-scale type questions. The esurvey was subcategorized into four sections: 1) respondent's demographic data, 2) questions about cyberbullying adapted from Patchin and Hinduja (2015), 3) the Levenson's Self-Report Psychopathy Scale (LSRP) (primary and secondary), and 4) Jolliffe and Farrington's Basic Empathy Scale (BES) (affective and cognitive). The following section, in the interest of brevity, provides a brief description of each instrument administered in the esurvey.

CyberBullying

A scale adapted from Patchin and Hinduja (2015) was used to identify the cyberbullying participation roles of respondents. The questionnaire contained a series of Likert-scale questions assessing the frequency of cyber activities (both bullying and victimization) in the past year. Response options included: never, once or twice, 3-5 times, 6 or more times. The categorization of cyberbully, cybervictim, or cyberbully-victim relied on the lower-bound cut-point response of "1-2 times a year". Participants who responded never, were categorized as uninvolved/non-participants. Factor loadings in the present study for the cyberbullying perpetration scale ($\alpha = .783$) and the cyberbullying victimization scale ($\alpha = .785$) support their use in this research.

Empathy

Jolliffe and Farrington's Basic Empathy Scale (BES) was used to measure empathy among study participants. Items included in the BES emphasize the degree to which a person understands and shares the emotions of another (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2011). The original BES was a 40 item Likert response scale that was reduced through confirmatory factor analysis to a normed and validated 20 item scale with loadings on two factors, one factor measuring cognitive empathy and the other factor measuring affective empathy (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006). Factor loadings in the present study for the full scale ($\alpha = .889$), cognitive empathy (9 items, $\alpha = .846$), and affective empathy (11 items, $\alpha = .859$) support their use here and well exceed minimum thresholds. Cognitive empathy is defined as the capacity of one person to comprehend and understand the emotions of another person. An example of a cognitive empathy question would be, "I often get swept up in my friend's feelings". Affective empathy is the capacity of one person to experience the emotions of another person. An example of an affective empathy question would be, "I am not usually aware of my friend's feelings". The two dimensions of empathy have support, albeit mixed, in prior bullying research though few studies have examined empathy and cyberbullying.

Psychopathy

The Levenson's Self-Report Psychopathy Scale (LSRP) was used to measure psychopathy. The LSRP consists of 26 self-report items using Likert responses on a four-point scale ranging from disagree strongly to agree strongly. Higher scores represent greater association with the psychopathy traits being measured. The LSRP consists of a total psychopathy score derived from a sum of all item responses, a primary psychopathy subscale score derived from 16 summed scale items, and a secondary psychopathy subscale score derived from summing the remaining 10 items. Factor loadings in the present study for the full 26-item LSRP scale ($\alpha = .860$), primary psychopathy (16 items, $\alpha = .863$), and secondary psychopathy (10 items, $\alpha = .705$) support their use and well exceed minimum thresholds. The primary psychopathy items assess a selfish, grandiose, callous, uncaring, and manipulative attitude or posture toward others. The secondary psychopathy items assess impulsivity, emotional reactivity, and a self-defeating lifestyle (Levenson, Kiehl, & Fitzpatrick, 1995; Lynam, Whiteside, & Jones, 1999).

ANALYSIS PLAN

The first step of the analyses involved descriptive statistics to measure the frequency and prevalence of several respondent characteristics. Descriptive statistics for the sample in its entirety and then also by cyberbullying participation categories (cyberbully, cybervictim, cyberbully-victim, non-participant) are located in Table 1. The second step of bivariate analyses, noted in Table 2, involved a series of Chi-squared tests to identify statistically significant relationships between the cyberbullying participation categories and several respondent characteristics. An ANOVA was used to identify statistically significant relationships between the four cyberbullying participation categories and the empathy and

psychopathy full scale and subscales. These results are also in Table 2. The fourth and final series of analyses, reported in Tables 4-6, include a multivariate analysis, multinomial logistic regression, to confirm aspects of the cyberbully participation relationship, empathy, psychopathy, and gender.

RESULTS/FINDINGS

The sample consisted of a majority of female students (805, 74%) compared to male students (281, 26%) and other (6, .5%) representing a higher female response rate than the actual campus population (F 58%, M 42%). As noted in Table 1, the majority of the sample was white (80%) accurately reflecting the composition of white students on campus (82%). The majority of respondents identified as heterosexual (83%) and were under 22 years of age (64%). The majority of students reported some level of participation in cyberbullying activities in the past year (62%), as cyberbullies (18%), cybervictims (15%) or cyberbully-victims (29%).

Table 2 highlights the demographic differences across cyberbullying participation categories with no significant differences identified by sex, race, or sexual orientation of the respondent. Significant differences in respondent scores on the psychopathy scale are noted. Cyberbullies and cyberbully-victims reported higher scores on the overall psychopathy scale, and on both of the subscales, primary and secondary psychopathy, with cyberbully-victims scoring the highest in all categories. The cyberbully-victim category also reveals lower cognitive empathy scores than all other participation categories. No differences were noted in affective empathy across cyberbullying participation category.

Table 1. Sample Demographics N = 1,095

	Number	Percent
Gender		
Female	805	73.7
Male	281	25.7
Other	6	.5
Age		
18-19	269	24.8
20-21	420	38.8
22 +	394	36.4
Race		
White	873	79.9
Black	52	4.8
Hispanic	74	6.8
Other	93	8.5
Sexual Orientation		
Straight	902	82.6
Gay	35	3.2
Bisexual	130	11.9
Other	25	2.3

	Number	Percent
Bully Categories		
Neither Bully or Victim	408	38.4
Bully Only	186	17.5
Victim Only	157	14.8
Bully-Victim	311	29.3
Empathy (mean)		
Affective		
Cognitive		
Psychopathy (mean)		
Primary		
Secondary		

Multinomial Logistic Regression Results

The final step of the analysis includes multinomial logistic regression as a discriminant function to explain differences in cyberbullying participation over the four category typology, using students reporting no cyberbullying or cybervictimization, the nonparticipant/uninvolved group, as the reference category. Logistic regression results generally support the bivariate findings with a few notable exceptions.

Table 2. Demographics by Bully Categories, N= 1,095

	None		Bully Only		Victim Only		Bully Victim	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Gender								
Male	105	38.9	49	18.1	29	10.7	87	32.2
Female	301	38.3	135	17.2	127	16.2	222	28.3
Age								
18-19	101	39.0	36	13.9	34	13.1	88	34.0
20-21	155	37.8	72	17.6	63	15.4	120	29.3
22 +	149	38.8	78	20.3	60	15.6	97	25.3
Race								
White	338	39.8	144	16.9	131	15.4	237	27.9
Black	14	28.6	11	22.4	5	10.2	19	38.8
Hispanic	26	35.1	16	21.6	5	6.8	27	36.5
Other	29	33.0	15	17.0	16	18.2	28	31.8
Sexual Orientation								
Straight	345	39.4	153	17.5	137	15.7	240	27.4
Gay	10	28.6	7	20.0	4	11.4	14	40.0
Bisexual	43	33.9	23	18.1	10	7.9	51	40.2
Other	10	40.0	3	12.0	6	24.0	6	24.0
Empathy (mean)	76.66		76.60		78.25		77.44	

Table 2. (Continued)

	None		Bully Only		Victim Only		Bully Victim	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Affective	40.34		39.90		41.21		40.60	
Cognitive	36.29		36.59		36.92		36.35	
**Psychopathy (mean)	46.10		50.07		46.75		51.69	
**Primary	27.58		30.39		27.64		30.58	
**Secondary	18.61		19.76		19.09		21.15	

**p ≤ .001.

Table 3 shows that cyberbullies and cyberbully-victims had significantly higher levels of psychopathy and empathy than students who were uninvolved. Results differ significantly by the gender of respondent. Males do not differ in empathy scores or psychopathy scores when compared to uninvolved respondents across all cyberbullying categories. Female’s, however, report higher levels of psychopathy across all cyberbullying categories when compared to the uninvolved group. Additionally, female cyberbullies and cyberbully-victims report higher levels of empathy than the uninvolved group, a finding contradicting much of the prior cyberbullying research though supporting cyberbullying work by Pettalia et al. (2013) and the social competency model evident in some traditional bullying research (see Walsh et al., 2018).

Table 3. Multinomial logistic regression, LSRP and BES (N = 1,095)

TOTAL (N = 1,095)	B	SEB	Wald χ^2	p	Exp (B)
Bully					
Intercept	-5.005	1.222	16.773	.000	
**Psychopathy	.054	.011	22.61-	.000	1.055
*Empathy	.022	-.11	3.886	.049	1.022
Victim					
Intercept	-3.306	1.287	6.601	.010	
Psychopathy	.018	.012	2.050	.152	1.018
Empathy	.021	-.12	2.994	.084	1.021
Bully-Victim					
Intercept	-7.362	1.114	43.636	.000	
**Psychopathy	.078	.010	57.739	.000	1.081
**Empathy	.043	.010	18.297	.000	1.044
MALE (N = 281)					
Bully					
Intercept	-.007	2.097	.00	.997	
Psychopathy	.018	.019	.914	.339	1.018
Empathy	-.023	.021	1.282	.258	.997
Victim					
Intercept	.156	2.539	.004	.951	
Psychopathy	-.019	.024	.675	.411	.981
Empathy	-.006	.025	.053	.817	.994

TOTAL (N = 1,095)	B	SEB	Wald χ^2	p	Exp (B)
Bully-Victim					
Intercept	-1.986	1.846	1.158	.282	
*Psychopathy	.037	.016	5.098	.024	1.038
Empathy	-.003	.018	.024	.878	.997
FEMALE (n = 805)					
Bully					
Intercept	-7.459	1.565	22.714	.000	
**Psychopathy	.074	.014	26.292	.000	1.077
*Empathy	.041	.014	8.161	.004	1.042
Victim					
Intercept	-4.306	1.551	7.705	.006	
*Psychopathy	.036	.015	5.845	.016	1.037
Empathy	.024	.014	2.705	.100	1.024
Bully-Victim					
Intercept	-10.026	1.438	48.618	.000	
**Psychopathy	.100	.013	57.420	.000	1.105
**Empathy	.064	.013	23.389	.000	1.066

*p ≤ .05

**p ≤ .001

Table 4 examines differences in the overall sample by the psychopathy and empathy subscales in an effort to better contextualize and detail the full-scale results presented above. When examining primary and secondary psychopathy and affective and cognitive empathy subscales, cyberbullies report significantly higher levels of primary psychopathy and cognitive empathy than the uninvolved group. Cyberbully-victims report significantly higher levels of all psychopathy and empathy subscales when compared to the uninvolved group. Cybervictims report no significant differences in psychopathy or empathy when compared to the uninvolved group.

Table 4. Multinomial logistic regression results sub_scales (N = 1,093)

	B	SEB	Wald χ^2	p	Exp (B)
Bully					
Intercept	-6.111	1.325	21.259	.000	
**Primary Psychopathy	.064	.017	14.319	.000	1.066
Secondary Psychopathy	.045	.026	2.969	.085	1.046
Affective Empathy	-.004	.017	.046	.830	.996
*Cognitive Empathy	.078	.027	8.501	.004	1.081
Victim					
Intercept	-3.471	1.381	6.323	.012	
Primary Psychopathy	.011	.018	.355	.552	1.011
Secondary Psychopathy	.032	.027	1.368	.242	1.032
Affective Empathy	.012	.018	.436	.509	1.012
Cognitive Empathy	.032	.029	1.253	.263	1.032

Table 4. (Continued)

	<i>B</i>	SEB	Wald χ^2	<i>p</i>	Exp (<i>B</i>)
Bully-Victim					
Intercept	-7.325	1.181	38.460	.000	
**Primary Psychopathy	.059	.015	15.264	.000	1.043
**Secondary Psychopathy	.114	.023	25.015	.000	1.120
*Affective Empathy	.033	.016	4.408	.036	1.034
*Cognitive Empathy	.048	.024	4.131	.042	1.050

p* ≤ .05*p* ≤ .001**Table 5. Multinomial logistic regression sub scales—Males (N = 281)**

	<i>B</i>	SEB	Wald χ^2	<i>p</i>	Exp (<i>B</i>)
Bully					
Intercept	-.936	2.248	.173	.677	
Primary Psychopathy	.029	.029	1.035	.309	1.030
Secondary Psychopathy	.005	.048	.010	.920	1.008
Affective Empathy	-.043	.030	2.004	.157	.958
Cognitive Empathy	.021	.044	.222	.637	1.021
Victim					
Intercept	.111	2.747	.002	.968	
Primary Psychopathy	-.011	.037	.082	.775	.990
Secondary Psychopathy	-.037	.057	.406	.524	.964
Affective Empathy	-.001	.039	.001	.976	.999
Cognitive Empathy	-.008	.057	.017	.895	.992
Bully-Victim					
Intercept	-1.920	1.965	.954	.329	
Primary Psychopathy	.049	.025	3.774	.052	1.050
Secondary Psychopathy	.011	.041	.070	.791	1.011
Affective Empathy	.010	.028	.119	.730	1.010
Cognitive Empathy	-.014	.039	.120	.729	.987

p* ≤ .05*p* ≤ .001**Table 6. Multinomial logistic regression sub scales—Females (N = 805)**

	<i>B</i>	SEB	Wald χ^2	<i>p</i>	Exp (<i>B</i>)
Bully					
Intercept	-8.618	1.693	25.913	.000	
**Primary Psychopathy	.082	.022	14.593	.000	1.086
*Secondary Psychopathy	.073	.032	5.165	.023	1.075
Affective Empathy	.009	.023	.149	.700	1.009
*Cognitive Empathy	.104	.034	9.129	.003	1.110
Victim					
Intercept	-4.779	1.652	8.371	.004	

	<i>B</i>	SEB	Wald χ^2	<i>p</i>	Exp (<i>B</i>)
Primary Psychopathy	.025	.022	1.244	.265	1.025
Secondary Psychopathy	.063	.032	3.736	.053	1.065
Affective Empathy	.005	.023	.057	.812	1.005
Cognitive Empathy	.052	.034	2.351	.125	1.054
Bully-Victim					
Intercept	-10.233	1.525	45.005	.000	
**Primary Psychopathy	.063	.019	10.586	.001	1.065
**Secondary Psychopathy	.168	.029	34.833	.000	1.183
*Affective Empathy	.042	.021	4.061	.044	1.042
*Cognitive Empathy	.086	.031	7.675	.006	1.090

*p_.05

**p_.001

CONCLUSION

Much of the extant bullying research has emphasized traditional bullying behaviors in school based youth populations. That research has highlighted the lasting psychosocial consequences of bullying behaviors on both bullies and victims. Recent research is beginning to establish a base of knowledge supportive of bullying behavior being present across the life course extending into high school, college, and the workplace with lasting adverse consequences including anxiety, suicidality, depression, low self-esteem, and more (Copeland, Wolke, Angold, & Costello, 2013; Wolke & Lereya, 2015). While research on the continuity of bullying behavior is rather limited, research does support that college/university students engage in bullying behavior and that bullying victimization in high school increases the likelihood of victimization in college (Marcum et al., 2012; Marcum et al., 2010). Further, cyberbullying has emerged as the newest bullying threat sharing similarities with traditional bullying though containing many nuanced and overt differences making cyberbullying uniquely destructive and wholly opportunistic in this technology driven era. Chief among these differences are anonymity, audience reach, and duration of the cyberbullying event given that cyber content can remain active and visible in perpetuity. With some studies finding more than 50% of college students are involved in cyberbullying incidents (Gibb & Devereux, 2014) the present research examines the relationship between cyberbullying participation roles, empathy, and psychopathy. Empathy and psychopathy have been areas of emphasis in traditional bullying research though the results have been mixed across studies based in large part on methodological differences. Very few studies have examined these traits/constructs in relation to cyberbullying and fewer yet employing a college/university sample. The results of this exploratory, descriptive study identify differences across the four cyberbullying participation categories (cyberbullies, cybervictims, cyberbully-victims, and non-participants) and psychopathy (primary and secondary) and empathy (affective and cognitive), and by gender.

Initial review of the sample demographics shows no significant differences by gender, age, race, or sexual orientation across the four cyberbullying participation categories aligning with other research finding similar results. Results here do not comport with work that has found greater male participation in cyberbullying and as cyberbully-victims. Bivariate analyses note significant differences across participation categories for the full scale measure of psychopathy

and both subscales but not empathy or the empathy subscales. However, all three groups with an active participation role in cyberbullying scored higher on empathy measures than the non-participant group with only bullies scoring lower than non-participants on the subscale of affective empathy. Significant differences in psychopathy scores find that cyberbully-victims had the highest subscale scores on both primary and secondary psychopathy followed by cyberbullies, cybervictims and then non-participants.

Turning our attention to the multivariate analyses a more detailed picture begins to emerge. We find that cyberbullies have significantly higher primary psychopathy and cognitive empathy while cyberbully-victims have higher primary and secondary psychopathy and higher cognitive and affective empathy. When examining the results by gender we find our most informative and contributory results. Contrary to some of the prior literature, male cyberbullying participation roles show no significant differences across any of the psychopathy or empathy full or subscale scores compared to non-participants. However, female bullies have significantly higher primary and secondary psychopathy scores and cognitive empathy scores. It is the female cyberbully-victims that generate the most significant findings having higher scores on both primary and secondary psychopathy and both affective and cognitive empathy. Similar to the findings of traditional bullying research, individuals sharing the dual roles of cyberbully and cybervictim have the most deleterious profile and according to the present findings females with this distinction are a unique group.

Concerning empathy, cyber bullies may be capable of understanding the perspectives and emotions of others (cognitive empathy) while cyberbully-victims may have a heightened sensitivity and ability to both experience the emotional state of others (affective empathy) and understand others emotions and perspectives (cognitive empathy). Cyberbully-victims may be operating from a social competency model similar to findings by Walsh et al. (2018) in their study of traditional bullying participation roles. Cyberbully-victims may deeply understand the emotional impact of their cyberbullying on others given their own cybervictimization experiences but may also be more willing to engage in the same hurtful behavior as bullies.

Deficits in affective and cognitive empathy have been used to explain male bullying participation in youth, though in college/adult samples women frequently have higher empathy scores and greater ability with nonverbal skills such as identifying emotions (Faucher et al., 2014). These findings support greater participation in relational aggression by females in the form of gossiping or spreading rumors, slander, friendship betrayals and distrust, group exclusion, and other manipulative behaviors that affect and disrupt relationships (Faucher et al., 2014; Selkie, Kota, & Moreno, 2016). Unlike their male counterparts who tend to bully more overtly aggressively, female bullying behavior is more covert and secretive. The anonymity of the cyber environment facilitates a relational aggression style of bullying and provides a conducive medium and outlet for female cyberbullying behavior (Faucher et al., 2014; Selkie et al., 2016).

The finding that both female cyberbullies and cyberbully-victims scored higher on primary and secondary psychopathy compared to the non-participant category is supported by traditional bullying research examining samples of youth in general. For example, van Geel et al. (2017), in a large meta-analysis found relationships between psychopathy and bullying behavior and Ragatz et al. (2011) found that bullies and bully-victims scored higher on full scale measures of psychopathy compared to non-participants.

The primary psychopathy items assess aspects of selfishness, carelessness, narcissism, grandiosity, self-centeredness, callousness, uncaring, and manipulative attitudes towards

others. Dimensions of secondary psychopathy include impulsivity, emotional reactivity, vulnerability, irresponsibility, externalizing self-worth, self-defeating attitudes, and low-self esteem (Levenson et al., 1995; Lynam et al., 1999; Ragatz et al., 2011). These core features align with the cyberbully and cyberbully-victim experience though a more detailed micro level examination is needed to untangle which features are most prominent among these two groups of females and why female differences are greater than male differences when compared to the uninvolved group. The sex difference is evident but a thorough explanation remains elusive without additional examination.

Many youth bullying intervention and prevention programs have emphasized empathy training from the deficit model suggesting empathy levels are low or wholly lacking (Van Noorden, Haselager, Cillessen, & Bukowski, 2015). The present findings, similar to Walsh et al. (2018) do not support this deficits in empathy model. Female cyberbullies and cyberbully-victims scored higher on cognitive and affective empathy than non-participants and scored higher on primary and secondary psychopathy. Intervention and prevention might include targeting domains of psychopathy including narcissism, manipulative attitudes, uncaring emotional reactivity, impulsivity, self-defeating behavior, and low self-esteem. If the thinking patterns about self and the reactive behavior in relation to others can be alerted and changed the results show that high levels of empathy exists in these individuals and this empathy may be redirected towards prosocial behavior and outcomes.

This work, while contributory to the growing body of literature has several limitations. The study relied on students from one university and may not generalize to the larger population of university students. The operational definition of cyberbullying may not capture contemporary student understanding of the behavior and or may elicit socially desirable responding due to the heightened sense of awareness to the consequences of bullying. Also, the study relies on memory recall of participants and their cyberbullying participation may have faded over time. The present work relied on standardized measures of empathy and psychopathy and may not have been well suited for this sample. Finally, the study is descriptive not explanatory and causal inferences about our female cyberbullies and cyberbully-victims are not possible nor are we able to examine micro level factors within the subscales of psychopathy and empathy beyond a degree of speculation.

Cyberbullying is the new frontier in youth bullying behavior and evidence supports that college students are active participants. Future work needs to continue to develop micro-level understanding of the nuances of the participants. Research is developing a stronger foundation in the prevalence and profiles of participants and now interest needs to expand into micro-level understanding about when and why the behavior occurs in an effort to mitigate the consequences of the actions for both the cyberbullies and the cyberbully-victims.

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Chapter 132

AGGRESSION AS A DEVELOPMENTAL DISORDER: FROM BULLYING TO ADULT DELINQUENCY

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ABSTRACT

Theories of human aggression to account for developmental characteristics are mainly biological. There has been an increase in scientific work related to the importance of *amygdala* and other brain regions in recalcitrant aggressive reactions. This relationship has been proven to a certain degree, because “amygdalotomy” as it is performed by neurosurgeons is still considered a form of effective treatment for “aggressive reactions.” From self-mutilation to hetero-aggression, the role of the frontal lobe has often been associated with concepts of impulse control or the lack of such. Schizoid psychopathology offers proof of the biological roots of the disorder. The role of neurotransmitters, hormones (mainly sexual) and drugs of abuse offer another enlightening perspective for the intricate issue of effective solutions for human aggression.

The phenomenology of human aggression as it is sketched for the early-starters (involved in school bullying to minor thefts) is another theme. A positive spiral through the period of early-starter development is more applicable, with aggressive acts that become more and more severe. Comparing the increasing severity of early-starter aggression will help to better explain the course of development for the recalcitrant aggressive reactions.

Keywords: Aggression, impulsivity, explosive behavior, anti-social personality, criminogenic environment, developmental theory

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INTRODUCTION

Law professionals, social workers, clinicians and psychologists have continuously attempted to define *anti-social behavior* in childhood, adolescence and adulthood, albeit without reaching a commonly accepted definition of the phenomenon. Even the basic definition of *aggression* per se is confusing. Should an action be accompanied by the *intention to harm*, for such an act to be considered an aggression? In that case, an important implication would derive itself from the intentionality of the wrongdoing. On the other hand, and much more incisively, should the models of anti-social behavior be treated or sketched universally, or should such conclusions be drawn within the context of the culture and the environmental setting? It is clearly stated, that ethnic composition and cultural background play important roles in bullying behavior and in victimization (Vervoort, 2010; Spriggs, 2007).

Actually, under a legal point of view, anti-social behavior among children and adolescents is noted as “micro-criminality,” “delinquency” or merely “vandalism” (a rough term approximating the others), when anti-social behavior among adults is strictly defined as “criminal.” Those definitions suffer from inconsistencies when it comes to psychological analysis of the latter. More attention is given to the fact that the wrongdoings are noted as such, following from a police intervention, rather than attempting to define the anti-social behavior as such. It is important to consider that micro-criminality is represented as a single, solitary act, rather than a complex of intermingled behaviors. Furthermore, early anti-social or aggressive behavior cannot be underemphasized or underestimated. Some authors have found associations between behavior at the age of three years, with future convictions and criminality as an adult (Stevenson, 2001). It is important to distinguish between the *officially reported* micro-criminality of an action deemed to be illegal and *self-reported* actions that characterize the life phase of an individual from children, parents, peers, school and similar entities.

Psychological research makes a clear distinction between the so-called *externalizing* behavioral models characterized by impulsive/anti-social actions and other aggressions, and *internalizing* behaviors such as anxiety, dysphoria, social isolation, somatization and anger (Cohn, 2012; Kim, 2011). We should of course concentrate on these externalizing issues, but clearly the two problems overlap, with internalizing behaviors playing their part as well.

Another important issue is the classificatory distinction between anti-social behavior and aggression at one side with a large spectrum of the symptomatology of attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), where the concomitance of ADHD and anti-social behavior is extremely high. Within this frame, aggression and anti-social behavior fit along a continuum of psychopathology, starting with basic defiance and opposition toward social rules and authority (known as *oppositional-defiant disorder*); progressing to the lifelong *conduct disorder*, and upgrading (or degrading for some) to the anti-social personality. Conceptually speaking, these disorders deserve their own description, because differences do exist (Jensen, 1997). Within the exaggerated attempt and tradition of modern psychiatry to coin categories, conduct disorder and oppositional defiant disorder are grouped within the “explosive” behavioral disorders. Both types refer to disorders starting before the eighteenth year of life. Typically the phenomenology is often visible at the age of ten. Inevitably, although not always, those categories will switch to an anti-social personality disorder as soon as the person reaches adulthood. Since the description of anti-social personality disorder recently was reviewed and thus determined by legal transgressions produced by these certain individuals, the severity of

the disorder is interrelated to the frequency of such violations. Thus, it might be a product of the legality for the proposed dichotomy between childhood explosive disorders and the anti-social personality of adulthood. In fact, declining to register or legally prosecute these rule violations by individuals of minor age might be erroneously interpreted as a lower frequency of the phenomenon in that age. It is a fact, however, that some or most of the juvenile law violators abandon their specific behavioral model during adulthood, which once dominated their childhood (McCurley, 2006).

Returning to the developmental perspective of the anti-social personality and/or his-her behavior, early childhood law violations will not necessarily produce a recidivist. Authors have focused on researching the roots of deviant behaviors of psychopathology. The more callous traits of personality and externalizing psychopathologies have been largely discussed (Barry, 2000; Cohn, 2012).

Descriptive attempts to define a “delinquent” child or individual are difficult, because anti-social behavior is to a certain degree, a personally communicative way for a subject to respond to the social environment. The delinquent subject in contrast is positioned within a psychological context, often with a different familial and social background. Personality traits and the severity or character of a personality disorder are not proportionally related to the severity of the offences produced. Specific risk factors have been well identified, regarding the persistence of offences (the so-called *persisters*) and cessation of such a phenomenon (so-called *desisters* where former child delinquents have later stopped such an activity). Here again familial risk factors and the role of the peers are considered of primary importance (Remschmidt, 2010).

Early studies of juvenile delinquency have mainly been focused on frequent psychiatric co-morbidities. In fact, delinquent minors diagnosed with conduct disorder show a very high prevalence of internalizing pathologies (Ulzen, 1998). Co-existence of a psychiatric nosology with criminal behavior is derived from the fact that during some period of life, many wrongdoers have been under psychiatric treatment. Nevertheless, because many psychiatric patients do not commit crimes, and many criminals are considered mentally sane and thus competent to stand trial and accept prosecution, efforts are needed to identify the “protective factors” that separate the disorders from each other. That is, the psychiatric diagnosis must be separated from the criminal behavior. In the psychiatric literature conduct disorder and oppositional-defiant disorders are among the most frequent in child and adolescent samples. A high proportion of adolescent delinquents have been diagnosed with conduct disorder (Ollendick, 1999). Albeit diagnosing a conduct disorder or deviating behavior might seem a simple task, where over-diagnosis is the rule overtaken from laymen, we should consider that few adolescents face police and legal consequences even during a single criminal act, such as rape or murder. The act might be a severe law violation, but it might not suffice to diagnose a conduct disorder. The task of detecting behavioral deviations in an adolescent sample within detention facilities is even more difficult, because individuals under those conditions become extremely diffident and non-cooperative, regardless of assurances that they are given for a total respect of confidentiality.

METHODOLOGIES

Terminological Considerations

When prosecuting and eventually condemning someone for perpetration of a crime, law professionals request two pre-conditions before defining the presence of individual responsibility: *actus reus* (guilty act), and *mens rea* (the state of mind indicating culpability) which are necessary components for a statutory definition of a crime (Cornell University Law School, 2012). When speaking about “the deed” [*die Tat*], Johann Goethe in his famous *Faust* foreshadowed the latter very clearly with “the force” [*die Kraft*]. Yet even the force had to be preceded from “the sense” [*der Sinn*] (Goethe, 1808). Therefore, from a historical and humanistic point of view, a misdeed (deed) has to be preceded from the sense (intentionality), and meanwhile it has to be perpetrated with some consistence, or force, to deserve its name and notoriety.

If culpability and guilt are to be proven, there is a need to justify classifications, and to grant different subtypes and categories a theoretical and empirical basis, sufficient to substantiate their meaning. Under a terminological point of view, we might distinguish:

1. An inter-personal *verbal* aggression consists in menacing, teasing or mocking, and differs substantially from *physical* aggression such as beating and thus assaulting the victim. Such a difference is not only descriptive, it is developmental as well. In fact, physical aggression appears early, achieving its peak in the pre-school years of life (4th to 6th year of life), whereas acts of verbal aggression come in later years (Parke, 1983). This is not the only timing parameter of such an aggression, because such physical acts become gradually more and more serious through time, where the severity of crimes increases and the individual becomes a medical and societal concern.
2. The aggression might be direct or indirect (relational; i.e., revenging through a third person, discrediting publicly the hostile figure, excluding such a figure from social events etc.). Indirect aggression seems a particularity of female individuals. Inter-sexual differences in aggression and the ways of expressing hostility are a well-known biological phenomenon, involving almost all taxonomic species (Miczek, 2007).
3. Anti-social (aggressive) behavior might be defined as overt or disguised (clandestine); the latter includes behavioral categories such as lying, stealing, property destruction, substance abuse, cheating and arson. Problematic children generally manifest both these types, but distinction between the overt and the disguised type is an important one.
4. Aggressive behavior might be proactive (beating, menacing) or reactive (revenging). There is an abundant amount of data regarding both these subtypes that we will detail in the table below, and discuss thereafter.

Table 1. Some differences between proactive and reactive aggression

<i>Proactive and Reactive Aggression</i>		
	PROACTIVE	REACTIVE
<i>Use of violence</i>	Purposeful and clearly oriented	Toward an environmental event
<i>Acting way</i>	Calculated and manipulative	Spontaneous
<i>The crime</i>	Controlled	Uncontrolled
<i>Period of criminal activity</i>	Longer	Sudden and unexpected
<i>Correlation with organic brain damages</i>	Unknown	Prefrontal lobe cortex; amygdale
<i>Implied neurotransmitter</i>	Unknown	Serotonin

The distinction between a proactive and a reactive assault or aggressive behavior is an important one, not only regarding the environmental frame which elicits each kind of reactions, but also due to different neuroanatomical circuits that are triggered therein, implying the presence of different neurotransmission agents as well.

Authors have coined and used equivalent terms for proactive and reactive aggression. For example, predatory aggression and defensive aggression have been used almost synonymously (Peterson, 2004) with terms we used above. The same meaning should have *impulsive aggression*, which is a synonym of the reactive type of aggression, and *instrumental aggression*, namely the proactive one (Montoya, 2012).

Anthropological Approach

The anthropological research on aggression is long running and for centuries has been a favored domain of psychiatrists. Lombroso published at the end of XVIII century two major works, whose titles will clarify from the start the author's meaning. The first one, "The criminal - the inborn delinquent - the morally insane - the epileptic" details all possible crimes one might commit, and the ways that society was dealing with them during that historical epoch (Lombroso, 1887). The anthropological theories of Lombroso went far beyond with his published atlas and descriptions he made of the anthropological features and somatic parameters of criminals of certain nations (Lombroso, 1887). He studied 383 skulls of criminals of the time, making autopsies and describing pathological changes in the viscera of these individuals, including their stomachs and so on. His atlas on the "Criminal Individual" is very sophisticated for the time. It was concentrated on skulls, but very intuitively the author grasped the relation between tattoos and anti-social behavior (Lombroso, 1887). The relation between tattoos and aggression or anti-social behavior even today is at the center of debates and current research (Cardasis, 2009). Tattoos are not the only external body marking made visible and presumably related to criminality and anti-social behavior. Skinheads and the Skinhead Movement have been blamed for aggressive acts, among others, even micro-criminality (Menicocci, 2012).

What remains from anthropological theories of Lombroso and others are of course not the skull parameters, although the actual trend is reinforcing the anthropological point of view. Instead of speaking of “small” or “big” cranium, research has concentrated on more sophisticated - still anthropological - parameters, such as size of amygdala and other surrogates of brain structure or activity (Matthies, 2012). If some authors support the idea a small amygdala leads more easily to aggression, others might hold a contrary opinion; this is not the only contradiction found within specialist circles (Whittle, 2008). Researchers obviously might not converge in their conclusions, as one might logically suppose; size of pre-frontal regions and amygdala is frequently discussed, with cingulum and other limbic regions, regaining importance in the literature (Boes, 2008).

The amount of data collected and discussed in the above mentioned studies, and many others, were not dealing with samples of damaged or injured brains. That is, they focused on persons without any traumatic lesions. In fact, the study of post-traumatic personality change and aggression is another important field of research.

Developmental Theory

Developmental theories insist that age of onset for anti-social activity and the persistence of “micro-criminal” acts are important clues that determine the gravity and the persistence of the anti-social behavior, as well as the co-existence of inter-personal and social problems of the individual. A conceptual distinction has been made between lifelong anti-social behavior and anti-social behavior manifested only and exclusively during adolescence (Moffitt, 1993). Such a distinction is contrasted with other criminological views, which consider the trend for anti-social behavior as a constant independent of age.

Developmental theories suffer from the fact that studies generally are started at a late moment of someone’s life, i.e., in individuals that, having manifested their aggression and anti-social behavior, already have reached a certain age. The actual focus and the consistent bulk of studies regarding the bullying phenomenon inside schools might be a compensation of the previous lack of interest or of sensible medical and/or psychological studies, aiming at detection of potential anti-social traits in the early childhood. Bullying was initially considered a moral issue that had to be dealt with, only by schools and teachers. That was obviously not true: bullying that resulted in schools was much more than that (Leblanc, 2001). When defining bullying as *direct* (open attacks) and *indirect* (social isolation, exclusion of the victim), it might become difficult to find any substantial difference between the concept of bullying and that of aggression generally. However, power imbalance is a characteristic in the process of bullying, especially noted inside schools (Leblanc, 2001). Aggressive behavior, on the other hand, will not necessarily be denoted through the presence of power imbalance.

According to Moffitt’s findings, there should be a criminogenic environment, giving rise to a stable aggressive model of behavior, and such an environment will find its prey in an individual with “slight neuropsychological deficits.” Adolescents that demonstrate life-course-persistent anti-social behavior, live in high-risk environments. Disadvantaged families, socio-economic hardship, inconsistent parental figures and attention deficit disorder, are all considered important risk factors (Ferguson, 1996). Moffitt goes further, through describing the life-course-persistent behavior as a kind of psychopathology per se. On the other hand, the

anti-social behavior that lasts only during adolescence has as its main characteristic the lack of continuity over the life course.

Both models (life-course-persistent and adolescence-confined) are somehow related to imprudent parenthood. Adelaide Johnson coined the term “superego lacunae,” which was embedded deeply in the psychiatric and psychological research of delinquency (Meloy, 2001). Thus, the psychodynamic hypotheses of conduct disorder and childhood delinquency suggest that children unconsciously act-out their parent’s anti-social wishes (Sadock, Sadock & Kaplan, 2008, pp. 95-96). If parents are not culpable for everything, of course, according to the psychoanalytic sources, they should play an important role in the entire process.

The classification offered from Moffitt has been generally accepted, albeit other authors have modified it substantially. There exists in fact another category of delinquents, the so-called *repentant group*, composed of individuals that manifest anti-social behavior early during the developmental process (before adolescence) who withdraw from it thereafter (Loeber, 1998). Another drawback of Moffitt’s model has to do with female delinquency, because girls that show a completely distinct developmental trajectory in the criminal career mainly defined as late-onset. This might not be a female characteristic in the entire issue, because adult-late-onset delinquency has been described from several sources even for male individuals (Zara, 2009; Wiecko, 2012).

Neurobiological Proof of Assaultiveness

Post-traumatic behavioral changes have been at the focus of several studies since 1848, when the first case of post-traumatic psychopathy in the modern time was registered. Phineas Gage survived a severe head trauma with no amnesia, no decline in his intelligence, without any speech disorder nor any motor deficit (Damasio, 1994). The irrespctive, insolent and asocial behavior this famous patient showed after the head trauma surprised his contemporaries. Afterwards, the post-traumatic behavioral disorder depicted in the Gage case, became the neuropsychological model of social deviations of behavior and of the medical interventions that were justified on those bases (Macmillan, 1992, 1996). In this case the wide damage to the left and the right frontal cortex were documented, and the concept of acquired psychopathy was translated into a biological model of anti-social and/or asocial behavior. The amount of data raised the question whether violence and anti-social behavior might have a neurobiological basis. Be it so, the entire issue could be simplified in terms of neurotransmitters and imbalance of the latter. Another famous case of post-traumatic personality changes was that of the French poet Apollinaire, although in this case the temporal lobe seems to have been involved (Bogousslavsky, 2003). Apart from the poet’s case whose personality changes were of another type far different from the theme were dealing with, in general, authors converge on the frontal lobe post-lesion changes (mainly post-traumatic). Thus, if amygdala is implied in anti-social or aggressive behavior, it should or must be inborn or at least a developmental issue, which differs from the post-traumatic equivalent, when the frontal lobe becomes a central concern.

Psychobiological and neurobiological influences have been implied in aggression generation and assaultive tendencies. Although internalizing disorders such as anxiety and depression might seem quite opposite to externalizing disorders such as conduct disorder and oppositional-defiant disorder, nevertheless, it has been suggested that both these types of disorders might accompany each other (Zoccolillo, 1992). Conduct disorder and depression

have a high comorbidity. Important questions are raised (a) whether major depression might give rise to aggressive actions; (b) whether conduct disorder and the problems it creates might cause dysphoria and demoralization; (c) whether other overt or covert factors might influence the symptomatology.

A decreased serotonergic activity seems to be related with impulsivity and aggression, as well as suicidal tendencies. It was Raleigh (1991) who studied initially the role of serotonergic medication on aggressive behavior, through agonists of serotonin [*tryptophan*, *fluoxetine*] or antagonists of this neurotransmitter [*cyproheptadine*]. From the neurobiological point of view, auto-aggression and hetero-aggression (respectively translated into suicide and attempted homicide) are related to a low concentration of brain serotonin. Serotonin is a neurotransmitter whose main synthesis is embedded in the brainstem. Nevertheless, axonal structures originating therein reach the forebrain structures (i.e., frontal lobes and orbitofrontal cortex), among others.

Amygdala, an almond-shaped nucleus located bilaterally in the temporal lobes, as mentioned above, has as well been at the center of different studies. Its role in the emotional and vegetative life, as a substantial part of the limbic cortex, has been studied since Klüver-Bucy syndrome was first described in humans, after initial symptomatology was detected in monkeys (Lilly, 1983). This syndrome is an expression of hyper-orality and hyper-sexuality; yet lesions of temporal lobes were initially found to have a taming effect in animals. Goltz, a famous German physiologist of the 19th century, published several papers on localization values of different lesions inside the brain (Pauly, 2005).

Surgical removal of both amygdalae was experimented in high primates more than half a century before (Morgane, 1957; Schwartzbaum, 1960). The behavioral changes following bilateral destruction of these nuclei led to the idea that amygdectomy might be a solution for refractory aggressive behavior. Although the procedure has serious ethical implications and its application in human patients is very restricted, some neurosurgeons still perform it, using the alternative form of amygdalotomy, through stereotaxic approaches (Fountas, 2007).

It is worth mentioning that neurobiological theories of aggressive behavior are not restricted to cortical or sub-cortical territories. Of course, hormonal changes registered when testosterone or cortisol are implicated, might quite well not be peripheral-originated, but rather a disturbance of the hypothalamic-hypophyseal axis, translated in the form of disequilibrium in the target endocrine gland, be it the testicle or adrenal gland. Thus, pharmacological or surgical castration has been found effective in decreasing aggressive behaviors in different mammals. Low cortisol levels have as well been related with persistent anti-social and disruptive behavior (McBurnett, 1999). Cortisol and testosterone, both playing a part in the complicated human aggression behavioral mechanisms, seem also to be interrelated, with the basal levels of the second hormone predicting the changes noted in the hypothalamic (Mehta, 2008).

Forensic Approach

Post-traumatic or not, the fact is that behavioral traits of criminals have been studied extensively during the last decades. Technology has improved through modern imaging methods. Authors have scanned convicted criminals, trying to deepen our knowledge of human aggression, particularly the anti-social behavior and misdeeds that have been perpetrated by criminals. The question has become more complex. Remote studies were focused originally on

anatomical changes, being gradually being replaced by functional studies. New horizons have been explored toward explaining functional brain changes through mostly positron emission tomography (PET) and magnetic resonance imaging (MRI). These explorations have been with the brains of both “notorious” and “common” delinquents. Hypofrontality has been the mainstream focus of research models and hypotheses.

Deterioration in the controlling functions of the prefrontal lobe is not necessarily post-traumatic, but, nonetheless, the brain is best observed when trauma is present and anatomically observable. External signs of trauma provide the best verification of hypofrontality through the assessment of glucose metabolism using PET. In a study conducted by Raine (1994), twenty-two murderers had significantly lower glucose metabolism in the prefrontal cortex, when compared to controls. The author later hypothesized that excessive sub-cortical activity predisposes aggression, thus indicating insufficient prefrontal control of this subcortical excess, but only in impulsive perpetrators (Raine, 1998). Both studies by Raine (1998, 1994) were based on glucose metabolism as detected from positron emission tomography. The first objective proof of difference between an impulsive criminal, who acts in the moment, and a predatory perpetrator, whose crime is carefully planned, was offered in these two studies. A planned, “proactive” or “predatory” crime is perpetrated by a person whose forebrain shows no significant differences in metabolizing glucose from normal controls (see Raine, 1998).

Vignettes

1st case - At the end of 2010 the Albanian public was shocked by the case of a thirteen-year-old boy, arrested and charged with two killings. Both victims were females aged 40-50 years old, who were acquaintances of the young delinquent. Each woman was raped post-mortem. The police succeeded in arresting the boy as both crimes were non-professionally perpetrated and the respective crime scenes were full of clues. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the second crime was perpetrated four months after the first. This time lapse was unexplained by the police, which meant the perpetrator was still at large. Treating a minor who was, beyond all doubts, guilty for the first, initially unresolved crime was eventually was perceived as a major investigative error.

A judicial controversy was raised immediately upon pre-detention, before the thirteen-year-old minor confessed to both crimes. The Albanian criminal code requires a minimum age of 14 years as a necessary age for a person to stand trial or, as occurred in this case, to be charged with a crime. In an obvious judicial impasse, the Court of Appeal in a Southern Albanian district freed the boy two months after his arrest, as the individual could not be prosecuted and stand trial, as he was a minor.

Meanwhile, a psychiatric forensic examination was performed during pre-detention by a team of infantile psychiatrists and psychologists. No obvious psychiatric diagnosis was available, but the psychological interview revealed several drawbacks in his childhood. Growing up in a separate family (although not divorced, the father had immigrated several years earlier in order to support the family), the boy’s explosive behavior was admitted by the mother. The boy himself confessed to several previous and unreported acts of intra-familial violence. In one instance, he seriously beat his younger sister. Each incident was followed by a runaway period, when he would leave the family for two to eight days, during which time he committed small vagabond misdeeds in the suburban areas of his native city.

The boy was considered legally non-competent and his father was assigned the responsibility for his care. Immediately thereafter, however, the father again left the country, this time immigrating together with his son. No further acts of delinquency have been reported, although the two men actually live outside Albanian judiciary jurisdiction.

2nd case - A 43-year-old individual murdered a person after a car collision, during a futile quarrel and discussion that followed the accident. The person who committed the homicide was immediately arrested through a massive police operation in 2008. This individual was notorious for his impulsive acts and previous penal record, although none of his prior misdeeds was so severe. A psychiatric examination was immediately commissioned, owing to obvious signs of an anamnestic cranial trauma, and the fact that he was continuously under anti-epileptic treatment for refractory seizures. At the time he was taking Carbamazepine in therapeutic dosages.

The post-traumatic epilepsy and frontal trauma were incontestable. The plasma drug levels of Carbamazepine were within therapeutic range. The cranial trauma that the accused had suffered was caused by a bullet, which apparently was accidental, ten years before the more recent murder that he perpetrated. The Figure 1 illustrates the sequelae of the bullet and cicatrix (“scar”) in the prefrontal right region of the individual.

An insanity defense was raised by the family attorney, but not successfully upheld in the Court of Appeal. The hypofrontality was considered a mitigating factor. The accused’s inability to control impulses was classified as an insufficient presence of the *actus reus*. Because his aggression was reactive and uncontrolled, he was obviously unable to stop impulsivity. Since the other major factor, namely *mens rea*, was still present (he was considered able to produce intentionally criminal acts), and a successful insanity defense as a rule requires the loss of both elements (simultaneous insufficiency of the *actus reus* and the *mens rea*), he was found guilty with a mitigating sentence.

Forensic casuistics suggest that a syndrome provoked from lesions to the orbitofrontal cortex, where symptomatology is directly related to the “hypofrontality,” will mirror its severity through sudden and unexpected explosive behavior, lack of emotional sensitivity, asocial and inadequate manners and labile affect (Grimes, 2000). The case that we described above, with obvious signs of prefrontal lesions, illustrates the major role the frontal lobe has in the generation of impulsivity and its control.



Figure 1. Wide right prefrontal cicatrix, caused from a bullet shot wound.

Pharmacological Approach

In an attempt to simplify the phenomenology of human aggression, treatment options offer an almost independent perspective of the entire criminological diagnostic field. The revised *Psychopathy-Checklist* (PCL-R) comprises a list of symptoms, but importantly, pharmacological options are offered and suggested, based on symptomatology (Hare, 1991). This symptom-oriented treatment focuses mainly on impulsivity and aggressive behavior. “Treatable” symptoms correspond to the so-called factor 2 of PCL-R (anti-social and impulsive life style). Thus, elements related to factor 2 in the frame of the so-called “psychopathy” are more compliant to treatment, in contrast to elements of the so-called Factor 1, such as interpersonal deficits that mainly include a lack of empathy, irresponsibility, among others. In fact, pharmacological interventions are much more effective toward “positive” or “productive” symptomatology, rather than improving social inadequacies of the aggressive individual.

Anecdotal treatments are widely suggested, but multi-centric, double-blind studies are scarce or non-existent. In fact, applying certain treatments to a precise target group, such as violent prisoners, involves major ethical and legal controversies in many countries, including Albania. Therefore it seems logical that the pharmacology of anti-social behavior and of the aggression (be it sexual or not), is far from being codified.

1. Serotonin and SSRI are the first pharmacological class that has been studied and applied. Since aggression and impulsivity are due to serotonin depletion inside the central nervous system, the inhibitors of its re-uptake have been tested in ability to control symptoms. It is suggested that SSRI drugs reduce irritability, impulsivity and anti-social behavior. These drugs might even normalize the perception of expressed fear in human faces (Harmer, 2003). In fact, fear perception is considered lacking in brutal perpetrators.
2. Lithium, anti-epileptics and mood stabilizers are some other pharmacological classes of agents that have been studied purposefully. Anti-epileptics (phenytoin) have been suggested to control aggressive behavior even among non-epileptic prisoners (Barratt, 1991). Levetiracetam and oxcarbazepine are other recently applied drugs in two successive studies from the anti-epileptic class (Mattes, 2012). It is worth mentioning that in all reports, the efficacy of the antiepileptics has been considered as limited, and studies have suffered serious biases.
3. If serotonin depletion is correlated to aggression, it seems that with dopamine we have the opposite balance. An increased dopaminergic activity is found in the frame of aggressive and impulsive behavioral models, where an individual searches pathologically for pleasure or inappropriate sensation-seeking. Newer anti-psychotics, such as clozapine, manifest their anti-aggressive effect, and it seems they do so, separately from their influencing on other positive psychotic symptoms (Citrome, 2001).
4. Benzodiazepines have been suggested as effective drugs for “smoothing” impulsivity, but due to their potential for creating dependence, their use is restricted to psychiatric emergencies. Much more important, several authors suggest that some criminals abuse benzodiazepines, just to “calm down” before perpetrating a crime (Dåderman, 2010).
5. Beta-blockers have been suggested as a second-line treatment in the case of agitation or aggression, following head injury (Fleminger, 2003).

6. Sexual hormones have been continuously scrutinized, especially testosterone, whose plasmatic levels correlate fairly well with violent and aggressive behavior, extraversion, sensation-seeking, delinquent recidivism and above all, with sexual violence. Appropriate medications that lower the plasmatic level of testosterone are available [TLM or testosterone-lowering medications], and their role has been reviewed (Turner, 2012). It seems that testosterone influences mainly the aggressive impetus; whereas serotonin (see point 1) has a primary role in aggravating impulsivity. The sexual hormone hypothesis has progressed to where some authors have documented the modulating or smoothing effects of estradiol (female hormone) for the negative inter-personal effects provoked from male alcoholism (Eriksson, 2003).
7. Low plasmatic levels of cholesterol have been found to be responsible for non-natural deaths, i.e., suicides, violent deaths and accidents. It might be possible that abnormally lower plasmatic cholesterol levels unfold through an endogenous serotonin insufficiency. Within this frame, a double-blind study offering alimentary supplements composed of fatty acids (omega-6 and omega-3) to a group of violent prisoners, Gersch (2002) observed a consistent decrease of assaults and violence within the detention facility. Very important, however, is the conclusion of Gersch that dietary interventions should be considered when addressing anti-social behaviors.

CONCLUSION

There must be a continuum in the temporal behavior of individuals starting from early infancy that leaves traces, even into adulthood. Nevertheless, models are not universally accepted and cases are shaped individually. Far from having a uniform effect, we are dealing with a panoply of developmental and eventually, criminological pathways that will not necessarily lead to a common final destination.

Aggressive behavior expressed during infancy and early childhood is not intrinsically pathological, as long as these behavioral models serve an evolving life, and the surrounding environment generates no problems manifested during these formative periods. Early expressions of aggression will help the child to confirm himself/herself to personal will and desires, thus permitting the child to shape an ego and, thereafter, to understand the responsibilities and limitations of a social life. If minor violence is unimportant and futile during the age span from one to four years of life, and considered as normal, especially in response to frustration, another issue is how to deal with this problem outside a family setting, mainly in schools, where teachers “stand-in” for parents and consistent discomfort might be created. A vicious circle of aggression will be formed once the home-based parental figure responds to any aggressive behavior performed by the infant or toddler with the same way of acting-out, whereby the child psyche will internalize a high level of anxiety.

The persistence of violent acts beyond the fourth year of age might be considered as equivalent to insufficiencies in affective investment, mainly from the mother toward her progeny, once other organic causes have been carefully ruled out for children with sensorial deficiencies, such as deafness, mental retardation, etc. These pathologies might easily provoke aggressive and explosive behaviors from the handicapped child.

When dealing with an oppositional-defiant disorder, medical professionals should consider that passive oppositional behavior, when persistent, frequently is a disguise for latent depression, and depressions usually are under-treated in childhood (Keller, 1991).

Other situations worth mentioning include parental and societal distress related to runaway kids and thieving, as both these phenomena have a developmental trajectory. Behaviors such as these finish almost inevitably by becoming a law enforcement issue with potential detainment and imprisonment for the adolescent. Familial dismemberment is an important etiological factor, and children living with a divorced parent frequently run away from home. Stealing in contrast is an act that often begins in the home. A very interesting issue is the continuity and chronology of acts of theft: initially the child steals within the family. Thereafter, the act is repeated outside the family, possibly with an accomplice acquaintance of the small (child) burglar. Quite often alimentary objects are among the first to get robbed. Later the child steals money or other symbolic objects which for him are very important; for young boys, for example, stealing female lingerie takes on special meaning. Stealing and thieving have their sub-categories. Some children might show high levels of anxiety and experience a sense of guilt following the misdeed. One important consideration is the observation that some children almost purposefully act through misdeeds with the aim of or need for their stealing to be uncovered. This is the so-called "self-punishing theft" postulated by Alexander and Staub (1929). These authors write "[...] exactly the theft of desserts will serve, to provoke the punishment" [*Eine Erinnerung seiner früheren Jugend gibt uns darüber Aufschluß, warum er gerade den Diebstahl von Süßigkeiten dazu benutzt, die Strafe zu provozieren*] (p. 92).

Concluding this wide argument for the roots of human aggression, we need to again raise the question, whether we are dealing with a mental disorder or the psychopathology of a criminal. Wakefield (1992) proposed a group of dual criteria in order to characterize mental disorders as such. First, a deviant behavior or an aberrant emotional model should create consistent harm and/or suffering to the individual and his/her environment. Second, the behavioral model has to be dysfunctional, a definition which aims to bypass the cultural uniqueness of some deviations. In defining this concept, Wakefield positioned an active dysfunction under an evolutionary point of view, wherein harming another human was viewed as a behavior that was inappropriate within civil society.

Current perspectives, however, are converging more and more to interrelationships among several risk factors that might lead to delinquency and thus enable practitioners to forecast anti-social activity in the years to come over an individual's lifetime. Children with ADHD (attention-deficit, hyperactivity disorder), and those with aggressive behavior and callous personality traits, will obviously be at high risk for manifesting overt psychopathology during adulthood. There is an ontological and evolutionary trend in the delinquent activity and wrongdoings of children of today and even for future adults. Solutions need to consider this continuum of lifetime phases, before acting at a single moment in time, thus restricting in an unfortunate and substantial way the success of an intervention designed for both immediate remedy and a lifetime of good health and social responsibility.

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Chapter 133

PEER ASSAULT: PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is a risk factor that can impede children's physical and psychological health. The act of bullying is often described as physically aggressive behaviors and/or verbal aggression toward someone who is portrayed as socially and emotionally weak and/or defenseless. The occurrence of bullying might seem to take place without specific reasons. Verbal bullying is expressed through insults and/or aggressive language to harm the victim, whereas physical bullying involves actual bodily harm through aggressive acts. Bullying happens within various settings including families, educational settings, work places, and over the Internet and other electronic media (i.e., cyber bullying). Specific types of bullying across various settings are discussed within the context of prevention efforts to reduce their occurrence as well as their negative psychological impacts. Overall, bullying is associated with both short-term and long-term negative effects that impact the development of children, adolescents and adults. These effects range from having low self-esteem to the possibility of suicide. However, the presence of programs in schools and involvement of the parents in the educational system can help to reduce bullying and its associated consequences.

Keywords: Bullying, psychological effects, prevention, school/family/ workplace, cyber-bullying

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INTRODUCTION

Although public awareness seems to have increased in recent years, bullying has been a common phenomenon among children and teenagers for a long period of time. Based on a study in the United States, 17% of children from grades six to ten have experienced an act of being bullied, and 19% of them are reported to be “bullies” (Jimerson, Swearer & Espelage, 2010). This high percentage of bullying in the United States has already drawn considerable attention, as it relates to children’s development. Bullying can produce seriously negative effects on children’s physical and psychological health.

Bullying is an omnipresent phenomenon. However, it is predominantly witnessed in the halls of the educational systems. Bullying is a devastating occurrence that all people have either seen or themselves been a victim. *Bullying* can be defined as any form of aggressive behavior distinguished by repeated exposure over time, which results in injury and/or discomfort against vulnerable victims who cannot easily defend themselves against one or more other people (Ahmed, Braithwaite, 2006; Richard, Schneider & Mallet, 2011). Exposure to bullying is common in countries worldwide. Bullying can take place in multiple places, which usually include but are not limited to, educational systems and work places, online social networks, and through “texting” by means of cell phones. It takes place among siblings and family members, friends and acquaintances, and co-workers and classmates. These behaviors involve intentionally harmful, physical and social aggression in a milieu of authority or power imbalance between the bully and his/her victim. Bullying can be overt, which involves the action of a direct physical or verbal attack, but it can also be covert, which involves the perpetrator(s) secretly encouraging other children to “pick on” or “to ignore” a specific person or classmate. The act of bullying can involve as few as two people, where this relationship is labeled *bully versus victim engagement*. Bystanders to the bullying act are those who witness the act and do nothing about it. Thus, they are indirectly involved. Bullying aggression also can involve a group of people where there may be multiple bullies, victims and bystanders. In some prevention programs, the “bystander” is the key link in teaching young people the foundations of managing bullying.

It is estimated that one in five school children experience the effects of bullying (Ttofi & Farrington, 2008). Of these children, four sub-types of students may be directly or indirectly involved. The “bully” is easily recognized as the person who directly causes the harm against another person(s). The “bullied” is directly harmed by the bully. These roles are not absolute. Specifically, some children can take on both roles in what is termed as the “bully-victim,” defined as someone who has been bullied themselves and who becomes a “bully” by projecting their past involvement as the “bullied” onto others. The fourth and final sub-type is the individual who is classified as “uninvolved.” They tend to be bystanders who witness the bullying but choose to do nothing about it and often have the idea that someone else knows how to better handle the situation (Goldweber, Waasdorp & Bradshaw, 2012).

WHO IS THE BULLY?

Traditional views of bullies have stereotyped them as having low self-esteem and taking out their insecurities on victims. Recent findings have shown this to not be the case. Instead,

research has shown that bullies tend to have high but unstable self-esteem, high aggression, and low social competency (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2007). It also has been found that children who are victims of bullying or child abuse are much more likely to become adult bullies (Harvey et al, 2006).

Boys typically use the overt type of engagement to directly confront, harass, taunt and belittle peers and others, both physically and emotionally, in order to express and protect their power or authority in the social environment where they are present (Hutzell & Payne, 2012). Boys who express social dominance and persuasiveness in this fashion typically have had a prior experience of being victims themselves and are usually able to get peer support for this behavior. Across their educational experience from pre-school to college, continuation of these roles occurs. Males are more commonly the perpetrator of overt bullying in elementary, high school and college. However, girls are typically the victim and perpetrator of covert bullying from pre-school to college with a peak in middle school (Chapell et al, 2006). Females characteristically gossip, start rumors, turn friends against each other, and ostracize others to avoid and conceal direct confrontation, but they are not at all exempt from using external aggression. Both males and females use aggression in various forms to gain and hold power in social networks and to cover insecurities that they may have, which commonly develop from being bullied in the past (Farmer, Farmer, Estell & Hutchins, 2007). The progression of these relationships continues through educational settings. Typically the roles do not change from high school to college. After establishing their role as a bully or victim, little change occurs due to the social harm and deprivation that has occurred. These roles often are reinforced by attracting attention; encouragement often comes from bystanders who are peers (Richard et al, 2011). Although their trajectory of involvement is longer, girls at times are more likely to aid those who are being bullied, unlike their male counterparts.

The role of a bully is not limited to just students. These actions also can be performed by administrative positions in schools as well. Although bullying by administrators can happen throughout the school years, this role is more common among college instructors and coaches. Bullies who are peers often use physical confrontations, whereas this type of action is highly unlikely among coaches and even rarer among instructors. Those who are in a position of authority often use ways that cannot be traced by those of higher authority but it can be witnessed by other students (Chapell et al, 2006).

WHO IS BEING BULLIED?

In many cases, it is easy to mistake bullying as teasing. Thus, a lot of bullying behaviors are treated as mild teasing by teachers and parents. Teasing happens very frequently among children and does not produce the severe effects associated with bullying. Instead of serious aggressive behaviors, teasing usually includes playful name-calling and put-downs without aggression. Further, teasing usually happens once rather than in a repetitive pattern, which is characteristic of bullying (Drew, 2010). The purpose of teasing is to make jokes rather than intentional harming. On the contrary, bullying is more than making jokes on others; it is a repetitive pattern of intentionally harming others that can include anti-social behaviors. Sometimes when children complain about being bullied by peers in school, parents may just treat it as teasing among children. Under such circumstances, parents and teachers might be ignoring bullying behavior. When parents and teachers cannot clearly identify between the two,

children who are experiencing bullying might not receive immediate help. Over the long-term, their development may be seriously threatened.

Few studies have been done on the reasons why specific students are targeted and victimized by bullying. Some have shown mixed correlations between race of victim and offender. These correlations have shown that in some areas of society, African Americans are less likely to be bullied than Caucasian and Hispanic youth, but in other areas frequented by same-race peers, they are at higher risk. In regards to a general rate of bullying, statistics have shown that African American youth are more likely to participate and be labeled by teachers and peers in the bullying sub-group as a perpetrator and less likely as the victim. In regard to associations of bullying with race, the context and environment must be taken into consideration when trying to examine predictors of bullying.

Urban areas tend to be viewed with a more negative image of their social environment with the assumption of increasing victimization rates of bullying toward African Americans than in non-urban areas. In fact, ‘urbanicity’ has a direct effect on who is bullied. Little differences are found in bullying toward specific races, when household income is controlled. In these cases, when household income is comparable between groups, both Caucasians and African Americans have equal risks of being victimized by bullies. This victimization comes from direct discrimination based on gender, race, religion, sexuality or socio-economic status. Other studies have shown that a student’s physical representation, such as the way of talking, the way that one dresses and “the look” one chooses to portray are among the highest predictors to whether they are bullied or not (Goldweber, Waasdorp & Bradshaw, 2012).

Sexuality also plays an enormous role in who is victimized by bullies. Those who do not conform to the social norms of heterosexuality and gender roles are at high risks of being bullied (Toomey, Ryan, Diaz, Card & Russell, 2010). Males who tend to be effeminate and females who are perceived as being masculine tend to be targeted by bullies, regardless of their actual sexual orientation. Refusal to comply with these societal norms and/or openly expressing their sexuality often leads to negative responses from peer groups including physical assault, social ostracizing and verbal aggressions (Toomey et al, 2010).

Overall, victims of bullying are often those perceived as weaker or in some way different from other students. Those who are given a stereotypical name such as “nerd” or “geek” are typically more likely to be victimized across educational settings. Because of labels, some students are unable to acquire social prominence within the school and often are not able to gain the social support that other students have. Students labeled as popular are generally unlikely to be victimized and are more likely to be the bully. Although some youth labeled as a bully may not be popular, they seek to gain a dominant position over other students. Research has shown that those who use aggression to declare their power in the school system often use manipulation to control their peers and social world (Farmer et al, 2012). Those who use this technique are often using aggression and manipulation to fulfill their own needs and insecurities.

AUTHORITATIVE ROLES AND THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

The social progression of bullying is not limited to the influence of other students but also includes the influence of parents and other authority figures. These adults (e.g., teachers,

coaches, parents) can either increase or decrease the negative effects of bullying by either acknowledging the problem and intervening or over-looking the incident and choosing to ignore the situation. In actuality, bullying is a group effort and is never the fault of one child (Richard et al, 2011). The influence that parents, teachers and coaches play has a direct role in whether a student becomes a bully or not. A child who does not receive the proper attention to become socially and emotionally adept as a student often lashes out and projects anger onto other students. By making the classroom a positive environment for all students, where the teacher believes in each student's potential and gives them a sense of appreciation, bullying is likely to decrease among students (Richard et al, 2011). The goal in each school is to sustain a bully-free environment and make the learning environment a positive place to be educated and learn key social abilities that each student will be able to use as they progress into later adolescence and adulthood.

Teachers' roles are more important than any bully prevention policy that schools can offer (Richard et al, 2011). By creating a positive learning environment and by making the material interesting, both teachers and students experience less stress, which results in decreased bullying. Thus, school policies are important and must be clarified to sustain a well-structured educational environment. This social structure and the academic program the school offers are thought to be linked with the severity of bullying in the educational system (Richard et al, 2011). Students with low interest in school are more likely to display aggressive behaviors in school, unlike schools with committed teachers and school administration. Bullying within the school system is amplified with today's technology. Because of the increased usage of cell phones and online social media networks, bullying takes place in more environments than ever before.

CYBER BULLYING

The past few decades have seen huge technological shifts, including computers, the internet and cell phones. These advances have vastly altered the way that we communicate. Some of these new modes of communication include interactive possibilities such as texting, blogs and social media. One study reported that 93% of teens actively use the internet and 75% have a cell phone (Schneider, O'Donnell, Stueve & Coulter, 2012). These new platforms for communication and connectivity have created a new delivery method for bullying. This new form of bullying is called *cyber bullying*, which can be defined as the use of e-mails, cell phones, instant messenger, chat rooms, and/or social networking websites to scare, harass or intimidate someone. This can include directly harassing or targeting by using social media to exclude or torment, including the misuse of pictures or video (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009).

Prevalence rates for cyber bullying vary depending on the method and the definition that the researchers used to identify what constitutes cyber bullying. Studies shows anywhere between four to 36 percent of people have experienced cyber bullying (Barlett & Gentile, 2012). The two main electronic devices through which cyber bullying can occur are computers and cell phones (Privitera & Campbell, 2009). These devices allow for remoteness and anonymity, the two things that researchers believe may make cyber bullying an easier mode of bullying than traditional ways (Dooley, Pyżalski & Cross, 2009). Remoteness allows the bully not to have to see the pain which he/she has inflicted because it avoids face-to-face

confrontation. Anonymity and remoteness also give bullies a better chance at avoiding conflict and/or negative consequence that might arise. Many believe that they can avoid getting into trouble from this form of bullying because they believe that what they say online will not be found or taken the wrong way, and if it is, they can say that they were “just joking” (Barlett & Gentile, 2012).

When it comes to cyber bullying, many underlying factors play a role in who is victimized. Smith and associates (2008) suggest that evidence as to which sex is more likely to be the transgressor of cyber bullying is mixed. Most studies suggest that males and females are equally likely to be a cyber-bully, whereas a few suggest that one sex is more likely to be a cyber-bully than the other. When asked who students thought would be more likely to use technology to bully, students were more likely to report that females were. They stated that because females use social technology more they are more prone to certain forms of social bullying, so they would be more likely to be a cyber-bully. Students further stated that males are more likely to be physical, and they believed their bullying would not go beyond that. Despite these perceptions, no significant gender differences between girls and boys have been found (Smith et al, 2008).

Research has indicated a crossover between traditional bullying and cyber bullying. Those who are bullies in a traditional sense are more likely to be cyber bullies. The same is true for the victims of traditional bullying. They also are more likely to be the victim of cyber bullies. A power imbalance is still present when cyber bullying occurs. In both forms of bullying a powerful perpetrator bullies a weaker victim. However, the anonymity offered by technology erases typical physical or social power imbalances and creates a new power imbalance (Barlett & Gentile, 2012; Dooley et al, 2009).

Cyber bullying, like traditional bullying, is not limited to childhood and adolescence. Technological advances in the workplace have allowed cyber bullying to follow the same trend. Depending on the strictness of the definition, the prevalence of cyber bullying in the work place ranges from 11 to over 50 percent. A notable difference between cyber bullying at work and during childhood and adolescence is that cyber bullying at work is more likely to be accompanied by traditional bullying practices, whereas children and adolescents often report that they have only experienced cyber bullying (Privitera & Campbell, 2009).

Like traditional bullying, cyber bullying can lead to increased psychological distress such as depression, anxiety, and suicide for those who are victimized. One study of Pacific Islander high school students reported the incidence of binge drinking tripled for those who had been victims of cyber bullying (Goebert, Else, Matsu, Chung-Do & Chang, 2011). Reports in another study indicate that those who were only cyber bullied experienced more distress than those who are only bullied in the more traditional social form (Schneider et al, 2012). Finally, another study asked students to indicate which style of bullying they felt was more harmful. Most forms were rated as equally harmful, but picture/video bullying was rated as the worst. Many students commented on the added anxiety of not knowing who you are facing could sometimes make cyber bullying more frightening (Smith et al, 2008).

Cyber bullying is a relatively new phenomenon and researchers agree that it has yet to be addressed in an appropriate manner. When asked about how they feel it should be handled, students responded that it was something that could be stopped without ridding the world of these means of technological communication. However, they did suggest that victims tell someone and that campaigns be aimed to alert the bully of the consequences of his or her actions (Smith et al, 2008). Most states now mandate that schools address the issue of cyber bullying,

although little consistency exists in how much emphasis schools place on it. Schools can only do so much because the acts of cyber bullying mostly occur outside of schools (Schneider et al, 2012) even if results appear during school hours when social media is accessed. Prevention and early intervention are the best ways to curtail such activities. It is important for parents and teachers to be aware of the signs of cyber bullying and to keep open the channels of communication. Several websites are available, such as www.stopcyberbullying.org and www.cyberbullyhelp.com that can serve as a good first step in addressing the issue of cyber bullying (Goebert et al, 2011).

SIBLING BULLYING

School bullying is the type that is most commonly reported. It has become a serious public concern. Research on sibling bullying or bullying at home seems scant. The lack of reports of family bullying does not mean that it produces less harmful effects. In reality, similar to the effects of school bullying, family bullying can bring lifetime negative consequence for the victims.

Bullying among siblings is one of the most common types of bullying. It can be recognized when one child in the family constantly produces insulting words or aggressive behaviors towards siblings. A variety of factors are associated with bullying among siblings. Birth order is one of the most important contributors. The first-born child or the older child is usually physically stronger than the younger one, and the physical advantages may be the prerequisite to produce aggressive behaviors towards younger siblings (Menesini, 2010). In addition, the first-born child may be the focus of the family and is likely to obtain special care and attention from parents before the siblings are born (Menesini, 2010). It is easy for older children to apply authority and other aggressive behaviors to younger siblings (Menesini, 2010). Gender differences are another factor, which may be involved in bullying among siblings. Studies report that sisters generally exhibit more affection towards other siblings. Thus, sisters have a lower potential to produce bullying behavior compared to brothers (Menesini, 2010). Additionally, children with conduct disorder (CD) can have a higher potential to produce aggressive behaviors and often project this aggression onto siblings. Children diagnosed with CD usually exhibit repetitive serious aggression and anti-social behaviors, which include threatening others and their property (Mash & Wolfe, 2010).

Prevention of bullying among siblings has equal urgency to those in public settings described above. Parental discipline practices play an essential role in reducing bullying behaviors within the family (Kokkinos & Panayiotou, 2007). Adopting the methods of behavior modification can be effective in eliminating bullying behaviors. In some cases, when parents notice bullying behaviors at home, they might seriously punish their child or children with corporal punishment, such as spanking. Although corporal punishment can produce short-term effects on eliminating children's bullying behaviors (see related chapter, this volume), it leads to long-term increases in bullying behavior (Kazdin, 2001). When parents physically punish the bully, the punishing behaviors provide a model for the child to imitate. Furthermore, punishment from parents can also lead to a strong reaction on the part of the child. Specifically, defiance theory suggests that if children perceive the punishment as reasonable, they are likely

to be compliant; on the other hand, when children perceive the punishment as unfair, they might become offensive and aggressive (Ttofi & Farrington, 2008).

Compared with corporal punishment, positive reinforcement and time-out procedures are more successful at preventing bullying. Parents need to establish the rules for the bullying behavior in the family. If the child does not produce aggressive behaviors towards siblings for a certain period of time, he or she may be rewarded appropriately. Positive reinforcement and time-out are more likely to shape a child's desired behavior than physical forms of punishment in the long-term.

Multi-systemic therapy (MST) also can be considered an effective method to prevent bullying between/among siblings. Instead of relying solely on parents' supervision, MST expands the sphere to a larger social system, including family, school, clinic and associated social organizations (Swenson, Henggeler, Taylor & Addison, 2009). A child with bullying behaviors should be supervised by parents at home as well as teachers and peers at school. Through learning appropriate coping skills from teachers and through peer interactions, a child can be more adaptive in the surrounding social environment. If necessary, children who have expressed themselves through bullying behaviors might require counseling and/or treatment by professional clinicians. A great number of studies have indicated that MST is highly effective in reducing children's aggressive behaviors and improving family relations (Mash & Wolfe, 2010). These behaviors among children, whether at home, in school, or over the Internet, often progress through the child's life. This can carry over into the workplace.

WORKPLACE BULLYING

Bullying is traditionally a concept that people relate to scenarios of childhood and school. This is not the only place that bullying occurs. Workplace bullying is not a new phenomenon but it is one that has recently become the focus of research and public attention. We can extend the definition of bullying at school and home to *workplace bullying*, which is any behavior, conscious or unconscious, that causes another person to feel victimized, humiliated or distressed (Hauge, Skogstad & Einarsen, 2010). Unlike the playground or hallways, however, bullying behaviors in the workplace very rarely are physical but they can cause a drop in job performance (Harvey, Heames, Richey & Leonard, 2006).

Harvey and associates (2006) identified seven different types of bullying behavior found in the workplace and include the following: (a) stigmatizing the victim or pointing out differences between the victim and the bully or the bullies in-group; (b) blaming failures of any kind on the victim, either as an act to humiliate the victim or to simply protect the bully from blame of failure; (c) sexually harassing the victim; (d) singling out someone and placing unreasonable pressure and/or deadlines on one person unequally in comparison to others; (e) isolating the victim by withholding information or opportunities that may be afforded to others; (f) setting up the victim to fail, constantly reminding the victim of past failures and avoiding giving credit to the victim when credit is due; (g) and physically abusing the victim.

Prevalence rates for workplace bullying have been found in one study to be as high as 53% of the respondents who reported being bullied and 77% witnessed bullying during their working career (Rayner, 1997), although most numbers are more conservative and vary between 7 to 10 percent. Research has shown that both sexes are almost equally as likely to be bullied, whereas

some studies show women to have a slightly higher prevalence rate of victimization as men (Rayner, 1997; Harvey et al, 2006). Victims often are in staff positions, as opposed to managerial or executive positions, or they are new to their position or location within the company or new management has recently been put into place (Rayner, 1997). Youth is another characteristic that victims of workplace bullying often share, as the bullied victims are usually relatively young, compared to their coworkers (Rayner, 1997).

Among most victims in the worksite, low self-esteem seems to be a common factor. Victims appear to be less socially confident and competent (Harvey et al, 2006). They are usually more submissive and passive as well. In some cases, they may even be combative when put under social pressure. These factors can combine to make them appear weak or as easy targets for bullies. Because these traits are relatively stable over their lifetime, those who are victims of bullying in school are at higher risk for being victims of bullying in the workplace (Harvey et al, 2006; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2007). In a small number of situations, victims might actually become an equal rival to the bully. In these cases, the situation is more of a fight for dominance rather than a traditional bully/victim situation (Harvey et al, 2006).

Although it appears that both sexes are equally victimized by bullying in the workplace, the sex of the bully seems to be dependent on the sex of the victim. Women report being bullied equally by both sexes, whereas men rarely report being bullied by women (Rayner, 1997). One explanation for this finding can be found within the definition of bullying. For an act to be considered bullying, the victim must feel like they have little or no control and/or feel threatened. Traditionally, men might not see women as threatening, and those who do might be reluctant to report it as such, because of socialized gender norms where “reporting” would be perceived as a weakness (Rayner, 1997).

Bullying in the workplace has consequences that are similar to those experienced by the victims of childhood incidents with a few exceptions. Experiencing bullying within the workplace can lead to depression and anxiety and in severe cases post-traumatic stress disorder (Hauge, Skogstad & Einarsen, 2010). Workplace bullying also has been found to be related to later long-term sickness and work absenteeism (Ortega, Christensen, Hogh, Rugulies & Borg, 2011). Although these impacts affect people on an individual level, they also have a strong connection to the organization in which they are occurring. All of these things can lead to more frequent sick-days, lower job satisfaction, and decreased productivity. These are all important reasons for organizational leaders to take notice of workplace bullying behaviors and work to reduce or eliminate them. Regardless of where the bullying takes place, multiple problems are associated with the act of bullying.

PROBLEMS CAUSED BY BULLYING

Victims of bullying often come into contact with short-term and/or long-term negative effects, which can range from physical and psychological health problems; at the extreme they can become fatal (Ttofi & Farrington, 2008). Bullying causes serious harm to a student’s social life. Pre-school and elementary environments tend to be the place where children are first labeled as being a bully or a victim. Serious physical harm is rare among elementary students but becomes more common in middle school and high school. Middle school is often the time period when students start to discover self-identity and identify the social groups that may

continue throughout their experiences in the education system and as an adult. These social relationships can develop a significant sense of group affiliation and is crucial among teens because these social circles can help to defend against anxiety caused by social rejection or isolation (Carney, Jacob & Hazler, 2011).

Psychological problems caused by bullying are not limited to only the person persecuted but also are found in bullies themselves, who often suffer from more psychiatric symptoms than other students of the same age. Studies have shown that bullies have a higher rate of psychosomatic symptoms, are more likely to say that school is not an enjoyable place to be, and continue to dislike the environment they encounter in future educational settings (Ttofi & Farrington, 2008). Victims are likely to say that they are unhappy and feel as if they are not safe at school. They are more likely to have higher rates of absences and poor academic success (Hutzell & Payne, 2012). Both male and female bullies and the bullied are likely to suffer from higher risk of depression, anxiety and suicidal ideation. Female victims often have eating disorders as well as depression and feelings of self-worthlessness (Chapell et al, 2006). These risks have a direct impact on the students' physical and emotional health in multiple ways. Symptoms of feeling nervous, sleep deprivation, loneliness, helplessness and agitation are very common among bullied victims and can lead to themselves becoming the bully-victim. Those who suffer from these symptoms are more likely to be submissive, withdrawn, and isolated when compared to other youth their own age (Ttofi & Farrington, 2008).

Bullying can result in long-term social, emotional and psychological effects that can continue throughout the victims' lives. They tend to have poorer social skills, which makes it harder for them to adapt to new situations and environments as they progress forward within an educational system (Farmer et al, 2007). Both the persecutor and the victim involved are more likely to start smoking, have poorer academic standings and display a stronger requisite for social acceptance, unlike those who are not involved (Richard et al, 2011). Bullies with psycho-social deficiencies who show a clear need are often referred to programs that offer assistance. These programs can help by providing counseling and psychotherapy to address problems and to prevent aggressive behaviors (Hutzell & Payne, 2012).

RECOMMENDATIONS TO REDUCE BULLYING AND ITS EFFECTS

Throughout the years, bullying has expanded from schoolyard scuffles to online harassment and it can even follow one into professional worlds. With current variations in the forms of bullying that take place, many prevention programs have been established to help guide individuals and to expunge inappropriate or threatening behaviors. These programs also have been developed to not only purge negative behaviors but to also help individuals to learn correct conduct or to learn how to handle negative situations in better ways. These programs are allowing people to not only prevent bullying but also to be prepared for whatever might come their way in all aspects of life.

As bullying increases in hallways and on playgrounds, many schools have set-up programs to make the environment safer for students. These programs have been implemented to control and reduce school bullying. In 1983, Norway created the first national anti-bullying program implemented anywhere in the world. Evaluation of the program showed a dramatic decrease of about one-half the cases of victimization after the intervention (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011).

Many other nations then started to develop their own programs for training individuals, based on publicized success rates.

Ttofi and Farrington (2011) have reviewed the KiVa Program developed in Finland, which used Internet and visual learning platforms to change student attitudes about bullying. KiVa included devices that allowed an enhancement of their anti-bullying education program, including the use of role-playing exercises, short films on bullying, classroom discussions and group work. Another plus was that teachers were given vests that enhanced their visibility, while they were watching students in the schoolyard. Ttofi and Farrington (2011) also stated that the program included peer support groups for victims of bullying and cooperative group work among experts in dealing with children involved in bullying. Parents were given information and advice about bullying. This program proved that taking simple steps, such as involving teachers and parents, in preventing bullying can cause effective outcomes.

Another recommendation to help with bullying is that children should always have someone to turn to, including psychologists and school nurses. Although school psychologists are limited and have historically focused on assessment and individual treatment in the schools, an incredible opportunity exists for them, as well as others, to function as prevention specialists to help schools determine appropriate assessment tools and to guide intervention planning, implementation and evaluation (Leff, 2007). Another prevention program is the Solving Problems Together Foundation, which provides students with an opportunity to increase critical thinking and problem-solving skills while they work simultaneously toward a solution in dealing with problems (Hall, 2006). This model provides students with a sense of empowerment and allows them to take charge of their own problems. The process behind the program is that students analyze their situations and problems and then seek appropriate resources to help them. Hall (2006) stated that the main purpose of this program is to allow students identified as victims of bullying to develop effective strategies for responding to this behavior. The main goal of this program is for students to go through the problem-solving process so that they can determine strategies that can use when they are facing a difficult situation and/or bullying behavior. This program has many positive effects associated with it, including the development of better problem solving techniques.

With competition in the workplace becoming harder, individuals will resort to anything to get ahead, including lying, wrongfully blaming others and even physical violence. With many of these problems becoming more and more prominent in the workplace, companies and individuals have resorted to developing and implementing programs that will help make their businesses not only happier places to work, but also stronger businesses in general. One prevention step being developed and implemented in workplaces is Anti-bullying Policies. These programs are being implemented in hopes of producing a positive, high-care workplace environment. A bill informally referred to as "The Healthy Workplace Bill" has been introduced across the United States in 16 states since 2003 (Duffy, 2009). This bill has different versions depending on the state, but the bill holds both individual employees and their employers liable for any form of demonstrated workplace harm. Duffy (2009) stated that the bill provides for employer incentives to develop preventive measures and respond adequately and promptly to allegations of workplace bullying. In the long run, this discourages the likelihood of frivolous law-suits. As supported by the bill, placing more programs into the workplace allows not only the employees to benefit from the positive aspects of it, but also the employers because awards they will benefit from when they implement measures that have been supported and specified in this bill.

Another prevention program developed for the workplace is the Three-Step Strategic Program (Namie & Namie, 2009). This program consists of moderation/mediation, coaching and organizational development. The moderation stage is used to allow parties to move beyond any kind of misunderstanding or misperceptions, while mediation is the conflict resolution process. The second part of the program consists of a coaching strategy. This part is mainly supportive, which can fall into inter-personal emotional, career development, or skills enhancement. The third intervention strategy is organization development. Many sources of bullying can be found in attributes of the organization, including reporting relationships, layers in the hierarchy and equitable processes that match rewards to performance. Organizational development defines problems as systemic and suggests that solutions must necessarily affect all people at all levels of the organization. The three-step program has many positive aspects that can result in controlling many kinds of negative problems in the workplace. The first stage allows for affected individuals with the opportunity to explain their perception of the situation, which can prevent rumors and other problems from spreading. The second stage allows individuals to seek support, which helps individuals to work through tough situations. The last stage allows for equal treatment among all employees no matter the status or position that they may hold.

CONCLUSION

Bullying is a devastating occurrence that almost everybody has experienced and/or witnessed at least once in their lifetime. Its presence can be seen in schools, within the home between family members, on the Internet and media devices, and even in the workplace. This aggressive behavior is not prone to any specific individual, but it is often shown to be aimed at people with specific characteristics and lifestyles. Often those who are bullied are seen as being weak or frail, and those who committing the act of bullying are often seen as dominant, powerful and frightening. Both the bully and the bullied might suffer from negative physical and/or psychological consequences associated with their acts, which can have both short-term and long-term effects. Some of these effects range from depression, anxiety and low self-esteem to life-threatening physical damage and even suicide. Although effective programs have been implemented and are successful in reducing bullying within these settings, its variable practices still occur daily worldwide.

The presence of programs within educational systems works, not only as a way to stop bullying on jurisdictional school property, but also to prevent it from occurring after the students have departed from school and are in a working environment or when they have children of their own. As bullying often goes unnoticed, those who are bullied do not know how to deal with their situation. They tend to have feelings of being alone and shy away from any help that is offered. Prevention programs are working to reach out and offer help to any individual or group that feels threatened in any environment. Overall, bullying is a treacherous occurrence that is hard to stop. It is slowly decreasing due to these specialized programs within the educational settings, home and workplace. Parents are becoming more involved, as well as faculty and administrators in schools and administrators on college campuses, to help stop bullying from occurring. Positive attitudes and active reinforcements are the key in producing a more successful and progressive environment for all those involved in bullying.

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Chapter 134

SEXUAL, PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION LINKED TO NEW MEANS OF COMMUNICATION: CHILD PORNOGRAPHY, CYBER- GROOMING AND CYBER-BULLYING

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ABSTRACT

New means of communication have made it easier to communicate worldwide. They enable contact in real time, irrespective of distance and borders. However, these new means of communication have been diverted from their primary use to feed deviant fantasies or to satisfy a need of superiority. There are particular situations that can directly affect people: child pornography, grooming and cyber-bullying. The Internet is the main tool that is used in these three situations. However, the extensive use of cell phones should not be overlooked. In all three situations, the essential factors that explain the growth of offences are virtual aspects of communication and anonymity. Apart from child pornography, the main victims of cyber-grooming and cyber-bullying are adolescents, as, by definition, the victim must be able to establish virtual contact with an aggressor and thus have the capacity to master telecommunication tools. Likewise, the appeal of these tools for adolescents inevitably leads to their deviant use by other young people who are not always aware of the danger of virtual contacts and do not always recognize the impact of bullying. Criminal and victim profiles have been identified. De-materialized aspect of these offences makes it difficult to apprehend the perpetrators. States must take steps to deal with cyber-criminality. New methods need to be set up to apprehend the perpetrators and protect the victims.

Keywords: Internet, child pornography, cyber-bullying, cyber grooming, offender, victim

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INTRODUCTION

Changes in society have led to significant shifts in behavior. New electronic means of communication enable messages to be sent instantaneously anywhere in the world and reach a very large number of people (Çetin, 2011). This has had an impact on both sexual violence and other forms of aggression, such as bullying. The victims are usually minors, who are not always aware of the dangers of the Internet and are unable to restrict their use of this tool, which they see as an important social asset (Bryce, 2009). These new means of communication help young people develop social relationships and allow them freedom of thought (Quayle, 2011). For the aggressors, use of these methods is linked to recurrent online contacts with reduced offline social relationships; the anonymity provided by these tools gives them an impression of domination (Appel, 2012). Three particular offences mediated by virtual communication are of particular concern: child pornography, online grooming, and cyber-bullying. Child pornography and online grooming are both sexual offences. However, child pornography does not necessarily lead to contact with an actual victim, unlike online grooming and cyber-bullying, which involve a specific link between the aggressor and the victim. Each of these three behaviors has its own specific characteristics, both by nature of the offence and profile of the perpetrators and the victims.

CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

Child pornography is the production of pornographic or erotic material involving use of children or adolescents (Chase, 2005; Howitt, 2007; Taylor, 2001). Tackling this phenomenon is complicated, owing to the range of child-pornography material and the diversity of criminal justice proceedings in different countries (Endrass, 2009; Kierkegaard, 2008; Prat, 2012, 2012a; Tirelli, 2008; Tyler, 1985). The first photographs go back to 1862 (Tyler, 1985). For many years, child pornography was limited to written texts and photographs (Burke, 2002; Frederick, 1996). Some aspects were perceived as artistic. In France, for example, Tony Duvert received a literary award in 1972 for his book "*Paysage de fantaisie*," which can be perceived as an *apologia* for child pornography. Technological progress has gradually increased the possibilities of representing pedophile fantasies. Not only did the arrival of the Internet assist revised production of child pornography, it also allowed it to be disseminated more widely. It was not until the end of the 20th century that various nation-states began to pass laws to deal with the problem (Tyler, 1985).

Characteristics of Child Pornography Images

Actualization of child pornography is reprehensible. At present, no court has penalized pedophile fantasies, as long as they are not disseminated. Child pornography is a lucrative market. It mainly involves photographs and video recordings. Some written texts exist, but these generally accompany an image. The law had to be changed at the beginning of the 2000s to counter the growing industry, owing to use of new electronic means of communication and technologies (Prat, 2012). These new technologies facilitated the production and dissemination

of pedophile images. The specific characteristic of this practice lies in the content of the images. As explained above, it does not necessarily involve a pornographic picture. The COPINE Project or *Combating Paedophile Information Network in Europe Project* drew up a classification of images, based on their suggestive or actually sexual aspects, also adding notions of sexual violence (Krone, 2004; Quayle, 2000; Quayle, 2006; Taylor, 2001; Taylor, 2003). Ten different types of image were identified, which varied in the degree of violence of the fantasies: 1) *Indicative*, 2) *Nudist*, 3) *Erotic*, 4) *Posing*, 5) *Erotic posing*, 6) *Explicit erotic posing*, 7) *Explicit sexual activity*, 8) *Assault*, 9) *Gross assault*, 10) *Sadistic-Bestiality*. Other aspects of these images should be considered, notably the fact they do not necessarily involve real aggressions. There is in effect a scale of images (Mirkin, 2009; Tate, 1992).

There are also so-called virtual or pseudo-photographs, created from collages or by computer graphics (Kleinhans, 2004; Krone, 2004). This aspect raises legal problems, as creating these images does not involve any actual abuse. Additional legal measures were thus introduced to tackle the issue. In many cases, people make large collections of images. In 1992, Lanning described six characteristics of child-pornography collections (Taylor, 2001): 1) *size* (number of images), 2) *consistency* (a specific topic), 3) *organization* (image classification), 4) *permanence* (preservation over time), 5) *secret nature* (images kept safe in protected places), 6) *sharing* (images pooled on pedophile sites). These images constitute an effective bargaining chip between child pornographers, who form networking groups to exchange advice, or find a minor. Interest in the images does not lie in stimulating fantasies, but rather in their use as a means of networking between collectors, of disinhibiting children for online and offline contacts, of rationalizing the adult's deviant behavior, and in some cases performed for financial gain (Quayle, 2003; Quayle, 2006; Taylor, 2001).

Child Pornography Users

A number of authors have described the profiles of child-pornography users. Generally, classifications mix simple child pornography users who do not contact a minor with people who solicit minors on the Internet with the intent to make contact online or offline. Burgess and associates (2005), for example, identified three categories: 1) *Traders* (people who collect child pornography via the Internet), 2) *Travelers* (people who seek to communicate with children), 3) *Traffickers* (people who participate actively in child trafficking with the aim of exploiting them sexually). Elliott and associates (2009) described four typologies: 1) *Periodically prurient* (people who show curiosity but without any actual sexual interest in children), 2) *Fantasy only* (people who are content with gratifying their fantasies virtually, without any real or virtual contact), 3) *Direct victimization* (people seeking real or virtual contact with minors), 4) *Commercial exploitation* (people interested only in the financial aspect). Krone (2004) drew up a more detailed description with eleven categories: 1) *Browsers* (people who come across images by accident, but knowingly save them), 2) *Private fantasists* (people who access images for their own interest and do not wish to share them), 3) *Trawlers-sexually omnivorous* (people who consume all types of pornographic material, including child pornography), 4) *Trawlers-sexually curious* (people who have experimented with child pornography but have not pursued it), 5) *Trawlers-libertarian* (people who believe that they are free to access all types of material), 6) *Non-secure collectors* (people who download and exchange images from openly available sources that do not impose security barriers), 7) *Secure collectors* (people who

download and exchange images, taking precautions to limit the risks of being caught), 8) *Online groomers* (people who use child pornography with the intention of establishing contact with a minor), 9) *Physical abusers* (people who use child pornography both as part of actual abuse and to gratify their craving when they have no actual victim), 10) *Producers* (people who produce images involving either a real abuse, or pseudo-images), 11) *Distributors* (people who supply the pedophile network but who do not necessarily have pedophile fantasies themselves).

From these classifications, we can see that child pornographers, who are mostly seen as users as opposed to producers and distributors, do not use child pornography for the same purposes. Child pornography is not a clear-cut phenomenon and its use varies according to these profiles. One of the main notions to consider is pedophile attraction; a number of authors have shown that images are not always downloaded purely for pedophile sexual arousal (Elliott, 2009; Krone, 2004; Prat, 2012b). In some cases, this type of image is accessed as a way of defying a taboo. In this situation, the individual also displays an interest in other images of violence, war, among others. In general, studies of child-pornography users do not differentiate between people who do or do not establish virtual contact with a minor, even though direct communication adds to the risk of actual abuse. However, there does not appear to be a correlation between consuming pedophile images and the risk of committing an offline offense (Endrass, 2009). By contrast, studies generally differentiate between virtual and real contact (Deirmenjian, 2002; Gillispie, 2007). In sum, the use of child pornography can either constitute an end in itself or be a means of carrying out an offline abuse.

Typically, child pornography users are almost exclusively educated, professional men between the ages of 25 and 50. Overall, there are as many married users as single. On the whole, they are in a consensual adult sexual relationship, although they might not experience it as satisfactory (Beech, 2008; Burgess, 2005; Burke, 2002; Fortin, 2006; Frei, 2005; Prat, 2012b, 2013; Quayle, 2006). In general, there is no history of previous psychiatric disorder. In most cases, there is no prior conviction for a sexual offense. The rate of recidivism for child pornography users is relatively low, emerging one and a half to six years after conviction (Babchishin, 2011; Eke, 2011; Seto, 2011; Wakeling, 2011). With regard to their psychopathological functioning, we can observe a cognitive distortion, generally similar to that of a pedophile who has committed actual abuse, although they may have more empathy with their victims (Babchishin, 2011; Burgess, 2005; Marziano, 2006; Seto, 2011). This can be explained by the fact that the borderline between the virtual and the real is sometimes tenuous and that many child-pornography users have clearly pedophile fantasies, even if they only gratify them virtually.

Child Pornography Victims

Victims of child pornography can be divided into two categories (Prat, 2013; Varnhagen, 2007): minors who have been subjected to an actual assault and minors whose image has been falsified for sexual purposes (pseudo-images). With regard to distribution of child-pornography imagery, what is important is the process of perpetual victimization (Prat, 2013). Even if the assault actually occurred once or not at all in the case of a pseudo-image, victimization continues indefinitely with the transmission of the image depicting a minor in an erotic or pornographic scene. Moreover, the aggressors can put pressure on victims through the pictures

they have taken, either telling them they must keep it secret or subjecting them to further abuse under threat of diffusing the images (Tate, 1992).

Interpol maintains a database of 520,000 images, involving 680 victims. The Internet Watch Foundation identified 2,755 Internet domains involving child-pornography images. Almost 80% of these images involve young girls (Elliott, 2009). This high percentage of female victims could explain the low rate of recidivism, as a higher rate of recidivism occurs among extra-familial homosexual pedophiles. In the 80,000 photographs and 400 video recordings identified by the COPINE Project, there were as many boys as girls (Quayle, 2000; Taylor, 2001; Taylor, 2003). UNICEF (2009) released a report stating there were more than four million Internet sites and that more than 200 new images were posted every day (Maala, 2009). At the end of 2011, the Interpol database contained 2,500 victims from 46 countries (Aiken, 2011). In general, children of all ages are involved, including infants, pre-pubescent children and adolescents. These categories of victims provide significant psycho-pathological information about the users of these images, notably to setting up appropriate prevention measures (Elliott, 2009). It is the apparent age of the victims in the image that is generally used by the courts to determine whether or not child pornography is involved. In some cases, the images involve adults dressed up as children. Under these circumstances, the protagonist's status changes from victim to accomplice (Prat, 2013a).

The attitude of the victims in the pictures is an important issue. Most images show children looking cheerful or neutral (Burke, 2002). This plays a role in the cognitive distortions of pedophile-customers, as they have the impression that these scenes are not unpleasant for the children, who must be enjoying themselves, reinforcing the idea that there is no coercion involved.

Child pornography is a complex deviant behavior. Users are not always satisfied with "fuelling" their fantasies through the images, but may seek contact with a minor, even if only virtually.

ONLINE SEXUAL GROOMING

Online grooming is a way of establishing contact with another person for sexual purposes. It corresponds to legal practice, when two adults establish a relationship on the Internet to satisfy reciprocal desires and an illegal practice when an adult seeks to satisfy his/her sexual cravings with a minor. There is a close link with child pornography, as pedophile images are often used to establish online and then offline sexual contact (Chase, 2005; Quayle, 2003; Quayle, 2006; Taylor, 2001). The adult may take pictures of the assault, which he can then use later to attract other minors (Prat, 2013). The use of telecommunication devices enables the perpetrator to identify and make contact with a "target" child (Tate, 1990; Taylor, 2003). Before the arrival of the Internet, establishing contact between a pedophile and a minor involved a direct relationship with no way of falsifying identity. The perpetrator used specific means of persuasion to establish a close relationship or resorted immediately to violence. Emergence of the Internet made it possible for the perpetrator to remain anonymous and falsify his identity, thereby making it easier to establish a relationship through online grooming (Burgess, 2008; Quayle, 2003).

Characteristics of Online Grooming

Online grooming developed at the same time as cyber-sex (Quayle, 2003). Development of the Internet made it easier for pedophiles to realize their fantasies. Distance communication made it possible to reach large numbers of people. As mentioned in the Introduction, possibilities of distorting reality provided by virtual contact has a significant effect on the occurrence of online grooming (Deirmenjian, 2002). There are two significant aspects of online grooming. First, it can simply be a means of identifying vulnerable minors that sets the stage for a meeting, without waiting for the minor's consent. Secondly, it can involve establishing a complicit contact between adult and minor, leading the minor to engage in sexual activity with an adult without coercion. When the Internet and virtual communication technologies first emerged, the aggressor had to gain the victim's confidence for the discussion to take on a sexual connotation. Nowadays, with the growth of social networks, very detailed information, including a photograph, enables an aggressors to make more rapid and targeted contacts (Quayle, 2011). In particular, they can target minors living in their neighborhood, thereby opening a possibility of establishing an offline contact faster and more easily. Likewise, personal details make it easier to identify vulnerable minors likely to be more receptive to and less suspicious compliments made by the adult.

Anonymity afforded by the Internet and electronic communication devices is a critical element in *virtual assault*. In particular, it allows identity and age to be collapsed and/or falsified, a method commonly used to obtain the child's confidence. It also has an impact on the aggressor, notably in terms of disinhibition (Quayle, 2003). Various aspects of disinhibition have been identified. For example, Whittle and associates (2012) referred to a study in 2004 by Suler, who identified six underlying factors: 1) *dissociative anonymity*, corresponding to not being identifiable online, 2) *invisibility*, whereby virtual abuse is facilitated by not having to worry about social appearances, 3) *asynchronicity*, whereby the time lag imposed by these methods of communication impairs normal reactions, 4) *solipsistic introjections*, whereby lack of face-to-face communication can allow one person to conjure up a false image of the other with an impression of being able to read their mind, 5) *dissociative imagination*, whereby there is a split between the online and offline *persona*, allowing the abuser to live in a fictional world, 6) *minimization of authority*, whereby the person does not feel that he is committing any offence because there is no real contact.

New means of communication enable instantaneous discussions to take place at a distance. This makes fantasies seem almost real (Quayle, 2011; Whittle, 2012). Two of three profiles identified by Elliott and Beech (2009) can be found among online groomers: 1) *browsers*, who seek to communicate virtually, 2) *cruisers*, who adopt a sexual language in order to establish offline contact, 3) *pornographers*, whose specific interest is in pornographic material, without seeking any personal contact. It is this third profile that corresponds most to the child pornography users whom we have described. However, one should not overlook the impact of child pornography on the functioning of the online groomer, as we have shown with its use for attracting minors (Krone, 2004). This material enables adults to join discussion groups, thereby making it easier to identify minors able to meet their needs. A study in California found that 30% of sexual assaults involved the Internet (Gillispie, 2007). These assaults mediated by the Internet mainly involved men. In most cases, victims were aware that they were communicating with an adult (Quayle, 2011; Wolak, 2008).

Online Groomers

Davidson and associates (2011) defined an online groomer as someone who initiates contact with a child through the Internet with the intention of establishing a sexual relationship, involving cyber-sex or sex with physical contact (Davidson, 2011; Quayle, 2011). The term covers a heterogeneous group, as is generally the case for child sexual offenders (Prat, 2013; Whittle, 2012). Studies indicate that time spent prior to the offline meeting varies, usually around one month. However, it should be noted that in some cases the contact occurs less than 24 hours after the first online discussion (Quayle, 2011). The literature does not provide a specific profile, unlike child-pornography users where grooming does not have a direct sexual aim (Prat, 2012b, 2013). By contrast, two groups appear to emerge: *contact-driven group* comprising people who are looking for a real offline contact and *fantasy-driven group* composed of people who are looking for cyber-sex with no offline contact (Briggs, 2010; Quayle, 2011).

The *fantasy-driven group* like those who download pedophile images (characteristics often found in the same person), unlike the perpetrators of sexual assault, generally show few criminal characteristics (Quayle, 2011). They spend a lot of time on the Internet, which allows them to avoid real social relationships. These virtual contacts allow them to gratify their sexual urges. It is possible that these individuals are inhibited, and/or have a social phobia, explaining the low criminal aspect and low rate of recidivism (Barron, 2000; Prat, 2012b, 2013; Quayle, 2003). This inhibition could thus be considered a protective factor, keeping them away from the risk of carrying out actual abuse. For these individuals, the online contact is a way of gratifying a fantasy that child pornography material cannot do. The characteristics of this group are broadly similar to those of users of child pornography: relatively young with a good education and no criminal record. It is possible that people who consume child pornography gradually become *fantasy-driven*. It could therefore be considered an escalation of the pedophile process, and should thus be treated as a potential risk of offending.

Individuals in the *contact-driven group* target children and then create links with them as a precursor to assault. This method of virtual communication allows them to establish a non-coercive contact (Guan, 2009; Quayle, 2004; Tyler, 1985). The non-coercive aspect of an assault on a minor is an important element. In fact, not all child sexual offenders act with violence and force. Some seek the child's approval, as part of their way of operating. Pedophile attraction can in fact be linked to other cognitive distortions, such as the impression the act is not deviant and the child is willing (Babchishin, 2011; Burke, 2002; Howitt, 2007; Marziano, 2006). Indeed, some pedophile groups militate for release of people imprisoned following a sexual relationship with a minor not involving coercion (Tyler, 1985). Their argument is based on the child's consent. The difficulty in explaining this consent, even when it is clearly expressed by the child, is biased first by the child's emotional immaturity and secondly by the possibility the child is psychologically disturbed. Online groomers are generally younger than offline offenders (Babchishin, 2011; Prat, 2013). This can be explained by the recent emergence of these means of communication. Previously, in order to gratify fantasies, offenders had to find their victims in the real world. They therefore set up specific mechanisms to attract victims, such as showing an interest in children living in the neighborhood, obtaining their parents' confidence, among other tactics. As these mechanisms work for them, they have not needed to change their behavior. Now, thanks notably to the Internet, pedophiles can be more circumspect

and can establish contact without having to communicate with people close to the child, making it more difficult to identify and apprehend them (Krone, 2004).

Victims of Online Grooming

Victims of online grooming are generally adolescents between the ages of 14 and 17 (Willis, 2002). This can be explained by the fact the victims must themselves be connected to the Internet and know how to use it. Within the general population, between 13 and 17 percent of children have been victims of online solicitation (Whittle, 2012). Half the children reported these events to an adult (Varnhagen, 2007). Wolak and associates (2004) found that one child in seven who used the Internet had experienced a sexual solicitation; 4% were aggressive and 34% involved exposure to pornographic material. These children must be able to understand objectives of the adult, particularly when the latter seeks to establish a sexual contact without coercion. Unfortunately, it is very likely that the average age of the victims will fall in coming years due to the fact that the Internet is being used by increasingly younger children and there is a certain form of liberalization of behavior, as parents do not always restrict access nor monitor their children's interactions. The victims are generally psychologically distressed (Willis, 2002). They often have self-image problems that can be linked to previous abuse or flawed family structure. They are more likely to respond to advances made by individuals who often offer comfort. They are therefore willing to establish a relationship, particularly if it boosts their self-esteem, which no other person has done. These children can then become victims of child pornography, if they are filmed or photographed during their abuse. Fortunately, as pointed out by Wolak and associates (2008), not all children who use the Internet are at risk.

The advent of social networks has changed the identification and profile of potential targets. Previously, victims were approached in online *chat rooms*. Contact was established around a particular topic in which the child participated. The groomer showed a passing interest in this topic in order to establish a special relationship with the child, pretending to share a common interest. Increasingly, with the rise of social networks, children seek to extend networks to prove their popularity, driving them to reveal information about themselves without worrying about potential risks. Giving personal information, particularly details that enable a child to be located, which could lead to sexual discussion, incurs a greater risk of receiving aggressive messages and of suffering an offline assault (Mitchell, 2007; Quayle, 2011). Furthermore, some messages left on the child's personal page describe her/his distress and hence vulnerability. Fortunately, this concerns a low percentage of children, as observed by Quayle and Taylor (2011) quoting a study by Ybarra and associates (2007). A study by Dowell and associates (2009) reported that 20% of adolescents who put photos on line were at risk (Dowell, 2009).

Online grooming has a real psychological impact, even if no actual abuse occurs. The other type of cyber-violence involving a real victim is cyber-bullying.

CYBER-BULLYING

Bullying is a wide-spread phenomenon found in all areas of social life and affecting people of all ages. Underlying factors motivating this behavior are complex. Like the two offences described above, the use of new means of communication has transformed this phenomenon. Previously, harassment or intimidation involved specific characteristics, such as need for a victim, an aggressor and a bystander. Now, the bystander is no longer systematic and yet impact is just as great. Bullying tactics were rarely possible without a real contact. When leaving school or the work-place, the victim could feel a sense of security, because of the absence of the aggressor, whereas now these destabilizing tactics lack boundaries and there can be no refuge. Moreover, the fact that messages are sent anonymously renders them even more destabilizing, and the victims do not know which way to turn.

The Characteristics of Cyber-Bullying

Olweus (1995) defined bullying through three criteria: 1) showing aggressive behavior towards an individual or group, 2) it is repetitive, 3) there is a clear power imbalance between “bully” and “victim” (Baughman, 2012; Huang 2010; Kowalski 2007). A fourth criterion can be added, namely, 4) the intention to harm the victim (Baughman, 2012). Cyber-bullying removes the physical aspect, leaving only the so-called verbal (insults, rumors) and emotional (exclusion, social alienation) aspects of the aggression (Çankaya, 2010; Kowalski, 2007). In traditional bullying, physical aggression could be a major component with some bullies using insults to provoke a victim to react violently. Bullying involves distinct behaviors: direct insults, indirect insults, exclusion, rumors. There is a difference between cyber-stalking and cyber-harassment. In cyber-stalking, the victim fears a credible threat likely to result in real physical injury. Cyber-stalking thus provokes more psychological disturbance and is more difficult to put aside than cyber-harassment (Dimond, 2011). Cyber-bullying can be broken into indirect and direct aggressive behavior. Direct aggression harms the victim without attacking them personally, for example, sending hoax messages, indecent photos or making threats. Indirect aggression no longer consists of physical assault but involves disseminating personal information or spreading false rumors, which can have a direct impact on the victim's reputation (Betz, 2011). Most studies on cyber-bullying involve cohorts of adolescents and/or students. Few studies have described the practice of cyber-bullying among adults. Children who bully or become victims of bullying are generally over ten years of age, which is related to the use of electronic means of communication such as the Internet and cell-phones that have become a popular way of aggressing someone close, especially among young people. Before advent of these devices, the main places where bullying occurred was school or university. This geographical limit of bullying provided a degree of emotional protection in that the victim had a possibility of avoiding these places. Now, the specificity of cyber-bullying has removed these temporal and spatial boundaries. The victim can thus be reached at any time – at school, university, work or home.

The Internet has modified the forms of bullying but the number of bullies does not seem to have increased (Dimond, 2011; Kumazaki, 2011). By contrast, the specific nature of these new means of communication is that it enables virtual relationships, whereby some adolescents only

know each other through the Internet. Addiction to the Internet seems to encourage the spread of cyber-bullying, associated notably with a reduction in social relationships (Çankaya, 2010). Thus, as stated above, it is sometimes impossible to identify the aggressors, and even when they are known, they remain intangible, leading to a sense of estrangement, and dispossession of the self (David-Ferdon, 2007; Stassen Berger, 2007). In a study by Li (2007), half the students had already heard of someone being cyber-bullied. It is a well-known but underestimated, phenomenon. In a study carried out by Patchin and Hinduja (2006), 11% of participants had been aggressors, 29% had been victims, and 47% witnesses. In some ways, this phenomenon is similar to malicious calls in that it involves repeated, anonymous attacks.

With regard to the actual organization of the aggression, there remains the question of the form that it takes. At what point can one consider oneself the victim of aggression? When it involves a repeated message, notably on social networks, does a message posted by the same individual constitute a new aggression, or is it part of a single aggression? If someone else takes part in the conversation, are they considered to be a second aggressor? (David-Ferdon, 2007). Initially, bullying required the existence of a group. People could harass an individual alone, but in this case the profile was generally one of gratifying sadistic urges, while the main characteristic of bullying is that the aggressors feel superior in the eyes of peers by belittling another person. With cyber-bullying, the power of the aggressor is no longer a question of physical strength or notoriety, but lies rather in the possibility of constantly harassing someone with no restriction of time or space. Phenomena have thus emerged that could be described as individual, in that the aggressor no longer requires a group to find satisfaction in the harassment which now only involves two people. Group cyber-bullying exists, notably through open discussions on social networks, which have enabled traditional offline bullying to be recreated on the Internet.

Cyber-Bullies

The perpetrators of cyber-bullying, mainly children or young adults, generally show relationship difficulties with their parents. There are two types of bully: those who bully gratuitously to gain notoriety and those who bully as a reprisal and can thus be described as bully-victims. The latter often react impulsively to a previous real or imagined aggression. Among adolescents, this tends to concern boys more than girls, with the reverse trend among adults (Stassen Berger, 2007). Girls have a greater tendency to reveal secrets and spread rumors, while boys generally have more direct, less insidious behaviors (Çetin, 2011; Huang, 2010). Unlike girls, boys tend to attack people of the same sex (Betz, 2011). Finally, these behaviors seem to overlap and can occur offline, where boys show proactive aggressive behavior, while girls behave in a more indirect fashion. Anonymity increases the power of the aggressors, who therefore feel stronger (Çetin, 2011). Wolak and associates (2007) observed the proximity that is often found between the aggressor and his/her victim; in 57% of cases the aggressor is a known peer and in 43% of cases is unknown. The impact on the victim is generally underestimated by the perpetrator due to the online contact and the lack of physical aggression.

The virtual aspect of this aggression has modified the profiles of bullies. Some are described as inhibited, without social ties, and generally addicted to the Internet, at the same time needing stimulation and personal satisfaction that they find through harassment, notably for the sense of power it gives them (Kowalski, 2007). Previously, bullies were described as

people certain notoriety in their group. Their behavior was never explained as possible psychological disorder. Now, there is concern about psychological disorders shown by these bullies and cyber-bullies, notably narcissistic disorders and suicidal ideation (Betz, 2011; Kubiszewski, 2012). Aggressive behavior such as harassment does indeed reflect a mental disorder that can only be externalized by attacking others.

There appears to be a link between the aggressive attitude of a child and the likelihood that he/she will become a bully in adolescence. An aggressive child is generally rejected, while an aggressive adolescent is often feared and respected (Stassen Berger, 2007). Behavior that can be a manifestation of mental suffering thus becomes a solution for finding notoriety and respect, and it is therefore difficult for the bully to stop this apparently beneficial behavior. The role played by the other peers is critical in the way the bullying behavior develops. Some bystanders can easily become bullies themselves, thinking that it will bring them notoriety or simply as a way of pleasing the aggressor. This phenomenon is found in cyber-bullying where there is not always an audience, but when an aggressor can find personal satisfaction in the action this brings an impression of narcissistic aggrandizement. It was initially thought that bullies had problems with social skills, which explained their behavior. Baughmann and associates (2012), however, demonstrated they had good scores on social intelligence, notably with capacities for empathy that made their intimidation more effective. By contrast, what emerged were anti-social traits. Bullies also have better scores on social cognition tests than victims and observers, which enables them to anticipate the behavior of others (Baughman, 2012). However, in some cases, an individual may act merely in a spirit of revenge in the anonymous environment afforded by cyber-space which appears safe and secure, thus becoming a cyber-bully in response to previous offline harassment (Baker, 2010).

Victims of Cyber-Bullying

There is a continuum in the process of victimization between bullying and cyber-bullying. David-Ferdon and associates (2007) found that 68 to 97 percent of online victims were offline victims, and between 2 and 76 percent had experienced physical violence. Two categories of victim have been identified: *passive* and *aggressive*. *Passive victims* are generally weak and submissive. They have few relationships with peers, very low self-esteem, which reinforces the intimidation, but good contact with adults, both parents and teachers. They often have the fatalistic impression that these people will not be able to help them, giving the aggressor a powerful hold over their defense mechanisms. *Aggressive victims* on the other hand are impulsive. They generally have previous psychological disorders that give rise to stigmatization, which is the starting point of the harassment. They adopt ineffectual reprisal behavior but find no support among adults (Stassen Berger, 2007). As in conventional harassment, aggressive victims will attempt to retaliate, but their impulsiveness may aggravate a situation, as they do not realize the impact of new communication such as the Internet. Their response may thus be out of proportion with the initial aggression, and the image they present is thus more that of aggressor than victim.

The virtual aspect has given rise to a third category, corresponding to victims who could be defined as neutral and who are sometimes chosen at random. At the outset, these victims do not present any psychosocial characteristics associated with vulnerability or any physical or psychological features that could give rise to stigmatization. The fact they become victims is

due to their reaction to the aggression. The principal behind bullying and cyber-bullying is its repetitive nature. The way the victim reacts will thus either give credit to the rumor or encourage the aggressor to repeat the malicious messages.

Many psycho-social problems have been identified among victims of bullying and cyber-bullying, including stress, depression and social anxiety, declining academic performance, narcissistic disorders among girls and delinquent behavior among boys (Baughman, 2012; Kubiszewski, 2012). The prevalence of depression is three times higher than that reported in the general population (Baker, 2010). Some victims have even been found at school with a weapon, which appears to be the only way they can feel safe. These problems can be treated readily with strong family support, determined effort to stamp out the process, particularly when the child seeks the help of an adult. In a study by Wolak and associates (2007), 12% of the victims told their parents of the incident and 9% told another adult. There are several causes for this lack of communication with parents. First, there may be difficulty confiding in a parent linked to the typical conflicts found during adolescence. Another factor that is frequently reported in the scientific literature concerns the child's fear their use of the Internet will be restricted, because they consider this means of communication so essential for well-being (Appel, 2012). In half the cases, it seems that the child is also afraid the parent may make the situation worse. In general, although it is not always effective, the child will seek support from his/her peers. Only peers who are popular within the child's social group can help stop the harassment (Fenaughty, 2012). The most effective criterion to stop this phenomenon is for the child to seek the help of an adult more than actual assistance, by adopting a passive attitude (Fenaughty, 2012; Stassen Berger, 2007). Other strategies used to tackle the problem appear to be ineffective, such as passively ignoring it, or confrontation, which merely seems to boost the bully's ego and stimulate aggressiveness (Fenaughty, 2012).

Over and above the possible help of others, the victims' own characteristics will affect their ability to extricate themselves from an aggressive situation. They must have sufficient social skills to identify risky situations, know how to get rid of messages, and alert the people who are in a position to help them (Betz, 2011). In a study by Smith and associates (2004), 72% of victims had stopped being victims two years later, because they had been able to modify their social environment. For a person no longer to be considered as a victim of cyber-bullying, two criteria must be met; first, bullying behavior has effectively stopped, and second any psychological disorders caused by the behavior have disappeared. While bullying has been modified by cyber-phenomenon, main targets are still the most vulnerable people on account of physical appearance or psychological vulnerability. An inability to overcome psychological disorders, linked to bullying, will lead to the long-term continuation of these disorders, and will aggravate the victims' vulnerability, making them more susceptible to future attack. The term *cyberbullicide* was coined to describe suicide, influenced by virtual intimidation (Betz, 2011). It is not always easy for victims to escape from the harmful environment when cyber-bullies act via a communication tool that is indispensable to their victims, even if the latter have good social skills (Dimond, 2011).

Cyber-bullying is the ultimate non-sexual cyber-aggression. It includes a wide range of behaviors, whose negative consequences are not always immediate.

CONCLUSION

New electronic means of communication have opened up considerable changes in terms of violence, notably the emergence of *virtual violence*. In some cases, virtual violence can lead to very real physical and sexual abuse. The other feature inherent in the virtual aspect concerns attacks that can be qualified as “hidden.” Some victims of child pornography know nothing about dissemination of their image as part of a pedophile fantasy. Likewise, victims of online grooming are not aware of the other person’s sexual interest in them and victims of cyber-bullying do not always know the identity of their attacker. Development of these offences has therefore required specific measures. Speed and ease of communication, together with lack of frontiers, has obliged many countries to change existing or create newer legislation. With regard to cyber-bullying, this offence does not generally cross national borders. Legal procedures in contrast to deal with use/distribution of child pornography and online grooming, two very similar practices, had to be modified, as the networks frequently involved several countries. Various police actions, notably by Interpol and Europol, have led to the arrest of members of some networks (Dombrowski, 2004; Gillespie, 2010; Kierkegaard, 2008; Krone, 2005; Prat, 2012a). However, certain police practices, notably sting operations, are allowed in some countries but not in others.

These three deviant online behaviors mainly affect children. They lead to what can be called ‘rebound’ or ‘time-bomb’ phenomena (Bryce, 2009). The aggression is not always immediate, the victim is not always aware of it and it has delayed psychosocial consequences. The general public must therefore be made aware of these phenomena and the very real risks to young people of using electronic means of communication in general, and the Internet in particular.

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Chapter 135

FROM THE TRENCHES: CYBERBULLYING AND BEYOND

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INTRODUCTION

We are living in the future
I'll tell you how I know
I read it in the papers 15 years ago
(John Prine: Living in the Future)

Welcome to this collection of state-of-the-art writings on cyberbullying. The title of this opening chapter alludes to three things. Firstly, that we are in a war and fighting from the trenches - where hand-to-hand fighting occurs - up close and personal with the enemy. We believe that some of the intervention and prevention work in the area of cyberbullying has been exactly this - hasty approaches to fighting an enemy that caught most of us off guard - perhaps being aware of the potential threat - but not the intensity or frequency of it. The second issue is that we are dealing explicitly with cyberbullying. The authors present a timely critique of the area - from definitional issues to intervention and prevention approaches. In a relatively short space of time, we have been flooded with the positive aspects of the Web 2.0 technological and digital revolution. Even more so, we have been faced with the ever evolving menace of bullying behaviours that utilise these new technologies and media. Thirdly, we want to encourage you to consider the lessons learnt from the initial emergence, and ongoing experience of, cyberbullying. That is, as you read these critical reviews of the literature, we want you to speculate about future developments in the area. In particular, we believe that it is worth taking heed of the messages in these chapters for the days and years ahead, as we see another important issue on the horizon - the rapid growth in the development and implementation of artificial intelligence and robotics. As an ethical and civil society, it is our duty to learn from the past,

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account for the present, and plan effectively for the future. We can always hope for the best, but we should plan for the worst. So, as the chapters aid our understanding of cyberbullying, the things we have learnt and have done well (or not so well), as individuals with an interest in how to protect childhood whilst encouraging creativity and imagination in the modern world, we do need to lift our heads from the sand and look to the unknown future – to plan ahead for the children yet to be born.

FROM “TRADITIONAL” BULLY/VICTIM PROBLEMS TO CYBERBULLYING ... AND BEYOND

Just as we were getting used to “traditional” bully/victim problems, albeit differentiated across different contexts (e.g., f2f: Mc Guckin, Cummins, & Lewis, 2010; alterophobia: Minton, 2012; disablist: Purdy & Mc Guckin, 2014, 2015), each with a substantive canon of knowledge regarding prevalence, actor status, correlates, and intervention approaches, along came cyberbullying. From an initial stance of widespread denial by school leaders about bully/victim problems occurring in their schools, even the best regulated schools now admit that such problems exist among the pupils in their care. The focus has now become about who is involved, what are the consequences on educational and personal growth and attainment, and how its insidious nature can be ameliorated.

Tim Berners Lee’s Internet and the World Wide Web, whilst being arguably the most open form of communication to evolve since the Cro-Magnon’s development of cave drawings and linguistic ability that separated them from their Neanderthal predecessors (Corcoran, Mc Guckin, & Prentice, 2015; Drogin & Young 2008), is perhaps also one of the most anonymous. Indeed, considering the very fundamentals of the technology - ownership and regulation - Berners Lee has advocated for an online Magna Carta/Bill of Rights in this area (Kiss, 2014). In the absence of such control or regulation, to what extent can we rely on children and young people (and adults) to use the technology in this modern “wild west” (Corcoran, Frazer, & Mc Guckin, 2015) for positive benefits only? If we accept that the experience of being human is fraught with a continual dichotomy of “good versus evil,” then we need to also accept the responsibility of helping fellow humans make pro-social choices in relation to the use of this great technology. As alluded to, the emergence of artificial intelligence and robotics as significant areas of technological growth and employment, brings with it the “potential” for new areas of concern - could the perpetrators of bullying behaviours include not only humans and virtual avatars, but also humanoids? Indeed, we could argue that, in a transhumanism advance, most of us already fit the criteria of being a cyborg (cybernetic organism: Clynes & Kline, 1960) - that is, whilst we talk about smart“phones,” the reality is that most of us use these devices for telephone calls far less than for all of the other means of connectivity made possible by their technological capabilities. The sheer extent to which these devices are part of our daily life and engagement with routine day-to-day tasks (e.g., remembering birthdays, anniversaries), we have fears now of issues related to “digital dementia” (Mc Guckin, 2014).

In a very short period of time, humanity has evolved from the significant advances of the agricultural revolution, through the industrial revolution, to the recent digital revolution. Even though the very real and positive advances of the digital revolution have yet to be fully explored, or indeed experienced by all members of society, we are already involved with the

Internet of Things (IoT) and newer technological discoveries and applications for the advancement of society and human experience – e.g., the CRISPR interference technique in genetics (clustered regularly interspaced short palindromic repeats) (Qi et al., 2013) that means that gene editing is now as simple as “copy and paste” on this word-processor I am using, and blockchain distributed databases that will become pervasive in terms of ensuring security of online transactions and cryptocurrencies (e.g., Nakamoto, 2008). For all of us with an interest in the protection of children and young people, we have to work hard and fast to keep abreast of these developments.

Whilst Moore’s Law (1965) predicts the exponential growth of technology, specifically computer processor power, the emotional repertoire of children still develops in the timeless manner in which our own emotional capabilities developed. Unlike technology and computing power, we do not have similar “laws” with regard to children’s development, still relying heavily on the assumptions of lifespan development theories (e.g., Freud, Piaget, Erikson, Kohlberg). The unenviable task that society has challenged us to, is to think, research, and act in the same manner as Moore and colleagues - to help future-proof our children and their children in time to come. We must accept this challenge. We must also embrace the challenge and prove our worth as researchers, practitioners, and fellow citizens.

We do not have the luxury of sitting on the side-lines admiring the shiny new technologies. Rather, like the pioneering theorists and researchers before us, we must feel free to “think aloud,” to “stop and stand and stare,” and encourage each other that it is okay to make mistakes in our thinking and logic (e.g., Dweck’s [2006] Growth Mindset). Success, unfortunately, does not come without a pathway of failed ideas and faulty logic. Even with the advances of neuroscience, we can still find lots of examples of “faulty logic” in the hypothesised implications and applications of these new findings and discoveries for educators and classrooms (Doyle & Mc Guckin, 2016).

As the Nobel laureate Samuel Beckett (1983) encourages us: “Ever tried. Ever failed. No matter. Try again. Fail again. Fail better” (p. 7). As researchers and practitioners in this area, it is our duty to accept Beckett’s encouragement and to never see the work to be done as a Sisyphean task. The authors of the chapters in this book have certainly seized the task and are constantly seeking the new information that we need in order to ameliorate the insidious and obnoxious effects of bully/victim problems mediated through these new, and still to emerge, technologies. As you read through the chapters, we would again encourage you to think widely about the issues raised, remembering that we do not have to be responsible for the problem to be responsible for the solution.

CHAPTERS AND FOCUS

Chapter 2: How Research on Cyberbullying Has Developed

An obvious and interesting question that many readers might have is exactly how much research has been completed in the area. It is this query that Peter Smith and Fethi Berkun explore in their fascinating portrait of the area. This work is a great contribution to the literature. Just as the later chapter on definitions challenges us to consider how we “talk about” and conceptualise the issues of concern, Peter and Fethi’s chapter provides us with an opportune

reflection on “where we have come from” and “where we have arrived at,” after 15 years of activity. We enjoyed reading the analyses in Peter and Fethi’s chapter, perhaps summed up as “lots done, more to do.” We hope that this chapter provides some impetus for new research studies and challenges that need to be surmounted (e.g., longitudinal designs) if we are to impart really robust evidence to colleagues designing or implementing prevention/intervention programmes.

Chapter 3: Conceptual and Definitional Issues Regarding Cyberbullying: A Case for Using the Term Cyber Aggression?

At the start of any discussion in the social sciences, researchers should “operationally define” the key concept(s) of concern to the work. All too often, however, this does not happen and the reader can be left with an ongoing internal debate as to how the central issues should be defined - perhaps in law, in practice, or just in terms of inclusion/exclusion criteria for the various audiences that we seek to inform. A small number of years ago, the community of those with an interest in the emerging issues that were to be called “cyberbullying” debated and worked collaboratively to explore how this new issue should be defined - should it be a natural extension of the definitions associated with traditional bully/victim problems, how to include reference to the new technology - and the technology that does not yet exist, etc. In their chapter, Pauline Hyland, John Hyland, and Christopher Alan Lewis present a timely review of the interesting developments in this area - from initial and perhaps “blunt” definitions to more nuanced definitions that emerged as knowledge and thought in the area matured. Whilst most of the research regarding traditional bully/victim problems has operated from largely the same definitional criteria (i.e., intentional harm doing, repeated actions, imbalance of power), work in this new area of cyberbullying requires consideration of extra factors - e.g., 24/7 aspect of the digital world, a different focus for what “repeated” means in this new context. Bringing us right up-to-date, the chapter explores whether we should consider “cyber aggression” as a more appropriate conceptualisation of the issues.

Chapter 4: Prevalence Rates of Cyberbullying from a Cross-National Perspective: Definitional and Methodological Issues

Irene Connolly helps us to understand the prevalence of cyberbullying from a cross-national perspective. Irene rightly points out that research in this area is constantly evolving, partly due to a response to developments at a societal and technological level, and also at a research level, where understanding of the nuances involved in definitions and methodologies are becoming more mature. Of necessity in a chapter like this is an introduction to the development of the definitions used and subsequent methodological issues that enable us to intelligently decipher these prevalence rates. What becomes evident throughout Irene’s chapter is the development of thought and understanding within this important area - e.g., the critical debate that Peter Smith and Dan Olweus encourage us to consider - the extent to which traditional and cyberbullying are either sufficiently different from each other in terms of those

involved or at a more conceptual level. What is evident is that merely trying to present a cross-national perspective on prevalence rates is less than straightforward.

Chapter 5: Cyberbullying among Children and Adolescents: A Quantitative and a Qualitative Approach to Gender Differences

Raúl Navarro, Santiago Yubero, and Elisa Larrañaga reflect upon gender issues and cyberbullying - from childhood through adolescence to college. This is a timely chapter that explores that “old chestnut” of gender differences in aggression. Whilst such differences always exist, the real challenge is to explore the nuances involved. As society becomes even more heterogeneous and accepting of differences between individuals, this chapter serves to caution us about our previous thinking about how aggression is mediated via gender construction. Whilst it used be considered that girls were not aggressive, the research community eventually included girls in research studies of aggression. Within this new paradigm, we saw that girls were not really aggressive. However, the flaw in this approach was that girls were be assessed against a set of theoretical and operational criteria that were, essentially, male-focused (e.g., physical aggression). Considering that the major thinkers in the field of aggression were predominantly (if not nearly exclusively) male, this error becomes contextualised. With the situation rectified in the early 1990’s, we developed a more fine-grained understanding of female aggression, with it becoming understood that girls and boys were aggressive in a “quantitatively” similar manner, but in “qualitatively” different ways. Raúl and colleagues have been researching this area and provide a timely and up-to-date review of how we currently conceptualise gender and how cyberbullying is experienced through this important variable; challenging some of the possible stereotypes that may be clouding our perceptions. Interesting in this chapter too is the new quantitative and qualitative data that the authors share from their research among children and young people in Spain.

Chapter 6: Re-Thinking Well-Being Measures in Bullying and Cyberbullying Research

Jolanta Burke and Stephen Minton give us a lot to consider in their thought provoking chapter. We can probably accept that through much of psychology’s history, we have had a focus on the negative side of human experience. Whilst this is not necessarily wrong or misguided, and has often been necessitated by societal developments (e.g., WWII and the subsequent research of compliance, conformity, and obedience) or the requirements of an ethical science (e.g., quasi-experimental studies of acquired brain injury, aftermath of significant and unexpected trauma), there has, until relatively recently, been a neglect of the positive side of human experience. Couched within a positive psychology perspective, Jolanta and Stephen explore approaches to well-being. The importance of this chapter is to challenge us to consider how we can usefully modify our research efforts in this area if we are to really work towards prevention and intervention approaches that are successful in protecting our children and young people.

Chapter 7: Physical Proximity, Social Distance, and Cyberbullying Research

Whether you are new reader to this area or not, Stephen Minton provides a chapter that really is “food for thought.” Stephen excels as not only a significant researcher in the areas of bully/victim problems and cyberbullying, but critically adds to our knowledge in this fast paced research and applied environment by taking time to “stop and stand and stare.” That is, Stephen excels in thinking and theorising about these issues (e.g., alterophobia: Minton, 2012). We are thankful to Stephen for this work, as detractors from outside the area seek to criticise research in this area as being atheoretical. In this chapter, Stephen asks us to consider the evolution of theory and action regarding human aggression - from the seminal work of Lorenz in ethology, to the work of Milgram on post WWII issues of concern regarding compliance and conformity to authority figures. This notion of “distance” - both physical distance and social distance is explored through Stephen’s chapter, and argued as important criteria to be cognisant of when considering the new parameters of human aggression via technological means - i.e., cyberbullying. Stephen brings together a previously disparate literature to show us, and to remind us, not to forget highly important theoretical concepts, empirical research findings, and the societal issues that we should never forget - e.g., Auschwitz, Zimbardo, dehumanising language, bystander effect, genocide, native American Indians, and moral distance.

Chapter 8: The EU Kids Online Project: The Importance of Large Scale Cross-National Research

At an early stage, one of the most welcome developments at a pan-European level was the instigation of the cross-national EU Kids Online research project. In one place, and at one time, we had a considerable amount of rich and detailed information about the experiences and wider familial and societal issues related to what was fast becoming termed the “always-on” (Belsey, 2006) generation. In their chapter, Brian O’Neill and Thuy Dinh provide us with an overview of the work conducted by the consortia and the key messages from the research. Such contextual information has been of great benefit to researchers and practitioners who have sought answers to important questions regarding Internet safety, usage, etc. This work is still salient and highlights the need for such networks and their important recording of information that enables us in our need to monitor, interpret, and understand the lives of our children and young people.

Chapter 9: Cyberbullying in South Korea

Historically, research and interest in bully/victim problems was largely from a European perspective, with interest later developing further afield (see Smith et al., 1999 for a very interesting and classic cross-national perspective). With the emergence of US based research in the area, the research literature grew with this body of new knowledge. We would argue that, amidst this heightened interest and awareness, it became more difficult for colleagues in other parts of the world to have their voices heard. Again, Smith et al.’s (1999) book gave us critical insight to the work of colleagues in the Australasia region. In her chapter, Seung-ha Lee gives

us a very important review of the development and current state of cyberbullying in South Korea. This chapter identifies the issues that are different for children and young people in South Korea, and the approach being taken to counter the various issues and types of cyberbullying discussed.

Chapter 10: Needs, Determinants, Coping, and Stand-Alone Interventions

Health and well-being (physical and mental) are always of concern when we explore issues such as cyberbullying. Francine Dehue, Trijntje Völlink, and Nicole Gunther explore these issues in the context of needs, determinants, coping, and stand-alone interventions. Of particular interest in this chapter are the linkages made with the need to help and support children and young people. The linkages are made between successful coping strategies and the development of programmes aimed at helping children and young people. Francine and colleagues review some of the programmes that have demonstrated usefulness, whilst also pointing out that much work is still needed to address the requirements of effective evidence-informed approaches.

Chapter 11: Coping with Cyberbullying

Having been actively researching the issues regarding coping with cyberbullying over the last number of years, Lucie and I have worked on a chapter that explores the theoretical views of coping and how we have been able to develop knowledge of how children and young people cope with cyberbullying – from technological coping strategies to personal strategies. Like many of the variables associated with the experience of being involved in cyberbullying, the issues regarding coping are more intricate than a casual perusal of the literature might suggest.

Chapter 12: Cyberbullying and Mental Health: Internet-Based Interventions for Children and Young People

As part of the increasing risks and community fears regarding children and young people and cyberbullying, many attempts have been made at developing prevention and intervention approaches to the issue. Whilst we see a review of these efforts in this book, what is often missing - not just from prevention/intervention programmes in the field of cyberbullying - but from many programmes that address risk factors among our children and young people, is attention to health and well-being. Nicole Gunther, Francine Dehue, and Viviane Thewissen introduce the concept of e-mental health and encourage us to be more cognisant of the possible additive effect of including such approaches in our explorations of cyber related issues amongst children and young people. For example, they point out that many children and young people will not identify cyberbullying as a factor when discussing their issues with parents or health professionals.

Chapter 13: The Australian Perspective: Efforts to Counter Cyberbullying

Research studies exploring bully/victim problems among Australian children and young people has had a long and important history. In 2005, Marilyn Campbell published her “old problem in a new guise?” paper, and demonstrated that Australian society and research community were well aware of the dangers associated with new technologies. In the last number of years, Australian researchers have continued to advance knowledge in key areas regarding cyberbullying - from papers exploring definitional issues, to prevalence, and intervention studies. In her chapter, Marilyn provides us with an overview of these contributions, as well as issues regarding the media, the law, and teacher education.

Chapter 14: Teachers’ Perceptions of Cyberbullying in Irish Secondary Schools

Much research in the area has explored the experiences of children and young people. In a quest to get as much knowledge on prevalence figures, correlates, and the overlap with traditional bully/victim problems, not as much attention has been directed at the adults who support and care for these young people. If we are to encourage educators to be the “upstanders” for pro-social behaviour in educational settings, and to implement prevention and intervention programmes, knowledge of their attitudes and perceptions is critical. This has been demonstrated in relation to disablist bully/victim problems by Purdy and Mc Guckin (2014, 2015), where one-third (35%) of student teachers reported that they would deal with incidents of disablist bullying using “natural instinct.” Caroline Wheeler reports upon her research among a sample of Irish teachers. With the knowledge from this study, and other studies that have sampled adults, we can move further towards a position whereby the adult carers and supporters of children and young people feel confident in their knowledge of the issues.

Chapter 15: Concluding Thoughts: Where Are We Now and Where to Next?

To conclude, Lucie reflects upon the chapters and their messages. In doing so, Lucie also looks to the future, a future that will surely change through more technological developments. As we move towards that unsure future, we all have the same goal in mind – to help preserve the normality of human growth and development, and to protect children and young people from harm and harassment.

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Chapter 136

HOW RESEARCH ON CYBERBULLYING HAS DEVELOPED

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INTRODUCTION

The origins of the term cyberbullying have been discussed and also researched by Bauman (2011). She points out that its first use is often ascribed to Bill Belsey. Belsey was moderating a website on general bullying prevention, and as young people were starting to describe being bullied online, in 2003 he created a website at www.cyberbullying.ca. However, Bauman found a few earlier uses of the term, the earliest apparently being a New York Times article about cyber addiction in 1995.

The term cyberbullying, and indeed Belsey's use and website which may have sparked the wider adoption of the term, suggests a relationship to bullying generally. As has now been well discussed, cyberbullying can be seen as a new, additional form of bullying. There is clearly substantial overlap with what is now often called traditional bullying, both conceptually, and in terms of who is involved. But the overlap is far from complete in either respect. Conceptually, the particular characteristics of cyberbullying challenge or stretch the usually accepted definition of bullying, in terms of the repetition and imbalance of power criteria. In terms of who is involved, because cyberbullying is not face-to-face it can involve persons who rarely or never see each other in offline situations. In addition, the disciplinary nature of research on cyberbullying shows new aspects. Research on traditional bullying has mostly come from developmental psychologists, and some from sociologists. Cyberbullying has also attracted more attention from disciplines such as media and communications, information technology, and legal studies.

Cyberbullying has certainly impacted on the study of school bullying, which has been a major research program developing since the 1970s. Smith (2014) suggested that there have been four main phases in this. The first, from the 1970s-1988, covered the origins of research,

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notably with Olweus' (1978) book *Aggression in Schools: Bullies and Whipping Boys*, and his development of a self-report questionnaire. The period from 1983-1985 saw the first major school-based intervention program, in Norway; the success of this inspired the next phase of research. The second phase, from 1989-mid 1990s, saw surveys being carried out in many countries; in addition peer nominations methodology was developed. Interventions started taking place in other countries, beyond Norway. Also, the definition of bullying (as with aggression generally) expanded to include relational and indirect forms, notably social exclusion and rumour spreading. The third phase, from mid 1990s-2004, saw school bullying established as an international research program. The development of participant role scales by Salmivalli and colleagues was an important innovation. Surveys, and intervention work, were now reported from many countries around the world. The fourth phase Smith (2014) dated from 2004, with the growth of cyberbullying. Although cyberbullying had origins before 2000, most press reports and awareness of the issue date from around 2004, initially with text message and then email bullying, but now taking many forms.

Smith's comments were based on experience of active research in the area since 1989, rather than on any systematic review. Zych, Ortega-Ruiz, and del Rey (2015) reported a more systematic study of publications on bullying and cyberbullying, from 1978 to 2013. They used the Web of Science and selected journal articles on school bullying, which explicitly referred to and were concerned with bullying (including cyberbullying). Due to the great number of such articles, they took the 10 most cited articles in each year (or all, if less than 10), resulting in 309 articles. These comprised 233 on traditional bullying and 76 on cyberbullying. They divided the content of these into: (a) nature and dynamics, (b) related variables, (c) minorities, and (d) prevention and intervention.

Zych et al. (2015) found the earliest articles on cyberbullying in 2003, with just four articles before 2006. To analyse time trends they therefore divided their analysis of cyberbullying articles into the two periods: 2006-2010 and 2011-2013. Of 42 articles sampled in the 2006-2010 period, 28 were on nature and dynamics, and 14 were on related variables. Of 30 articles from 2011-2013, this switched around with 11 on nature and dynamics, 17 on related variables, and two on minorities. None of their cyberbullying articles were scored in the prevention and intervention category.

Zych et al. (2015) also counted the number of authors of each cyberbullying article. Comparing the same two time periods, the mean number of authors increased from 2.74 to 2.87. The percentage of articles with international collaboration (two or more country affiliations in the authors) increased from 14% to 20%. The US, followed by Canada and the UK, provided the most articles.

The work of Zych et al. (2015) provided a valuable sketch of how research on bullying, including cyberbullying, has developed. However they only examined the 10 most cited articles each year. This means that the picture they present is of the most influential research at the time of writing. Nevertheless these articles are only a small fraction of the total, and so this does not give a full picture of the kinds of research being carried out and reported in peer-reviewed publications. They also only included articles on school-age bullying; but cyberbullying especially is more permeable to age distinctions. We decided to build on the work of Zych et al. (2015), focusing just on cyberbullying but in greater detail. We aimed to examine the abstracts of all journal articles, rather than just the most highly cited ones, and to include lifespan studies as well as those on school-age participants. We also extended coverage up to 2015.

METHOD

Following Zych et al. (2015), we used the Web of Science database to extract details (title, authors, and abstracts) of articles on cyberbullying. We made the following searches: cyber* and bully*; cyber* and victim*; electronic bullying; Internet bullying; and online harassment.

Table 1. Categories used for coding abstracts on cyberbullying, at step 1 and step 2

Step 1 (n = 538) Year of publication Number of authors (when occasionally not clear from the Abstract, this was checked with the full article) National affiliation of authors (when occasionally not clear from the Abstract, we checked with the full article) Type of article - Opinion piece/no data - Narrative review - Meta-analysis - Original empirical data
Step 2 (n = 454) Articles that presented original empirical data were scored for the presence of any of the following: - Discussion of definitional or measurement issues - Longitudinal data - Qualitative data - Prevalence figures - Age comparisons - Gender comparisons - Country comparisons - Disability/minority group/data or comparisons - Other risk factors or correlates of involvement (e.g., personality, empathy) - Outcome variables (e.g., health, well-being, internalizing or externalizing symptoms, suicide) - Peer group factors, social dynamics, bystanders - Parents - Siblings - Teachers - Coping strategies - Legal issues - Resources and interventions

We started the search from 1990. However from 1990 to 1999 we only obtained 6 abstracts; these were all judged irrelevant at initial screening (they either were brought up by different aspects of “electronic” and “bullying,” or referred to electronic attacks on company brands). We then searched the period from 2000 up to 2015 on a yearly basis, delaying the 2015 sampling until mid-March 2016 to ensure a nearly complete record for that year.

For further analysis we used the following inclusion criteria: Academic journal article; Abstract at least is in English; Article is focused on cyberbullying, victimization or harassment, or has this as a major part. We had corresponding exclusion criteria: Book, book chapter, non-academic article, conference proceedings (in conference proceedings we included *Procedia* articles; the *Procedia* website states that “The *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* does not have, and is not eligible for, an Impact Factor as it does not publish primary research, full length, peer reviewed articles”); No abstract or text in English; Article does not mention cyber bullying, victimization or harassment, or else has it as quite a minor part of the main objectives (for example, only one of five or more topics or measures examined).

Following this procedure, we obtained a total of 538 eligible Abstracts over the 16-year period, an average of 33.6 per year. We then proceeded to code the Abstracts in two steps, using the categories shown in Table 1. In step 1 we coded all of the Abstracts. In step 2 we carried out further coding of 17 categories for those articles reporting original empirical data.

The coding was discussed extensively between the two authors, and the codes clarified where necessary, with any doubtful codings being discussed jointly. The codings are only based on the Abstracts, as examining all the full articles in detail was beyond the timespan of this project. This is a limitation; some codings might only be apparent from the full article, for example “gender comparisons” might have been reported, but not mentioned in the Abstracts. The Abstracts did vary considerably in terms of their quality and apparent coverage. However, being limited to Abstracts also has an advantage in that it highlights the main thrust(s) of each article as thought of as important by the authors. This seems appropriate for an overview of the development of the sub-discipline, such as this chapter aims to provide.

RESULTS : STEP 1 ANALYSES

Year of Publication

Although the average number of articles per year was 33.6, this built up from a very slow start during the first seven years of this century, but then increasing rapidly. The year 2015 saw 131 articles, meaning about 2.5 new articles every week. The change on a year-by-year basis is shown in Figure 1. The figure suggests three broad phases in terms of volume of research published: (a) from 2000 to 2006, a small trickle of articles (range 0 to 5 per year); (b) from 2007 to 2011, a substantial but still modest number of articles (range 10 to 38 per year); (c) from 2012 on, a very large number of articles (range 85 to 131 per year). Since 2009 the trend has been steadily upwards, with no sign of a plateau. For purposes of later analyses of time trends, we made 3 groupings of year periods: (a) from 2000 to 2011 ($n = 125$); (b) 2012-2013 ($n = 180$); and (c) 2014-2015 ($n = 233$).

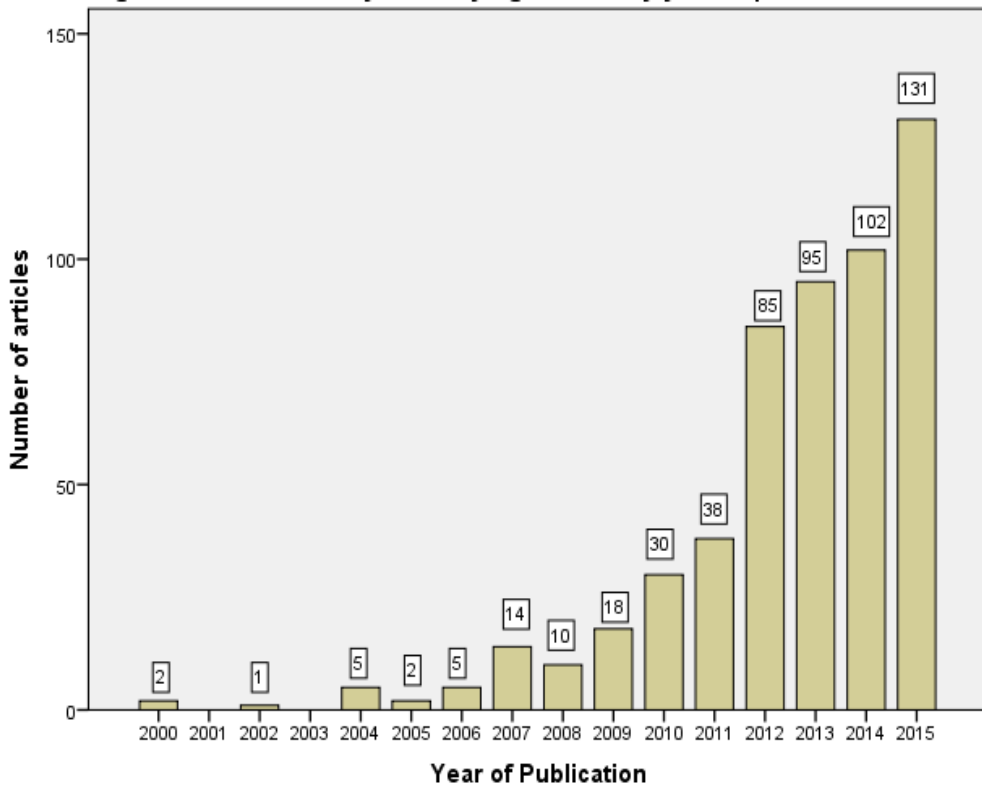


Figure 1. Number of cyber bullying articles by year of publication.

Number of Authors

The overall mean is 3.11 authors per article. However, there is a steady increase over time in number of authors, from 2.66 for 2000-2011, to 3.00 for 2012-2013, and rising to 3.42 for 2014-2015.

National Affiliation of Authors

We started this analysis by looking at the lead (first author) national affiliation of authors. The USA ($n = 161$) provided the largest contribution, followed by South Korea (52), Canada and Australia (36 each), UK and Spain (35 each), Turkey (27), Germany (21), Belgium (19), Italy (17), Netherlands (15), Taiwan and Sweden (9 each), Israel (6), Finland, Switzerland, New Zealand, and China (5 each), Czech Republic and Singapore (4 each), Denmark, Japan, and Hong Kong (3 each), Austria, Portugal, Norway, and Nigeria (2 each), Estonia, Poland, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Brazil, Colombia, Croatia, Cyprus, India, Ireland, Lithuania, Serbia, Slovenia, France, South Africa, and Thailand (1 each).

For purposes of further analysis, we grouped lead author national affiliation by continent. This yielded North America ($n = 197$), Europe (including Israel) ($n = 190$), Asia (including Turkey) ($n = 106$), Australasia ($n = 40$), and Other (Africa and South America) ($n = 5$).

Continental affiliation by year period is shown in Figure 2. North American contributions predominated in the first period, but with an equally substantial contribution from Europe since 2012. Contributions from Asia have been increasing markedly, and there has been a steady contribution from Australasia.

Examining mean number of authors by continent, this was highest in Europe ($n = 3.54$), followed by Australasia ($n = 3.15$), then North America ($n = 2.97$), and Asia ($n = 2.58$).

Cross-National and Cross-Continental Research

The preceding analyses are by first (lead) author, so numbers are equivalent to number of articles. Many articles featured researchers all from the same country. However we also looked at how many articles featured authors spanning more than one country and also more than one continent.

Out of the 538 articles, 29 (5%) had authors from more than one country within a continent, and 36 (7%) had authors from more than one continent (of these, 4 articles had authors from different countries within and continents). Of the 29 cross-country (within continent) articles, 24 were within Europe. Of the 36 cross-continental articles, 27 involved North America, 20 Europe, 14 Australasia, and 13 Asia.

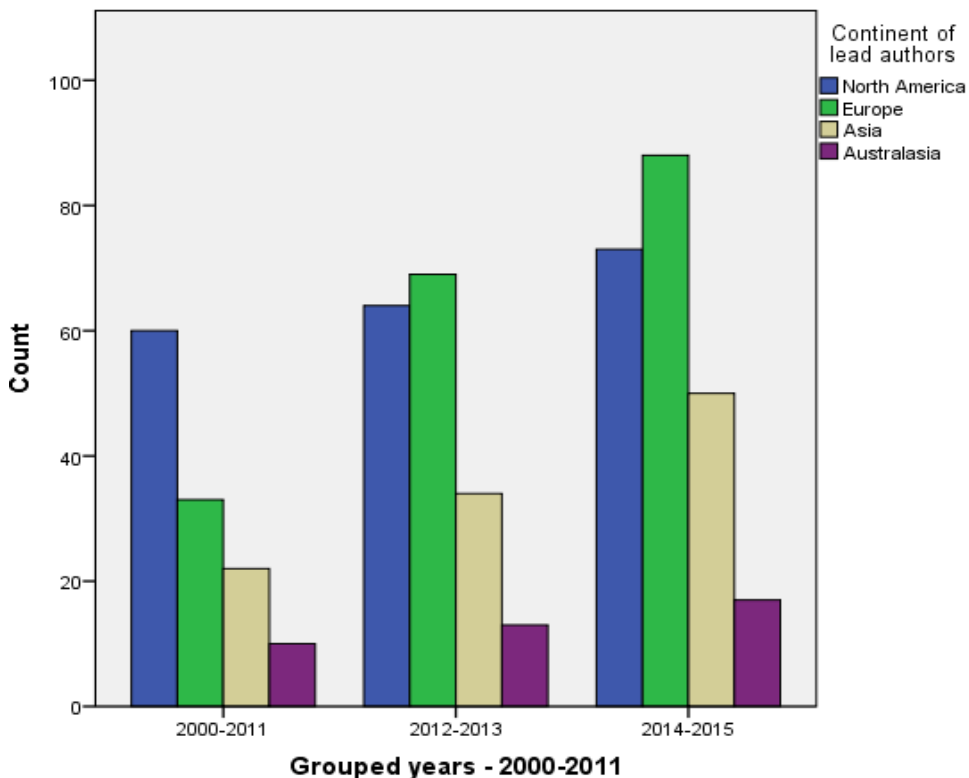


Figure 2. Continent of lead author by grouped years.

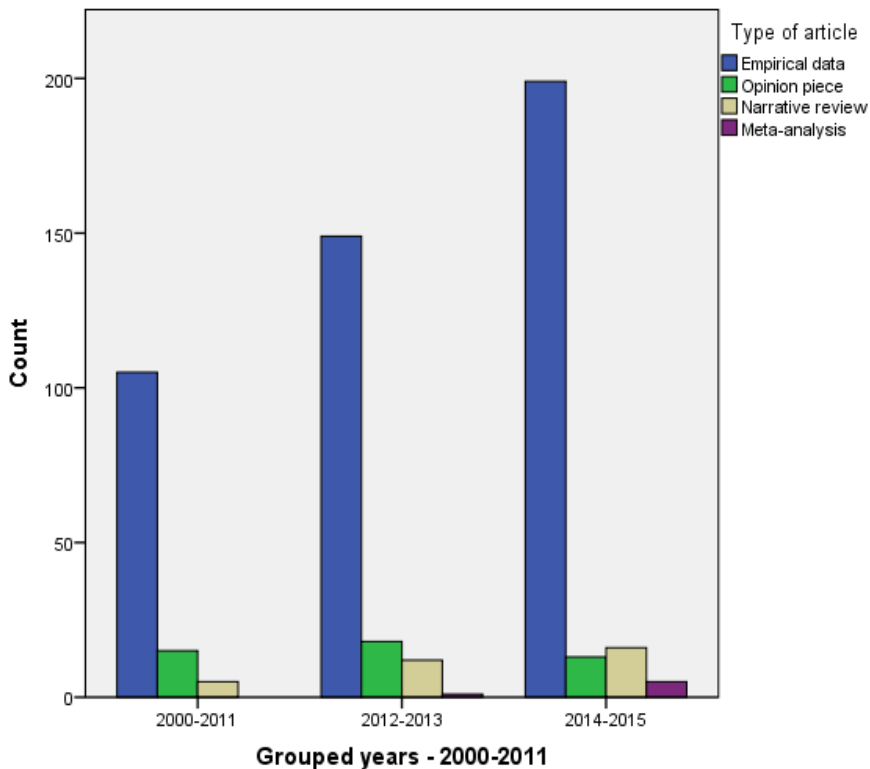


Figure 3. Type of cyber bullying article by grouped years.

Type of Article

The great majority ($n = 454$) of articles provided original empirical data. We classified a much smaller number as opinion pieces ($n = 45$), narrative reviews ($n = 33$) or meta-analyses ($n = 6$). Figure 3 shows trends in these, by year period. There is a steady increase in empirical articles. Review articles (either narrative or meta-analyses) are more noticeable in the last four years.

RESULTS : STEP 2 ANALYSES

The number and percentage of articles scoring in each of our 17 categories are shown in Table 2. The four largest (all over 30%) are “Other” predictors of involvement (i.e., beyond age, gender, country, minority group), outcomes of involvement, prevalence rates, and gender differences. We examined each category in relation to both year period (2000-2011, $n = 105$; 2012-2013, $n = 150$; 2014-2015, $n = 199$), and continent of lead author (North America, $n = 163$; Europe, $n = 159$; Asia, $n = 96$; Australasia, $n = 33$) (Other, $n = 3$, was not included in analysis). Where there was a clear and sizeable difference, by year period or by continent, we refer to this in the Discussion.

Table 2. Numbers, and percentages (out of n = 454) of empirical data articles scored in each of 17 categories, based on abstracts

Category	Number	Percentage %
<i>Definitional or measurement issues</i>	31	7
<i>Longitudinal data</i>	24	5
<i>Qualitative data</i>	30	7
<i>Prevalence rates</i>	172	38
<i>Age differences</i>	73	16
<i>Gender differences</i>	163	36
<i>Cross-national comparisons</i>	15	3
<i>Minority groups</i>	29	6
<i>Other predictors of involvement</i>	257	57
<i>Outcomes of involvement</i>	207	46
<i>Peer groups, Social dynamics, Bystanders</i>	89	20
<i>Teachers</i>	25	6
<i>Parents</i>	55	12
<i>Siblings</i>	9	2
<i>Legal issues</i>	7	2
<i>Coping strategies</i>	35	8
<i>Resources and interventions</i>	39	9

DISCUSSION

The findings of our analyses confirm some trends reported by Zych et al. (2015), but extend these to articles on cyberbullying generally (not just the most highly cited articles), and to two more recent years, 2014 and 2015. In fact the last two years provide 43% of the total number of articles. Figure 1 illustrates the dramatic rise in the number of articles, especially over the last five years. The research area of bullying generally has also shown a sharp rise this century (Olweus, 2013), but cyberbullying has clearly contributed significantly to this growth from 2012 onwards.

The earliest articles came from the US (as noted by Zych et al., 2015), and indeed North America predominated in the early years of cyberbullying research (Figure 2). This contrasts with research on traditional bullying, which originated in Scandinavia in the 1980s (with a separate tradition on *ijime* in Japan) (Smith, 2014). Traditional bullying research became active in many European countries from the early 1990s, but in North America some years later. North American work initially referred to peer victimization and harassment (Juvonen & Graham, 2001), but the bullying concept soon came to be widely used, and Espelage and Swearer (2004) were able to provide an important collection of research in American schools. Interestingly cyberbullying does not appear in the index of these contributions, although it no doubt existed (Bauman, 2011). Soon after this, the first relevant publications on cyberbullying were appearing, sometimes referred to as Internet harassment (e.g., Ybarra, 2004).

Although North American research provided the main initial contribution in the cyberbullying area, the volume of research in Europe has grown more rapidly, and has overtaken North America in the last four years. One factor here is likely to be sources of funding

through the EU Framework programs. Programs such as DAPHNE (on child and family safety issues) generally require that several different European countries collaborate, and Europe has provided the majority of cross-national (but within-continent) articles, and the highest number of authors per article (3.54 compared to 2.97 in North America). The COST IS0801 Action on Cyberbullying, which ran from 2008 to 2012, brought together 28 European countries in networking activities, and led to many publications (see Smith & Steffgen, 2013).

Research in Asian countries has also been significant, and is increasing rapidly (Figure 2). Major players here have been South Korea and Turkey. The high number of abstracts obtained from South Korea ($n = 52$), compared to for example Japan ($n = 3$), may of course reflect whether an English language abstract is provided by the journal (we picked up many Korean journals doing this). Turkey ($n = 27$) was also involved in the COST project. Finally, research in Australasia has been at a steady rate, modestly increasing and sizeable given the population of the countries involved. However, to date, research from Central or South America, and Africa, has been very limited.

The rapid rise in research publications has of course paralleled the rapid rise in penetration of ICT amongst the population generally and especially young people. Surveys such as Kaiser Foundation (www.kff.org) and Pew (www.pewinternet.org) in the USA and Ofcom in the UK (www.ofcom.org.uk) have demonstrated how availability and use of mobile phones and computers has increased dramatically this century, with a rapid increase in Smartphone use since around 2011. New journals, such as *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking* (1998-), *New Media & Society* (1999-), and *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace* (2006-) would have facilitated the growth in English-language publications (Livingstone & Smith, 2014). There have also been many special issues of mainstream journals on the topic of cyberbullying (e.g., *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling* 20(2), 2010; *Emotional & Behavioural Difficulties* 17(3-4), 2012; *European Journal of Developmental Psychology* 9(2), 2012; *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 23(1), 2013; *School Psychology International* 33(5), 2012; *Zeitschrift für Psychologie/Journal of Psychology* 217(4), 2009).

Naturally, the great majority of journal articles have been providing original empirical data. A relatively small number of articles in academic journals were classed as opinion pieces, for example discussing conceptual or practical issues without providing any data. The number of review articles in journals is also small, but growing over the period with meta-analyses beginning to appear in the last few years to help make sense of the vast amount of findings now accumulating (Figure 3).

Types of Research

Definitional or Measurement Issues

This category covered both studies of definition (such as which criteria are recognised as important for deciding if an incident is cyberbullying), and measurement issues (such as reporting on the design, reliability and/or validity of a questionnaire). These have appeared at a fairly constant rate of around 7% of articles, over the three time periods.

Definitional issues are still debated, with some researchers preferring to use the concept of cyber-aggression more generally; see Bauman, Underwood, and Card (2013) and Smith, del Barrio, and Tokunaga (2013) for different views on this. An example of an empirical study

(originating from the COST Action on cyberbullying) is a six-country cross-national study by Menesini et al. (2012, 2013), in which 11-17 year olds were given scenarios and asked to judge whether they were cyberbullying, or not. Scenarios varied according to the presence or absence of various criteria. Imbalance of power was found to be the most important criterion, followed by intentionality, and anonymity of the perpetrator (as a substitute for imbalance of power); less important criteria were repetition, and also the public/private nature of the context.

Measurement issues also remain unresolved. For traditional bullying, although there are many instruments available, the Olweus Bully/Victim questionnaire has held some position as a widely recognized and used instrument, also adapted for cross-national surveys such as carried out by HBSC (Currie et al., 2012). This is not the case for cyberbullying. There is a plethora of instruments, each often used in just one or two studies, and many with shortcomings. Systematic reviews of 44 cyberbullying instruments by Berne et al. (2013) and Frisé et al. (2013) found that many did not give adequate definitions (only 13/44 mentioned imbalance of power) and few reported their reliability or validity. Reference periods and cut-off points varied. Similar findings were reported by Vivolo-Kantor et al. (2014).

Longitudinal Data

Longitudinal studies make up around 5% of the total, increasing however from only 1% in the 2000-2011 time period to 6% and 7% in the two more recent time periods. Although nearly half (46%) of all empirical articles report on outcomes, the great majority of such studies have been cross-sectional. These can present a *prima facie* case for outcomes, but any causal inferences between involvement in cyberbullying and, for example, internalizing or externalizing symptoms, will only begin to be convincing when longitudinal data is available. Even then, data over a series of time points (rather than just two) are highly desirable (Braun, Kuljanin, & DeShon, 2013).

Qualitative Data

Most empirical studies have been quantitative. Studies that included qualitative data (either solely qualitative, or mixed methods) make up around 7% of the total. This has only changed slightly over the three time periods (6%; 5%; 8%). Qualitative data are likely to be most useful when some aspects of the phenomena are under-explored, and thus predetermined survey questions may miss out important aspects of what those involved in cyberbullying are experiencing. Given that cyberbullying is a relatively new area, and also one where the phenomena are changing rapidly, this lack of qualitative studies could be seen as a negative feature of the research program so far. It may reflect the preponderance of psychologists (rather than sociologists, for example) and of researchers coming from work on traditional bullying. Traditional bullying has a long history and has arguably not changed much over decades, so a relative lack of qualitative studies (see Thornberg, 2011), even if unfortunate, is understandable. It appears less justifiable for cyberbullying.

Prevalence Rates

It is natural that prevalence rates appear in many studies (38%), since they will often be reported even when the main focus of interest might be on correlates of involvement, or outcomes. These have included rates for perpetration, being a victim, or more rarely the joint bully/victim role. Prevalence rates vary hugely (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014; Modecki, Minchin, Harbaugh, Guerra, & Runions, 2014), even when based on self-

reports of peer bullying/victimization (the most common source). For example, some studies report prevalence rates of around 2-5%, others of 20-30% or more (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012; Olweus, 2012). Reasons for this variation include the nature and age of the sample, the date of survey administration (often not stated!), whether a definition is given and what it covers (criteria such as repetition and/or imbalance of power?), what emphasis there is on particular media or types of cyberbullying, what time reference period is used for occurrences (last month?, ever?), and what frequency cut-off is used for reporting (just once or twice?, or more often?). Overall, it appears that occasional or one-off occurrences may be reported by over 20% of young people but serious or recent or repeated incidents are typically reported by only around 5%.

Not surprisingly, studies reporting prevalence were most frequent in the first time period, at 55% of articles, when the phenomenon was being established. They have fallen to 32% and 33% in the two more recent time periods. They have also been somewhat more frequent in North America (46%) than in Europe (29%).

Age Differences

A specific comparison of age differences appeared in around 16% of articles, largely irrespective of time period or continent of authors. Cyberbullying is a phenomenon that spans age ranges. Ševčíková and Šmahel (2012) gave prevalence figures in the Czech Republic from 12 to 88 years, with a peak for both aggressors and victims in adolescence. The early adolescent peak was confirmed by Kowalski et al. (2014), and Tokunaga (2012) suggested a peak of involvement around 15 years, slightly later than for traditional bullying, perhaps because of the greater technological knowledge involved. However cyberbullying has also been reported in children down to 8 years (Monks, Robinson, & Worlidge, 2013). The increasing penetration of ICT to younger ages may well mean that age differences in cyberbullying change to reflect this.

Gender Differences

A specific comparison of gender differences appeared in around 36% of articles. This is much more numerous than age differences, perhaps because, unlike for age, almost all samples will provide the opportunity for gender comparisons. They have become slightly less frequent over the time periods (40%; 37%; 33%). Gender differences have been found to be very variable across studies (Tokunaga, 2012). They may depend on the type of cyberbullying (for example, girls being more interested in social networking sites, boys more in online gaming; Pew Research Center). But age appears to be another important variable. Barlett and Coyne (2014) examined 122 gender effect sizes from 109 research articles, for cyberbullying perpetration. Overall, they found boys' rates exceeding girls; but this varied by age. Up to early adolescence, girls exceeded boys in cyberbullying perpetration, but by later adolescence, boys exceeded girls. Compared to traditional bullying (where boys predominate), it does seem that girls are relatively more involved in cyberbullying. This is perhaps because girls are relatively more interested in reputation damage as a means of bullying, for which cyberbullying via social networking sites is an obvious forum.

Country Comparisons

Cross-national comparisons have been very rare, at only 3% of articles. They have been slightly more frequent in European studies (5%), perhaps aided by the cross-national cooperation required in much EU funding for research, referred to earlier. While interesting,

cross-national comparisons are difficult to carry out in a reliable and valid way, due to many issues around equivalence of constructs, bias, and language used in translation (Guillaume & Funder, 2016; Smith et al., 2016).

Disability/Minority Groups

Cross-national comparisons have been rare, at only 6% of articles. These have included any comparisons of minorities such as different racial or ethnic groups, or sexual orientation, as well as disability. They have been more frequent in North America studies (10%), compared to other continents (3-4%), perhaps indicating a higher profile of these issues in the US especially. The overall low frequency is perhaps surprising, given the greater risk of cyberbullying involvement that many minority groups experience (Kowalski et al., 2014).

Other Risk Factors or Predictors of Involvement

This emerged as our most numerous category of article, at 57%, even though it was not scored for comparisons by age, gender, country, disability or minority group. Particularly common are measures such as self-esteem, empathy, and personality variables. Risk factors or predictors will be important in developing theories of involvement in cyberbullying, as well as for targeting some intervention procedures. Such studies are somewhat less in the last time period (48%) compared to the first two (64% and 63%).

Outcome Variables

Outcome variables was the second most numerous category of article, at 46%. This covered aspects such as health, well-being, internalizing or externalizing symptoms, and self-harm, suicidal ideation, or suicide. Demonstration of the generally very negative consequences of being a victim of cyberbullying, or of any kind of involvement, is important in harnessing concern for the issue and getting support for intervention and prevention. There is not much variation in such studies by continent or time period, but unlike predictors, they are not decreasing in recent years (49%) compared to earlier time periods (43%; 43%). Most studies have been cross-sectional, but as noted above, the small number of longitudinal studies has shown a modest increase in recent years.

Peer Groups, Social Dynamics, Bystanders

About one-fifth (20%) of studies have included some focus on the peer group. There is little variation by time period or continent. These have included studies on participant roles such as bystanders and onlookers. They also include studies of class factors such as injunctive norms (what behavior is commonly expected by other pupils within the class) and descriptive norms (the perception of what most pupils in the class actually do). Peer group dynamics are an important part of understanding any bullying behaviors, including cyberbullying, and are focused on explicitly in the KiVa anti-bullying program, which appears effective with cyberbullying as well as traditional bullying (Salmivalli, Kärna, & Poskiparta, 2011).

Teachers

Only 6% of articles included a focus on teachers. The role of teachers, both as a model of behaviour, and in terms of how they respond to incidents, has been shown to be an important factor in traditional bullying (e.g., Saarento et al., 2013). Their influence may however be somewhat less for cyberbullying. Firstly, much cyberbullying is at least initiated outside school.

Secondly, pupils seem rather less willing to seek help from teachers as regards cyberbullying, than parents and friends (e.g., Slonje & Smith, 2008). Interestingly there is a suggestion of a continent difference here, with Asian studies featuring teachers more often (10%) and North American and European studies less often (both 4%). This might possibly be aligned to greater respect for adults, including teachers (but also parents, see below) in Asian countries.

Parents

Compared to teachers, there were twice as many articles including some focus on parents (12%). Victims of cyberbullying more often confide in parents than teachers. In addition, some studies have focussed on the importance of parental supervision but not over-control (e.g., Sasson & Mesch, 2014) and of the general quality of parent-child relationships (e.g., Ang, 2015). Interestingly there is a suggestion of a continent difference, with Asian studies featuring parents more often (18%) and North American and European studies less often (10%, 11%). This again might possibly be aligned to greater respect for older adults in Asian countries.

Siblings

Very few studies (2%) had any focus on siblings. It has also been relatively neglected in traditional bullying, but a review by Wolke, Tippet, and Dantchev (2015) found 12 studies of sibling bullying. These showed it to have higher prevalence than peer bullying, and related to parenting quality and behavior. While cyberbullying might also occur between siblings, the few studies so far have mainly been on siblings as someone for victims to tell about their experiences or seek support. Its relevance for cyberbullying seems to be a potentially important but largely unexplored area.

Legal Issues

Very few studies (2%) had any focus on legal issues. Issues around what kinds of bullying behaviors are actually illegal are clearly important in traditional bullying; but there is special interest about such issues in cyberbullying, where the legal system in many countries is in catch-up mode as regards relatively new phenomena, and where case law is being established. These issues will also vary widely by country (Campbell & Završnik, 2013). This appears to be another rather neglected research area.

Coping Strategies

How victims of cyberbullying cope with the experience was a focus of 8% of articles. This has been slightly more of a focus in Europe (12%) than in North America or Asia (each 5%). Although a minority of victims say they are not much affected by cyberbullying and can ignore it, the kind of coping strategy adopted can impact on how severe the effects are (Machmutow, Perren, Sticca, & Alsaker, 2012).

Resources and Interventions

Some 9% of articles had a focus on resources for dealing with cyberbullying, or on interventions to reduce or prevent it. Clearly a fundamental aim of cyberbullying research should be to help design effective ways of reducing cyberbullying and the harm it causes. In a review of prevention and intervention strategies for adolescent cyberbullying, Ang (2015) discusses both general empathy training and modifying beliefs supportive of aggression, more

specific guidelines for Internet behavior, developing strong and positive parent-adolescent bonds, and training for teachers.

A review of thirteen intervention models using ICTs was provided by Nocentini, Zambuto, and Menesini (2015). They found only four of these had satisfactory evaluation. A number of promising interventions are under way or being developed (see e.g., chapters in Völlink, Dehue, & Mc Guckin, 2016; and special issue of *Aggressive Behavior*, 42(2), 2016), and hopefully substantive progress in this will come about in the next few years.

CONCLUSION

Our survey of journal articles on cyberbullying has provided a picture of the volume and content of research, this century. Some provisos should be noted, however. Our coverage was limited to one main search engine; however we found Web of Science to be comprehensive, and exploratory use of additional search engines did not greatly increase our database. We also had certain exclusion criteria. In particular we only covered English language publications. Also, we did not include books and book chapters (which typically do not have abstracts). While books and book chapters often synthesise research published elsewhere in journal format, they do sometimes provide original research findings not published elsewhere.

Cyberbullying has built on a previous research tradition in school bullying, but with inputs from other disciplines. We found there has been a decade of a rapidly increasing number of research studies, such that currently every week sees 2 or 3 new journal articles appearing. This has been a global phenomenon, with an initial impetus from North America but by now an even greater volume from Europe. By continent, only South America and Africa have so far lagged behind in this global development.

Cyberbullying has both similarities to and differences from traditional bullying. The types of cyberbullying are changing rapidly. There is still continuing debate about issues of measurement and definition, which the changing technological scene only exacerbates.

Many studies have reported prevalence rates, but these vary hugely; while important in making within-study comparisons, prevalence rates are less meaningful in absolute terms in the absence of consensus on definition and measurement across studies. The great majority of empirical studies have been quantitative, and cross-sectional. There is a need for more longitudinal studies, and also more qualitative and mixed methods approaches.

The most common focus of studies has been on risk factors and predictors of cyberbullying involvement, and on outcomes. There are many negative correlates of involvement; as much or maybe more than for traditional bullying. There has been considerable attention paid to the peer group, and also to parents; but much less to teachers, and also the role of siblings.

Legal issues around cyberbullying deserve more attention. There has been research on individual coping strategies, and also on resources, guidance and intervention. Theory-guided interventions are being developed, and it is important that these are fully evaluated so that further progress can be made in reducing cyberbullying and its negative effects.

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Chapter 137

CONCEPTUAL AND DEFINITIONAL ISSUES REGARDING CYBERBULLYING: A CASE FOR USING THE TERM CYBER AGGRESSION?

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INTRODUCTION

Recent literature has argued for a reconsideration of school-based traditional bullying and cyberbullying in terms of conceptualisation (e.g., Corcoran, Mc Guckin, & Prentice, 2015) and operationalisation (e.g., Corcoran & Mc Guckin, 2014). Corcoran et al. (2015) argue, within the context of cyber behaviour, for a move from cyberbullying toward the term “cyber aggression” due to complications with existing definitions and measurement tools. The present chapter critically appraises the current context of aggression from a definitional, typographical, and operational perspective. As a subset of aggression, bullying is discussed in the context of operationally defining traditional bullying. Furthermore, the methods and motives associated with this behaviour are considered. Definitions and issues with defining the behaviour are reviewed with regard to cyberbullying and a case is proposed as to the importance of behavioural measurement when assessing both traditional bullying and cyberbullying among children and young people (CYP). The chapter concludes with a discussion of a proposed move in the literature to a broader label of cyber aggression when discussing online abuse.

DEFINITIONS OF AGGRESSION

Anderson and Bushman (2002) define human aggression as “... any behaviour directed toward another individual that is carried out with the proximate (immediate) intent to cause

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harm” (p. 28). It is further posited that the aggressor must prescribe to the notion that the act will cause harm to the target individual and that this individual will in turn strive to avoid the incident (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Berkowitz, 1993; Bushman & Anderson, 2001; Geen, 2001). The important consideration from this definition is the notion of “intention” within the context of the act. Accidental harm is not considered aggressive behaviour from this particular perspective as it lacks such intent (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). To further consider associated features of aggression and characteristics of aggressive acts, the “types” of aggression need to be acknowledged.

THEORIES OF AGGRESSION

From the biological perspective of aggression, two established accounts of aggression are offered by Lorenz (1974) and Krahé (2001). Emerging from the field of ethology, Lorenz (1974) proposed a model of aggression that stems from a genetic fighting instinct, where only the strongest males will acquire a mate and transfer their genetic material to subsequent generations, predicting the continuation of their lineage. This core philosophy concerns the continuous accumulation of aggressive energy in organisms manifesting in accordance with both individual and environmental factors, such as the amount of built up aggressive energy and the strength of the external stimuli that can activate an aggressive reaction (Lorenz, 1974). Lorenz (1974) would further argue that aggression is a pervasive and unavoidable feature of human nature. Sociobiology seeks to apply the logic of evolutionary theory to the understanding of social behaviour (Krahé, 2001), imbedded in Darwin’s (1859) *The Origin of Species*. From an evolutionary perspective, aggressive behaviour is adaptive, and exists to defend against attackers and rivals in the process of selection of mates (Archer, 1995; Buss & Shackelford, 1997; Daly & Wilson, 1994). Aggressive tendencies pass in accordance with the phylogeny of the species (Krahé, 2001), and have been used to explain sexual aggression in humans (Malamuth & Heilmann, 1998). The biological stance of human aggression being inevitable in human nature has been viewed as deterministic, and maintains that if an individual carries “the” aggressive gene, they will grow up to be violent. Behavioural geneticists disagree, however, arguing that genetic make-up may “predispose” a person to become an aggressive person, but environmental factors may intervene or reinforce it.

Due to Freud’s (1920) psychoanalytic account of aggression maintaining that aggressive behaviour was the expression of a genetically imbedded instinct, his theory initially was classified as a biological approach. Freud (1920) posited that human beings are wired for violence, inherent to all beings, which creates an urge to aggress against others. Freud (1920) argued that all human behaviour is driven by two key forces, (a) the death instinct (thanatos), and (b) the life instinct (eros). These can cause internal conflict which is only resolved when diverted away from the person onto other people. Consequently, an aggressive act towards other people is a mechanism for releasing the destructive energy to protect the individual and is termed as catharsis.

As a counterargument, drive theorists argue that aggression is an external drive to cause harm to others. This position is taken by several drive theories of aggression where external circumstances, especially that of frustration, provokes a motive to harm others (Berkowitz, 1989; Feshbach, 1984). A drive is not an always present force that increases in energy. Rather

it is only activated if an individual discovers that they are deprived of the means to fulfil an important need. The “frustration-aggression” hypothesis (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939) argues that aggression is the result of a drive to end the feelings of frustration; an external interference in the goal-directed behaviour of the individual. Frustration leads to arousing the drive that concerns itself with harming other people or objects that are the source of the frustration. However, not every feeling of frustration results in aggression, rejecting sadness, depression, despair, and other emotive responses as possible outcomes (Krahé, 2001). Furthermore, people engage in aggressive acts as a response to many different factors, not just that of frustration. Berkowitz (1989, 1990, 1993) addressed these flaws with the cognitive neoassociation theory, postulating that the relationship between frustration and aggression is mediated by negative affect in the form of anger. Frustration would only result in aggression if the frustration evoked negative affect. Frustration not only elicits negative affect, but also aversive events such as provocations and loud noises. These experiences automatically evoke thoughts, memories, expressive motor reactions, and physiological responses that are associated with fight or flight responses. Stimuli present during a negative event become associated with the event in addition to the evoked cognitive and emotional responses. Aggressive thoughts, emotions, and behavioural tendencies become associated with the memory (Collins & Loftus, 1975). When concepts of similar meaning to these events are experienced, they trigger the same associations and feelings and in turn the same response. This can also be affected by metacognitive processes such as appraisal and reflection. Aggression is just one possible reaction to an aversive event or stimulus, and is not viewed as inevitable, but a feature of human behaviour which can be encouraged or suppressed by the emotional experience evoked by the negative event.

Many modern theories of aggression do not focus on one factor, rather they utilise knowledge from different areas of psychology to understand the factors that influence behaviour. Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1997) is one such theory where it is argued that humans are not born with aggressive responses, but rather they are obtained like other forms of social behaviour through observational learning or direct experience. It is through social models, whether through direct experience or observational learning that social behaviours such as aggression are learned. Past experiences influence how one seeks to harm others, identifies appropriate victims for aggression, informs what actions are considered to justify retaliation or vengeance, and what settings are appropriate for aggression and where it is permitted (Baron, Branscombe, & Byrne, 2008). A more specific and detailed approach of Social Learning Theory, is Script Theory (Huesmann, 1986, 1998) which proposes that children learn aggressive scripts when they observe violent behaviour in the mass media. These scripts define situations and guide behaviour, with a person selecting a particular script for the given situation and taking on a prescribed role. This script can be retrieved at a later stage as a guide for behaviour once it has been learned. Scripts are sets of well-practiced, highly related concepts in memory, which can involve causal links, goals, and action plans (Abelson, 1981; Schank & Abelson, 1977). When these concepts become strongly related they become a script; a single concept in semantic memory. With more rehearsals of the script, this increases the number of activations of the script, and strengthens the links in the script. Within the context of social behaviour, when a child has witnessed several thousand occurrences of the use of a gun to resolve a dispute on television, they are likely to have developed a very acceptable script that has been generalised to many situations and is accessible for use. However, several studies have indicated that some people have a “hostile attribution bias,” whereby individuals who have a

history of aggressive behaviour prefer the interpretation of other people's behaviour as having hostile intentions, especially in the case of ambiguous behaviour (Geen, 1998). This bias can trigger an aggressive script and increase the likelihood for an aggressive response to be selected as the response.

Social Interaction Theory (Tedeschi & Felson, 1994) views aggressive behaviour as "social influence" behaviour. Here the actors use intimidating actions to create some change in the victim's behaviour. Coercive actions can be employed to gain something of value, to command justice for perceived wrong doings, or to gain desired social and self-identities. The actor is the decision maker, whose decisions are aimed at the anticipated rewards, costs and the likelihood of attaining different outcomes. In the context of aggression, this theory views aggressive behaviour as being motivated by higher level goals (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). For example, hostile aggression may have some rational objective behind it such as punishing the person provoking the response, in order to reduce the probability of future provocations. This theory refers to research that suggests that aggression is the consequence to threats to high self-esteem, especially to undeserved high self-esteem such as Narcissism (Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998).

The General Aggressive Model (Anderson, 1997; Anderson & Bushman, 2002) builds upon the Social Learning Theory, and is designed to integrate existing mini-theories of aggression into one theory. It argues that aggression is largely founded on the process of learning, activation, and application of aggression-associated schemas and scripts stored in memory. This theory maintains that a chain of events can result in overt aggression. It maintains that these cognitions can be started by two main types of input variables; personal factors and situational factors. Personal factors include traits that predispose some people for aggression, sex (males and females differ in aggressive tendencies), attitudes and beliefs about violence, traits, values, long-term goals, and scripts. Situation factors include frustration, provocation from another person, exposure to aggressive cues, anything that causes pain and discomfort, the use of drugs (alcohol and caffeine can increase aggression [Bushman, 1993]), and incentives. These personal and situational factors can lead to overt aggression through their influence on three routes; (a) arousal, (b) affect, and (c) cognition (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). For the first route of arousal, personal and situational factors can increase physiological arousal in a person. For the cognition route, they can induce hostile thoughts or bring attitudes and beliefs about aggression to mind, or through the use of scripts. Whereas with affect, they can arouse hostile feelings and these can be portrayed through expressive motor responses such as angry facial expressions. Depending on the individual's appraisal of the situation they can engage in thoughtful action which could result in restraining their anger, or they may engage in impulsive action, which can result in overt aggression. With repeated exposure to factors such as media violence and poor parenting among others, this can produce aggressive adults (Huesmann & Miller, 1994; Patterson, Reid, & Dishion, 1992). This long-term effect on personality is the result of the development, automatization and reinforcement of aggressive-related knowledge structures. The General Aggressive Model (Anderson & Bushman, 2002) suggests that long-term users of violent media can develop more aggressive stances, perceptual prejudices, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours that are negative in nature, compared with what the person exhibited prior to the frequent exposure. The personal factors are clearly influenced with this repeated exposure, with changes in aggressive nature and tendency, but the long-term effects of exposure also impacts upon situational factors. In the case of the aggressive child,

the environment responds with the type of people that want to interact with this child, in addition to the types of interactions and situations available (Anderson & Bushman, 2002).

The Excitation Transfer Theory (Zillmann, 1983) maintains that physiological arousal tends to dissolve slowly over time, but elements of this arousal may remain in the person and transfer from one situation to the next. Thus if two arousing events are separated by a short period of time, the arousal from the first incident may be mis-assigned to the second event. If this second event evokes anger, then the extra arousal should lead to an increase in the person's anger level. The excitation is transferring from one event to the other, with the anger possibly extending over a longer period of time if the person has assigned the heightened arousal to this response. As a result, even when the arousal has reduced, the person is prepared to aggress for as long as the self-generated label of anger continues (Anderson & Bushman, 2002).

In conclusion, when discussing aggression, Berkowitz (1993) states that "... people have a capacity for aggression and violence, but not a biological urge to attack and destroy others that is continually building up inside of them" (p. 387). This is an argument that is supported by these aforementioned theories, emphasising the mediating role of cognitive, decision making, and learning processes. The following section will move focus from the theoretical to the practical, to the particular types of aggression which emerge across various contexts.

TYPES OF AGGRESSION

With regard to the typography of aggression, a number of forms exist. These include hostile, proactive, overt, relational, and instrumental aggression. Hostile aggression or reactive aggression can be defined as impulsive, unplanned, and motivated by anger, focused on harming the target, and as a response to perceived provocation; it is sometimes termed as affective or impulsive aggression (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). It is considered to be an impulsive, immediate response to a perceived threat, without any cognitive appraisal of the situation (Griffin & Gross, 2004). In contrast, proactive aggression is characterised by premeditated tactics of obtaining a particular goal other than harming the target (Anderson & Bushman, 2002), and tends to be unprovoked (Griffin & Gross, 2004). This form of aggression include two subtypes: (a) instrumental aggression (an attempt to claim an object such as a toy), and (b) bullying (aggression that is focused on domination or intimidation of a person). Overt or direct aggression is centred on confrontational behaviour towards others as observed in physical assaults, verbal threats, destruction of property, and self-injurious behaviour (Connor, Melloni, & Harrison, 1998). A further specific subtype of aggression is "relational" or "indirect" aggression which does not contain direct confrontation between the aggressor and the victim, but rather consists of behaviour such as exclusion, rejection from a peer group, rumour spreading, keeping secrets, and embarrassment in a social context (Griffin & Gross, 2004). Therefore, it is important to consider these types of aggression when considering bullying behaviour as it can be located in a number of these types of aggression such as relational and reactive as it can be verbal, physical, social, and cyber based (Law, Shapka, Hymel, Olson, & Waterhouse, 2012). Consequently, bullying can also be considered a specific aggressive behaviour, a theme that will be discussed in the subsequent section.

BULLYING

As aggression is concerned with the intention to cause harm or upset to another person, bullying behaviour can be closely linked to aggression, and can be considered a subcategory of it. Primarily a behaviour that is unidirectional, bullying exists where one person repeatedly assaults one or more people who do not have power, or have very little power, to react (Olweus, 1993). Similarly, Stephenson and Smith (1989) suggest that the prerequisite for an incident to be considered bullying is with the presence of an aggressive act, which in turn causes upset to the victim. Bullying can therefore be viewed as an extension of aggressive behaviour. Where bullying differs from aggression lies in the frequency of the behaviour, as aggression can be one single act and short-term, whereas bullying generally requires an element of repetition in the behaviour and over time (Krahé, 2001). Similar to aggression, bullying can take different forms, and thus can be located within the various forms of aggression. The next section will address the issues with defining this behaviour.

OPERATIONALLY DEFINING BULLYING

To measure something consistently requires a clear operationally defined construct. However, there is not one distinct agreed definition of bullying within the area of bullying research. Previously, there was disagreement within the literature on the key characteristics of this behaviour and, especially so, cross-culturally. One of the first descriptions of the behaviour was by Heinemann (1973) in the use of the Norwegian term “mobbing,” to describe when group violence is enacted on a deviant person and is started and finished suddenly. This is defined as a group behaviour against an individual, similar to the term “mobbing” used in the English language. A similar term also was used in the German literature (Niedl, 1996). However, these descriptions do not account for bullying at the individual level of one person bullying another.

The term bullying is well established in the English language, and can be traced in literature back to the novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (Hughes, 1857/1989). Within the research literature, Olweus (1978) provided the foundation publication in the area, where he employed a similar definition to that of Heinemann (1973). However, Olweus (1999) did not initially acknowledge the role of indirect bullying in his earlier definitions and it did not include the systematic one-to-one attacks of a stronger child against a weaker child. He has since adapted his definition in later years to include these characteristics (Olweus, 1999). This systematic abuse of power seen in bullying behaviour is a feature widely used within the literature and adopted by theorists (Rigby, 2002).

Later definitions have agreed upon three main criteria for bullying behaviour; repetition of the behaviour, a power imbalance between the aggressor and the victim, and intention to cause harm (Olweus, 1993, 1997, 1999; O'Moore & Minton, 2004; Rigby, 2002). The feature of a “repetitious act” is one that O'Moore and Minton (2004) suggest should be an exception when classifying an incident as bullying, as they view that one particular serious occurrence of the behaviour can lead to a continued feeling of intimidation, an exception that Olweus (1999) concurs with. Furthermore, it can be added that bullying behaviour can occur without provocation (Olweus, 1994) and the act can be physical contact, words, or other actions such

as gestures, facial expressions, or exclusion. These characteristics tend to be the agreed terms when identifying bullying generally within the literature (Farrington, 1993; Smith & Sharp, 1994).

In a cross-cultural comparison (England, Italy, Japan, Portugal, and Spain) of the definition of and conceptualisation of bullying, Smorti, Menesini, and Smith (2003) noted that when the English term “bullying” was translated into other languages, there was no such word that captured the exact meaning that exists in the English form of the word. This is particularly the case in Latin languages such as French, where there is no direct translation for the English word “bullying” (Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefvooghe, 2002). In some other cultures, other terms are used to describe the behaviour. For example, in Japan bullying is described as “ijime” that is bullying within the same year group as a methodical social exclusion. In South Korea bullying has been labelled as “wang-ta” where it involves social exclusion by all classmates, and “jun-ta”, where it involves social exclusion by the whole school (Kwak & Koo, 2004). In Italy, “prepotenza” and “violenza” are employed but tend to describe acts that are physical and violent (Fonzi et al., 1999). Due to this variation in terms when describing bullying behaviour, it is important that the focus is on the characteristics rather than on the term to successfully identify the behaviour. Having discussed the issues of defining the behaviour, the next section will provide details on the methods and motives of bullying behaviour.

METHODS AND MOTIVATIONS OF BULLYING

Face-to-face, or traditional bullying, can be conducted using a number of methods, such as physical, verbal, or relational, and can be carried out by the same bully on the same victim (Benbenishty & Astor, 2005; Nishina, 2004; Rigby, 2002). Physical bullying is the most obvious form and recognised by all with features of kicking, hitting, and beating among others (Smith et al., 2002). As children mature, verbal bullying becomes more common than physical bullying, consisting of repeated derogatory remarks or names (Berger, 2007). Both of these forms of bullying can also be labelled as direct forms of bullying (Griffin & Gross, 2004). Relational or indirect bullying is characterised by exclusion, social rejection, ignoring, and spreading rumours (Griffin & Gross, 2004), where there is a disruption to the social relationship (Berger, 2007). This type of bullying is more common and more hurtful in puberty when children are more socially skilled and when peer approval is central (Underwood, 2003; Xie, Swift, Cairns, & Cairns, 2002). These forms of bullying have also been associated with proactive and reactive aggression (Pellegrini, Bartini, & Brooks, 1999).

Bullying has now moved outside of the traditional methods of bullying, to occur in the online environment and has been labelled as cyberbullying. When defining face-to-face bullying, the characteristics do not refer to cyberbullying. However, it may be viewed as similar to traditional bullying but occurring through the use of new communication technologies (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009), through social networking sites, instant messaging services, chat rooms, and chat features of games, among others.

The characteristics also do not make mention of the motivations such as homophobic bullying, racist bullying, and disabilist bullying among others. However, in accounting for these forms of bullying, they can be seen as an extension of traditional bullying. In these cases, the bully can be said to be motivated by a characteristic of the person such as disability, gender,

disfigurement, race, ethnicity, skin colour, sexual orientation, religious belief, gender identity, community, or status in terms of being an asylum seeker or refugee. This can also be referred to as identity-based bullying (Tippett, Houlston, & Smith, 2010). Therefore, researchers and schools need to be aware of both the motives and methods when designing intervention and prevention anti-bullying programmes.

DEFINING CYBERBULLYING

Recent years have seen the expansion of the Internet and social interactions in the online environment with the fast development of information and communication technology (ICT). Ownership of mobile phones and Smartphones has increased exponentially with upwards of 7.4 billion mobile phones estimated in the world, 3.4 billion of these being Smartphones, with the number of mobile phones owned expected to exceed 9 billion by 2021 (Ericsson, 2015). Coupled with this is the increased use of social networking sites, apps, chat room, and other media to communicate. Communication through previously considered non-typical means is now popular and ICT has become engrained in our communication with one another. Expansion in technology and communication provides great advantages, but some consequences of these advancements are problems such as bullying, trolling, and stalking.

From the online perspective, bullying is termed as “cyberbullying”, an umbrella term for a selection of similar concepts, such as online bullying, Internet harassment, online aggression, and electronic aggression (Dooley, Pyżalski, & Cross, 2009; Kowalski, Limber, & Agatston, 2008; Smith, 2009; Tokunaga, 2010). It has been viewed as similar to traditional bullying, but it has a unique venue (Dooley et al., 2009), with the use of electronic forms of contact (Sticca & Perren, 2013). However, defining the concept has been difficult. The term cyber is guilty of the same problem as bullying when defining the construct. Cyber conjures up different connotations in different languages. In the German dictionary, “cyber” speaks of an online computer contrived environment that is treated by the individual as an extension of reality (Nocentini et al., 2010). In Italy it is the use of electronic means and virtual environment (Garzanti, 2007), whereas in Spain, “ciber” makes reference to computer networks (RAE, 2016). Consequently, the term denotes different meaning across languages and countries which poses a problem when operationally defining the construct. As a result, there are a number of different definitions that describe cyberbullying, many of which are derived from the traditional bullying domain. Due to these differing definitions, there is no uniform, agreed definition of the behaviour. Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) defined cyberbullying as an explicit, deliberate act of aggression, online, towards another person. Juvonen and Gross (2008) define it as insulting or threatening someone through the use of the Internet or other digital communications. One definition that closely resembles Olweus’s definition of traditional bullying, is offered by Smith et al. (2008), where they define cyberbullying as “... an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself” (p. 376). This definition has similar characteristics to traditional bullying; intention to cause harm through an aggressive act, imbalance of power, and repetition of victimisation (Grigg, 2010), but with the addition of technological devices to commit the act (Dooley et al., 2009; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2008).

The imbalance of power that occurs online can refer to the victim's lack of power, instead of the perpetrator's possession of power (Dooley et al., 2009). This may also be due to the aggressor's real life power of strength or age over the victim, where the victim knows the perpetrator possibly from being bullied through traditional means. Thus the determinants of traditional bullying could be also be factors for cyberbullying (Slonje & Smith, 2008), so the real life physical imbalance may play a role in the online setting. Or, this imbalance can be attributed to a victim's perspective of the perpetrator as being a digital expert (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2008) and cannot defend themselves from the actions of the perpetrator.

This use of electronic means as the medium of contact entails some differences to traditional bullying. Cyber communication allows for a potentially larger audience to witness bullying (Kowalski et al., 2008), the increased possibility of anonymity for the aggressor, a decrease in the amount of direct feedback between the bully and victim, along with decreased time and space limits (Slonje & Smith, 2008), and supervision (Patchin & Hinduja, 2006). With regard to the repetitious nature of the behaviour, in the case of cyberbullying even a single act can be disseminated widely, copied by others, and reposted, thus meeting the criteria, and repeatedly creating that imbalance of power (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009). Furthermore, due to the archival nature of the Internet, it is possible for victims and bullies to re-read, re-look at the event, and re-experience it (Law et al., 2012). In addition, where offline bullying occurs in real-time, online bullying is not limited by time (Walther, 2007) and it can occur at anytime and anywhere. With traditional bullying, once the victim gets home they can avoid the bullying until the next day, whereas victims of cyberbullying may still receive messages, comments, or emails wherever they are (Slonje & Smith, 2008).

As the perpetrator and the victim are communicating online, there is no way for the perpetrator to see the impact of their action on the victim (Smith, 2012) and this may result in disinhibition and deindividualisation (Agatston, Kowalski, & Limber, 2012; Davis & Nixon, 2012; Patchin & Hinduja, 2011; von Marées & Petermann, 2012). This emotional disconnect can sever any empathetic responses that might have emerged in a face-to-face situation (Cassidy, Faucher, & Jackson, 2013). However, this medium of bullying may not appeal to bullies who like the feedback that they receive in a face-to-face bullying situation as they do not have the opportunity to demonstrate their power over the victim or to see their reactions (Smith & Slonje, 2010). For some cyberbullies however, it is suggested that they enjoy the anticipation of the response or impact of their actions at a later stage (Nathan, 2009).

Bullying behaviour has evolved from using mobile phone for bullying through text messages and phone calls to now include picture/video clip bullying and happy-slapping – where the victim is slapped or made to look silly and it is filmed and the content circulated to others (Smith et al., 2008). Similarly, using the Internet for bullying is no longer confined to just emails. It now includes bullying in chat rooms, instant messaging, and websites – forums and social networking sites (Smith et al., 2008). With the advancements of ICT it is envisaged that this behaviour will continue to evolve using the new media.

Olweus (2012) holds that cyberbullying should not be examined separately from traditional bullying, but rather they should be understood in conjunction with one another. Furthermore, and despite media claims to the contrary, he holds that there has been no increase in the prevalence of cyberbullying over time, nor has there been an increase in the number of victims. Rather it is a behaviour overrated by media, with a low incidence rate, and where there are not many new victims or bullies. Olweus (2012) argues that there is an overlap between traditional bullying and cyberbullying. As a consequence, it is suggested that schools should focus on

policies to deal with traditional bullying and include system-level strategies to tackle cyberbullying problems. In response to this, Smith (2012) challenges this stance, and disputes the claim that cyberbullying has a low rate of occurrence, and contends that Olweus (2012) underestimates the role of cyberbullying especially in research programmes. He indicates that cyberbullying in fact is on the increase, providing research evidence of this over a five-year period, and furthermore states that in some countries, traditional bullying has decreased in prevalence over the past 10-20 years (Rigby & Smith, 2011). Furthermore, as the use of the online environment expands, so too do the opportunities to target individuals to abuse, providing a greater number of possible targets.

Following this, Smith (2012) discussed key differences between cyberbullying and traditional bullying. These distinctions include: (a) the requirement for technological expertise when cyberbullying, (b) the role of anonymity, (c) the possibility that the perpetrator does not witness the victim's response, (d) the role of the bystander (who may be present with the victim, with the bully, or with neither when the victimization occurs), (e) the greater potential audience in the online setting, and (f) the difficulty for the victim to escape cyberbullying. In addition to this, Smith (2012) discusses the issues of repetition and power imbalance. His own definition is an adaption of the definition for traditional bullying by Olweus (2012), with the features of aggression, intention, repetition, and power imbalance. However, Smith (2012) notes that just one post online by a perpetrator can constitute a repetitious act, as it can be reposted by others although this act is not by the perpetrator. The physical power imbalance is not present in the online setting and, therefore, Smith (2012) suggests rethinking this. However, this imbalance may be present in a non-physical manner. Smith (2012) concludes that although Olweus (2012) makes some valid points, he underestimates the differences and role of cyberbullying within research.

With regard to the overlapping nature of face-to-face bullying and cyberbullying, Patchin and Hinduja (2006) highlight how bullying is "moving beyond the schoolyard" thus highlighting that victims of cyberbullying are also targets of traditional bullying; a finding that Ybarra, Diener-West, and Leaf (2007) report on, with 36% of children in their sample experiencing traditional and cyberbullying concurrently. Juvonen and Gross (2008) similarly report on this, with 85% of their cyber victims experiencing victimisation in school also. In these cases, it can be the same or different people committing the aggressive acts (Ybarra et al., 2007). When this is the same person, the bully is using cyberbullying in combination with traditional bullying to maximise the harm that they can inflict on the victim (Tokunaga, 2010). This overlapping nature of the behaviour has been reported in research with a consistent correlation between involvement in cyberbullying and traditional bullying (Didden et al., 2009; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Katzer, Fetchenhauer, & Belschak, 2009; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2008). However, when considering these behaviours, the issues with defining the constructs also extends to measurement of traditional bullying and cyberbullying.

ISSUES WHEN MEASURING BULLYING

When comparing research findings an issue emerges in terms of incidence rates. Due to the lack of agreement on the definition for identifying bullying behaviour, this problem extends to

measuring the behaviour. Solberg and Olweus (2003) highlighted issues surrounding the measurement of traditional bullying. In terms of the sources of data, different sources of measurement have been employed; those of normative and ipsative; normative being the reporting of bullying from the stance of a teacher or peer, and ipsative being the self-reporting of victimisation. In addition, in some cases a definition of bullying is presented to the participant prior to completing the questionnaire. Where there is no definition, there is room for subjectivity by the participant for their interpretation of the behaviour.

The next issue Solberg and Olweus (2003) discussed is the time reference period employed across research studies, which involves ranges which vary from a year, to the past term, to the past two or three months, or indeed in some cases no indication of time frame at all. The response options presented to participants also vary across research studies, with some including a dichotomous response of “yes-no,” some with a range of categories such as “does not apply at all” to “very often,” and in other cases a frequency-based response of “seldom” to “very often” or a more specific frequency based response of “not at all in the past couple of months” to “several times a week.” How research studies report on the prevalence rates also differs where some calculate incidence rates based on a single item or key global questions and other studies employ a series of questions added or averaged together to assess the construct (Solberg & Olweus, 2003). These issues should be noted when trying to compare incidence rates from study to study. Although these differences were noted in relation to traditional bullying, cyberbullying also suffers from the same issues of measurement and reporting (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009), as much research in the area has employed self-report measures with key global questions, whereas other research focused on types of behaviours. These measurement issues and problems with definitions have also been outlined by Mc Guckin, Cummins, and Lewis (2010), indicating that such inconsistencies in the research area make comparisons between studies difficult. Menesini and Nocentini (2009) suggest that a more accurate approach to measure bullying behaviour is through a multiple-item scale instead of a global question. Nunnally (1978) argues that these multiple-item scales carry more validity than a single-item measure which cannot fully represent a complex construct and cannot distinguish between the finer details of the concept. Thus the multiple-item scale can assess these finer details, to provide a more accurate and precise assessment of the concept with more reliability. Considering methodological issues of measurement concerning bullying behaviour, and the difficulty with operationally defining cyberbullying under the original three key criteria of face-to-face bullying, the focus should be on the behaviours associated with bullying rather than global questions.

CYBERBULLYING OR CYBER AGGRESSION?

Tokunaga (2010) offers an alternative definition to Smith et al. (2008) based on a meta-synthesis of the term; proposing that it is “... any behaviour performed through electronic or digital media by individuals or groups that repeatedly communicates hostile or aggressive messages intended to inflict harm or discomfort on others” (p. 278). However, this definition has been developed based on previous definitions in the literature. These previous definitions contain limitations and are not consistent across languages and countries. In comparison, Langos (2012) postulates that cyberbullying is underpinned by the elements of traditional

bullying, those of aggression, power imbalance, intention, and repetition but it consists of direct and indirect forms of the behaviour where the former is based on a private interaction such as in the case of a text message, and the latter is a public interaction such as on social networking sites. Both forms of the behaviour features the power imbalance, where the victim cannot defend themselves against the intent to cause harm to them. She expands to say that the repetitious nature of cyberbullying is more visible in the direct form of the behaviour, as it is direct action by the perpetrator, whereas it is more difficult in the case of indirect cyberbullying. This direct action also demonstrates the intent of the perpetrator to cause harm to the victim, which is not as clearly visible in indirect cyberbullying. Thus the indirect form, may be a single act or multiple acts by the perpetrator towards the victim. With regard to this intention to harm the victim, Langos (2012) postulates that one should assume the viewpoint of the victim, and whether a reasonable individual would consider the act(s) as intentionally harmful to the victim.

With the problems surrounding operationally defining the concept, Grigg (2010) offers an unconventional solution in comparison to other researchers in the area. She proposes that researchers should move away from the label of cyberbullying and move towards cyber aggression, a concept that considers aggression more broadly in the cyber setting. With regard to the imbalance of power element of cyberbullying, Grigg (2010) argues that there is no empirical research supporting the stance that perpetrators of cyberbullying are media experts. Furthermore, the responsibility for the repetitious element is unclear in terms of whether this falls to the perpetrator or the bystander in the context of repeated viewing of the negative act. The role of the bully is clear in the case where the negative act is repeated, but in the case of repeated viewing of content or forwarding of the content, the one-time action of the bully may be viewed by bystanders or shared and “passed along”, reinforcing the negative act rather than supporting the victim or ignoring it. Grigg (2010) proposes a definition of cyber aggression which is considered “... intentional harm delivered by the use of electronic means to a person or a group of people irrespective of their age, who perceive(s) such acts as offensive, derogatory, harmful or unwanted” (p. 152). She concludes that this definition of cyber aggression considers behaviours such as bullying, harassment, stalking, abuse, assault, or hostility, along with “happy slapping,” “outing,” and “flaming,” where all of these behaviours employ smart phones or the Internet to conduct the behaviour. The description omits the elements of power imbalance and the repetition that is a feature in definitions of cyberbullying, however, the role of the bystander should be considered in the understanding of cyber aggression.

Corcoran et al. (2015) support this stance by Grigg (2010), where they posit that there should be a move towards cyber aggression, rather than an attempt to try and “fit” the unsuitable criteria into a definition of cyberbullying. They draw on this research by Grigg (2010) and Langos (2012), and also by Pyżalski (2012), stressing that research should consider the target individual(s) in cyberbullying. It should be examined whether the behaviour was peer-directed cyber aggression, at individual(s) within the peer group, or electronic aggression, focused on individual(s) outside of the peer group such as random victims, celebrities, school staff, groups, and vulnerable individuals. Corcoran et al. (2015) propose a definition of cyber aggression as “... any behaviour enacted through the use of information and communication technologies that is intended to harm another person(s) that the target person(s) wants to avoid. Intent to cause harm should be judged on the basis of how a reasonable person would assess intent” (pp. 252-253).

This proposed definition allows for a deviation from the restrictions of a definition based on traditional bullying, and considers the aforementioned issues highlighted by Grigg (2010), Langos (2012), and Pyżalski (2012). This cyber aggression definition is developed based on five conclusions by Corcoran et al. (2015) regarding issues with using the term cyberbullying. Firstly, the term cyberbullying suggests that it is an extension of traditional bullying, using the same criteria for the behaviour except in the location of cyberspace. This creates a difficulty in that, as pointed out by previous researchers, it is difficult to identify these features in cyberspace due to the nature of the online environment. Secondly, with respect to the features of cyberbullying, there is a disagreement within the literature as to the exact features of the behaviour, thus providing difficulty with operationally defining the construct (Menesini et al., 2013; Nocentini et al., 2010; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2008). Thirdly, concerning the interaction between the victim and aggressor, bullying is considered a form of social aggression (Björkqvist, Ekman, & Lagerspetz, 1982), and by definition this would exclude any incidents of cyberbullying where the aggressor is unknown by the victim, such as in the case of “happy slapping.” Therefore, considering the concept in terms of social aggression would mean an oversight in omitting behaviours that would otherwise be considered a form of cyberbullying. Consequently, there is a need for a more inclusive concept such as cyber-aggression. Fourthly, research by Corcoran and Mc Guckin (2014) demonstrated the difference between researchers' understanding of the behaviour and the associated label, and students' understanding of cyberbullying. This highlights a disconnect between the understanding in research of cyberbullying and what those involved perceive the behaviour to be. This could be attributed to a lack of awareness of the construct on the part of those involved and a need to educate students on the behaviour. It also, however, may be an issue with defining the construct and a need to use a different term such as cyber aggression. Corcoran and Mc Guckin (2014) employed a multiple-item scale approach to measuring cyber aggression, coupled with a global question to assess the construct of cyberbullying. The scale measure provided an overview of the incidence of cyber aggression under elements considered to be associated with bullying behaviour, and yielded a higher rate of involvement compared to the global question. This may provide a more holistic picture of what was happening on the ground for those involved. Corcoran et al. (2015) conclude that this supporting research suggests at this point that the term cyberbullying is unclear and outdated. Fifthly, the lower incidence rate reported by Corcoran and Mc Guckin (2014) could be attributed to the stigmatisation of reporting the behaviour. This supports the requirement for another approach to provide a better assessment of the behaviour. This may well be offered by the term cyber aggression.

CONCLUSION

This definition of cyber aggression offered by Corcoran et al. (2015) provides a holistic approach to assessing this behaviour in a more inclusive manner. Grigg (2010) described the “vagueness, restrictiveness and ambiguity” (p.152) associated with using the term cyberbullying and describes cyber aggression as an approach that considered broad negative behaviours that occur online. Considering that bullying behaviour as a whole can be viewed as a subcategory of aggression, a term of cyber aggression is more fitting when describing this online behaviour. This provides clarity when dealing with the behaviour, removing the

constraints with the criteria previously set by definitions of traditional behaviour. Furthermore, as a sub-category of aggression, the theories of aggression, whether biological or psychological, highlight the argument of the inherent possibility of aggression in humans. It is only through the mediating roles of cognitive, decision making, and learning processes the aggression can be reduced or prevented. Consequently, this stance of viewing online bullying as a form of cyber aggression provides a more precise account of the behaviour. Furthermore, in doing so, research should consider employing multiple-item scales that offer more reliable and valid measures of the behaviour rather than a number of global based items.

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Chapter 138

PREVALENCE RATES OF CYBERBULLYING FROM A CROSS-NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE: DEFINITIONAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

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INTRODUCTION

Cross-cultural cyberbullying research, while extensive, is varied in relation to prevalence rates. Many reasons have been put forward regarding these issues, with the focus pointing towards definition of concepts and methodologies used. Society's rapid technological development also causes problems, with earlier research focusing on mobile phones and Internet based behaviour independently. However, with the ability to access the Internet from smartphones, and the increasing uptake of smartphones by young people, it is now almost impossible to view these devices as separate entities (Genta et al., 2012). Smartphones are perceived among children and adolescents as "extensions" of their body (Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014), that can be easily kept in a pocket (Stald, 2008) and aids a feeling of permanent contact with friends and family. This chapter will explore the reasons behind the varying levels of cyberbullying, cross-nationally. This chapter begins by exploring with the variety of definitions used in the research, and then focuses on the various methodologies employed by researchers which are intertwined with the cultural context of the research.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CYBERBULLYING DEFINITION

The act of bullying is multi-dimensional and can be categorised as: *overt/covert, direct/indirect, physical/verbal, social/relational*, and having *psychological/physical impact*.

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Experts in the area of cyberbullying tend to vary in their use of a standard definition, mainly as a result of previous research carried out, the cultural context in which the research is being conducted, and the aspect or component of cyberbullying being examined. Many researchers distinguish bullying from other aggressive behaviour due to deliberate intent to harm, power imbalance, and repeated behaviour (Olweus, 1993). One of the most widely used definitions of cyberbullying is Smith et al.,’s (2008) “... an aggressive intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself” (p. 376), which is a direct modification of Olweus’ (1989) definition of traditional bullying. However, in addition to this definition is the emergence of new criteria essential for a definition of cyberbullying which include; anonymity, 24/7 or unlimited access, and exposure to large audience (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Tokunaga, 2010), which are not entertained in the aforementioned definition. Further examination of the definition has led researchers (Corcoran, Mc Guckin, & Prentice, 2015) to suggest that cyberbullying itself is too narrow of a concept when applying the issue of bullying to the cyber world, and that the bullying behaviour that occurs in the online world is more suggestive of cyber-aggression. Adapting the definition of traditional bullying to encompass the myriad of behaviours associated with cyberbullying may not be the best fit or approach. There are several aspects of cyberbullying that are completely distinct to those of traditional bullying.

In an examination of concepts of repetition, power imbalance and intention to harm in the development of a definition of cyberbullying, there is a large variation with regards to how these are applicable to the traditional form of bullying. Researchers have found that they play a big role in the development of a definition of cyberbullying. *Repetition* is resolutely recognized as being a key criterion in cyberbullying (Patchin & Hinduja, 2006). It is an imperative principle to allow for distinction between a joke or jovial teasing and an intentional attack (Nocentini et al., 2010) and establishes systematic behaviour. The online world alters the understanding of repetition in relation to cyberbullying occurrences. The indefinite nature of cyberspace means that messages can be shared or forwarded to others, and photos can exist for an undetermined length of time (Slonje & Smith, 2008). Direct cyberbullying occurs when communications, whether by Instant Messaging (IM), text, multimedia messaging or e-mail is sent directly to the cyber-victim with the intention of having an immediate effect on them. This direct cyberbullying does not involve the use of public cyberspace, just private interaction. Within the direct cyberbullying context, repetition occurs as a consequence of several contacts, this would be more similar to the repetitious nature of traditional bullying. Whereas indirect cyberbullying, in the public arena can be established simply by its appearance in that forum (Brenner & Rehberg, 2009). In this sense, a single photo that is uploaded and shared or liked by others can gain a huge audience. In cyberbullying, some acts may occur just once, such as a photo or video being uploaded by the primary perpetrator and therefore may not fit into the concept of repetition. These acts may include *outing*, *happy slapping*, *flaming*, and *sexting* (Dooley, Pyzalski, & Cross, 2009; Spears, Slee, Owens, & Johnson, 2009). However, repetition is evidenced due to the amount of times that the video/photo/text is viewed by different recipients or passed along by various bystanders, the term *going viral* is a concept we have become familiar with, as material moves easily across the world via the Internet (Smith et al., 2008; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2008). Within this context, distasteful pictures and video clips are identified as particularly disturbing, due to the extent of the audience who view these contents and the subsequent psychological effect that these may pose to the targets (Gillespie,

2006; Smith et al., 2008). Traditional classifications would assign this repetition to the perpetrator but in the cyber context this is more multifaceted where the repetition can be attributed to either the primary perpetrator or the bystanders. Cyber-bystanders can strengthen the harassment by forwarding on the information (Smith et al., 2008). Furthermore, Grigg (2010) discusses a lack of transparency, in whether the accountability lies with the cyberbully or the bystanders when repetition occurs, in the form of repeated views of degrading material. Within the concept of cyberbullying, this is considered repetition but does this really fit the idea of repetition in the traditional sense? The role of repetition in the definition of cyberbullying is controversial, the complexity of the nature of repetition in cyberbullying in private and public forums adds to this controversy. Many researchers see it as an essential element within a definition of cyberbullying, while others feel that the element of repetition is not always present, and therefore irrelevant and hence not included in their definition. In addition to repetition, further controversial aspects in the development of a cyberbullying definition are the *imbalance of power* and *anonymity*.

The *imbalance of power* in cyberbullying exists due to the fact that a cyberbully can penetrate the home environment of a cyber-victim, accessing their private time 24/7 or indefinitely. Just as there are no limitations for the cyber-bully, there is little escape for the cyber-victim. While many would argue that the removal of the technology by the parents or withdrawal by the young person themselves will rectify this imbalance, it will only do so for a short time. Young peoples' social and emotional development is intrinsically linked to social media. It is simply an extension of their socialisation. Social media is all encompassing and an absolute communicative necessity, in the eyes of young people. For most it would be difficult to imagine a life without it. Trying to separate the young person, from the technology, will never result in a long term solution to the problem. Within, the power imbalance aspect of cyberbullying, a cyber-bully obtains the upper hand and may make the cyber-victim feel helpless (Dooley et al., 2009). In an attempt to counter this helplessness, many try to protect themselves using technical interventions such as blocking, changing passwords or emails and usernames or deleting anonymous texts without reading them (Aricak et al, 2008; Smith et al, 2008). Moreover, the size of the potential cyber audience may cause an imbalance of power for the cyber-victim also, experiencing an inability to defend themselves. In cyberspace, a cyber-bully is presented with new incidents in which to exhibit their power over an apparent weaker victim. It has been suggested that varying degrees of technological skill may create a power differential between a cyber-bully and a victim in the digital world (Vandabosch & Cleemput, 2008). However, in a society where toddlers are now accessing tablets, to watch their favourite animated shows and to play games, this divide is not as prominent today as it was a few years ago. In fact, this technological prowess should be used in the prevention of cyberbullying, including savvy use of privacy settings to re-establish equilibrium in the online world for the target.

A further power discrepancy exists in relation to the existence of *anonymity* in the online world. It may be the anonymity that encourages a cyberbully to behave in this maladaptive way. The feelings of helplessness experienced by the cyber-victim may be increased as a result of not knowing the identity of those behind the cyberbullying (Vandabosch & Cleemput, 2008). It can be difficult to respond when the person causing the torment remains unknown, therefore the victim could be interpreted as the weaker party. Research has shown that 40%–50% of those who are victimized by cyberbullies know the identity of the perpetrator (Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007), which indicates that many cyber-victims are

unaware of the perpetrator's identity. This leads to further psychological torment for the cyber-victim. The area of anonymity is a problematic one, some argue that the removal of anonymity online would affect one's civil rights. However, in the online world, the effect of disinhibition combined with anonymity appears to alter people's behaviour. An almost dual Bruce Banner/the Hulk personality existing, while operating face to face, individuals are temperate and polite, yet in the online world some individuals release a torrent of abuse on others. Whether it is famous people, online bloggers, or just ordinary people, few can escape the wrath of these individuals. While anonymity provides a safe hiding place for the perpetrator, it simultaneously disallows the target any protection. It could be argued that expression of one's thoughts in social media should be accompanied by identifying facts, such as photos and location. This view would assert that if you are not afraid of sharing your views online, then you should not mind having the world being able to identify you. Individual governments' intervention would motivate social networking companies to adhere to a non-anonymous online environment. It would be interesting to see the impact that this would have.

Two further aspects in the development of a definition of cyberbullying are the roles of *intention* and *aggression*. While mentioned in the definition by Smith et al., (2008) these concepts are omitted from some definitions. Intention and aggression are intrinsically linked within the area of bullying. The elements that build the definition of aggression are the same as bullying (Smith et al., 2002), where bullying, stalking and aggression are repeated forms of aggression (Dooley et al., 2009). Grigg (2010) emphasizes the need to consider different perspectives on cyber-based aggression in the development of a definition of cyberbullying. She defined "cyber aggression" as "... intentional harm delivered by the use of electronic means to a person or a group of people irrespective of their age, who perceive(s) such acts as offensive, derogatory, harmful, or unwanted" (p. 152). This argument, that there is a need to look at aggression more broadly, is highlighted by Corcoran et al., (2015). Bullying emerges as a subset of aggression due to the presence of repetition and power imbalance (Monks & Smith, 2006). Arguments for and against the inclusion of intention in a definition of bullying relate to the arguments advanced in the context of aggression (Baron, 1977; Geen, 2001; Guerin & Hennessy, 2002). Without its inclusion, joking, jovial teasing, and unintentional behaviours are depicted in an excessively wide-ranging meaning of bullying. In the same way, inadvertent online behaviours and behaviours such as good-natured cyber-teasing and cyber-joking, which do not involve the essentials of repetition, power imbalance, or intention to cause harm to someone, would be branded belligerent cyber acts.

An examination of definitions cross-culturally have been conducted in relation to the varying use of concepts within definitions (Menesini et al., 2012; Smith, 2012). It was Olweus (2012) who emphasised the importance of a definition for standardisation of prevalence rates cross-culturally and nationally (Palfrey, 2008). As a starting point in research, a standardised definition could lead to more standardised methodologies and hence more transparent prevalence rates. In addition, a systematic literature review by Smith (2012) of 44 studies, focused on instruments developed for cyberbullying assessment and the definitions used in these studies. Smith (2012) reported that the majority of the definitions stress the fact that cyberbullying behaviour occurs through electronic devices/media (42 of the 44). Furthermore, 40 of the 44 definitions included the condition that the cyberbully must have the intention to harm.

Repetition of the behaviour occurred less, where only 25 of the 44 studies included it, and imbalance of power was presented in only 13 of the 44 definitions. Smith (2012) concluded

that the developers of these instruments used the concept and definition for cyberbullying in different ways. Some examples of these varying concepts and definitions included Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) who used the concept of “online harassment,” which represented online behaviour that had the conscious intent to harm someone, yet only included intentionality, one of Olweus’ (1999) three criteria in the traditional bullying definition. Another example was the concept of cyberbullying as used by Raskauskas and Stoltz (2007), which included only intentionality and repetition. Conversely, Smith et al., (2008) presented the concept of cyberbullying with a definition that contained intentionality, repetition, and imbalance of power as outlined by Olweus’ principles. However, Corcoran et al., (2015) suggest that with the potential magnitude of audience accessing a content, a single cyberbullying incident could have a severe and ongoing detrimental consequence on the victimised person. Consequently, refining the definition as cyber-based aggression, could have serious implications for protecting mental health, as no longer would a young person have to tolerate several incidents of victimization before the behaviour could be accepted as cyberbullying. By eliminating the element of repetition from the conceptualisation of cyber aggression, it identifies the possibility for one single act to produce psychological harm to a targeted person.

However, the aspect of anonymity, the potential size of the audience and the limitless access to the victim, which are suggested characteristics specific to cyberbullying were not integrated into any of the 44 instruments’ definitions of cyberbullying (Smith, 2012). Furthermore, a cross-cultural study concerning five definitional criteria (intentionality, imbalance of power, repetition, anonymity, and publicity) for cyberbullying in six European countries (Menesini et al., 2012) revealed a first element categorized by imbalance of power and a second feature typified by intentionality and anonymity. Participants demonstrated a higher likelihood of identifying cyberbullying, if the episode was intentional and non-anonymous and a lower chance if the episode was non-intentional and anonymous. Thus, they emphasised the role of intention and anonymity as specific cyberbullying criterion. As a result of this finding, Menesini et al., (2012) suggested that cyberbullying should be studied under the more general definition of bullying, while simultaneously suggesting that the broad general definition can be challenging and disregards the specificity of cyberbullying. Of these 44 studies reported above, each study demonstrates a variation in the inclusion of the aforementioned elements of anonymity, intention, 24/7 exposure, and imbalance of power. The study by Mensini et al., (2012) also demonstrates the importance of these aspects. The omission of these elements can in itself lead to varying methodologies and may impact the prevalence rates reported by researchers cross-nationally.

OVERLAP OF CYBERBULLYING AND TRADITIONAL BULLYING

As the research on cyberbullying has developed, it has become evident that cyberbullying is no longer seen as completely separate to traditional bullying. Growing evidence from research has shown that rather than cyberbullying occurring in isolation to traditional bullying, there is in fact a degree of overlap (Olweus, 2012; Smith, Steffgen, & Sittichai, 2013). Research has indicated that cyberbullying is more common in European countries that have pre-existing high levels of traditional bullying, rather than in countries where the Internet is more established (Livingstone, Haddon, Gorzig, & Olafsson, 2010). This suggests that cyberbullying is another

aspect of the traditional bullying rather than something completely separate to it (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012; O'Moore, 2012). It would appear that technological advancement is, in effect, providing another podium for bullies to target victims. However, perhaps this is not the whole picture. While some overlap of the behaviour exists, other aspects are distinct from traditional bullying and it is vital that these aspects are examined by the research community. The literature is replete with examples of overlap of traditional bullying and cyberbullying (Juvoven & Gross, 2008; Katzer, Fetchenhauer & Belschak, 2009; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2008). Ybarra and Mitchell (2004a) found that many cyberbullies were also cyber-victims, and that almost half of the cyber-bullies reported having been victims of traditional bullying. Research by Ybarra, Diener-West, and Leaf (2007) reported that 36% of children in a US sample simultaneously experienced traditional bullying and cyberbullying. Juvoven and Gross (2008) found that as many as 85% of children and teens who are cyber-victims were also victims at school. Traditional bullies were more than twice as likely to be both the targets and the perpetrators of cyberbullying, compared to those who do not engage in traditional bullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008), and victims of traditional bullying were 2.7 times as likely to be the victim of cyberbullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012). Canadian prevalence rates of students in grades 7-9 suggested that that one-third of those who cyberbullied were also traditionally bullied at school (Beran & Li, 2006). Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, and Lattanner (2014) found that individuals can be targets in both the real world and online settings, and proposed that this offers "... support for the idea that cyberbullying can be considered an extension of traditional bullying" (p. 52). These rates suggest that cyberbullying and traditional bullying may be used in conjunction against the target. The perpetrator in one instance can be the victim in another circumstance and vice versa. Consequently, the importance of research cannot be underestimated when trying to analyse and resolve the behaviour of those involved in cyberbullying.

CROSS NATIONAL PREVALENCE RATES OF CYBERBULLYING

Regardless of the definitional concept and measurement approaches that have been utilised, a number of comprehensive studies have been conducted across the world in order to determine the prevalence rates of cyberbullying and determine the extent of the phenomenon. Explorations of the levels of cyberbullying have been conducted over the past few years and although the questionnaires used to assess cyberbullying differ, and this clearly impacts frequency rates (Rivers & Noret, 2010), the presence of cyberbullying in young people has been observed. In Australia, early research revealed almost 10% of 2,027 12 year old pupils from Western Australia had been sent hurtful messages on the Internet during the past school term (Epstein, Waters, & Cross, 2006). More recent research in Australia found that 6% of students reported that they were cyberbullied (every few weeks or more often), whereas less than a quarter (23%) reported being exposed to cyberbullying behaviours once or more often in the previous term. Similar differences were observed for cyberbullying others, where 3% reported that they cyberbullied others (every few weeks or more often) and 18% reported that they engaged in cyberbullying behaviours at least once in the previous term (Cross et al., 2011). In Britain, Smith et al., (2008) reported that a total of 22% of the participants between the ages of 11 and 16 years had been cyberbullied, where 15.6% of participants reported that the

victimisation occurred once or twice and 6.6% of these had been cyberbullied on a frequent basis. Li (2010) sampled participants from both China and Canada and revealed that 15% of Canadian participants were classified as cyberbullies compared with 7% from the Chinese sample. In Ireland, research with respondents aged 12-16 years found that 2.6% admitted to cyberbullying on at least one occasion, 6.3% had been cyber-victimized at least once, 4.3% admitted to cyberbullying others almost every day, and 5.5% reported being cyberbullied almost every week (Corcoran, Connolly, & O'Moore, 2012). Further research reported that around one in seven students (14%) reported being cyber-bullied in the past couple of months. One in 11 (8.7%) reported that they had cyberbullied others (O'Moore & Minton, 2009). Additional European data from the EU Kids Online research of 25,000 9-16 year olds across 25 European countries revealed that cyberbullying rates were highest in the 15-16 age group at 8% compared with 3% for the 9-10 year olds (Livingstone et al., 2010). In the 13-16 year old group only, the girls were cyberbullied more (9%) than boys (6%). Further European research carried out by Net Children Go Mobile (Mascheroni & Olafsson, 2014) found that 12% experienced online bullying, an increase from previous studies carried out in member states.

In the US several studies have provided prevalence rates. Early research by Ybarra and Mitchell (2007), in a telephone survey of 1,498 Internet users (10–17 years old) found that 19% of the adolescents had been involved in cyberbullying either as cyber-bullies or cyber-victims in the previous year. In a further study of 3,767 middle-school students of grades 6 to 8, Kowalski and Limber (2007) found that 11% were cyber-victims, 7% were cyber-bullies/victims, and 4% were cyberbullies. The majority (78%) had no experience of any form of cyberbullying. In a summary of their extensive work on cyberbullying in the US, Hinduja and Patchin (Patchin & Hinduja 2006; Hinduja & Patchin, 2008, 2010, 2012) found that (on average), about 25% of the students who had been a part of these studies reported that they had been the victim of cyberbullying at some point in their life-time. The rates of cyberbullying others varied throughout the research. However, an average of 16% of the participants, admitted that they cyberbullied others at some point in their lifetime. Kowalski and Limber (2013), in a study of 918 individuals between the ages of 11 to 19 years, examined cyberbullying. Prevalence rates using the conventional criterion of two or three times a month or more, and the more copious criterion, of at least once in the previous 2 months revealed the following: 10% reported having been cyberbullied at least once in the past couple of months. Six per-cent stated that they had cyberbullied others within the last couple of months. Just over 5% reported that they had cyberbullied others and had been cyberbullied. The research above provides evidence of the existence of cyberbullying cross-nationally, with many countries reporting cyberbullying amongst young people. However, the evidence does not support the notion of a rapid increase in prevalence rates as many media outlets have reported.

Much of the research regarding young people's involvement in cyberbullying varies. Research suggests that prevalence rates are not increasing exponentially. The results for four consecutive years of the US sample of 440,000 participants (Kowalski & Limber, 2007- 2010) revealed that whilst 4.5% were cyber-bullied, 2.8% cyberbullied others. Norwegian data with prevalence figures from 41 schools, over a five-year period from 2006 to 2010, show a very similar pattern of results but at somewhat lower prevalence levels (Olweus, 2012). The average figure for being cyberbullied was 3.4% and for cyberbullying others was 1.4%. In addition, Jones, Mitchell, and Finkelhor (2013) collected data from students across the US in 2000, 2005, and 2010 and reported a modest but steady increase in cyberbullying between 2000 and 2010 (from 6% to 11%). However, variation was dependent on samples, definition, and

measurements used. In a review of 35 papers that were published in peer-reviewed journals, Patchin and Hinduja (2012) found that, on average, 24% of students had been cyberbullied and 17% of students admitted to engaging in cyberbullying behaviours. A longitudinal study in Finland (based on the KiVa program) which involved 17,000 participants suggested that electronic bullying is actually quite rare. Indeed, Salmivalli, Sainio, and Hodges (2013) argued that based on rigid criteria which applied to both traditional and cyberbullying, the timeframe of taking place two or three times a month or more often, that bullying is rare, with only 2-3% of students reporting being cyber-victims. Now that the existence of cyberbullying cross-nationally has been established, it is important to investigate the methodologies employed in the cross-national research, which may contribute to the varying prevalence rates.

FACTORS INFLUENCING METHODOLOGIES OF CYBERBULLYING RESEARCH

One of the largest differences in the collection of prevalence rates of cyberbullying is the differing methodologies employed. As mentioned previously, the various definitions in use by researchers is one of the first issues that arises. Ybarra (2014) referred to inconsistencies regarding how the behaviour is ascertained and comprehended within studies. Variation occurs where a definition is provided within a questionnaire, when lists of behaviours are provided, or in some case neither of these is provided. Of 61 studies reviewed by Smith (2012), almost half of the instruments used to examine cyberbullying, did not actually use the concept *cyberbullying*. They ranged from internet harassment behaviour, to electronic bullying behaviour, to cyberbullying. The concept of cyberbullying was only included in 21 of the 44 instruments, and 24 of the 44 instruments included the concept cyber-victimization. This exemplifies that there is a variation of the concepts used in the instruments measuring cyberbullying. A similar finding emerged from another systematic literature review of cyberbullying instruments and measures carried out by Frisé et al., (2013). This review further established that almost half of the instruments used to measure cyberbullying did not use the concept of cyberbullying in the methodology, but actually measured associated constructs such as Internet harassment. Again, this demonstrates that researchers are not content with the definitions in existence and are looking to the behaviours evidenced or experienced by victims of cyberbullying. Furthermore, the rapid advancement of technology also effects the methodologies of studies. In early research, texts and phone calls were seen as separate entities to the Internet/computer. Essentially a smart phone is a hand held computer, providing access to social media in an instant. However, this technological distinction has now been abandoned by many researchers, with focus adapted to concentrate more on the different types of behaviour such as: flaming, insulting, text messaging, using pictures and videos, exclusion, and misappropriation of personal information or passwords (Menesini, 2012). The methodologies employed in some cyberbullying research has been lagging behind the technological advancement. In earlier research, experts advised parents to keep the family computer in a family room, but within a few short years this advice is obsolete. Young people can access the Internet, wherever Wi-Fi exists, which in today's society, is a great number of places. Young people arriving into a restaurant or café, even the cinema, automatically check for Wi-Fi access and actively search it out. In fact, the implication of technological prowess differing amongst

young people is also practically obsolete. As long as research lags behind the developing technology, prevention techniques will also lag behind. Smith's (2012) review reported that the technology assessed in the cyberbullying instruments varied considerably: a total of 34 devices/media were assessed in the instruments, with mobile phones (24 of the 44 instruments), and e-mail (21 of the 44) being included most. The majority of young people now communicate via social networking messaging and other social media apps over Wi-Fi rather than e-mail. The move from texts to email, and to social networking sites, the role of smartphones and tablet devices, alongside any newer technological developments will need to be examined more in further research, alongside the impact these differing technological devices will play on prevalence rates. Gaming is also an important factor today. Children and young people are playing online games with a variety of people, some known to them and others that are not. With cyberbullying occurring through this medium, little of the research is focusing on this aspect of social media interaction. Therefore, it is important to stay abreast of new types of devices/media when measuring cyberbullying experiences (Smith, 2012).

Further analytical difficulties in relation to prevalence rates of cyberbullying is the difference in the age ranges of the participants, with some studies examining those under the age of 10 years and others concentrating on adolescents (Tokunga, 2010). Unpredictable findings can result from the diverse range of age groups included within samples. For instance, Kowalski and Limber (2007) and Ybarra, Mitchell, Wolak, and Finkelhor (2006) demonstrated positive associations between age and frequency of victimization in their studies examining 11 to 14 year olds and 10 to 15 year olds, respectively. Slonje and Smith (2008), in contrast, uncovered an inverse relationship between age and victimization in their sample of 12 to 20 year olds. Similar negative trends are reported in other studies also (Dehue, Bolman, & Völlink, 2008). By contrast, in research carried out by Williams and Guerra (2007) of fifth, eighth, and eleventh graders, the results found that fifth graders experienced the least victimization, with a prevalence rate of 4.5%. Those who had been cyber-victimised the most of the three age groups, were the eighth graders (12.9%) and the high school students falling between these groups (9.9%). Some researchers have also employed cartoons to represent bullying and cyberbullying for younger ages (Joint Select Committee on Cyber-Safety, 2011). This also has repercussions for determining prevalence, as developmentally diverse age groups need distinct methodologies, in order for researchers to figure out their perceptions of the behaviour. Young children can amalgamate their experiences and this can cause difficulties in retrieving the information (Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefvooghe, 2002). Collectively, the data suggested that these diverse results may be credited to a curvilinear relationship between age and frequency of victimization (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Katzer et al., 2009; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006; Smith et al., 2008; Wolak et al., 2007; Ybarra, 2004). It makes sense that different age groupings would reveal different results, therefore the research will need to compare within similar age groups to establish true prevalence rates rather than across a variety of age groups. The time reference period, is a key issue in determining prevalence of cyberbullying, with some research including timeframes such as *last month*, *last term*, *last year* or *ever at school* (Monks et al., 2009). This judiciously impedes cross-study and cross-cultural evaluations. Solberg and Olweus (2003, p. 243) suggested that "... every couple of months is a reasonable "memory unit" for students to recall traditional bullying, but no consensus has been arrived at with regard to cyberbullying". These cut-off points for the establishment of groups and sub-groups is vital to evaluating prevalence. In traditional bullying research Olweus (1999) queried bullying levels in relation to the "last couple of months" followed by a series of choices as to frequency, which

included: *not been bullied; only happened once or twice; two or three times per month; about once a week; several times a week*. The cut-off point has usually been *2–3 times a month*, as this indicates repetition and the bullying being ongoing over time (Olweus, 1999). In cyberbullying research, however, there appears to be a shift towards a lower cut-off point: *it has happened once or twice* (Frisén et al., 2013). A lower threshold for categorisation such as “*once or twice*” makes it more challenging to find significant and reliable models of results (Olweus, 2012). Such a strategy is also likely to end up with more chance findings leading to less consistency. This has consequences for establishing prevalence across studies. The longer the timeframe used, the greater the number of people who will have had the experience in question. Some studies have asked participants about *any* experience with cyberbullying, while others have focused on those who have experienced specific types of high-tech harm within the *previous 30 days* (Sabella, Patchin, & Hinduja, 2013). Other studies restricted the time frame in which the cyberbullying could have occurred (Dehue et al., 2008; Williams & Guerra, 2007; Wolak et al., 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004, 2008), naturally diminishing the prevalence rates of victimization.

Another issue is the varying methodologies used in data collection, with national random telephone surveys, online random surveys, online self-selected surveys or offline convenience samples having all been used. Methodologically, self-report instruments with close-ended questions used in the research of traditional bullying have influenced the design of instruments measuring cyberbullying (Tokunaga, 2010). Self-report questionnaires have advantages for researchers, due to their ability to gather large amounts of data in a relatively short time frame. They are quick and easy to administer and acquire the respondents’ views directly. Furthermore, it is a good way to measure the respondents’ perception of the construct measured (Streiner & Norman, 2008). However, precise self-report data are challenging to achieve, as there is frequently an inclination for young people to under-report deviant behaviour or to reply in socially desirable manners. In Smith’s (2012) methodological review of 44 studies of cyberbullying, 41 used self-reported questionnaires. Additionally, two out of the 44 studies contained data from both focus groups and self-report questionnaires (Smith et al., 2008; Wright, Burnham, Inman, & Ogorchock, 2009). In relation to reliability and validity of self-report questionnaires used, only 18 out of the 44 studies reported the instruments reliability, these only reported on internal reliability/consistencies. The review also found little evidence of test validity. Convergent validity data was reported in only 24 out of the 44 instruments. Future research on cyberbullying must emphasise the development of valid instruments which allow researchers to consistently measure the same phenomenon. Some questionnaires used are discussed below.

Instruments involved in gathering rates of cyberbullying vary tremendously cross-culturally, with several researchers designing their own specific instruments. One of the most widely used instruments is the *Revised Olweus Bullying Questionnaire* (Olweus, 1996), which provides participants with a detailed definition of bullying and 39 key questions. Since 2005, a question about cyberbullying with two sub-questions about mobile phone or Internet has been added. Several empirical and conceptual analyses have verified the functionality, construct, and concurrent validity of the two global questions (Olweus, 2010; Solberg & Olweus, 2003) and a scale of bullying others using item response theory analyses (Breivik & Olweus, 2012). This examines cyberbullying within the context of traditional bullying, as does the Smith et al., (2008) *Cyberbullying Questionnaire*, and the Slonje and Smith (2008) *Cyberbullying Questionnaire*. This method of data collection is promoted by Olweus (2012) who suggested

that the high prevalence rates of some research may be due to the fact that data collection occurred in isolation to traditional bullying research. However, others have examined cyberbullying as a stand-alone issue. Some of these included *The Cyberbullying Questionnaire* (Calvete, Orue, Estévez, Villardón, & Padilla, 2010), *The Revised Cyberbullying Inventory* (Erdur-Baker, 2010), *Cyberbullying Student Survey* (Li, 2010), *Cyberbullying Scale* (Menesini, Nocentini, & Calussi, 2011), and *Cyberbullying and Online Aggression Survey Instrument* (Patchin & Hinduja, 2006). Menesini (2012) proposed that cyberbullying can be deciphered as a uni-dimensional measure, where items fall on a spectrum of aggressive acts (Menesini et al., 2011) and hence, in contrast to Olweus' (2012) suggestion that cyberbullying should not be examined in isolation to traditional bullying. Furthermore, extrication of prevalence of traditional bullying from cyberbullying is also challenging, due to the positive correlations which have been found between traditional and cyberbullying, in terms of bullying and being bullied (Sourander, Klomek, & Helenius, 2010). Cyberbullying incidence is often examined in the form of one or two item measures, which are based on yes/no responses (Ybarra, 2012). Numerous difficulties materialise concerning this type of methodology. First, cyberbullying is a complex construct, which makes a yes/no response difficult to decipher. Researchers are relying on a child's ability to understand multifactorial definitions and their ability to respond to the one or two item measure regarding those multifactorial elements (Tokunga, 2010). Secondly, issues of reliability are evident with the use of the one or two item measures, as single items are often less reliable than multiple-item instruments (Smith, 2012). Single items have been found to have greater chance of random error, and response biases such as social desirability, whereas increasing the number of items in a measure has the effect of increasing the reliability of that measure (Murphy & Davidshofer, 2005). Thirdly, single items can only differentiate moderate to large differences (Griezel, Craven, Yeung, & Finger, 2008) but lack scope and the ability to expose detail (Farrington, 1993; Smith, Schneider, Smith, & Ananiadou, 2004).

The true prevalence rates of cyberbullying have been disputed by many researchers (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012; Olweus, 2012; Smith 2012). Media reports have highlighted the problem of cyberbullying but empirically based evidence is essential to analyse the success or failure of intervention programs. There appears to be important national or cultural differences evident in cyberbullying (Li, Cross, & Smith, 2011). Many factors discussed above play a role in the differing rates, including the educational systems, local and national anti-bullying and cyberbullying policies, the nature of the society, and the emergence of new technologies (Smith, 2012). The differences that exist between cultures is an important aspect of the variation, however, the lack of consistency between instruments is dramatic. This in itself will continue to result in large differences. It is perhaps a variation that we have to accept. However, when variation continues to occur across national surveys, then the instruments in use in these studies may need to be considered seriously. However, there exists agreement amongst researchers regarding the negative effects of being cyberbullied (Smith et al., 2008). Early research by Beran and Li (2005) found the following psycho-social outcomes of being the victim of cyberbullying. The cyber-victims reported anger, anxiety and feeling sad, but the cyber-victims also reported that they found it difficult to concentrate in school, affecting both their learning ability and their consequential success at school. In addition, Hinduja and Patchin (2009) in a study of almost 2000 middle school students in the US also found that the cyber-victims reported similar effects of anger, and sadness, but also being frustrated and even scared following a cyberbullying episode. In addition, this research revealed that the self-esteem of

both the cyberbullies and cyber-victims was lower than their counterparts who were not involved in bullying. These psycho-social consequences can also be accompanied by mental health issues, where Ybarra (2004) reported a link between cyber-victimisation and depressive symptoms. A similar finding was also reported by Kessel Schneider, O'Donnell, Stueve, and Coulter (2012) who highlighted the connection between victimisation and psychological stress. Their research found that one-third of students who were cyberbullied in the past 12 months reported symptoms of depression, a figure which rose to nearly one-half for those who experienced both cyber- and traditional bullying.

CONCLUSION

Alongside the outcomes for those involved in cyberbullying, the research on prevalence of traditional bullying is of great importance. Much of the research into cyberbullying has been conducted by psychologists, but both sociologists and lawyers can play a big role in the understanding of cyberbullying consequences, such as the sociological perspective of the bystander in cyberbullying and the legal implications of cyberbullying others. Smith (2012) stated that developmentally, cyberbullying may demonstrate more penetrability than traditional bullying as it takes place in cyberspace. Therefore, developmental changes in cyberbullying may be less confused by situational changes than for traditional bullying. Despite media coverage of tragic cyberbullying cases, the research community finds evidence that traditional bullying occurs at a far greater level than cyberbullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012; Smith, 2012). The exposure of cyberbullying in the media has brought greater knowledge of this phenomenon to students, parents, and educators, with the knowledge of intervention techniques spreading, as a result of the awareness linked to cyberbullying (Smith, 2012). Researchers need to pay attention to the rapidly developing technology and its impact on cyberbullying prevalence levels. Bearing this in mind, intervention programmes must be designed to deal with both traditional bullying and cyberbullying and not an over emphasis on one aspect over the other. Much cyberbullying research focuses on the prevalence rates, but rarely is the duration of the victimization examined (Aricak et al., 2008). Additionally, acquiring information about the average length of time between each cyberbullying encounter could provide a greater understanding of cyberbullying and its effects (Tokunga, 2010). The aim of future research on cyberbullying needs to focus on the development of a reliable and valid measure of the cyberbullying construct. Valid and reliable measures improve the overall quality of research; the value of an effective scale, depends on the transparency and intensity of the theoretical definition from which it originates. In the case of cyberbullying research, measures are unable to thrive in the dearth of a unanimously-agreed definition (Tokunga, 2010). Further consideration will need to examine the differences in educational systems, local and national anti-bullying policies and the nature of the society. One final last point regarding the prevalence rates of cyberbullying, is that while there does not appear to be an exponential increase in cyberbullying cross-nationally, we are also not finding much evidence of decreasing levels of cyberbullying either. This in itself is of great concern and emphasises the need to delve further into the world of cyberbullying in order to reduce these prevalence rates.

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Chapter 139

CYBERBULLYING AMONG CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS: A QUANTITATIVE AND A QUALITATIVE APPROACH TO GENDER DIFFERENCES

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INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, researchers who study bullying behaviours have shown increased interest in cyberspace since the Internet may be a fertile ground for cyberbullying (Juvonen & Gross, 2008). One definition of cyberbullying states that it includes “. . . any behavior performed through electronic or digital media by individuals or groups that repeatedly communicates hostile or aggressive messages intended to inflict harm or discomfort on others” (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 278). Like traditional bullying, cyberbullying is an aggressive act between peers, characterised by (i) imbalance of power (provided by perpetrators’ anonymity or different grades of technological expertise), (ii) negative intentions and (iii) repetition. Among the growing number of studies conducted, those that sought to learn about the personal and social factors that make youths more vulnerable to suffering or perpetrating cyberbullying stand out. The main interest in analysing these factors lies in knowing in detail the characteristics associated with such aggression and, thus, improving the efforts made to prevent and intervene in it when it occurs. Among the examined factors, gender is present in most of these studies. Indeed, most research that works on such problems has analysed gender differences, even when this was not their main objective.

Consequently, this chapter examines the role of gender in cyberbullying incidents carried out by children and adolescents, by reviewing international research which has linked cyberbullying with gender studies. To this end, we first briefly review the concept of gender and the predominating theories that have analysed how learning the traits, roles and preferences associated with the male and female social categories comes about, which may contribute

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differences in the involvement of males and females in cyberbullying. Second, we review the research that has explored gender differences for cyberbullying involvement, and we also examine cyberbullying that addresses members of the same or the opposite sex. Finally, we analyse how cyberbullying can be a form of aggression in dating relationships, and also a way to retaliate after a romantic relationship ends. Throughout this chapter we accompany theory with a description of studies conducted in different countries, and to present new quantitative and qualitative data to illustrate the role that gender plays in cyberbullying.

GENDER AS A CULTURAL CONSTRUCT AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOURS

In order to know the extent of the relationship between gender and aggressive behaviour, like cyberbullying, first it is important to delimit what we refer to when we talk about gender. The first thing we must consider is that gender is a social category (males and females) which people can distinguish from a very early age, and is not just a product of our biology. Consequently, we use this relevant information to structure our social world. Gender includes stereotypical beliefs about personality traits (e.g., males are meant to be independent, tough and assertive, and females are emotional, sensitive and people-oriented), roles (e.g., males as a defender of the family and companions; females as nurturers and caregivers), and preferences (e.g., males show more interest in watching sports, and females in shopping). In other words, when we talk about gender, we refer to a collective imaginary which, despite being different between cultures, defines what is masculine and feminine, and indicates how males and females must behave (Eagly & Wood, 1999; Matud, 2004).

Gender studies have attempted to understand how individuals acquire these preferences, behaviours, interests, skills, and even personality traits, which are more typical of their own sex. The gender-typing process is the name given to the acquisition of these features, and the two most relevant theories that analyse such processes are the Social Learning Theory (Bandura & Bussey, 2004; Bussey & Bandura, 1999) and the Self-Socialisation Theories (Halim, Ruble, Tamis-LeMonda, & Shrout, 2013; Martin & Ruble, 2010).

According to Social-Learning Theories (Bussey & Bandura, 1999), acquiring gender schemata takes place through direct socialisation in which various agents (e.g., parents, teachers, peers) provide rewards or punishments that reinforce gender-appropriate conduct, but also through observing relevant or powerful models similar to young people, either at home or at school, in the peer group or via the media (Bandura & Bussey, 2004). From this theory, the interest is in the social-interactive processes where gender is recreated and learnt.

The Self-Socialisation Theories of gender development argue that both genders actively seek gender-related information which serves as a guide for their own conduct, and contributes to their own socialisation (Halim et al., 2013). During this process, children are active as they seek information that may, or may not, be congruent with gender stereotypes depending on the individual, the social context, and on other conditions that make gender a salient variable, such as peer pressure (Halim, et al., 2014).

Both gender learning explanatory models underline the importance of two socially distinct groups existing (males and females) surrounded by a series of traits, roles and stereotyped conduct, that may influence the way we act in personal relationships and how we construct

reality. The time has come to consider to what point we identify ourselves with the masculine and the feminine group, and to also wonder about how learning typified conduct per gender influences our aggressive behaviour, and specifically cyberbullying.

In line with the arguments put forward to date, research has proposed that differences in aggressive conduct can be influenced, to a point, by gender socialisation, but specifically by learning instrumental (masculine) or expressive (feminine) traits. According to these traits, men must be assertive, aggressive, brave and independent, whereas women must be sensitive, emotional, friendly and caring in relations. So it seems that gender socialisation indicates that for males, aggression is useful for maintaining their gender role, while aggression for females should be inhibited, or females should employ more indirect forms because they would better stereotypically match the feminine role (Underwood, Galen, & Paquette, 2001). Other researchers point out the possibility that the different implications of males and females in aggressive and antisocial conduct relates to gender differences in cognitive abilities according to differential socialisation. For example, research acknowledges that females acquire social cognitive skills much earlier in life than males and may, consequently, have superior skills (Bennett, Farrington, & Huesman, 2005). These cognitive abilities might result from placing, in socialisation, greater emphasis on empathy, social reasoning, perspective taking and social problem solving, which can protect from behavioural difficulties and antisocial attitudes (Bennett et al., 2005).

An established risk factor for suffering aggression is gender. Specifically, females are at greater risk of experiencing violence as a result of reproduced cultural hierarchies of power related with gender socialisations, where men occupy a better position in society than women. From this perspective, girls are inherently more at risk of being victimized because of their disadvantaged position in society. For example, Navarro and Jasinski (2013) argue that girls may be subject to higher rates of cyberbullying victimization because of their already disadvantaged position on the Internet.

THE ROLE OF GENDER IN CYBERBULLYING AMONG CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

Most research done on cyberbullying has focused on analysing the prevalence, correlates and antecedents of these online behaviors in youths by attending primary and secondary schools (Wingate, Minney, & Guadagno, 2013). Regarding gender, research into gender differences in cyberbullying took the results found in traditional bullying as a starting point. In this section, we review gender differences in traditional bullying and examine international research on gender differences in cyberbullying. We also offer new data from the studies we have conducted in Spain about overall gender differences in cyberbullying, differences in specific forms of cyberbullying, and the perceptions of pre-adolescents and adolescents about cyberbullying as a gender-typed behaviour.

Gender-Based Differences in Cyberbullying

Traditional bullying includes forms of physical, verbal and relational aggression. Relational aggression strategies refer to a kind of social manipulation in which the perpetrator uses a peer group to attack a victim and encompasses behaviours where damage to relationships is used as a means to hurt others (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995). According to Artz, Nicholson, and Magnuson (2008), relational aggression has been applied to face-to-face behaviours like actions such as keeping someone out of a group, saying you will not be friends with someone, ignoring a person, telling rumours or lies about someone you are mad at, threatening to end a friendship or no longer talking to someone. Relational aggression also includes covert behaviours like indirectly excluding or socially manipulating a person by using another's relationship with that person as the vehicle for harm.

For a long time, research has tended to show that males generally employ more verbal and physical bullying than females, who tend to resort to more relational forms. Several reasons have been pointed out to explain gender differences reported in the past literature, among which: (i) females use indirect forms of aggression because they learn that adults frown on direct forms of aggression (Björkqvist, Lagerspetz, & Kaukianen, 1992). Simmons (2002) shares this opinion when he talks about the influence of gender socialisation and how females emphasize more emotions and interpersonal events, which inhibit direct aggressive conduct; (ii) the social structure that groups of females adopt is smaller and more intimate compared to males. This fact implies that indirect aggression is more effective (Björkqvist, Österman, & Kaukianen, 2000) and; (iii) the social intelligence of girls aged 9-11 years is more advanced, which relates with a better use of manipulation strategies in interpersonal relations (Bennet et al., 2005). Indeed, research has pointed out that females get involved in such conduct because they are better at hurting for something that their own gender values more: friendship (Huntley & Owens, 2013, Jennifer, 2013).

However, a recent meta-analysis has shown that males are more involved than females in any form of conventional bullying, and in bullying roles as victims or bully-victims (Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, & Sadek, 2010). Furthermore, several studies reveal that, despite previous evidence, no gender differences exist when using relational strategies (Archer, 2004; Card, Stucky, Sawalani, & Little, 2008; Toldos, 2005). All of these studies conclude that males and females do not differ significantly in their use of relational aggression in pre-adolescence and adolescence. Males employ any form of aggression to a greater extent than females. More recent studies have even shown that males have exceeded females in using relational aggression (Artz, Kassis, & Moldenhauer, 2013). These results should help to refute the characterisation classically made of females as being more manipulative and resorting more to spreading rumours, which has made such aggression inherent to the female nature (Horn, 2004).

Therefore, it is not possible to simplify such a complex phenomenon like bullying, in which we need to consider the existence of individual variability, and also the influence that the social context has on our conduct. People mostly use various types of aggression depending on surrounding demands. From this perspective, aggression provides a series of tactics that function for different social objectives. Although the willingness of each person to act aggressively differs, its incidence must be seen in the social context where people interact (Underwood, 2003).

Despite empirical evidence providing contradictory results, the generalised belief that females use more relational aggression forms, as part of conventional bullying, than males

apparently still persists (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014). This belief, along with cyberbullying described as a type of psychological and emotional abuse performed by means of diffusing information over the Internet where the aggressor remains anonymous (Beran & Li, 2008), has led to research on such relational aggression starting from the premise that it is a form of bullying employed more by females (Dooley, Pyżalski, & Cross, 2009; Tokunaga, 2010). However, empirical evidence has not always backed this premise. In fact, far from providing a clear gender pattern of involvement as perpetrators or victims, research has provided mixed results.

The next section will present, along with a review of international research, some new data obtained with Spanish pre-adolescents, which will enable us to analyse the role of gender in cyberbullying.

Overall Gender-Based Differences in Cyberbullying

In Spain, as in other countries, studying the prevalence of cyberbullying according to participants' gender has produced mixed results (Buelga, Cava, & Musitu, 2010; Estevez, Villardón, Calvete, Padilla, & Orue, 2011). The majority of studies have focused more on analysing gender differences in secondary education students rather than in primary education pupils. In order to verify if there are gender differences in pre-adolescents' involvement in cyberbullying, we analysed gender differences in a sample of Spanish students, where we took gender to be a self-assignment of one category (male – female) or another (Navarro, Larrañaga, & Yubero, 2016). The participants were 445 school pupils who were in grades 5 and 6, who we sampled randomly from four primary schools. These schools were located in a city of central Spain, with an approximate population of 60,000 people. Participants included 208 girls ($M(\text{age}): 10.78, SD=0.74$) and 237 boys ($M(\text{age})=10.78, SD=0.68$). All of the children studying grades 5 and 6 were eligible to participate in the study. We recruited the children whose parents agreed they could participate, and obtained complete data from 445 of the 500 questionnaires distributed. We measured cyberbullying victimization (CBQ-V, Estévez et al., 2011) and cyberbullying perpetration (CBQ; Calvete, Orue, Estévez, Villardón, & Padilla, 2010). The data was collected at the end of the 2013/2014 academic year.

Participants were categorised as victims or bullies by following a highly restrictive criterion. We classified those students as victims who indicated experiencing, but not perpetrating, at least one of the behaviours included in the questionnaire several times a week. We classified those students as bullies who reported perpetrating, but not experiencing, at least one of the behaviours several times a week. We considered the remaining students as not being involved in bullying. This procedure resulted in 52 (11.6%) children categorised as cybervictims and 37 (8.3%) as cyberbullies. Table 1 shows the distribution of cyberbullying involvement according to gender.

Table 1. Distribution of males and females among cybervictimization experiences

	Non victims	Victims	Non perpetrators	Perpetrators
Females	187 (89.9%)	21 (10.1%)	199 (95.7%)	9 (4.3%)
Males	206 (86.9%)	31 (13.1%)	209 (88.9%)	28 (11.8%)
Total	393	52	408	37

Chi square analyses were conducted to examine if there were any statistically significant differences among study variables. Significant differences were found, with more males than females reporting that they were frequent perpetrators (χ^2 (df 1) = 8.14; $p < .005$). Also, no gender differences were uncovered in relation to the victim role (χ^2 (df 1) = 0.95; $p = 0.376$). Here we wish to stress to readers the fact that, by assuming that this difference exists as regards the perpetrator's role, by following the Social-Cognitive Theory (Bussey & Bandura, 1999), we argue that this difference might be due to a distinct gender socialisation, as females develop more empathic capacities and get less involved in antisocial behaviour (Bennet et al., 2005). In parallel, cyberbullying as an aggressive conduct can be useful for maintaining the masculine gender role. That is to say, males can display adherence to certain traits linked to the classic masculine identity, like aggression, power, or arrogance. Nevertheless, it is difficult to corroborate these conclusions because we have not specifically analysed these variables. Thus, we should study the influence of gender on cyberbullying by ascertaining the factors relating to the social and cultural expectations of gender, which lead males to become more involved as perpetrators (see Navarro, 2016).

We can add our results to several trends in international research (see Navarro, 2016 for more details of studies that analyse gender differences in cyberbullying). Generally speaking, some researchers have found that males are more aggressive than females, but females are more victimized than males (e.g., Ayas, 2014; Barlett & Coyne, 2014; Låftan, Modin, & Östberg, 2013). Other studies have reported that males act more as perpetrators, but with no significant differences in victimization (Smith, Thompson, & Bhatti, 2012). Other studies have found that females act more as perpetrators and victims than males (Mark & Ratliffe, 2011), or more males are the perpetrators and victims (Fanti, Demetriou, & Hawa, 2012). Some studies have found no gender differences in either perpetrators or victims (Griezel et al., 2012; Hinduja & Patchin, 2008). Overall, the literature on gender differences in cyberbullying indicates that more research needs to be conducted before drawing conclusions.

Gender-Based Differences in Specific Types of Cyberbullying

As overall gender differences are lacking, authors like Underwood and Rosen (2010) express the need to analyse gender differences in the specific forms of cyberbullying employed by one gender and the other. Several authors have performed this task to find some gender differences in the forms of cyberbullying employed or received. Nonetheless, the results are sometimes mixed and comparing studies is a complicated issue because they have used several different measurement instruments, and not all studies have analysed the roles of perpetrators and victims. Some of these studies have examined gender differences in the form of cyberbullying practiced with cell phones (e.g., text messaging, phone calls) or over the Internet (e.g., e-mail, IM applications). This group of studies includes the work of Kapatzia and

Syngollitou (2007), conducted in Greece, which found that males were more involved as perpetrators using cell phones, while females were more implicated in cyberbullying over the Internet. A study by Smith et al. (2012) in England, revealed that males get more involved as bullying perpetrators both on the cell phone and over the Internet than females. They failed to find differences in the role of victims. Also in England, Monks, Robinson, and Worlidge (2012) found that girls were more likely to use email and instant messaging to cyberbully, while boys were more likely to use text messaging. In Belgium, Vanden Abeele and De Cock (2013) discovered that females were more likely to engage in indirect cell phone bullying (e.g., gossiping) than their male counterparts. However, they found no gender differences between males and females in direct cell phone bullying (e.g., using a phone call to insult someone).

Another set of studies analyzed gender differences in specific cyberbullying practices. In Belgium, Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2009) reported that males were significantly more likely to admit their participation in several types of cyberbullying, like making threats or insults and spreading rumors by e-mail and/or phone. In Spain, Calvete et al. (2010) observed that boys were significantly more likely to record and send images of physical aggression, record humiliating images of a classmate, and send images of a sexual nature of classmates. In the US, Kowalski and Limber (2013) found that particular types of cyberbullying (e.g., video gaming) were more likely to affect males than females. Also in the US, Connell, Schell-Busey, Pearce, and Negro (2014) reported that females were considerably more likely than males to report engagement in, and victimization by, every mode of cyberbullying examined. In New Zealand, Fenaughty and Harré (2013) indicated significant gender differences between the Internet (e.g., use of social networks, IM applications to cyberbully) and cell phone harassment (e.g., use phone calls or texting to cyberbully). Males were significantly more likely to report being more victimized receiving scary or disgusting images, or having mean or embarrassing images of themselves sent to others. Female participants were more likely to report victimization involving mean, nasty or hurtful comments.

After considering the studies reviewed, we analysed gender differences in specific forms of cyberbullying between victims and perpetrators in the aforementioned sample. In our case, as shown in Table 2, we found gender differences only in two cyberbullying practices with male participants, who reported that they were more likely to send threatening or insulting messages by cell phone, and being victims of recording a video or taking pictures by cell phone when someone hits or hurts them, compared to their female counterparts.

The results obtained in international research and the data provided herein do not allow us to conclude that a clear gender difference exists in the various forms that cyberbullying takes. However, they allow us to draw some conclusions. First of all, whereas in traditional bullying males are more victims and perpetrators compared with females, in cyberbullying a clear difference between males and females is missing. This result indicates that more females are victims of cyberbullying than conventional bullying, as indicated by previous research (Kowalski, Morgan, & Limber, 2012). Second, more males apparently tend to exercise and suffer the form of cyberbullying that employs humiliating images or contains physical aggression than females. Males also tend to send more sexual or pornographic images, which is a form of cyberbullying to which females are more exposed, according to previous studies (Cassidy, Brown, & Jackson, 2012). These new forms of sexual and gender harassment require more research effort, which could be essential to understanding the role that gender plays in cyberbullying. Next, we analyse such aggression types in more detail.

Table 2. Prevalence and type of cyberbullying experiences per gender (n=445)

		Females		Males			
Type of cyberbullying	Role	M	SD	M	SD	t(1, 443)	d
Receiving or sending threatening or insulting messages by e-mail	Victim	1.20	0.69	1.17	0.61	0.389	0.04
	Perpetrator	1.09	0.45	1.14	0.58	-0.954	-0.09
Receiving or sending threatening or insulting messages by cell phone	Victim	1.29	0.76	1.22	0.67	1.078	0.09
	Perpetrator	1.13	0.50	1.24	0.75	-1.876*	-0.17
Posting on the Internet or sending humiliating images	Victim	1.05	0.31	1.05	0.33	0.209	0
	Perpetrator	1.02	0.24	1.06	0.33	-1.226	-0.13
Writing embarrassing jokes, rumors, gossip, or comments on the Internet	Victim	1.26	0.80	1.33	0.88	-0.803	-0.08
	Perpetrator	1.17	0.68	1.27	0.79	-1.374	-0.13
Hacking to send messages by e-mail or social networks	Victim	1.17	0.65	1.14	0.51	0.690	0.05
	Perpetrator	1.12	0.53	1.18	0.69	-1.045	-0.08
Recording a video or taking pictures of humiliating situations by cell phone	Victim	1.05	0.27	1.06	0.36	-0.356	-0.03
	Perpetrator	1.02	0.21	1.07	0.41	-1.650	-0.15
Recording a video or taking pictures by cell phone while hitting or hurting someone	Victim	1.00	0.00	1.07	0.45	-2.138*	-0.21
	Perpetrator	1.01	0.15	1.04	0.28	-1.074	-0.13
Broadcasting online secrets, compromising information or images	Victim	1.25	0.85	1.16	0.59	1.370	0.12
	Perpetrator	1.18	0.67	1.22	0.74	-0.613	-0.05
Deliberately excluding from an online group	Victim	1.51	1.05	1.38	0.92	1.436	0.13
	Perpetrator	1.36	0.87	1.28	0.80	-.977	0.09
Repeatedly receiving or sending messages with threats, are intimidating by Skype, Facebook, etc.	Victim	1.12	0.53	1.11	0.48	0.206	0.01
	Perpetrator	1.04	0.33	1.08	0.48	-1.025	-0.09

*p<.05.

Same-Sex and Cross-Sex Cyberbullying

One of the least explored aspects of cyberbullying is gender differences when it addresses peers of the same sex, or the opposite sex. Accordingly, research into traditional bullying has reported that bullying between pre-adolescents and adolescents occurs mainly among members of the same sex, with aggression that affects members of the opposite sex obtaining very low prevalence rates (Wei & Jonson-Reid, 2011). However, when bullying addresses members of the opposite sex, there is data which indicates that females use more physical aggression against males (when we compare what males do to females). On the contrary, males employ more forms of verbal and social aggression when they address bullying to females (Navarro, Yubero, Larrañaga, & Macorison, 2012; Russell & Owens, 1999).

As far as we know, studying these gender differences in cyberbullying has not been the object of systematic analyses. The characteristics of cyberspace (e.g., the possibility that perpetrators remain anonymous) make their analysis difficult because it is possible that the victim is unaware of the perpetrator's gender. Nevertheless, previous research has indicated that the majority of cyberbullying occurs in groups of friends (Jackson, Cassidy, & Brown,

2013) and, in many other cases, cyberbullying is a reaction to an incident that has taken place at school (Cassidy, Jackson, & Brown, 2009), so perpetrators and victims of cyberbullying can know each other. Perpetrators in cyberbullying can also inform researchers about their victims' gender, but we know that the answer to this question is conditioned by the social desirability and sincerity of those who participate in a study of this kind.

If we take the results found in traditional bullying as a starting point, we might expect cyberbullying among people of the opposite sex to be less usual than among people of the same sex. Of the very few studies that have analysed these differences, Fenaughty and Harré's (2013) research in New Zealand (pupils aged 12-19 years) explored electronic harassment on the Internet and cell phones. These authors found that, as expected, males were significantly more likely to being victimised by other males over the phone and the Internet, whereas females were more to likely receive harassment by females in the two examined forms.

Nonetheless, when we consider previous results relating to traditional bullying, and the fact that one description of cyberbullying is that it is a new form of relational and social bullying (Beran & Li, 2008), the percentage of males who resort to cyberbullying against females is possibly higher than that of females who use it against males. To verify this premise, in one of the studies conducted in Spain (Navarro, Ruiz-Oliva, Larrañaga, & Yubero, 2015), we asked the participants to indicate not only if they had been victims or perpetrators of cyberbullying, but also the gender of their perpetrators or victims. The study sample included 1,058 children (516 females and 542 males, mean age = 11.08, SD = 0.80). Of these, 495 students (46.8%) were in year 5 and 563 were in year 6. Table 3 provides the data of those who indicated that they were victims of cyberbullying - in accordance with the gender of their perpetrators. We can see that most victims did not know their perpetrator's gender. No significant differences were found between males and females for those participants who knew their perpetrator's gender (χ^2 (d.f.:1) = 7.04, $p = 0.70$). Yet the data indicate that cyberbullying was perpetrated mainly by people of the same sex as the victim, and the number of participants who reported having suffered cyberbullying started by males and females is striking. It is feasible that this last result relates to the fact that while one person starts cyberbullying, others can help spread it over the Internet, or even participate in it, because it becomes a public event to which they can access (Smith, 2012).

Table 3. Gender differences in victims' prevalence according to unknown, male or female perpetrators

Participants' gender	Non victims	Victims who did not know their perpetrator's gender	Victims of males	Victims of females	Victims of males and females
Females	457 (88.6%)	35 (6.8%)	3 (0.6%)	9 (1.7%)	12 (2.3%)
Males	480 (88.6%)	37 (6.8%)	8 (1.5%)	2 (0.4%)	15 (2.7%)
Total	937	72	11	11	27

All of the perpetrators informed that they knew the gender of the person to whom they directed cyberbullying (see Table 4). Cyberbullying addressed significantly more people of the same sex than of the opposite sex. Yet if we compare the cyberbullying that the males and females indicated, more males reported getting involved in a form of cyberbullying that simultaneously addressed males and females (χ^2 (d.f.:1) = 12.93; $p < .005$).

Table 4. Gender differences in perpetrators' prevalence according to the gender of the target

Participants' gender	Non perpetrators	Perpetrator against males	Perpetrator against females	Perpetrator against males and females
Females	498 (96.5%)	1 (0.2%)	12 (2.3%)	5 (1.0%)
Males	520 (95.9%)	8 (1.5%)	3 (0.6%)	11 (2.0%)
Total	1,018	9	15	16

In general terms, the data indicate that most forms of cyberbullying address peers of the same sex. Yet despite the prevalence found being low, the percentages obtained seem to indicate that female victimization by males is less frequent than male victimization by females. This result supports former research which has indicated that males employ more forms of indirect and relational aggression when harassing females (Russell & Owens, 1999). The anonymity that the Internet offers may contribute to higher rates of bullying directed to females. This fact can be explained by the fact that, in comparison to the “real world,” males in virtual settings are less exposed to social condemning of aggression against females and to the “masculine gentlemanliness” norms that should guide male behaviour (Yubero & Navarro, 2006). In any case, we must reinforce research on this aspect of cyberbullying in order to reach valid conclusions.

However, different studies have documented that aggression between genders exists, which relates to matters such as sexual relationships, and they also represent one gender having more power over the other (e.g., Dunne, Humphreys, & Leach, 2006; Leach & Humphreys, 2007). Thus, gender identity development plays a key role in the development of hostile and antisocial behavior in adolescence, which often comes in the form of bullying. Duncan (1999) concludes that this form of aggression may be related with the initiation of heterosexual contacts and has a lot to do with social and school popularity because insults, in particular, go against adolescents' socio-sexual behavior. In this way, when both genders approach the opposite sex, searching for a dating relationship, popularity, leadership or peer's acceptance can favour the use of aggression. In line with this, Lahelma (2002) concluded that in the cases in which such behavior types shift toward intimidation, participants employ aggression as a form of social control to maintain hierarchical limits between genders, or to approach the opposite sex using conduct that can take the form of sexual harassment. So, if bullying takes the form of sexual harassment, research indicates that boys are more likely to be perpetrators, and girls are more likely to be victims (Duncan, 2004).

Therefore, sexual status and reputation are a central aspect of the social development of secondary education students. We believe that this dynamic is most important to understand the influence of gender socialisation, and to identify aggressive conduct that relates to certain “sexual hostility” among adolescents that can represent the threshold of other behaviours like homophobia or partner violence.

Despite former research showing that violent conduct can emerge in adolescence in romantic relationships (Díaz-Aguado & Martínez, 2014; Niolon et al., 2015), we have paid very little attention to analysing cyberbullying in such relationships. Although many victims do not know their perpetrators, other studies have demonstrated many adolescents' exposure to the

cyberbullying that former friends, classmates, and even boy- and girlfriends, or ex-boy/girlfriends, practice (Fenaughty & Harré, 2013). A recent study revealed that cyberbullying performed by someone with whom the victim has had some form of offline relationship causes even more unease for those suffering it because the former relationship could make harassment seem more intense and personal, and could involve more negative interactions (Mitchell, Ybarra, Jones, & Espelage, 2014).

For this reason, it is important to study romantic relationships because the information and communication technologies in this life stage are an important element to start and maintain intimate relationships (Korchmaros, Ybarra, & Mitchell, 2015), and could be a means by which to assault and control partners (Burke, Wallen, Vail-Smith, & Knox, 2011). Therefore, this subject requires further analysis since previous research has demonstrated that females tend to reject using violence to a greater extent, whereas males tend to justify and approve using violence against their partners. Moreover, many males minimise gender violence and even consider that the victims who receive violence are partly to blame for the situation they find themselves in (González-Ortega, Echeburúa, & Corral, 2008; O’Keefe, 2005). Indeed, more tolerant beliefs in, and attitudes to, violence against females is one of the risk factors for partner violence to occur. There are two very important risk conditions: (i) the tendency to justify and reproduce the sexist and violent models with which they have observed in their infancy and adolescence; (ii) the imbalance of power between males and females, which is the basis to create and perpetuate gender-linked stereotypes (González-Ortega et al., 2008; O’Keefe, 1998). Hence, research into cyberbullying must analyse to what extent it is practiced in romantic relationships, which gender is more exposed to aggression, and the specific forms it takes.

Students’ Perceptions of Gender and Cyberbullying

Researchers like Doucette (2013) have expressed the need to adopt a qualitative methodology if we wish to be sure about the role gender plays when analysing the implication of males and females in cyberbullying. More and more qualitative studies appear which analyse primary and secondary education students’ perception of cyberbullying (Kota, Schoohs, Benson, & Moreno, 2014; Misha, Saini, Solomon, 2009). Yet, as far as we know, none of these studies has specifically examined their perception of gender differences. Our goal in this section was to obtain as much information as possible from youths in elementary and secondary schools about their views of cyberbullying as a gender specific-behaviour. This information was obtained from focus groups that we formed to obtain in-depth views of cyberbullying in Spain. The work of Navarro and Sema (2016) describes the method, participants and procedures used. Table 5 shows the themes and subthemes, per gender and grade, to emerge from the discussion which took place in the focus groups, and quotations to illustrate youths’ views.

Generally speaking, most participants believed that cyberbullying is a conduct that can involve both genders, and as both perpetrators and victims. When they talked about victims, no specific aspects or characteristics appeared which can make males and females more vulnerable when suffering cyberbullying. Yet when they talked about perpetrators, they used arguments that remind us of the results obtained in research into traditional bullying. On the one hand, part of the participants of both genders see cyberbullying as a more typical strategy of females, as it allows people to cause harm without face to face confrontation and, in many cases, it involves

spreading secrets about other people or matters that have something to do with intimate aspects of their lives. In many cases, participants in the focus groups justify females' greater involvement using stereotyped beliefs that describe females as being more sibylline, harmful and vengeful than males. Not only males who participated in the discussion groups held on to such beliefs, but also some of the female participants did. Here it is important to consider that despite these results apparently coinciding with the studies which state that cyberbullying is a conduct in which more females get involved, as it may be an efficient means for indirect and relational aggression (Cassidy et al., 2009), young participants' opinions may not be based on real facts, but on the different gender stereotyped behaviour of males and females persisting.

On the other hand, part of the participants of both genders described cyberbullying as a problem of males - as they are normally more aggressive than females, so they would employ any aggression strategy to a greater extent than females, including cyberbullying. In these cases, however, cyberbullying is a way for people to introduce themselves assertively to others and to display certain masculine values associated with aggressiveness, arrogance and power. Cyberbullying performed by males is viewed as a continuation of traditional direct bullying, and even complements previous physical damage caused (e.g., break some of the victim's belongings or a fight). We can relate these results with other studies that have demonstrated how both traditional bullying and cyberbullying reinforce feelings of power and control among males and how, in these cases, bullying and cyberbullying can be an efficient power strategy to manage hierarchies in peer groups (Law, Shapka, Hymel, Olson, & Waterhouse, 2012).

In relation to this matter, secondary education students talk about the different reasons that can guide the cyberbullying performed by males and females. This theme did not appear in the primary education pupil groups. Popularity and leadership seem to be important reasons for both genders. So, participants' opinions showed different perspectives. On the one hand, there are people who could be less popular in peer groups at school and employ cyberbullying to get at those who are popular and to counteract the harassment they may suffer at school. On the other hand, some participants stated that people who are actually popular use cyberbullying to reinforce their position in the group as a continuation of events that take place at school. These perceptions coincide with previous research which has indicated that people resort to traditional bullying as a way to manage social status in peer groups (Guerra, Williams, & Sadek, 2011). Nevertheless, these motives seem to be more sensitive among females. Some of the female participants expressed that female's bullying behaviours are often driven by matters related with popularity, but also jealousy of, and rivalry with other peers. Females describe males as using motivations to guide them which, although related with power and status in a peer group, are more trivial, such as conflicts while practicing sports which they have not solved in person. Likewise, females are seen as more jealous, complex and envious than males, even when both genders employ cyberbullying as a way to manage their relationships in peer groups.

Table 5. Students' perceptions of gender differences in cyberbullying

Categories	Subcategories	Examples	Grade	Gender
Prevalence of cyberbullying	No differences per gender	<i>"Both boys and girls can insult you on their cell phone, or sometimes on the Internet. All they want to do is annoy you" an 11-year-old boy.</i>	Primary Secondary	Males Females
	Females get more involved as perpetrators	<i>"This is something more girls do because they are nastier. Girls tend to judge girls more, and boys don't judge so much or face people more than girls do. A girl doesn't easily ignore what others have done to her, so she can use it to get her own back or because she envies someone" A 14-year-old girl.</i>	Primary Secondary	Males Females
	Males get more involved as perpetrators	<i>"I think it's something more boys do because they're more aggressive. When they clash with someone, they hit them, and the same happens on the Internet . . . if a boy wants his friends to think he's tough, he can also do this on the Internet and he doesn't always need to be fighting" A 14-year-old girl.</i>	Primary Secondary	Males Females
Reasons for cyberbullying	Popularity, jealousy and envy among females.	<i>"I've seen two cases . . . one girl sees how her boyfriend receives photos of another girl who wants to go out with him. Rather than being angry with her boyfriend, she's jealous and starts saying awful things about the other girl on Facebook, then they fight when they meet. The other case is Z, the prettiest girl in class, and everyone gets at her on Facebook and Instagram because they so jealous that she's so pretty and all the boys are after her." A 15-year-old girl.</i>	Secondary	Males Females
	Popularity and former conflicts among males.	<i>"It's normal that there has been some clash before among boys. They might be playing football, or whatever, and when a foul is made against someone, they get at that person and run them down on Tuenti. Normally they sort things out, a bit of a fight, but nothing much." A 13-year-old boy.</i>	Secondary	Males Females
Forms of cyberbullying	Methods of attack	<i>"What I've seen is that girls upload more photos of other girls to laugh at them. As they were friends before and were always taking photos . . . when something happens, they upload photos of them when they don't look good or are doing something really silly to hurt them" A 12-year-old girl.</i> <i>"Girls are more subtle and have more ill-feelings than boys. We are rougher, but girls use more insults or things they know will really hurt another girl . . . they think about things more" A 13-year-old boy.</i>	Primary Secondary	Males Females

Table 5. (Continued)

Categories	Subcategories	Examples	Grade	Gender
	Differences in content of aggression	<i>“Girls write differently because they spell better and they write in a softer tone. Although they try to be aggressive, they don’t manage it enough. A boy makes more spelling mistakes, uses stronger words and more direct threats” A 13-year-old girl.</i>	Primary Secondary	Males Females
		<i>“Girls insult the way people look because they know it’s more annoying. If someone tells me I’m ugly and silly, telling me I’m ugly affects me more than them telling me I’m silly.” A 14-year-old girl.</i> <i>“It’s OK for a boy to sleep with lots of girls, but if a girl does this with lots of boys, watch out. Then the girl is a slut, but the boy is tough, and you can find these girls on the Internet shown to be “easy-to-get” or they even do it for small amount of money. When it comes to sex, girls lose out, and many boys upload photos of the girls who they have been with and comment about them.” A 15-year-old girl.</i>		

There were no major differences in the method of attack that males and females employ in cyberbullying, but many participants believe that the information that females upload on the Internet is more subtle, and entails them being better at planning their conduct, while males are more impulsive and post the first thing that comes to mind. They believe that the cyberbullying that involves posting photos in which people do not look good or are doing something silly is more characteristic of females, especially if this aggressive action addresses former friends because they have shared more time with their victims and have more material to use against them. They state that it is easy to distinguish if perpetrators are female because they are more careful when writing and spelling, insults are more intelligent and threats are more ambiguous. Yet almost all the groups agree when they say that females suffer more from the cyberbullying with sexual content that includes insults and rumours about someone’s sexual reputation or images of people in the nude and that, in most cases, males perpetrate this, although some females also do this.

Overall, the discourse of the target group participants indicates that both genders can get involved in cyberbullying as a victim or perpetrator, and there are different reasons that lead them to be perpetrators. However, we are concerned about a certain stereotype view that tends to predominate among Spanish (male and female) students who describe females as being much worse, more subtle, and more harmful than males. This demonstrates that the internalization of stereotyped beliefs that empirical research has shown are false (Artz et al., 2013). These results indicate that we must pay more attention to how youths employ internalized gender schemata to talk about aggression. Therefore, gender is an important factor not only for considering if

there are differences between the involvement of males and females in aggressive conduct or not, but also because we must consider its impact on the way it affects males and females' reasons for their aggression, and how these schemata may bias research.

CONCLUSION

We now go on to present the fundamental ideas that this review has led to. Readers should know that:

- 1) Most of the studies conducted to date have attempted to uncover the personal and social factors that make youths more vulnerable to suffering or perpetrating cyberbullying.
- 2) Gender forms part of the factors studied in most research studies on cyberbullying.
- 3) Gender is a social construct that defines what is masculine and feminine, and indicates how males and females should behave.
- 4) The Social Learning Theory states that socialisation processes allow us to acquire gender schemata, and that modelling by observation and imitation is a leading characteristic in these processes.
- 5) Research proposes that gender socialisation can affect differences in aggressive conduct, specifically learning instrumental (masculine) and expressive (feminine) traits.
- 6) Gender socialisation might indicate, for males, that aggression can prove useful for maintaining their gender role and, for females, that aggression can be inhibited or they can use more indirect forms of aggression, which better match their gender stereotype.
- 7) In traditional bullying, research tends to demonstrate that males get more involved than females. For many years, the common perception was that females used relational aggression to a greater extent, but recent research indicates that we cannot maintain this pattern today.
- 8) On occasion, although studies have provided mixed results, the general trend in cyberbullying conduct confirms that males are more aggressive than females, but differences in victimization are not significant.
- 9) Studies indicate that females are more often victims of cyberbullying rather than traditional bullying.
- 10) The data generally demonstrate that cyberbullying mostly targets peers of the same sex; however, there seems to be evidence that males direct more cyberbullying to females when compared to females using it against males.
- 11) Different studies have shown that many adolescents face cyberbullying that former friends perform, ex-classmates, but also by boy/girlfriends, or ex-boy/girlfriends. So cyberbullying may be a way to control and harass partners.
- 12) Gender stereotypes and roles are relevant factors when analysing how males and females reason about aggression and how they interpret behaviours like cyberbullying.

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Chapter 140

RE-THINKING WELL-BEING MEASURES IN BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING RESEARCH

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INTRODUCTION

Both the impact of bullying and cyberbullying, and the knowledge that exists regarding the psychological make-up of those involved in bully/victim problems, have almost exclusively been measured in terms of deficits. Furthermore, and similarly, most of the research that focusses on both well-being and health, has been expressed in terms of measurements of the absence of ill-being and ill-health respectively, rather than the presence of well-being and positive health. This chapter provides an alternative view, in that it invites the reader to consider how we can conceptualise and measure well-being and health, and presents tools that can be used in the measurement of well-being that have been developed within the field of positive psychology. Accordingly, the concepts of Subjective Well-Being, Psychological Well-Being, the Authentic Happiness Model, the Well-Being Theory, the Dual Continua Model of Health, and the Mental Health Spectrum are presented, and tools used in the measurement of their attendant constructs are discussed. Given the modest levels of success recorded by many existing anti-bullying intervention programmes, we encourage you to consider the measurement of well-being in their ongoing attempts to inform the development of efficacious anti-bullying and anti-cyberbullying strategies.

BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING

As Minton (2010, 2012) argues, most experts acknowledge the relevance of a number of key aspects in approaching a definition of bullying behaviour (as distinct from other, related forms of aggressive behaviour - see Olweus, 2003). Bullying behaviour is generally seen as

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being characterised by being (i) aggressive (verbally, psychologically, or physically); (ii) deliberate on the part of the perpetrator(s); (iii) generally unprovoked on the part of the target(s) of the bullying; (iv) repeated, or systematic in nature; and, (v) characterised by an imbalance of (physical, social, or technological) power in favour of the perpetrator(s) (Minton, 2010, 2012). Cyberbullying is typically characterized by similar criteria, although the technological medium of the aggressive behaviour is specified (e.g., Smith et al., 2006). However, Vandebosch, Van Cleemput, Mortelmans, and Walrave (2006) argue that there are important differences between cyberbullying and non-cyber forms of bullying: “With cyberbullying, it is not necessarily the case that the victim is harassed repeatedly. A defamatory website, for example, will often stay online for a longer period of time and can, moreover, be read by many individuals. A spoken insult, by contrast, disappears from the moment it is uttered, and is only heard by those present at the time” (p. 1).

As O’Moore and Minton (2011) point out, this line of argument prompts those who would seek to provide definitions of bullying and cyberbullying to consider “. . . where the ‘repetition’ lies; in cyberbullying, the perpetrator’s act of posting offensive material is a one-off event, but due to the possibility of multiple viewers and viewing, the target’s experience of being abused is one of repetition” (p. 4). As Minton (2010, 2012) argues, such a distinction prompts educationalists and policy-makers to think about how they respond to bullying. Indeed, in the most recent guidelines provided to primary and post-primary schools in Ireland in forming anti-bullying policies and strategies (Department of Education and Skills, 2013), such a distinction is evident in how schools are advised to respond to different types of cyberbullying. The Anti-Bullying Procedures for Primary and Post-Primary Schools state that whilst “. . . placing a once-off offensive or hurtful public message, image or statement on a social network site or other public forum where that message, image or statement can be viewed and / or repeated by other people will be regarded as bullying behaviour.” This is in keeping with Vandebosch et al.’s idea (2006) that given the “. . . possibility of multiple viewers and viewing, the target’s experience of being abused is one of repetition” (p. 1). However, the Department of Education (2013) go on to say that “. . . isolated or once-off incidents of intentional negative behaviour, including a once-off offensive or hurtful text message or other private messaging do not fall within this definition of bullying and should be dealt with, as appropriate, in accordance with the school’s code of behaviour” So the notion of repetition (whether that be of perpetrator activity in face-to-face bullying, or target experience in cyberbullying) is key; according to governmental guidelines on anti-bullying policies for schools in Ireland, posting offensive text on, for example, Facebook is cyberbullying, but posting the same offensive text in a once-only private text message is not.

The consequences of bullying and cyberbullying have been extensively examined, and range from decreases in academic performance and psychological health (Kowalski & Limber, 2013), through to developing psychosomatic difficulties such as sleeping problems, headaches, poor appetite (Beckman, Hagqvist, & Hellström, 2012) and an increase of suicidal behaviour (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Kessel Schneider, O’Donnell, Stueve, & Coulter, 2012; Klomek, Marrocco, Kleinman, Schonfeld, & Gould, 2008). Olweus’ pioneering work on bully/victim problems showed that those bullied at school had higher levels of depression and poorer self-esteem in adulthood (see Olweus, 1993), and O’Moore and Minton (2004) recorded that being made the target of bullying behaviour can, and often does, “. . . destroy a person’s confidence and self-esteem [and] cause physical, emotional and psychological damage of the potentially most serious and long-lasting kind.” In Finland, Kaltiala-Heino (1999) found that having been

bullied was associated with depression and suicidal ideation; this finding was replicated by Roland (2000) in a study of a representative sample of 2,083 eighth graders (approximately 14 years old) in Norwegian schools. In a study of 209 12 to 15 year old bullied and non-bullied students (97 male, 112 female) in eight urban post-primary schools in Ireland, Mills, Guerin, Lynch, Daly, and Fitzpatrick (2004) found that having been bullied was significantly linked to depression, suicidal ideation, having made a suicide attempt, and referral to psychiatric services. In a study in Finland of 423 parents and 420 children, Kumpulainen, Räsänen, and Puura (2001), using diagnostic measures based on those used in Michael Rutter's classic studies of psychiatric epidemiology amongst children on the Isle of Wight (1964-1974), which included survey items on bullying (Rutter 1976), found that children involved in bully/victim problems were more prone to have psychiatric disorders than non-involved children, with the most common diagnoses among children involved in bully/victim problems being attention deficit disorder, oppositional/conduct disorder, and depression.

What researchers have found about the personalities and psychological make-up of those involved in bullying behaviour has also been dominated by findings concerning the correlation between involvement in bully/victim problems and the preponderance of negative patterns of behaviour and personality traits. For example, those who bully have been found to be proactively aggressive, and those who are targeted to be reactively aggressive (Roland & Idsøe, 2001; Salmivalli & Nieminen, 2002); links have been found between poor student self-esteem and involvement in bullying behaviour in schools (O'Moore & Kirkham, 2001); and trait psychopathy has been found to predict the perpetration of cyber-aggression amongst adolescents (Pabian, De Backer & Vandebosch, 2015).

It is, of course, entirely understandable and proportionate that researchers have illuminated the negative consequences of involvement in bullying behaviour. Similarly, it is understandable that researchers have focused - at least thus far - on the negative traits typical of those involved in perpetrating what is surely universally held to be an anti-social and undesirable pattern of behaviour. Even when the apparently "positive" construct of emotional intelligence has been investigated by bullying researchers, it was found to be negatively correlated (in terms of the regulation of emotions) with involvement in the perpetration of traditional bullying and cyberbullying (Baroncelli & Ciucci, 2014). However, in this chapter, it is our intention to buck this general trend somewhat, in presenting an alternative development; that is to say, in focusing on variances in the positive psychological attribute of *well-being* amongst those involved in the various aspects of bullying and cyberbullying behaviour.

HOW WE CAN CONCEPTUALISE AND MEASURE WELL-BEING

Whilst there is disagreement amongst researchers as to which well-being theory best reflects well-being, researchers in the area have generally encouraged a multi-faceted approach to measuring the construct (Forgeard, Jayawickreme, Kern, & Seligman, 2011; Ryff & Singer, 1998). The theories that have been developed regarding well-being emphasise a potentially broad array of components that constitute and influence well-being. In the absence of consensus, therefore, the list of constituting and influencing components that have been offered thus far cannot be seen as exhaustive; furthermore, whilst some of the components have been found to overlap, others have not. Hence, depending on the research questions that have been

broached, various approaches can and have been used in the understanding and measurement of well-being.

There has been, however, a greater level of agreement regarding possible methods of the measurement of well-being. Generally speaking, modes of measurement have followed the approach that is common to hierarchical models (of personality traits, and intelligence) that are familiar from the psychology of individual differences. Hence, measures of well-being have been constructed to permit the measurement of the individual levels of their assumed sub-components; hence, the outcomes of these measures offer an “overall” well-being score, which comprises the sum of their assumed sub-componential scores, which can also be offered. Conceptually, therefore, in order to increase overall well-being, it is assumed that each sub-component can be increased, and that the sum of those increases will have an impact on overall well-being. Moneta (2014) has referred to this approach as a “body-builder” approach to measuring well-being, and has argued that more research needs to be carried out to investigate whether it is possible for individuals to achieve the highest levels of scoring on all components of a well-being model, as well as whether it is beneficial for individuals to aim to do so.

To step back a little, it is of importance to note that two main philosophical traditions have been identified as impacting upon and informing research into the psychology of well-being, namely *hedonia* and *eudaimonia* (Ryan & Deci, 2001). *Hedonia* (from the Greek ἡδονισμός [hedonismos], “delight,” which is in turn, from ἡδονή (hēdonē), “pleasure”) was developed by Aristippus of Cyrene, a student of Socrates, who developed the principle that pleasure is the beginning and goal of a happy life. *Eudaimonia* (from the Greek, εὐδαιμονία [eudaimonía], “happiness,” “welfare,” or “human flourishing”), on the other hand, was proposed by Aristotle who claimed that the hedonic approach to happiness was vulgar (Irwin, 1999) and described eudaimonia as a state of being well, by living in accordance with the virtues (Ackrill, 1975). Psychological theories that have been formulated subsequently have generally either reflected hedonic or eudaimonic understandings of well-being. Whilst some psychological understandings of well-being have attempted to reflect both approaches, Ryan and Deci (2001) assert that from the eudaimonic perspective, such an integration is impossible, as an emphasis on individualistic pleasure-seeking (hedonia) cannot be equated with the eudaimonic emphasis on living by collectivistic virtues.

Subjective Well-Being (SWB) theory, for example, derives from the hedonic philosophical tradition, and asserts the existence and operation of three inter-related components: life satisfaction, pleasant affect, and unpleasant affect (Diener & Suh, 1997). Life satisfaction, which is seen as the cognitive element of the theory, is held to be the individual's perception and evaluation of the discrepancy between his or her present situation, and what he or she believes his or her ideal life should be. The affective elements of the theory measures the individual's experience of both positive and negative emotions (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). Empirically, the three components have been found to be correlated, but separate constructs (Diener, Smith, & Fujita, 1995; Lucas, Diener, & Suh, 1996). The components have shown fair temporal stability over four- (Headey & Wearing, 1992), and seven-year periods (Magnus, Diener, Fujita, & Pavot, 1993); consequently, SWB has been presented as being a trait-like variable. Accordingly, many scales have been developed with the express purpose of measuring SWB. Most are based on self-report, and these include the *Satisfaction with Life Scale* (SWLF: Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1984); the *Temporal Satisfaction with Life Scale* (TSLS: Pavot, Diener, & Suh, 1998); the *Subjective Happiness Scale* (SHS: Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999), and *The Oxford Happiness Questionnaire* (OHQ: Hills & Argyle, 2002).

There are also many scales available that measure positive and negative affect, rather than negative affect only; these include the *Positive and Negative Affect Schedule* (PANAS: Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988), and the *Scale of Positive and Negative Experiences* (SPANE: Diener et al., 2009). Apart from self-report, experience sampling methods have been employed by, and found useful in, measuring subjective well-being (Stone, Schiffman, DeVries, & Frijters, 1999). However, Diener (2000) has pointed out that subjective well-being is, by definition, a measure of 'subjective' experience, and therefore care should be taken not to attempt to objectify it.

Psychological Well-Being (PWB) theory, on the other hand, reflects the eudaimonic tradition, and asserts the existence and operation of five elements: self-acceptance, positive relations, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). This is a theory-driven model which acknowledges the heritage of decades of psychological research. In particular, the theories of Erikson (1959), Maslow (1968) and Rogers (1963) are held by Ryff and Keyes (1995) as influential. PWB theory aims to address a rather fundamental question - that is to say, what it means to be "psychologically well." According to the PWB theory, individuals who achieve high levels in each one of the components will become a fully-functioning, or to borrow from Maslow, as Ryff and Keyes (1995) do, a self-actualising, person. Curiously, for a model that posits itself as drawing on phenomenological psychology, the theory disregards affective aspects of well-being, and psychometric modes of measurement have been advocated. For example, in order to measure psychological well-being, Ryff (1989) developed a Psychological Well-Being Scale (PWBS), which is a 20-item scale, with shorter versions available for researchers to use (14, 9, and 3-item).

Despite Ryan and Deci's (2001) reservations regarding attempts at such integrations, the *Authentic Happiness Model* attempts to combine hedonic and eudaimonic elements of well-being (Seligman, 2003). The three components of the theory are the life of pleasure, engagement, and meaning, which represent routes to happiness. Conceptually, the life of pleasure is, of course, informed by the ethos of the hedonic tradition; it is a study of aspects of life that make it pleasant and unpleasant (Kahneman, Diener, & Schwarz, 1999). The life of engagement describes the experiences of psychological flow, which allows individuals to function at their fullest capacity (Csikszentmihalyi, 2009). Finally, the life of meaning draws on the eudaimonia tradition, and describes pursuits of virtues (Seligman, 2003). The first attempts to measure Authentic Happiness were made via the construction and the application of the *Steen Happiness Index* (SHI: Seligman, Steen, Park, & Peterson, 2005), which was subsequently adapted in the construction of the Authentic Happiness Inventory (AHI: Peterson, 2005). At present, there is limited empirical data about the validity and reliability of the AHI. The questionnaire that is now most commonly used to measure three dimensions of authentic happiness is the *Orientations to Happiness Questionnaire* (OHQ: Peterson, Park & Seligman, 2005), which has been tested in multiple languages; a shorter version of the OHQ is now available to researchers (Ruch, Martínez-Martí, Heintz, & Brouwers, 2014). Seligman (2011) is also responsible for the creation of the *Well-Being Theory*, in which *well-being* is said to consist of five components: positive emotions, engagement, relationships, meaning, and accomplishment. Three components have been adopted from the authentic happiness theory (positive emotions, engagement, and meaning), and two new components have been created (relationships and accomplishment). The anagram of the components is PERMA, and therefore it is often referred to as a PERMA model. Well-Being Theory has been measured with the

newly-created PERMA profiler (Butler & Kern, unpublished), which is a 23-item scale that has been tested on a sample of over ten thousand respondents.

HOW WE CAN CONCEPTUALISE AND MEASURE HEALTH

According to the World Health Organization, health is defined as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (WHO, 1948). Therefore, in order to measure well-being, positive states of well-being need to be measured, not only the absence of negative states. Over fifty years ago, Jahoda (1958) argued that the absence of mental illness and the presence of mental health are two distinct variables. Herzlich (1973) agreed, adding that individuals might not become aware of health until illness affects it; however, not experiencing illness, does not constitute health. For decades, little progress has been made to find empirical evidence for the distinction between mental illness and health, until Ryff and Singer (1998) proposed to revisit this issue and prompted scientific debate about its merits (e.g., Diener, Sapyta, Suh, 1998; Fleury, 1998; Ito & Cacioppo, 1998), as well as instigated a surge of further research in the area.

From the affective viewpoint, there is research to support the idea that positive affect is *not* simply the opposite of negative affect - i.e., positive feelings are not merely the absence of negative ones, or negative mental health. Indeed, it has been found that positive affect and negative affect may be only modestly negatively correlated (Cacioppo & Bernston, 1999; Headey, 2006). Furthermore, Huppert and Whittington (2003) found that ill-being and well-being can exist concurrently within individuals. In a longitudinal study, with 6,317 respondents from the UK, positive well-being and negative well-being were compared. It was found that 35.1% of respondents reported high scores on the existence of psychiatric conditions and similarly high scores on experiences of positive well-being, or low scores in both positive and negative well-being. If positive and negative well-being were merely opposites, participants' scores would consistently show a simultaneous reduction in negative well-being and an increase in positive well-being, or vice versa. This suggests, we feel, that it may prove useful to measure positive well-being and negative well-being as related, but separate, constructs.

The *Dual Continua Model of Health* was the first model that introduced the concept of *flourishing*. Flourishing is defined as the pinnacle of mental health, wherein individuals “. . . thrive, prosper and fare well in endeavours” (Michalec, Keyes, & Nalkur, 2009, p. 393). Following on from this concept, *languishing* was introduced as a state between well-being and ill-being. Individuals scoring low on 6 of 11 scales of positive functioning. In a large scale study, Keyes (2002) found that the risk of depression was twice as likely among individuals experiencing languishing than it was amongst those who were moderately mentally healthy. Furthermore, the risk was six times greater among languishing than flourishing participants. Therefore, Keyes (2002) speculated that languishing may be as debilitating as depression. The Dual Continua Model of Health utilises a diagnostic tool that classifies three sets of mental health symptoms: psychological well-being (PWB: Ryff & Keyes, 1995), social well-being (SWB: Keyes, 1998), and emotional well-being (EWB: Diener, 2000).

The *Mental Health Spectrum* is a model of flourishing that consists of two components: the first one incorporates a set of three core features, and the second one six additional features. The core set of features are based on the Authentic Happiness model (see above), and include

positive emotions, engagement, and meaning. The additional features incorporate self-esteem, optimism, resilience, vitality, self-determination, and positive relationships. It is an approach that promotes a population-level, rather than individual-level approach to improving well-being (Huppert, 2009). Huppert posits that there are considerably more individuals in each society who are moderately healthy and only a small proportion of those experiencing mental illness and languishing. Therefore, focusing on moving the moderately healthy individuals into the flourishing state may have a significant effect on reducing the prevalence of mental disorders.

The mental health spectrum was measured in a large sample study across 23 European countries (Huppert & So, 2013). The scale used to measure well-being was a 54-item

European Social Survey (ESS) which compared the common mental health disorders such as depression and anxiety with indicators of well-being (Huppert et al., 2009). The results have shown that the ten features of positive mental health functioning included: competence, emotional stability, engagement, meaning, optimism, positive emotion, positive relationship, resilience, self-esteem, and vitality. These features represent both eudaimonic and hedonic elements, as well as components of the previously mentioned PERMA model. To date, these elements offer the basis of the most comprehensive conceptual framework of well-being.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THINKING ABOUT WELL-BEING AND POSITIVE HEALTH IN ANTI-BULLYING RESEARCH

As we noted in the early part of this chapter, well-being in bullying and cyberbullying literature has, predominantly, been measured in terms of absence of illness, such as symptoms of depression and anxiety (e.g., Clark et al., 2014; Greenleaf, Petrie, & Martin, 2014; Kaltiala-Heino, 1999; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Rivers & Noret, 2008; Turner, Reynolds, Lee, Subasic, & Bromhead, 2014; Young & Sweeting, 2004), psychiatric conditions (Kumpulainen et al., 2001; Mc Guckin, Lewis, & Cummins, 2010; Mills et al., 1994; Young & Sweeting, 2004), self-harm behaviours (Bucchianeri et al., 2014; Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Ozdemir & Stattin, 2011), or psychosomatic symptoms (Beckman et al., 2012; Sourander et al., 2010). However, this dichotomous approach to well-being assumes that the school population may be divided into students with or without psychiatric conditions, such as affective disorders, and that those involved in bullying and cyberbullying may be displaying symptoms of mental illness (and conversely, lack of mental illness is assumed to indicate mental health). Furthermore, in the well-meaning attempt to illustrate the serious impact that bullying and cyberbullying behaviour can have, the borrowing from psychiatric and psychological diagnostic understandings can obscure the fact that at least some, if not the majority, of the upset that is experienced and expressed by bullied individuals is entirely proportionate to their being the recipient of unfair, unwanted and undeserved aggressive treatment, rather than being indicative of internalised pathological symptomatology. Feeling afraid, despondent and isolated as a result of ongoing bullying is entirely understandable - most people who have been bullied feel this way, and this is due to their having been treated badly, rather than their being in any way psychiatrically ill. And yet were these people to fill in psychometric inventories of, say, depression or anxiety at the time, the results of those psychometric tests could indicate otherwise.

As we have already suggested, there are, of course, other important implications for applying a purely deficit approach to the measurement of well-being and health. In the first-place, face validity is reduced, as deficit-based scales measure either the presence or the lack of ill-being and ill-health, and not the presence of well-being and positive health. As an example, it would, therefore, be invalid to conclude that being a target of bullying behaviour *necessarily* reduces feelings of positive well-being, if one was to draw on evidence derived from a measurement that points (and critically, by design, *can only point*) to an increase in ill-being. Secondly, crucial information could be missed if the measurement of bullying behaviour were to be incorrectly applied, as demonstrated in two studies carried out by Huppert and Whittington. After analysing data, Huppert and Whittington (1995) deduced that symptoms of psychological distress predicted mortality in a seven-year longitudinal study. When data was revisited using four sub-scales which differentiated between positively and negatively worded responses, Whittington and Huppert (1998) found that mortality was correlated with the absence of life satisfaction and enjoyment, rather than the presence of anxiety or depression. Therefore, not only can distinguishing well-being and ill-being, and positive health and ill-health, provide additional findings when studying bullying and cyberbullying, but more importantly, it may prevent the researchers from making incorrect inferences.

As yet, there are very few studies within the bullying and cyberbullying literature that have utilised measures of well-being, rather than the absence of ill-being. However, Drennan, Brown, and Mort (2011) used a *Satisfaction with Life Scale* measure (Pavot & Diener, 1993) to measure the impact of telephone bullying on adolescents. Smithyman, Fireman, and Asher (2014) used a *Brief Multi-Dimensional Student Life Satisfaction Scale* (BMSLSS: Huebner, Suldo, Valois, Drane, & Zullig, 2004), in order to identify long-term consequences of peer victimisation. Goswami (2012) used single-item scales (Cantril, 1965; Cummins & Lau, 2005) in order to explore the correlation between subjective well-being and bullying. The use of well-being scales is innovative in the above studies. However, care needs to be taken as to what type of scales are used to measure well-being. For example, the single-item scales in Goswami's (2012) research, which measured evaluation of well-being, is subject to retrospective thinking. Kahneman and Riis (2007) posit that questions such as: "What's your happiness with life as a whole?" involve the participants' evaluation of life, a cognitive task that is conceptually distinct from the lived experience of well-being. Moreover, positive and negative affect, of course, impact on the evaluation of past experiences (Redelmeier & Kahneman, 1996), and therefore, the single-item scale may prove insufficient to measure subjective well-being.

Again, as we have already noted, considering the real-life and serious impact that the experience of having been bullied or cyberbullied can have, and indeed has had, upon many people, it is understandable that the research literature has focused on the negative impact such behaviours experienced by participants, with aims to design interventions to reduce bullying and cyberbullying. With an eye towards the development of efficacious intervention strategies, there could be, however, merits in measuring well-being as one of the constructs. In the first place, such a measurement would allow researchers to understand the extent of the consequences of bullying and cyberbullying more broadly (more broadly, that is, than reference being made only to deficit-based measures). Secondly, a person's overall psychological response to involvement in bullying or cyberbullying may be somewhat complex, and will certainly vary. For example, bully/victims (those involved in bullying behaviour as both perpetrators and targets) have been found to display more internalising problems than have bullies or victims (Ozdemir & Statin, 2011). Measuring well-being may help researchers

identify the necessary complexities in this domain. Farrington and Ttofi's (2009) meta-analysis of 44 anti-bullying programmes conducted between 1983 and 2009 showed that school-based programmes succeeded in reducing reports of having bullied others by between 20% and 23%, and having been bullied by between 17% and 20%. Furthermore, Merrell et al.'s (2008) meta-analysis of anti-bullying intervention research conducted between 1980 and 2004 indicated that programmes are more likely to influence knowledge, attitudes and self-perceptions concerning bullying, than they are actual bullying behaviours. Indeed, in Norway, traditionally a world leader in anti-bullying research and intervention, in a report commissioned by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, Lødding and Vibe (2010) stated that "... bullying is not a problem that can be solved by adopting a specific programme ... features of a good learning environment can help reduce bullying" (p. 26). Whilst the logic of Lødding and Vibe's (2010) argument has been criticised (Minton, 2014; Olweus & Breivik, 2011), the uncomfortable fact remains that the success that anti-bullying intervention programmes have had is actually been rather modest (Minton, 2014). If we are to continue to advocate that anti-bullying intervention strategies and interventions be evidence-based (and it is difficult to see what else could be argued), then surely it makes sense to broaden that evidence basis beyond the paths that we have already trodden. The measurement of attributes such as well-being in bullying and cyberbullying research could be a useful first step towards the generation of potentially more effective interventions in our future anti-bullying and anti-cyberbullying intervention strategies.

CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the approaches to the measurement well-being in the context of positive psychology. The main theories of well-being have been discussed as an alternative to the prevalent measurements of the absence of ill-being in the current bullying and cyberbullying literature. The approaches and models presented above constitute an innovative approach to the measurement of well-being. Rather than continue to focus solely on identifying the absence of ill-being, as is prevalent in the current bullying and cyberbullying literature, we would like to encourage researchers to consider the measurement of well-being in their attempts to improve the efficacy of anti-bullying and anti-cyberbullying intervention strategies.

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Chapter 141

PHYSICAL PROXIMITY, SOCIAL DISTANCE AND CYBERBULLYING RESEARCH

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INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the idea of *distance* (be that literal/physical, or psychological (e.g., social, or moral)) is examined, with specific reference to its potential importance in understanding cyberbullying. A critical review of the general trends in cyberbullying research is then undertaken, and the potential advantages of placing a greater emphasis on qualitative research in the future, which might facilitate the elicitation of young people's own meaning-making in acts of cyber-aggression, are examined.

PROXIMITY AND AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR

The notion of *distance* (both *physical proximity*, and so-called “*social distance*”) as a factor in understanding aggressive and prejudicial behaviour has had a lengthy history in research in the social sciences (e.g., Bogardus, 1926, 1947; Karakayali, 2009; Matthews & Matlock, 2011), but has not, in my opinion, received sufficient attention in the area of cyberbullying to date. As cyberbullying can be seen as systematic aggression at a distance afforded by technology, the factors of physical proximity and social distancing would seem to be particularly pertinent. Even after the passing of half a century, as a direct laboratory demonstration of the effects of variations in *physical proximity* on the likelihood of a person delivering noxious stimuli, the results of the variations in the set-up of the famous (and some might say, infamous) experimental demonstrations of conformity to authority by Stanley Milgram (1965) are still significant. It may be recalled by the reader that the genesis of the original series of experiments was interesting; as a young man, Milgram had seen the films of the results of the Nuremberg

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trials, at which many Nazi officer and soldier defendants attempted to evade their responsibility for their crimes, on the basis of having simply “followed orders.” The experiments began at Yale University in July 1961, three months after the start of the trial of Adolph Eichman in Jerusalem. An unfortunate outcome of the publication of the results of the Nuremberg trials, regarding folk psychology understandings amongst the populations of the victorious Allies, had been the development of the view that somehow, “Germans were different” and that, “the same thing couldn’t happen here.” According to Milgram, these were dangerous falsehoods, and in the original series of experiments he demonstrated that psychologically “normal” American people could, and in fact did, reject or ignore their own feelings of sympathy or empathy for an apparently suffering and dying fellow human being in favour of showing obedience to the authority of an experimenter (Milgram, 1965).¹ The subsequent variations of the original set-up (reported by Milgram, 1974), altered the physical proximity between the “teacher,” “learner,” and experimenter. Compliance (in terms of the “teacher” “completing” the study; that is to say, continuing to the maximum voltage) decreased with increasing distance between the experimenter and the “teacher” - when the “teacher” received telephone instructions from the experimenter, rather than being in the same room, compliance decreased to 21 per cent. Gender had no impact on “teacher” compliancy. The original set-up had involved male participants between 20 and 50 years of age; when an all-female sample of teachers were used, obedience levels were not significantly different, although the female participants were more likely to report experiencing higher levels of stress. Most significantly of all for the current discussion, the series of variant demonstrations showed that *physical proximity was found to predict the levels of compliance amongst the genuine participants*. For example, in a situation where proximity was at a maximum, the participants had to physically hold the learner's arm onto a shock plate, and compliance decreased to 30 per cent. Conversely, where proximity was at a minimum, and participants had to perform a subsidiary task such as reading the questions to the learner, or logging the answers of the learners, with a “teacher” (in this case, a stooge) complying fully, 37 out of 40 participants completed the study (a compliance rate of 92.5 per cent) (see Milgram, 1974).

¹ The original demonstration (Milgram, 1965) involved participants, who had been paid a fee of \$4 (plus 50 cents car fare) for one hour's participation in “a study of memory and learning,” being duped into believing that they were delivering, via an electroshock generating machine, shocks of increasing severity to a fellow participant (to whom they were introduced at the beginning of the procedure) in a “learner” role in the room next door, according to the learners’ “errors” in a “word-association learning task.” The genuine participants’ apparently “random” assignment to the “teacher” role was fixed; the learners were in fact “stooges,” that is to say, actor confederates of the experimenter; and the “shock generating equipment” was bogus. The teachers were instructed to give the learners a “shock” each time that the learner made a mistake. The shocks were to increase by 15 volts each time; the “shock machine” had levers up to “450 volts,” followed by three more levers marked by large X’s and “Danger.” At 120 volts, the teacher would hear the learner complain of pain; at 210 volts, the teacher would hear the learner complain of a “heart condition”, and make repeated requests to be able to get out of the room; and after 330 volts, there was only an ominous silence. On hesitation, the genuine participant received prompts from the experimenter; in order, these were (i) “please continue”; (ii) the experiment requires that you continue; (iii) it is absolutely essential that you continue; and (iv) you have no other choice, you must go on (see Milgram, 1965, 1974). Before conducting the experiment, Milgram had undertaken polls at Yale, asking 14 final-year undergraduate psychology students, and 40 psychiatrists from the medical school, asking them to predict what proportion of teachers would go “all the way” to the maximum voltage. Those polled predicted that only a pathological few of the teachers (estimations amongst the psychology undergraduates ranged from 0 to 3 per cent, and amongst the psychiatrists was around 10 per cent) would do so. Such predictions amongst those polled fell well short; in Milgram's first set of demonstrations, 26 out of 40 teachers - that is to say, 65 per cent - continued up to and including the maximum voltage (Milgram, 1965, 1974).

The relationships between the lack of physical proximity to our own weapons, the consequent rise in the destructive capability of those weapons, and our simultaneous shirking of responsibility for the effect of those weapons on others and ourselves was elucidated by “the father of modern ethology,” Konrad Zacharias Lorenz. In what many consider to be his masterpiece, “*Das sogenannte Böse*” (1963; first translated into English under the title, “*On Aggression*” in 1966), Lorenz, took as his subject matter “...the fighting instinct in beast and man which is directed against members of the same species” (Lorenz, 1966, p. ix) - hence, intra-specific “fighting,” rather than the usually predator-prey, or defensive, inter-specific aggression. Intra-specific fighting almost always - in non-human animal species - confers a survival advantage at the species level, despite the apparent risk to the individuals involved in the confrontation. Lorenz (1953, 1966) provided numerous examples of how, whenever an animal species develops a “weapon” (which grows on its own body) such as a fang, claw, or horn, which could potentially inflict serious or fatal injury, that species invariably develops a social inhibition to prevent the usage of that weapon, otherwise the survival of the species as a whole would be placed under threat. Hence, fighting in animal species becomes heavily ritualised - a series of posturing challenges and threats, and dominance and appeasement gestures. The relationship between the evolutionary development of weapons of animal species, and of social inhibitions against their use is particularly important when we come to “...the one being in possession of weapons which do not grow on his body and of whose working plan, therefore, the instincts of his species know nothing and in the usage of which he has no correspondingly adequate inhibition. That being is man” (Lorenz, 1953, p. 216–217).

According to Lorenz, it is our differential progression as a species that has sealed our potential for self-destruction - the pace at which we have developed our weapons technology has far outstripped the progress we have made in treating our fellow beings ethically and humanely (1953): “...with unarrested growth his [man’s] weapons increase in monstrosity ... But innate impulses and inhibitions, like bodily structures, need time for their development ... We did not receive our weapons from nature. We made them ourselves, of our own free will ... The day will come when two warring factions will be faced with the possibility of wiping the other out completely” (p. 217).

SOCIAL DISTANCE, AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR AND CYBERBULLYING

The “distancing” of ourselves from our weapons, and the responsibility for the destructive effects of our aggression, is not only maintained through *decreased physical proximity*, but also *increasing social distance*. The mechanisation of physical genocide, as observed in the gas chambers and crematoria of Auschwitz, was based on *both* factors. Survivors of the concentration camps, some of the psychology of which Milgram (1965, 1974) had attempted to understand through laboratory demonstrations as a peace-time researcher, have testified in the bleakest possible way the role of *decreased physical proximity* at critical moments, in making mass killing possible. The Austrian psychiatrist, and later founder of *logotherapy*, Viktor Frankl's first-hand witness experience as a prisoner of Auschwitz, for example, tells of how the Zyklon B capsules that delivered the poisonous gas to the chambers were not positioned in the delivery hatches by the SS soldiers themselves, but rather by a special detail of prisoners, whose refusal to comply would have led to them taking the place of their fellow

prisoners in the chambers (Frankl, 1985). Furthermore, in understanding the psychology of the death camps, many researchers have pointed to the role of *increasing social distance*. Frankl (1985) and another Auschwitz survivor, the Italian chemist Primo Levi (2006), recorded that prisoners of the Nazis were not referred to as prisoners, or in any person-related way; when talking about prisoners, Nazi soldiers would invariably use the multi-purpose, but usually object-related, German word *Stück* (translated literally, “piece”) instead. The Nazis were able to do what they did to the prisoners of the camps because many of those prisoners were not considered (and this, of course, had legal underpinnings in the Nuremberg Laws) human at all. Philip Zimbardo has reflected that in times of war, soldiers and even civilian populations on opposite sides of a conflict come to use collectivising, derogatory, and dehumanising language to refer to one another (Zimbardo, 2007). Numerous examples, throughout history, exist of the use of dehumanising language in which “enemy” populations, and particularly the *children* of “enemy” populations, are referred to in *verminous* terms. Colonel John Chivington, a former Methodist missionary and a then-candidate for Congress, who led “...a special volunteer unit of voluntary cavalry [that had been] raised for the expressed purpose of “exterminating” all Cheyennes and Arapahos residing within territorial boundaries” (Churchill, 2003, p. 53), resulting in the massacre of almost 600 Indians at the Cheyenne-Arapaho village at a bend at Sand Creek in 1864, said that his policy was to “...kill and scalp all [Indians], little and big,” advocating the wholesale slaughter of the Indian children as “*nits make lice*” (Stannard, 1992, p. 131, *italics mine*). Stannard (1992) also pointed out that half a century later, Heinrich Himmler described the extermination of Jewry as “*delousing*” and that at the time of the Iraq war, Iraqi soldiers were referred to as “*cockroaches*” by US soldiers, a term also used to describe the Tutsi minority and Hutu moderates during the 1994 Rwanda genocide (Herbert; in Selby, 2015). On Monday, 7th July 2014, Israeli politician Ayelet Shaked, a representative of the far-right Jewish Home party, said of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on her Facebook page that: “Behind every terrorist stand dozens of men and women, without whom he could not engage in terrorism. They are all enemy combatants ... this also includes the mothers of the martyrs ... They should follow their sons, nothing would be more just. They should go, as should the physical homes in which they raised the *snakes*. Otherwise, more *little snakes* will be raised there (cited in Hillel, 2014).²

As well as dehumanising the “other,” or “enemy” populations, social distancing achieves, often simultaneously, another function in establishing and embellishing One-Other relationships - the de-individuation of the “one.” The “bystander effect,” also known as “bystander apathy,” and “social loafing,” is often explained by the fact that in uncertain situations, the initial response of human beings is to look for what *others* are doing, and then to behave in a similar way (Latané, 1981). From the mid-1960s, Latané and Darley investigated what became known as the “bystander effect,” or “bystander apathy” - why people fail to intervene and to help in emergency situations. In a typical experiment, participants in a “waiting room” would see smoke pouring over the top of the laboratory door, or perhaps hear a female

² In 2015, Katie Hopkins, a columnist with the British gutter-press tabloid newspaper *The Sun*, and her editor David Dinsmore were reported to the London’s Metropolitan Police by D. Peter Herbert, the Chair of the Society of Black Lawyers, for incitement to racial hatred, following Hopkins’ description, once again as “cockroaches”, of desperate migrants who had drowned in the Mediterranean (Selby, 2015). Whether Hopkins, who used the language employed, as we have seen, by active participants in genocides in the United States, Nazi-occupied Europe, Rwanda, and Israel saw or sees those desperate migrants as an “enemy population” is not clear; however, as Suzanne Moore (2015) noted, Hopkins’ use of such language demonstrated that “...on immigration, the language of genocide has entered the mainstream.”

scream, or a crash from behind the door. The factors which determined whether the participants attempted to intervene were the presence of others (the more people in the proximity, the less likely they were to intervene) and ambiguity or otherwise of the situation (the more clearly the situation appeared to be an emergency, the more likely they were to act). When an individual is “one-of-many,” his own sense of *social responsibility* becomes “diffuse” (Latané, 1981), as he or she “deindividuates.” This has also been used to explain why some people behave anti-socially, as the sense of anonymity within the crowd disinhibits impulsive anti-social behaviours (Latané, 1981). We have already seen in the laboratory demonstrations of Stanley Milgram (1965, 1974) that our sense of personal responsibility, at least in as far as we may measure its behavioural correlates, appears to be diminished further when we are directly told or ordered to do something by a person in “authority” - when someone else “is in charge,” then we can tell ourselves that we are simply “following orders.”

In the rigid military hierarchy of Nazi Germany, the route of buck-passing was a clear one; but what of other situations of genocide? From which “authorities” did those involved in the genocide against the native peoples of the New World receive their orders? For one, the federal Indian agents and US Army officers who were involved in the negotiations of treaties with the Indians in the latter half of the nineteenth century often referred to the “Great Father” in the East, who, according to whatever best suited the white men’s points, was either full of love for or full of anger with his “red children” (see Brown, 1970). However, there was a more powerful authority still, who apparently commanded the obedient whole-scale slaughter and destruction of the Indians by the immigrants from the Old World and their descendants – God Almighty himself. The historian David Stannard (1992) argued that the four hundred year conquest of the New World was an extended series of Holy Wars mounted by the European colonists, and that the difference in the specific modalities of the genocidal activities in North and Central/South America is explainable via the temporal, and above all, denominational differences between the Anglo-American settlers and Spanish *conquistadors*. In the medieval Spanish/Roman Catholic mindset, the tradition of *contemptus mundi* (“contempt for the world,” which by the fourteenth century had developed into the practices of self-flagellation, self-starvation, and a variety of other forms of corporal mortifications), coupled with the unquestioned widespread beliefs in witchcraft and Satanic practices, and the Papally-approved hunt for, torture, and killing of heretics by the Inquisition, led to the simultaneous fascination with, and acclaimed horror of, the sexual becoming devolved onto the uncivilised, non-Christian, non-European races. Within European tradition, of course, and back to the time of Ancient Greece, slavery provided an economically sound alternative use of non-persons (as slaves were under Roman law) (Stannard, 1992). In contrast, the Calvinist and Puritanical British settlers of North America, according to Stannard (1992), reasoned that “...those without a sense of private property were, by definition, not putting their land to “good or profitable use” and “...therefore, they deserved to be dispossessed of it” (p. 234). The Spanish were hungry for the mineral wealth that could be extracted from the land, and so economically, needed (at least some of) the native people of Central and South America as slaves; the British were hungry for the land itself, and therefore had no use for the native people of North America, who were an economic obstacle to their territorial ambitions. As Stannard (1992) concluded, “... allegedly having shown themselves to be beyond conversion to Christian and civil life – and with little British or American need for them as slaves – straightforward mass killing of the Indians was deemed the only thing to do.” (p. 247).

The language used by the European settlers involved in the western expansion of the United States of the nineteenth century did not reflect the physical and cultural genocide committed against the Indian, or the theft of his land. The key provision of the 1834 Act of the United States Congress (*An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes and to Preserve Peace on the Frontiers*), which determined that all land west of the Mississippi, excluding that within the states of Missouri and Louisiana and the territory of Arkansas, would be Indian country, thus establishing a so-called “permanent frontier” (Brown, 1970; Churchill, 2003) was already nonsensical by 1860, with statehood being granted to California, Colorado and Minnesota, and the growth of the Kansas and Nebraska territories, in the 1850s. The proximal separation between the European-American and the Indian tribes was to be a short-lived strategy, and instead: “To justify these breaches of the “permanent Indian frontier,” “the policy makers in Washington invented “Manifest Destiny,” a term which lifted land hunger to a lofty plane. The Europeans and their descendants were ordained by destiny to rule all of America. They were the dominant race and therefore responsible for the Indians – along with their lands, their forests, and their mineral wealth. Only the New Englanders, who had destroyed or driven out their Indians, spoke out against “Manifest Destiny” (Brown, 1970, p. 8).

More famously, perhaps, those involved in the twentieth century genocide committed against the Jewish people by the Nazis included similar mystifying language, again with the express purpose of deindividuating the One responsible, and transforming mass slaughter and greed for property and land into a “higher purpose.” Among other precautions, in order to keep the “secret”, in official language only cautious and cynical euphemisms were employed: one did not write “exterminations”, but instead, “final solution”; not “deportation”, but instead, “transfer”; not “killing by gas”, but instead, “special treatment”; and so on (Levi, 2006, p. 384).

As we have seen, then, we attempt to morally distance ourselves from our own behaviour, and the social consequences of that behaviour, by employing the tactics of distance in two other modalities - *decreased physical proximity*, and *increased social distance*. When we utilise the latter in order to make justifications of aggressive behaviour, we do so via dehumanisation of the Other, and deindividuation of the One, thus diffusing our own feelings of responsibility. As well as these *post hoc* interpretations, we may also predict that if (i) we do not share physical proximity with another person; and/or (ii) we socially distance ourselves from another person, such that we have no feelings of empathy with that other person, then we will be able to disregard our own agency in terms of our subsequent responsibility for our negative behaviour towards that other person. In short, it will be more likely for us to behave aggressively towards a person we do not have to share space with, or face, or a person whom we have effectively marginalised from the concerns of the One that we belong to, and easier for us to live with the consequences.

The bullying of someone else by technological means - mobile telephones, games systems, online social networks - like other forms of bullying, is understood as a form of aggressive behaviour (see Smith et al., 2006, and discussion below), but unlike other forms of bullying behaviour, permits the perpetrator to attack the target from a remote location, and therefore outside of a face-to-face context. If we follow the Lorenzian (1953) reasoning outlined above, we may get to the suppositions that (i) we may find it easier to kill someone with a weapon that is not of our body (say, to shoot him with a rifle) than it is to beat him to death; and (ii) we may find it “easier” to enter the system code that triggers a missile launch resulting in our wiping out the existence of tens of thousands of unknown, faceless people than it is to (say) hack ten

individuals to death with an axe, being that this latter sort of attack would mean that we had to stand toe-to-toe and face-to-face with our opponents. If what has been said about *physical proximity* (and to a lesser extent, *social distancing*, which is possible, although perhaps not as likely, in face-to-face forms of bullying) has relevance to the phenomenon of *cyberbullying* - and of course, I would argue that it does - then we might expect that it is “easier” in terms of the availability of *post hoc* self-justifications, and our living with the consequences, to attack and bully someone on-line, than it is to attack and bully that person in a face-to-face situation.

Pornari and Wood’s (2010) quantitative research provided some interesting headway into the idea of whether social distancing can have an effect, in terms of its provision of an investigation of “...cognitive mechanisms, applied by people to rationalise and justify harmful acts, and engagement in traditional peer and cyber aggression among school children” (p. 81). Amongst their sample of 339 secondary school children, cyber aggression was positively related to moral disengagement and moral justification. Traditional (that is, non-cyber-) peer aggression was positively related to children’s moral justification, euphemistic language, displacement of responsibility, and outcome expectancies, and negatively associated with hostile attribution bias. Traditional peer aggression and cyber aggression were also highly associated. Pornari and Wood (2010) concluded that their data had indicated “...the need for future research to elaborate on the current findings, in order to advance theory and inform existing and future school interventions tackling aggression and bullying” (p. 81). However, whilst their work into differential contribution of cognitive mechanisms is an important contribution as regards understanding social distancing, much of the quantitative research that exists, and continues to be undertaken, into bullying and cyberbullying research is focused on the establishment of incidence rates and typologies or the outcome of intervention programmes - utilising self-report participant questionnaires which rest on the assumption of concordance between participant understandings and researcher definitions. To understand what sense young people may make for themselves of aggressive behaviour in the technological sphere, and even to answer the apparently simple, theoretically obvious, and yet seemingly undressed issue of whether remote location makes a difference, I would argue for a re-thinking of what research methodologies might be most helpful.

THE CASE FOR DIVERSE APPROACHES IN CYBER-BULLYING RESEARCH

If I may be permitted a personal reflection, my own involvement in conducting empirical research into cyberbullying has been neither lengthy, nor extensive. In 2007, I was asked to present a paper to the Psychological Society of Ireland’s Special Interest Group in Child and Adolescent Psychology, with the title, “*What do we know about Cyber-Bullying?*” (Minton, 2007a). Only half-jokingly, the first slide that I used in that presentation was entitled, “The Short Answer,” and the body of text on the slide was limited to two words: “Not enough!”. At this point, I was able to offer various media accounts of youth suicide linked to cyberbullying; a definition and sub-typology of cyberbullying, from Peter Smith et al.’s (2006) report of their study of 92 11-16 year-olds in London. Indeed, Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, and Tippet’s (2006) data, along with Qing Li’s (2006) study of 177 seventh-graders in Canadian schools, formed much of the basis for what I could offer regarding evidence on (especially) online

cyberbullying. The empirical evidence that I could draw on from Ireland was slim indeed; apart from data gleaned from a single item on bullying via mobile telephones that had been included in the questionnaire that I had used in my own Ph.D. research (Minton, 2007b) (“Other pupils have sent nasty text messages to me, or used mobile phones to get at me” to which 2,312 primary school and 3,257 post-primary school pupils had responded), quite simply, there was nothing there. Small wonder that I concluded that presentation with the note that, “The evidence we have is essentially either small-scale, anecdotal, or provisional. This is neither empirically nor – in terms of adhering to evidence-based practice – professionally satisfactory. Hence, large-scale study is desirable. Such a project is due to start in October” (2007a).

It was, in fact, thirteen months, rather than six months, later (so May 2008) by the time that I had successfully arranged the necessary funding (from RTÉ [*Radio Telfios Éireann*: the national broadcaster] and the *Irish Independent* newspaper) to conduct a large-scale study of cyberbullying in Ireland, which involved 2,794 12-16 year-olds from eight post-primary schools completing a 38-item questionnaire (see O’Moore & Minton, 2009, 2011). This contribution from Ireland seemed to be part of what was an explosion of interest in the area of cyberbullying, as other chapters in this book will surely have documented. Indeed, by the time that I presented a research paper at the 2011 *European Conference on Developmental Psychology* in Bergen, Norway (Minton, 2011), no less a person than Dan Olweus gave a special pre-conference presentation on the issue of cyberbullying. Olweus’ contribution was an interesting one: he posited that although substantial media and research attention was being given to cyberbullying, that it was in fact an over-estimated and actually a quite low-prevalence phenomenon (see Olweus, 2012). Nevertheless, of the papers that addressed bullying that were presented at that particular conference, over one-third were on the subject of cyberbullying.

Cyberbullying research often received input - especially in its earliest days - from those who had already achieved international expert status in the area of research of school bullying, e.g., Peter Smith (see Smith et al., 2006), Justin Patchin (see Patchin & Hinduja, 2006), and Mona O’Moore (see O’Moore & Minton, 2009 (I too had cut my teeth in the area of school bullying before approaching cyberbullying, but I make no claim to international expert status myself). There appears to have been an assumption on the part of these researchers that cyberbullying was a directly analogous phenomenon to school bullying; that what had been happening in the school yards down the centuries was now being played out on mobile telephones, or over the Internet - that the bullying had “spread online.” In order to illustrate this, let us first consider a widely used definition of bullying behaviour: “A person is bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons, and he or she has difficulty defending himself or herself” (Olweus, 1993, p. 14).

Now, let us consider the definition of cyberbullying presented by Smith et al., (2006), and used by them (and also Mona O’Moore and myself) in our early studies on cyberbullying (O’Moore & Minton, 2009, 2011; Smith et al., 2006): “Cyberbullying is an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him- or herself” (Smith et al., 2006).

Smith et al.’s (2006) definition of cyberbullying shares the characteristics of Olweus’ most definition of bullying behaviour (i.e., that it is [i] aggressive; [ii] intentional on the part of the perpetrator(s); [iii] repeated, or systematic in nature; and, [iv] characterised by an imbalance of power, in favour of the perpetrator(s) [see also Minton, 2010, 2012]), adding to this understanding a modality, i.e., the use of “electronic forms of contact.” Since the systematic

research of bullying behaviour began, self-report questionnaires have specified a definition of bullying for the respondents, and then assumed that having been so instructed in the definition of bullying, that the respondents' understanding of bullying was one and the same as that of those who designed the questionnaire. Indeed, we used Smith et al.'s (2006) definition of cyberbullying in the questionnaire that we designed specifically for our study of cyberbullying in Irish post-primary schools (O'Moore & Minton, 2009, 2011), and this approach is typical in self-report measures of cyberbullying, as well as those of bullying. So what has developed is that we, as researchers of cyberbullying have assumed that children and adolescents today understand instances of upsetting and aggressive behaviour that they experience and perpetrate on-line in the same way that we do, that is to say, as an extension of school yard bullying. However, there is no clear reason why they should share this type of understanding with us; indeed, there is rather more reason to suspect that such an assumption that they do share our understanding is an artefact of the way in which the cyberbullying research tradition has developed.

Indeed, empirical evidence collected in Ireland supports the idea that the way in which participants are instructed to categorise the aggressive behaviour that they have experienced or perpetrated online has an effect on the incidence rates that emerge. In a study of 2,474 Irish second-level school students (aged between 12 and 19 years), a definition of cyberbullying was provided, followed by a single questionnaire regarding perpetration, and a single questionnaire item regarding having been targeted. Using the frequency of "once a month or more often" 2.24 per cent of respondents indicated involvement as a target, and 1.12 per cent as a perpetrator of cyberbullying. However, when self-reported involvement in cyber aggression was recorded in the same sample (using two nine-item scales, one scale regarding perpetration, and one scale regarding having been targeted, again using the frequency of "once a month or more often"), with no definition of cyber aggression being provided, 10.83 per cent of respondents indicated involvement as a target, and 5.15 per cent as a perpetrator of cyber aggression (Corcoran, McGuckin, & Prentice, 2015). Olweus, amongst many others keen to define bullying properly, has demonstrated consistently that bullying is a narrowly confined form of aggression (see especially Olweus, 1993, 1999). Corcoran et al., (2015) have shown that in the digital environment, too, online, cyber aggression and the narrower cyberbullying are by no means interchangeable terms. This demonstrates something about the importance of researchers' understandings; indeed, the authors concluded that: "Rather than attempting to "shoe-horn" this abusive behaviour into the preconceived conceptual framework that provides an understanding of traditional bullying, it is timely to take an alternative approach . . . it is now time to turn our attention to the broader issue of cyber aggression, rather than persist with the narrow focus that is cyberbullying (p. 244).

I, too, would argue for a fresh approach, but perhaps of a different kind, as I feel that Corcoran et al.'s (2015) findings also support the assertion that young people's understandings could and should be given greater gravity in informing how researchers categorise online behaviour. This seems to me to be a better starting point than the assumption that aggression in the digital environment (which may well be a "new phenomenon" to established researchers in aggressive behaviour, but is a life-long reality to the so-called "digital native" participants involved in their studies) is necessarily directly comparable to the situation of the school yard (a familiar, and historical situation to researchers and young participants alike). Research into bullying behaviour, be that the establishment of incidence rates and typology, the study of demographic differences, or the assessment of the outcomes of anti-bullying intervention

programmes, has always been dominated by quantitative research (see Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Smith, 2003; Smith et al., 1999). There are good social reasons for this. It is important for experts to be able to provide reliable answers to questions asked by legislators, policy makers, educators, and the general public regarding the scale of the problem of bullying, and questions from those who would financially support anti-bullying programmes about the effectiveness, or likely effectiveness, of such measures. Such an approach, however, presupposes either that young people share, or can/should be brought to share, the understandings of bullying behaviour already established (although often debated) by experts. To an extent, in the arena of schools, this is an ecologically valid approach, especially when it is applied to research into anti-bullying interventions, where such programmes rely, as they invariably do, on raising young people's awareness (and the awareness of adults in school communities) of what bullying is, and challenging bullying behaviour (Minton, 2014; for examples of anti-bullying programmes, see Minton, O'Mahoney, & Conway-Walsh, 2013; Olweus, 1997; O'Moore & Minton, 2005; Roland, Bru, Midthassel, & Vaaland, 2010; Salmivalli, Kärnä, & Poskiparta, 2011; and for reviews of anti-bullying programmes, see Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Smith, 2003; Smith, Pepler & Rigby, 2004). However, the meaning-making actually employed by young people in their on-line activities remains elusive (if that meaning-making is not one and the same as that of the researchers) if we circumscribe this by either providing definitions of cyberbullying (to be shared - or ignored! - by our young participants) (e.g., Li, 2006; O'Moore & Minton, 2009, 2011; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006; Smith et al., 2006), or follow Corcoran et al.'s (2015) idea of focusing on the broader area of cyber aggression (an area that is still conceptually circumscribed by researcher understandings in the construction of self-report questionnaires, whether it is defined for participants on such inventories or not).

Participant meaning-making, in my opinion, might best be derived by the utilisation of qualitative methodologies (see also Hunter, Lusardi, Zucker, Jacelon & Chandler, 2002), which thus far have been (at least in terms of published output) only seldom applied to the areas of bullying and cyberbullying behaviour. Interestingly, in what is probably the most frequently cited example of qualitative research in cyberbullying, Vandebosch and Van Cleemput's (2008) participants' understandings of cyberbullying was found to match researcher definitions. Data derived from 53 focus groups (comprised of school students aged between 10 and 18 years), showed that the participants interpreted "cyber-bullying" as "Internet bullying" and in order for it to be considered "true" cyberbullying, the actions should (i) be intended by the perpetrator to be hurtful; (ii) be perceived by the target as hurtful; (iii) be part of a repetitive pattern of negative offline or online actions; and, (iv) be performed in a relationship characterised by a power imbalance (based on "real-life" power criteria, such as physical strength or age, and/or on ICT-related criteria such as technological know-how and anonymity). However, it is not necessarily the case that these findings reflect all young people's spontaneous understanding of cyberbullying. Despite the relatively (in this field) early vintage of this study, cyberbullying has long been part of the wider public consciousness in Belgium, where Vandebosch and Van Cleemput conducted their study, due in no small part to the success of the Nic Balthazar-directed 2007 film "Ben X" which depicts the cyberbullying of a boy with Asperger's syndrome, and was itself inspired by the real-life cyberbullying-related suicide of a 17-year old boy with autism in Belgium in 2002 (Nic Balthazar makes a film, 2005). Šleglova and Cerna's (2011) qualitative work, conducted via semi-structured interviews with fifteen 14- to 18-year-old targets of cyberbullying in the Czech Republic), was largely focused on the coping strategies used by their participants. It was found that whereas the participants, depending on

their experiences, might use technical defences, activity directed at the perpetrator, avoidance or utilise social support from peers, that some technical coping strategies were found to be ineffective, and the coping strategy most often recommended to young targets of bullying telling one's parents - was not used at all. Helen Johnson's (2012) work focused on teaching professionals rather than young people; she reported on a thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews with eight anti-bullying coordinators (employed in primary, secondary, middle and high school settings) in the UK, with results indicating that teaching professionals, and indeed schools, were beginning to develop an understanding of issues relating to cyberbullying, to acknowledge its unique features, and to develop a range of methods to counter and prevent cyberbullying; however, the schools were in need of additional support in order to be more comprehensive in their approaches.

We have seen, via Pornari and Wood's (2010) (quantitative) research, the link between the internal (cognitive) rationalisation and justification of harmful acts to the increased participation in the perpetration of bullying and cyberbullying amongst young people (see above). We have also seen that whilst Vandebosch and Van Cleemput's (2008) qualitative research (see above) showed that Belgian pre-teens and teenagers' understanding of cyberbullying matched with that of researchers in 2008, there is no firm reason to believe that that is still, or is more generally, the case - the area of young people's online and technological activity moves quickly, as many researchers of cyberbullying have commented in the past. As we have also seen, qualitative research has been rather under-utilised within cyberbullying research. It is my suggestion that in (i) the further exploration of the physical proximity/social distance/aggression issue, as applied to cyberbullying, and (ii) in the broader issue of understanding young people's meaning-making around cyberbullying and cyber aggression, that qualitative approaches could be appropriately and usefully employed, and that significant in-roads into these understandings could be made.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that, if illuminated through the lenses of classical ethology and classic social cognitive theory, it is reasonable to expect that the distance (both *physical proximity* and *social distancing*) has a relevance to the phenomenon of *cyberbullying*, in that it might be "easier" to attack and bully someone online than it is to attack and bully that person in a face-to-face situation. However, the testing of this idea has been obscured by the fact that the bulk of the cyberbullying research conducted to date has been quantitative in nature, conducted by those with a pre-existing expertise in face-to-face bullying who have assumed that cyberbullying is merely an online extension of face-to-face bullying, and that the young people involved in this phenomenon either share or, for the purposes of research, can be brought to share, the researchers' own understandings of cyberbullying. It is suggested that, especially given that there is no clear basis for making these assumptions, and the comparative "newness" of the field, that a greater emphasis on qualitative research in future might help to elicit young people's meaning-making regarding their online activities and use of technology.

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Chapter 142

THE EU KIDS ONLINE PROJECT: THE IMPORTANCE OF LARGE SCALE CROSS-NATIONAL RESEARCH

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INTRODUCTION

Cyberbullying or the use of online or electronic forms of communication to harass, threaten, and otherwise inflict harm has become one of the most talked about negative consequences of young people's use of Internet technologies. With ever increasing and diversifying online platforms, policymakers have sometimes struggled to find the right balance to support youthful adoption of social media and the need for protection and/or redress when things go wrong. Crucially, policymakers require evidence to support decision making and to target solutions to problems that have sometimes been the subject of heightened public concern and anxiety.

Since 2007, EU Kids Online has sought to contribute on a pan-European basis a body of research and evidence regarding young people's experiences with Internet technologies. EU Kids Online is a multinational research network that seeks to enhance knowledge of European children's online opportunities, risks, and safety thereby lending greater understanding of the online landscape that increasingly frames children and young people's experiences. Through large scale survey research, EU Kids Online offers an insight into children's online lives across Europe and provides a baseline on which to assess trends in the situations that children find problematic. Uniquely, this project has, through its close relationship with the Safer Internet Programme of the European Commission, sought to contribute to policy debates as well as solutions and to play a role with other stakeholders on some of the key problematic issues affecting young people.

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The harmful effects of bullying and harassment on children and young people have long been of concern to parents, educators, and policy makers, long before the Internet became such a feature of contemporary life. That the online world presents a new environment in which vulnerable children can be victimized and a space where perpetrators find new ways to perform acts of harassment has been acknowledged by educators and online safety experts as one of the most complex issues facing children's online participation. Yet, the extent to which this is a risk identified by children and the manner in which they respond to experiences of bullying and harassment remains a challenging research question. Bullying and online harassment feature as one of the risks asked about in the EU Kids Online survey, and while not the most prevalent of negative experiences that children describe, it is the one that was found to have the most severe impact. Key findings from EU Kids Online and the wider contribution of cross-national large scale studies to cyberbullying research are the subject of this chapter.

SAFER INTERNET RESEARCH IN CONTEXT

The rapidity with which the Internet has been embraced by young people and the speed at which it has impacted young people's approach to communication and access to information and entertainment is remarkable. Young people have been to the fore in embracing new Internet technologies (Rice & Haythornthwaite, 2006), adapting them effortlessly to new modes of social interaction (Boyd, 2008), and forging new and often unexpected opportunities for learning (Ito et al., 2008). Yet, a dual discourse counterpointing the diverse multiple opportunities that the Internet affords with attendant risks and concerns with how best to manage young people's engagement with a complex amalgam of technologically-mediated content and contact risks has preoccupied policy makers, almost since its inception (Gill, 1996).

The first phase of policy interventions towards dealing with potentially harmful effects of the Internet downsides may be said to have been largely founded on the assumed risks it posed to children, based variously on intelligence from industry, law enforcement, and child welfare experts supported by limited forms of research alongside political concerns regarding child protection. Much of this was framed at an international level with the EU and the US playing leading roles in framing the principal themes of risks and safety online (European Commission, 1996; Internet Safety Technical Task Force, 2008). The European Commission's Safer Internet Programme acted on a pan-European level to support efforts to combat illegal uses of the Internet, principally the use of Internet technologies to exploit children and disseminate child abuse images, and to raise awareness, especially among parents and educators of the risks, predominantly content-based, that the Internet might pose to young people (European Commission, 1999).

The rise of social media and the explosion of young people's active participation in online social networking gave the lie to this policy approach. Egregious as online child abuse or exploitation is, the framing of education and awareness approaches around risks of exposure to online predation appeared increasingly irrelevant to the real experiences, positive and negative, that young people encountered. The absence of an adequate evidence base to inform such policy led to the development of the EU Kids Online as a Europe-wide research network committed to producing reliable evidence of children's online opportunities, risks, and safety. Preceded by a number of international comparative studies such as the Safety Awareness, Facts and Tools

or SAFT survey (Staksrud, 2005), and a series of Eurobarometer studies on Internet safety (Eurobarometer, 2005, 2007), EU Kids Online was the first project to propose a robust and comparable, survey-based investigation of children's (and their parents') access and use of the Internet as well as approaches to dealing with problems encountered online.

EU Kids Online originated as a so-called "knowledge enhancement" project for the European Commission's Safer Internet Programme in order to support policy decision making processes related to online services used by young people. In its first phase (2006-09), EU Kids Online created a network of European researchers and a body of knowledge based on comparative analysis of the existing evidence base on children and online technologies conducted in Europe. A key contribution was its classification of the typology of *content*, *contact*, or *conduct* risks and opportunities that arise in the context of young people going online (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009). Going against the popular rhetoric of "digital natives" (Prensky, 2001), it was argued many children still lacked the resources to use the Internet sufficiently to explore its opportunities or to develop vital digital literacy skills (Helsper & Eynon, 2010), highlighting the importance of encouraging and facilitating children's confident and flexible Internet use.

An overriding priority was the need for reliable comparative data with which to assess the extent of the challenges facing young people in Europe when using the Internet. With 75% of European children regularly going online, many observers celebrated children's youthful expertise while others worried about their vulnerability to new forms of harm. Policies to balance the goals of maximising opportunities and minimising risks require an evidence based approach. Therefore, with funding from the EC Safer Internet Programme from 2009-11, EU Kids Online proceeded to design and conduct a major quantitative survey of 9-16 year olds experiences of online use, risk, and safety in 25 European countries (Livingstone, Haddon, Gorzig, & Ólafsson, 2011a). The underlying aim of the survey was to enhance knowledge of European children's and parents' experiences and practices regarding risky and safer use of the Internet and new online technologies in order to inform the promotion among national and international stakeholders of a safer online environment for children. The approach adopted was child-centred, comparative, critical, and contextual and informed by a socio-ecological perspective to better understand individual children's experiences within the diverse and varied contexts that constituted the wider European landscape (O'Neill, 2015).

THE EU KIDS ONLINE SURVEY

The EU Kids Online survey (2009-11) was a unique research endeavour in terms of breadth and scope of its investigation of online risks for children aged 9-16. A random stratified sample of 25,142 children aged 9-16 who used the Internet, plus one of their parents, was interviewed during Spring/Summer 2010 in 25 European countries. The survey investigated key online risks: pornography, bullying, receiving sexual messages, contact with people not known face-to-face, offline meetings with online contacts, potentially harmful user-generated content, and personal data misuse. Although a quantitative approach by theoretical and methodological design, the survey also collected free form responses to open-ended questions of what pre-occupied and bothered children on the Internet.

A number of features of the methodology for EU Kids Online stand out to distinguish it from earlier cross-national studies such as Eurobarometer. In the first instance, the research is child-centred and reports incidence based on accounts provided by children themselves. Both children and their parents were surveyed as part of the research but it is the child's account that is reported in cross-national analysis. Secondly, a robust methodology was used to ensure representativeness of the sample on the national level and standardisation of sampling methods to ensure appropriate comparability across all countries included in the study. Thirdly, every effort was taken to ensure the reliability of children's responses through an ethically-sensitive approach. Children were interviewed in their own homes by specially trained interviewers. Self-completion sections were included for sensitive questions, with care taken to ensure that children were enabled to provide responses to sensitive issues without any adult interference. An optional open-ended question was also included to allow children to describe any situation they had experienced in which they were made to feel uncomfortable or which had bothered them. The question path in the survey was one in which initially all children were asked about incidence of exposure to risks. For those who did experience any of the risks asked about, this was followed by questions which asked them about impact and how it had made them feel. This was then subsequently filtered such that only those who had been adversely affected were then asked what they had done about it or to whom they turned for help and support.

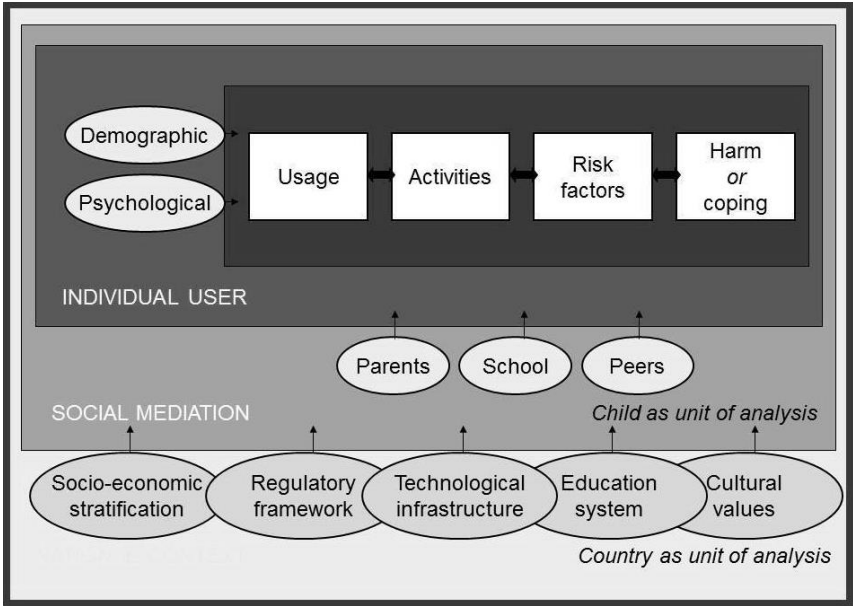
Previous research indicated that the patterns and social contexts of general Internet use are key factors shaping children's online activities and online risks encountered (Livingstone, Haddon, & Görzig, 2012). Online experience is defined as a pathway composed of the online activities engaged in by children and the online and offline factors (e.g., family, social and cultural environment) that shape children's behaviours toward the technological world. This approach, based on Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological model, offers a re-conceptualization of the child's ecology as a multi-layered set of nested and interconnecting environmental systems, all of which influence the developing child but with varying degrees of directness (Bronfenbrenner, 1997). The perspective has evolved since its early inception and today acknowledges the role of the child's own characteristics, hence the model is now referred to as the bio-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The framework recognizes the complex interdependencies between the institutions and structures that support or constrain children's opportunities and their agency in making choices and decisions online while negotiating these possibilities and constraints. While limited demographic data was collected from parents to determine socio-economic status (SES), independent variables relating to national context were used to examine cross-country differences and are discussed further below (Lobe, Livingstone, Ólafsson, & Vobed, 2011).

Four main areas of risk were at the core of the investigation as set out by EU Kids Online: (i) exposure to sexual images online, (ii) sending and receiving sexual messages, (iii) bullying and harassment, and (iv) meeting strangers. The range of risks was selected based on a review of the available evidence derived from empirical studies that had been conducted across Europe (Hasebrink, Livingstone, & Haddon, 2008) and a classification of risks identified in the literature (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009). A typology of risks according to content, contact, and conduct was developed, recognising children as actors and participants as well as consumers of content, in need of protection (Table 1).

Table 1. EU Kids Online Classification of Risks

	Content Child as receiver (of mass productions)	Contact Child as participant (adult- initiated activity)	Conduct Child as actor (perpetrator/victim)
Aggressive	Violent / gory content	Harassment, stalking	Bullying, hostile peer activity
Sexual	Pornographic content	“Grooming”, sexual abuse or exploitation	Sexually harassment, “sexting”
Values	Racist / hateful content	Ideological persuasion	Potentially harmful user- generated content
Commercial	Embedded marketing	Personal data misuse	Gambling, copyright infringement

Source: EU Kids Online.



Source: The EU Kids Online framework (2011).

Figure 1. Relating online use, activities and risk factors to harm to children.

Much initial policy activity, as discussed above, was focused on content risks, drawing on well-established tropes of child protection in media contexts, seeking to provide “safer” forms of access for children to content in online, largely unregulated spaces. Accordingly, filtering tools were proposed as an important technology-enabled step towards restricting access to mass-produced content that may be unsuitable for children (Staksrud & Kirksæther, 2013). Children as participants in contact risks (adult-initiated) similarly is well-represented in the literature of online risks with children vulnerable to online predation (Gillespie, 2008), forms of ideological manipulation (Rogan, 2006), and online harassment by strangers (Peter, Valkenburg, & Schouten, 2006). Importantly, the typology recognises the increasingly active role of children in use of the Internet and in contexts in which they may be at risk of being the victim or even the instigator of acts that threaten or endanger others. It is in this context that

EU Kids Online has created a comprehensive evidence base across 25 countries in Europe regarding the incidence and response to bullying and other risks encountered through Internet technologies.

The EU Kids Online model explains adolescents' online risks and opportunities within a specifically adapted socio-ecological framework (Görzig & Machackova, 2015) (see Figure 1). Guided by this model, the EU Kids Online survey captured variables on the level of the individual as well as their parents, peers, and teachers. In addition, the survey data allows linkage with country level data, thus enabling the ability to capture the *cultural level* of the socio-ecological system by using country as a proxy.

In the following sections, we discuss findings relating to cyberbullying from the EU Kids Online survey and map the factors that emerged from the survey to the three distinct levels of the *individual*, the *family*, and the *country* level. Cyberbullying is usually defined as a form of bullying that uses electronic means such as email, mobile phone calls, text messages, instant messenger contact, photos, social networking sites, and personal web pages, with the intention of causing harm to another person through repeated hostile conduct. This can include forms of aggression such as humiliation, harassment, social exclusion, mockery, and unpleasant comments (Smith et al., 2008). In terms of the classification of risks above, cyberbullying is one of several conduct risks that may harm children through online contact with others. While a familiar term in English-speaking usage, "bullying" proved to be a difficult term to translate. Therefore, for the purposes of the survey, bullying was defined as follows:

"Sometimes children or teenagers say or do hurtful or nasty things to someone and this can often be quite a few times on different days over a period of time, for example. This can include: teasing someone in a way this person does not like; hitting, kicking or pushing someone around; leaving someone out of things."

During the interview, children were asked if this had happened to them either in person face-to-face, by mobile phone calls or texts, or on the Internet – e.g., via email, social networking sites.

Individual Level (Child as Unit)

Focussing in the first instance at the level of the individual child, data from the EU Kids Online survey allows us to describe the overall incidence of cyberbullying as reported by children aged 9 to 16 years. The survey found that 19% of children from across the 25 participating European countries, or one in five, reported that someone had acted in a hurtful or nasty way towards them. These children were then asked how it happened. The most common form of bullying reported was in person face-to-face at 13%, compared to 7% who reported that this happened to them on the Internet. The survey also found that for teenagers who experienced being bullied, this was more likely to be accompanied by online bullying and/or by bullying on mobile devices (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011b).

Drawing on the full survey findings, individual level factors may be further elaborated as follows:

- Age and gender: There is little consensus in the literature on how various socio-demographic factors influence cyberbullying behaviour. Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, & Tippet (2006), for instance, find no effect of age among children aged from 11 to 16 years in the prevalence of cyberbullying, whereas Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) found that older pupils (15 years old and above) were more often Internet aggressors than a younger children's group (10-14 year-old). EU Kids Online, likewise, found some association of both age and gender with cyberbullying. Overall, as noted above, more bullying occurred offline than online: while 19% of children said they had been bullied either online and/or offline, just 6% of respondents reported being a victim of online bullying, while 3% said they had bullied others online. Within these findings, girls and older adolescents reported being cyberbullied more often than boys or younger children (Livingstone, et al., 2011b). Furthermore, bullying others online or via mobile phone was found to increase slightly with age. The data also showed that there was a link between offline and online bullying: 56% of online bullies said they had bullied others face-to-face and 55% of online victims of bullying also claimed to be victims of face-to-face bullying. Although being bullied online was generally more common among older children, no particular age trend in forms of bullying was evident (Görzig, 2011; Lampert & Donoso, 2012).
- Psychological factors: EU Kids Online included items adapted from the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) using items measuring psychological difficulties only, examining children's level of self-efficacy, sensation seeking, experiences of ostracism, and psychological difficulties. Generally, both cyberbullying victimisation as well as perpetration showed a positive relation with psychological difficulties, self-efficacy, and sensation-seeking (Lampert & Donoso, 2012; Laurinavičius & Zukauskienė, 2012). Moreover, it also appears that those involved in online bullying showed overall a higher level of psychological vulnerability than those not involved in online bullying (Hasebrink, Görzig, Haddon, Kalmus, & Livingstone, 2011).
- Cyberbullies compared to face-to-face bullies were more likely to engage in risky online activities, spend more time online, and find it easier to be themselves on the Internet – a pattern that remained stable across countries suggesting that it is individual level factors rather than the country level that are generally more important in explaining cyberbullying (Görzig & Ólafsson, 2013).

Family Level (Household as a Unit)

Socio-economic status was the principal variable used by EU Kids Online to detect possible differences at the level of the household. This was included primarily to examine questions of digital advantage or disadvantage, following on from previous research on the so-called “digital divide” (Livingstone & Helsper, 2007). Findings from the survey showed that the risk of being involved in either online or offline bullying increased slightly with higher levels of socio-economic status, although differences were small (Livingstone et al., 2011b). However, among youth who were involved in online bullying, those with a higher SES were more often involved as a bully, while those with a lower SES were more often involved as victims (Görzig, 2011). Young people from lower SES households also indicated more and a higher intensity of harm

than those from a higher SES background. Lower levels of SES were related to a less likely occurrence of some coping responses, specifically changing Internet settings, responding by deleting a message, or trying to fix the problem (Vandoninck, d'Haenens, & Smahel, 2014). Furthermore, young people from families classified as a minority group reported higher experiences of being bullied online as well as subsequent harm (d'Haenens & Ogan, 2013). Moreover, youth more often sought support upon being victimised if they belonged to a discriminated against group or spoke a minority language at home (Livingstone, Kirwil, Ponte, & Staksrud, 2014).

- **Socio-economic status (SES):** Some SES variation was found among those who responded to at least one of the questions regarding bullying and/or bullying others. However, the differences were minor. Among those who have experienced online bullying, girls, younger children, and those from a low socio-demographic background were more likely to be victims of bullying (and less likely to bully others) than boys, older children, and those with a higher socio-demographic background (Livingstone et al., 2011b). Overall, these differences suggest that those socio-demographic groups that are in some way or other more vulnerable are also more likely to report being victims than perpetrators of online bullying (Lampert & Donoso, 2012).
- **Parental factors:** Some differences were also found between parents' awareness of their child's experience of cyberbullying compared to more general awareness of their child's Internet activities. Overall, both 6% of children and 6% of parents reported that the child had been bullied on the Internet. Slightly more girls than boys (7% vs. 5%), and slightly more older teenagers (7% of 15-16 years) than younger children (3% of 9-10 year olds) said they had been bullied. There was a high level of agreement between children and their parents regarding whether or not the child had been sent hurtful or nasty messages on the Internet or bullied online. At the same time, there are some small, but noticeable, country differences in relation to the child/parent gap in perceptions. The child/parent agreement is a little lower in countries such as the Netherlands, Finland, Sweden, and Norway in that parents are more likely to think their child has been bullied online even when the child says they have not. By contrast, in Romania, Estonia, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, children are more likely to say they have been bullied online than are parents.

Cross-Cultural/Cross-National Perspectives (Country as a Unit)

A powerful feature of the EU Kids Online survey was its combination of a pan-European survey interviewing some 25,000 children about their online experiences whilst also incorporating representative samples in each of the 25 participating European countries, thereby enabling detailed analysis at a national as well as the European level. Differences in Internet usage among European countries can have several explanations: for instance, how well established the infrastructure for the Internet is, the degree to which Internet safety awareness is disseminated, or more widely cultural factors that impact on parenting styles (Livingstone, Mascheroni, Dreier, Chaudron, & Lagae, 2015). All of these aspects constitute cultural differences that can be explored via quantitative or qualitative approaches. For instance,

opportunities, risks, harm, as well as parental mediation can be analysed and provide detailed information in terms of cultural as well as national contexts (Helsper, Kalmus, Hasebrink, Sagvari, & Haan, 2013).

Assessment of cultural differences remains a complex problem requiring a combination of approaches for identifying and discussing cross-cultural differences. The cultural level, for instance, may comprise abstract influences such as economic, social, educational, legal, or political systems which, in keeping with Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, can elicit indirect influence upon individuals and other levels of the ecological system (Bronfenbrenner, 1997). For explanatory purposes, EU Kids Online developed a classification of countries according to the amount and types of Internet use and risks (Lobe, Livingstone, Ólafsson, & Vobed, 2011). This approach was underpinned by the underlying trend consistent in all instances of the more Internet use, the more risk was found. As such, participating countries were classified into the following four groups:

- “*Lower use, lower risk*” countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Hungary) – here children made the lowest use of the Internet, and they were below average on all risks apart from meeting online contacts – online and offline; still, it may be expected that as levels of use rise in these countries, so too will risk.
- “*Lower use, some risk*” countries (Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey) had the lowest Internet usage, although there was some excessive use of the Internet and some problems with user-generated content.
- “*Higher use, some risk*” countries (Cyprus, Finland, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, the UK) made high use of the Internet but were high only on some risks, possibly because of effective awareness-raising campaigns, regulatory strategies, or strategies of parental mediation of children's Internet use.
- “*Higher use, higher risk*” countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Lithuania, Norway, Romania, Sweden) include both wealthy Nordic countries and Eastern Europe that have the highest Internet usage across Europe as well as Eastern European countries with lower income but through more recent broadband investments experience “new use, new risk.”

Country differences for experiences of being bullied both face-to-face and online are noteworthy. Findings from EU Kids Online show that cyberbullying appears to be more common in countries where bullying in general is more prevalent rather than in countries where the Internet is more established. For example, in Romania and Estonia, more than four in 10 children report having been bullied, twice the average across all 25 countries included in the survey. Online bullying in these countries is also more than twice the average, at one in seven children who use the Internet. As such, levels of all forms of bullying, and experiences of victimisation and perpetration of cyberbullying go hand in hand. Variance at the country level represents a more complex issue. According to Görzig (2012), 7% of the variance in cyberbullying victimisation can be explained by aspects located at the country level. Gender differences (i.e., girls) were found to be the most important predictor of cyberbullying victimisation in Spain, the Netherlands and Finland. Higher Internet usage was found to be more significant in Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Slovenia. Then, risky online activities were the most relevant predictor in Bulgaria, Denmark, Poland, Portugal, and Sweden and the lowest in

Turkey, Hungary, and Lithuania. Reviewing the evidence for the variation in cyberbullying and its correlates across countries, Görzig and Machackova (2015) conclude that the cultural or country level does play a role in cyberbullying even if it is one of an array of factors within a socio-ecological system.

OFFLINE VS. ONLINE VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS

Two key questions within the literature on bullying which were explored further by EU Kids Online are the relation between traditional offline bullying and online bullying, and the relationship between victims and perpetrators of online bullying, including the psychological profiles of those who have experienced both.

EU Kids Online findings show that across Europe, 6% of 9 to 16 year-olds who use the Internet report having been bullied online while only half as many (3%) admit to having bullied others. Since 19% have been bullied either online and/or offline, and 12% have bullied someone else either online and/or offline, clearly more bullying occurs offline than online (Görzig, 2011). There is a link between offline and online bullying however. Fifty-six percent of online bullies said they had bullied others face-to-face and 55% of online bullying victims also claimed to be victims of face-to-face bullying. As such, bullying and being bullied tend to go together. Among those who do not bully others, being bullied is relatively rare – 8% offline only, and 4% online. But, among those who have bullied others offline, nearly half (47%) had also been bullied offline (and fewer online). On the other hand, among those who had bullied others online, nearly half (40%) had been bullied online (and fewer offline) (Görzig & Machackova, 2015; Hasebrink et al., 2011).

Findings from EU Kids Online also show how the odds for a child to perpetrate bullying online compared to offline increase when one of the factors is changed by one unit. Specifically, it is shown that the odds of being an online bully as opposed to an offline bully increased by 48% when the child was a girl compared to a boy; by 28% when the child's belief in his or her Internet abilities increased by one point (of three); by 36% when the child's score on the "online persona" scale increases by one; by 30% when the child spent an additional hour online; by 31% when the child engaged in one additional risky online activity, and by 5% when the child engaged in one additional risky offline activity (Hasebrink et al., 2011).

Additionally, offline bullies were more likely to be boys rather than girls. However, when it comes to online, the likelihood of girls being bullies increased more than for boys. The consequence is that boys and girls are equally likely to bully online (but not offline). In sum, these findings suggest that online bullies can be differentiated from offline bullies on the basis of their behaviour and attitudes associated with the Internet as well as their gender rather than on the basis of their offline behaviours.

Online bullies and those being bullied online are those children who are mostly also vulnerable offline. This supports previous findings that those children who already face problems offline are not only in need of support in their offline lives but also in their online lives. This includes children who have psychological difficulties, are socially excluded (ostracised), engage in unhealthy sensation-seeking behaviours or are in some way or other members of a vulnerable group (Hasebrink et al., 2011).

Children who are bullied and/or bully others online have similar demographic and psychological profiles to those who are bullied and/or bully offline, suggesting that those children bullied or bullying online are not very different from those bullied or bullying offline except in that they make use of the affordances of the Internet (for example, the chance to meet new people online or to network with peers).

Those children who are causing harmful experiences online to others in the form of bullying are often the very same ones being bullied online by others, some of them known and some unknown to them offline. It is possible that being bullied by others online can sometimes be the response to having bullied others online, and vice versa, bullying others online can sometimes be the response to being bullied by others online. Although we cannot determine which is the cause and which the effect, providing more support for children who are victims of bullying might simultaneously decrease the occurrence of online bullying. Similarly, working to prevent children from engaging in online bullying behaviours might reduce the chance that they themselves will be bullied online by others. On a positive note and to keep these findings in perspective, it was shown that 93% of European children have neither been bullied nor bullied others online.

TRENDS OF BULLYING ONLINE AND OFFLINE

Following completion of the EU Kids Online survey in 2011, a new project called Net Children Go Mobile was undertaken in 2014, also supported by the European Commission's Safer Internet Programme. Closely modelled on the original EU Kids Online survey, Net Children Go Mobile provides time-series data for experiences of online risks and safety in a subset of countries allowing for the identification of trends (Livingstone, Mascheroni, Ólafsson, & Haddon, 2014). With new data from seven of the original 25 countries, Net Children Go Mobile shows that while overall incidence of bullying has not increased since the EU Kids Online survey, cyberbullying is now more prevalent than face-to-face bullying and occurs most commonly on SNS. This shift in experiences from bullying offline to online is most noticeable for girls and for early teenagers and is markedly a feature of increased use of mobile technologies such as smartphones and tablets (O'Neill & Dinh, 2015).

Overall levels of bullying have risen marginally from 21% to 23% (Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014). However, the number of children who report being bullied online or through any form on the Internet or mobile phones has nearly doubled from 7% to 12% in the period from 2011 to 2014. An increase in bullying among girls, and a slight decline among boys, is noteworthy. This is especially the case in relation to girls' reports of cyberbullying, where almost a doubling of online bullying from 8% to 15% is reported. Age variations are also significant in this sense. There are increased reports of bullying among young children, 9–10 years of age, and among 13–14 year olds. Older teens aged 15–16 years as well as 12–13 year olds reported a slight decline in experiences of being bullied. However, reports of cyberbullying have increased among all groups. The most substantial increase is in fact among younger users, aged 9–10 years old, where reports have tripled from 3% to 10% between 2011 and 2014, and doubled among 13–14 year olds, from 8% to 15% (O'Neill & Dinh, 2015).

The proportion of children who have been bullied at all (on and/or offline) has remained fairly stable at under a quarter of 9–16 year olds – except that it rose markedly in Denmark, and

was already very high in Romania. But, cyberbullying has increased in the past four years – from 8% to 12%, especially among girls, and among the youngest age group (aged 9-10 years, followed by teenagers aged 13-14 years old). The biggest increase from 2010 to 2014 in the percentage of children who have been cyberbullied is in Denmark (a rise from 12% to 21%) and Ireland (from 4% to 13%) (Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014).

CONCLUSION

Cyberbullying remains one of the most discussed forms of harmful behaviour resulting from young people's extensive participation online. High profile examples of threatening aggression and harassment of vulnerable young people, sometimes with tragic consequences, continue to dominate public discourse, especially in popular media, resulting in repeated calls for more direct intervention. Against this, EU Kids Online has, in common with other international reviews (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012), cautioned against the conclusion that cyberbullying has reached epidemic proportions. On the contrary, cyberbullying represents a subset and is best treated as a variant of unwanted, anti-social behaviour that can have damaging and sometimes devastating consequences for victims.

The value of large scale, multi-national studies such as that undertaken by EU Kids Online is that findings can provide a solid baseline for policy development and where necessary targeted intervention. As discussed, EU Kids Online has at its origins a commitment to evidence-based policy recommendations and over the course of the project has contributed to findings for policy making at both the country and European levels. Indeed, it is this combination of detailed socio-ecological data on the full range of young people's experiences, positive and negative, that has enabled the generation of significant discussion of policy responses that are measured, informed by evidence and addressed to the multiple stakeholders involved in supporting better Internet experiences for young people (Livingstone, Ólafsson, O'Neill, & Donoso, 2012; O'Neill & Staksrud, 2012).

Arising from findings of EU Kids Online is evidential support for the general proposition that individual level factors highlighting the needs of vulnerable populations, victim support and specific groupings more likely to engage in cyberbullying behaviour merit more targeted policy measures. The multiple cultural factors notwithstanding, there remains a universality to the experience of bullying behaviour which, as more recent data shows, is migrating on an increasing basis to online platforms. This is a timely reminder of the need to maintain a strong evidence base and to continue to monitor on a pan-European basis the diversity of issues that impact young people's online experience.

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Chapter 143

CYBERBULLYING IN SOUTH KOREA

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INTRODUCTION

Early studies of cyberbullying in South Korea focused on people's aggressive behaviour in cyberspace rather than those of school pupils (i.e., *aksung-daekgul* [malicious reply], *cybermoyok* [insults], *cybersungpokryuk* [sexual violence or sexting], cyberstalking etc.). Public concern for cyberbullying among school pupils was greatly raised by a middle school pupil's suicide in 2011. One middle school boy died by suicide after serious school bullying, including cyberbullying. The boy had been insulted, extorted, and received both waterboarding and physical attacks. The aggressive behaviours happened consistently through, or by, his mobile phone. He suffered serious mental torture, which destroyed his daily life and led to the suicide. In 2012 a high school girl died by suicide after receiving swearing and *flaming* from several peers in the chatroom. Finally, the South Korean government announced cyberbullying as a sub-type of school bullying in 2012, and have made efforts to prevent cyberbullying in line with traditional school bullying.

TERMS FOR BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING

There are several terms to indicate bullying-like behaviours in South Korea and the terms are also related to those of cyberbullying: *gipdan-ttadolim* (group isolation), *gipdan-gorophim* (group harassment or group bullying), *hakkyo-pokryuk* (school violence), and *wang-ta* (*socially excluded person or social excluding behaviour*). These terms are often used interchangeably, but there are some differences in terms of the type of aggression each term most represents (Lee, Smith, & Monks, 2012). *Gipdan-ttadolim* and *gipdan-gorophim* imply group behaviours

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(rather than one-to-one), and *hakkyo-pokryuk* includes a wide range of hostile and violent behaviours which happen among pupils, within or around schools, such as physical attack, name calling, *gipdan-ttadolim*, extortion of money, and sexual abuse. *Wang-ta* is a slang term popularized by pupils in the late 1990's, which means socially excluded person (victim) or excluding behaviour. Among these terms, the use of the term *hakkyo-pokryuk* has increased over time and a number of recent studies have used this term rather than other terms. Similar to traditional bullying, for cyberbullying there are several terms used in South Korea: *cybergorophim* (cyber-harassment), *cyberttadolim* (cyber isolation), *cyberpokryuk* (cyber violence), and *cyber wang-ta* (a socially excluded person in cyber space, or social exclusion in cyber space). Sometimes the English term *cyberbullying* is also used. Recently, the term *cyberpokryuk* has been most commonly used to indicate the corresponding phenomena to cyberbullying in western cultures because it includes a wide range of aggressive behaviours in cyber space.

DEFINITION

There is no agreement of definition of cyberbullying in South Korea. However, researchers generally agree that *cyberpokryuk* is an individual's harmful behaviour conducted by electronic communication equipment to specified or unspecified individual(s). The *Hakkyo-pokryuk Prevention and Counterplan Act* (2012. 4.1) indicated *cyberttadolim* (cyber isolation) as a subtype of *hakkyo-pokryuk*. It defines *cyberttadolim* as "the behaviours causing the other pupils' distress; a pupil/pupils aggress(es) other pupil(s) repeatedly, consistently or spread(s) personal- or false information using information technology equipment such as internet, mobile phone."

Table 1. Representative types of cyberbullying in South Korea

Types	Contents
Cybermoyok/bibang(insults)	Abusive words such as swearing, slander through the Internet, mobile text etc.
Cybermyungye-hweson (defamation)	Publicly posting messages/writings which harm an individual's honor.
Cyberstalking	Sending fearful or anxious emails/messages to someone or visiting his(her) SNS although (s)he does not want this.
Cybersungpokryuk (sexting)	Posting sexual description or sexual disparagement, sexual swearing of an individual using mobile or Internet, or spreading obscene video clip(s) or photograph(s).
Personal information drain	Spreading the other person's private information (name, address, school etc.).
Cybergangyo or cybermyungryung (coercion)	Forcing an individual to do an unwanted behaviour or errand. Compelling an individual to purchase cybermoney, cyber character, or other materials and make payment for him (her) (i.e., <i>wifi-shuttle</i> , <i>game item shuttle</i> etc.).
Cyberttadolim(exclusion), cybergorophim(harassment), cyber wang-ta	Isolating or excluding an individual in cyberspace through electronic communication means.

Kim and Yoon (2012a) defined *cyberpokryuk* as: “The verbally aggressive behaviours such as swearing, criticizing, threatening, rumor, *ttadolim* and *gorophim* which occur in cyberspace using electronic communication skills, and these behaviours cause psychological harm to (a) specified or unspecified person(s)” (p. 216). Lim (2013) used the English term cyberbullying and defined it as “...a new type of bullying: verbal-, non-verbal-, physical-, and relational bullying occurring in cyberspace using information communication skills” (p. 30).

TYPES OF CYBERBULLYING

Generally, studies in South Korea tend to categorize types of cyberbullying by its contents or behaviours rather than the place it occurs or the media used. Table 1 below summarizes some of the main types of cyberbullying which are commonly investigated in Korean studies.

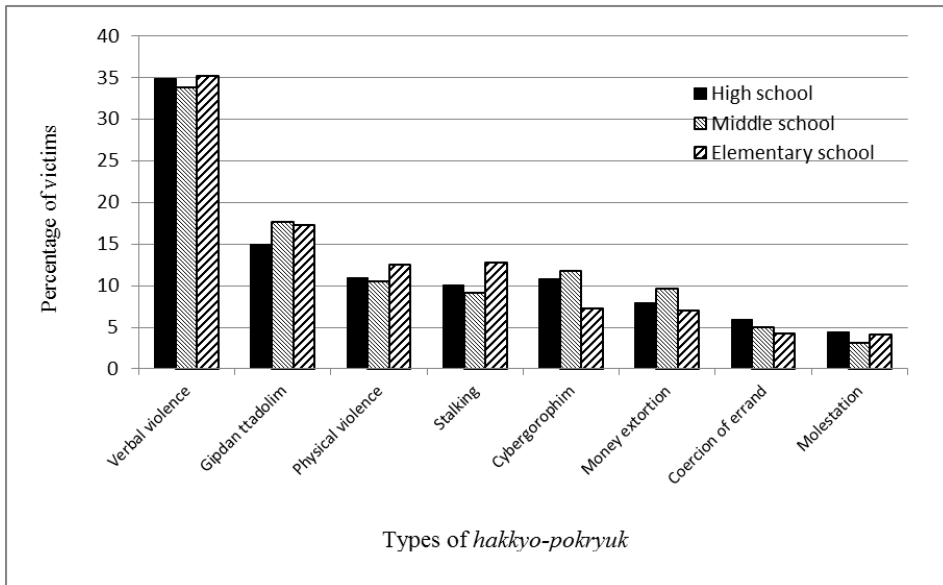
The Korean Internet & Security Agency (KISA, 2011) divided the adverse effects of the Internet into two categories *cyberpokryuk* and *cyberbumjoi* (cybercrime). The former indicates behaviours which give a person unpleasant feelings, such as a malicious Internet reply, cyber-insults, personal information drain, cyber sexual abuse, and cyberstalking. When these behaviours are against the law, they are *cyberbumjoi*. However, it is not clear to what extent a certain behaviour is against the law. Some types of cyberbullying, cyber-insults, cyberstalking, and sexting have similar meanings to those of Western studies, whereas there is a distinctive phenomenon in South Korea, called *cybergangyo* (*wifi-shuttle*), which compels a victim to do/deliver whatever a bully/ cyberbully wants. The victim purchases what the bully asks and the costs of the materials are paid for by the victim. For example, charged data, game money, or game items can be the materials, and the victim conveys the resources to the bully after downloading on his/her mobile phone/tablet. Pupils usually call this “wifi shuttle,” because this is carried out by mobile or wireless service. If this is for a specific Internet game or related to game items, they call it “game shuttle.” This type of cyberbullying tends to be deeply related to traditional bullying in school. Although this is a serious type of *hakkyo-pokryuk*, studies including this are very much lacking.

PREVALENCE OF BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING

Prevalence of *hakkyo-pokryuk* has been investigated by researchers, private, and national institutions, with samples randomly selected among schools across regions. However, the South Korean government has recently been investigating the prevalence of *hakkyo-pokryuk* twice a year for all school pupils aged 11-18 years (N = 4,980,000). Pupils are asked about their bully/victim experience for the last semester, or the last 6 months. The results have shown that receiving *hakkyo-pokryuk* (school violence) has been rapidly decreasing in the recent 2-3 years (see Table 2 below). Figure 1 shows the percentages receiving each type of *hakkyo-pokryuk*. As a subtype of *hakkyo-pokryuk*, *cybergorophim* has been increasing from 2012 (7.2%) to 2013 (9.7%), and has been remaining constant at around 9% (Ministry of Education, 2014).

Table 2. Percentage of incidence of being victims of *hakkyo-pokryuk* from 2012 to 2014 (Ministry of Education, 2014)

Levels of school	2012 1 st	2012 2 nd	2013 1 st	2013 2 nd	2014 1 st
Elementary school	15.2	11.1	3.8	2.7	2.4
Middle school	13.4	10.0	2.4	2.0	1.3
High school	5.7	4.2	0.9	0.9	0.6



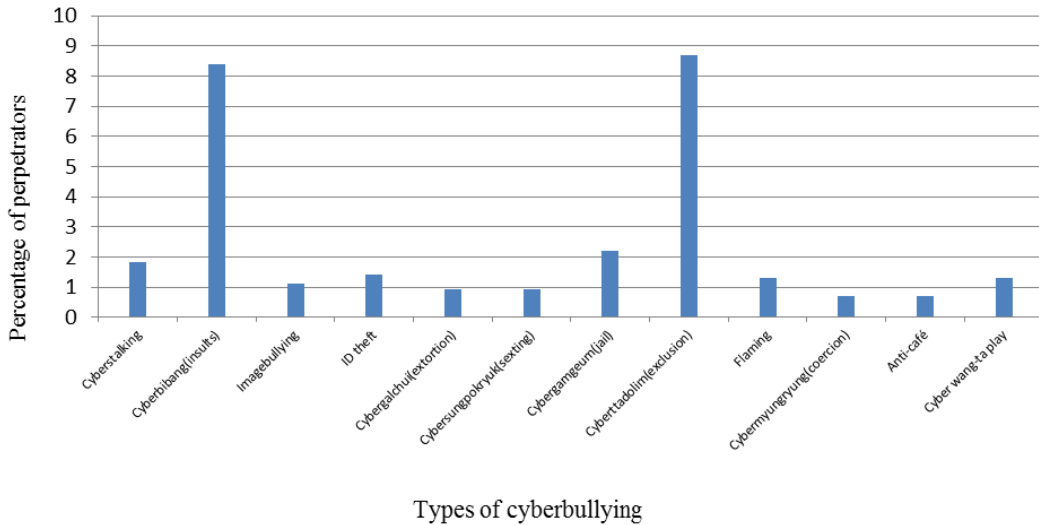
Note. Adapted from “2014 Icha hakkyo-pokryuk siltae josa bunsuk gyeolgwabalpyo” [2014 Report of 1st *hakkyo-pokryuk* survey] by Ministry of Education, 2014.7.11 [Press release]. p. 4.

Figure 1. Percentage of receiving each type of *hakkyo-pokryuk* by school levels.

INCIDENCE OF CYBERBULLYING

Perpetrating Cyberbullying

Perpetrating cyberbullying varies across South Korean research studies, having shown rates of 7% to 40%. These results may reflect the different methods and approaches regarding the investigations (i.e., types of cyberbullying included, time reference period). KISA (2013) surveyed the prevalence of cyber*pokryuk* among 1,500 elementary, middle, and high-school pupils across 16 national regions. They provided a definition of each type of cyber*pokryuk* (cyber verbal violence, cyber defamation, cyber stalking, cyber sexual abuse, personal information drain, and cyberbullying [*ttodolim*]). They enquired about pupils’ experiences of cyber*pokryuk* in the preceding year. The results showed that 29.2% of the respondents reported experiences of doing cyber*pokryuk*; it was lowest in elementary school pupils (7%), with 39% of middle school pupils, and 38.4% of high school pupils reporting having done it.



Note. Adapted from “Cyberbullying siltaewa haebeop seminar balpyo jaryo [Prevalence and prevention of cyberbullying seminar. 2013. 12. 18.]” by NIA, 2013. Seoul. p. 20.

Figure 2. Percentage of perpetrating cyberbullying by its type (NIA, 2013)¹

The National Information Society Agency (NIA, 2013) investigated cyberbullying among 11,956 elementary (5th and 6th graders, aged 11-12 years), middle- and high-school pupils (aged 13-18 years). Figure 2 shows the incidence of cyberbullying by its type. As can be seen, *cyberbaejae*(exclusion) was most common, and *cyberbibang*(insults) showed similar findings.

Types of media used for cyberbullying was commonly found to be Messenger (kakaotalk, mypeople, line, etc.), cyber community (anti-café, social club), and SNS (Facebook, Twitter, blogs, etc.) (KISA, 2013). Lee, Hwang, and Yeum (2013) reported that cyberbullying was performed most commonly through mobile phone (58.5%), followed by Messenger (21.5%).

Gender Differences of Perpetrating Cyberbullying

In a general way, boys were more likely than girls to perpetrate *cyberpokryuk* (KISA, 2011; Lee et al., 2013; Shin, & Ahn, 2013), but differences were not statistically significant in some

¹Cyberstalking: Sending fearful or anxious emails/messages to someone or visiting his(her) SNS although (s)he does not want this; *Cyberbibang*: Abusive words such as swearing, slander through the Internet, mobile text etc.; Imagebullying: Posting or spreading someone's photos or video clips so as to insult that person. ; ID theft: Using other's ID and pretend to be the owner of the ID; *Cybergalchui*(extortion): Forcing someone to purchase or buy something which a perpetrator wants to have, by using the victim's smartphone or Internet payment system; *Cybersungpokryuk*(sexting): Posting sexual description or sexual disparagement, sexual swearing of an individual using mobile or Internet, or spreading obscene video clip(s) or photograph(s); *Cybergameum*: cyber jail, which confines someone in an Internet chat room and swearing or insulting him/her. *Cyberttadolim*(exclusion): Excluding someone in cyberspace; Flaming: Invoking someone by intentionally starting argument to him/her; *Cybermyungryung*(coercion): Forcing someone to do what he/she does not want to do using Internet or smartphone; Anti-café: Internet communities or websites which have been set up for excluding and slandering someone; *Cyber wang-ta* play: several people make someone *wang-ta*(socially excluded person) by insulting, swearing, or denigrating him/her in cyberspace.

studies (Shin, & Ahn, 2013), or the differences of the means of perpetrating *cyberpokryuk* between boys and girls were not statistically tested in other studies (KISA, 2013; NIA, 2013).

There were more boys than girls involved in cyber verbal violence, cyber defamation, cyber stalking, cyber sexual abuse, and personal information drain. Girls were more likely than boys to perpetrate *cyberttadolim* (KISA, 2013), but statistical significance was not tested.

NIA (2013) reported that boys were generally more likely than girls to cyberbully. However, in cyberexclusion (called, *cyberbaejae*), there was a higher percentage among girls than boys (Figure 3 shows the ratio of perpetrating cyberbullying between boys and girls).

Who Participates in Cyberbullying?

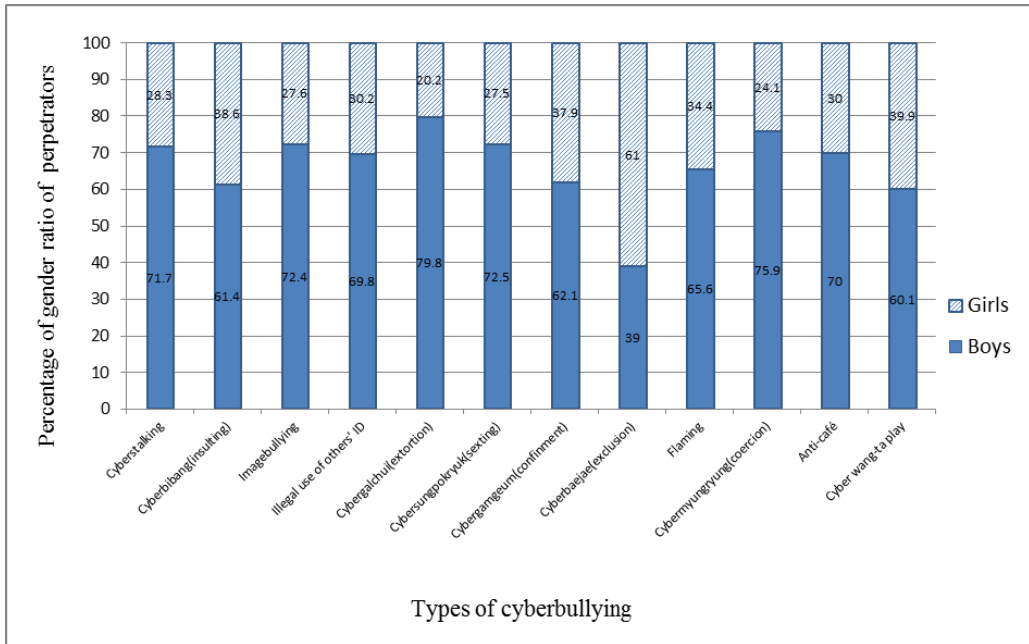
More than half of the pupils surveyed knew who the cyberbullies were; 54.3% of elementary school pupils, 52.3% of middle school pupils, and 64.6% of high school pupils did *cyberpokryuk* to a pupil(s) whom they knew in their schools (KISA, 2013). Over half (55.4%) of cyberbullies replied that they chose the target from among the pupils in their school (Lee et al., 2013). Forty-three percent of cyber-victims replied that they were cyberbullied by their peer(s) in their school (Lee et al., 2013).

Reason for Perpetrating Cyberbullying

The most common reason for doing *cyberpokryuk* was “for fun” and to “upset the victim” in all school levels (KISA, 2013; NIA, 2013). The reasons for perpetrating cyberbullying differed by school level; among elementary school pupils, “for fun” was the most common reason stated (elementary: 45.7%; middle: 29.7%; high: 33.3%), however, among middle-, and high-school pupils “upset for the victim” was the most frequent reason for cyberbullying (elementary: 34.3%; middle: 68.2%, high: 64.1%) (KISA, 2013). Furthermore, “no reason” (elementary: 22.9%, middle: 11.8%, high: 11.5%), and “getting along with friends” (elementary: 20.0%, middle: 5.6%, high: 12.5%) were also common responses (KISA, 2013).

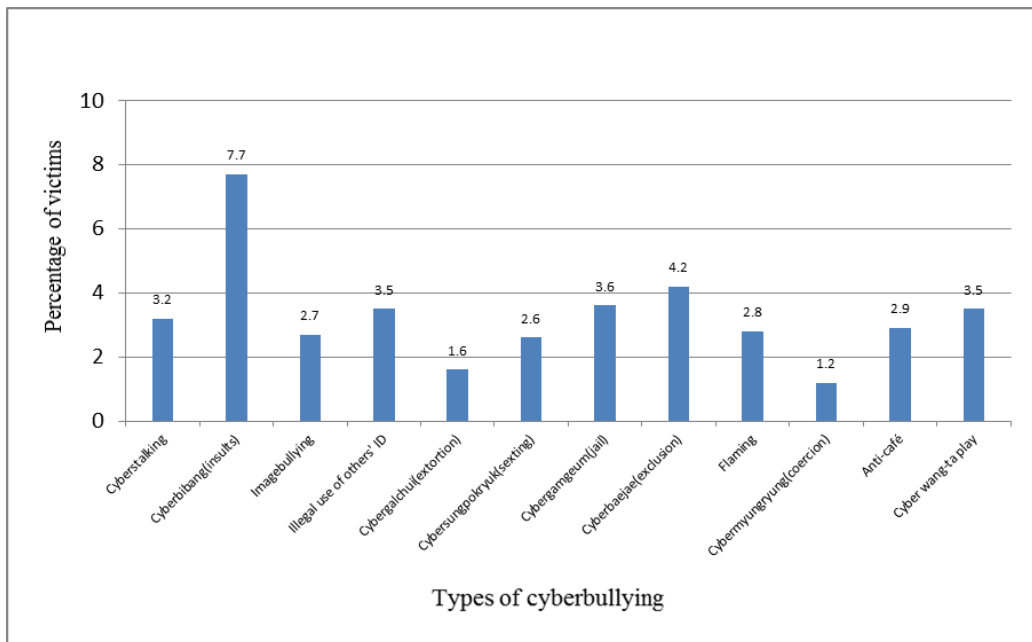
How Do Pupils Feel after Cyberbullying/Being Cyberbullied?

A high percentage of elementary school pupils reported that “I don’t feel it as fault because I have done it for fun” (25.7%), “Sorry for the person” and “regret” were also common feelings after *cyberpokryuk* among pupils – ranging from 22.9% to 29.7% (KISA, 2013). However, “don’t feel anything” was also a common feeling about *cyberpokryuk* among pupils, which was higher in middle- (28.7%) or high-school pupils (24.0%) than elementary school pupils (20.0%).



Note. Adapted from “Cyberbullying siltaewa haebeop seminar balpyo jaryo [Prevalence and prevention of cyberbullying seminar. 2013. 12. 18.]” by NIA, 2013. Seoul. p. 20.

Figure 3. Gender ratio of perpetrating cyberbullying by its type (NIA, 2013).



Note. Adapted from “Cyberbullying siltaewa haebeop seminar balpyo jaryo [Prevalence and prevention of cyberbullying seminar. 2013. 12. 18.]” by NIA, 2013. Seoul. p. 20.

Figure 4. Percentage of being victims of cyberbullying by its type (NIA, 2013).

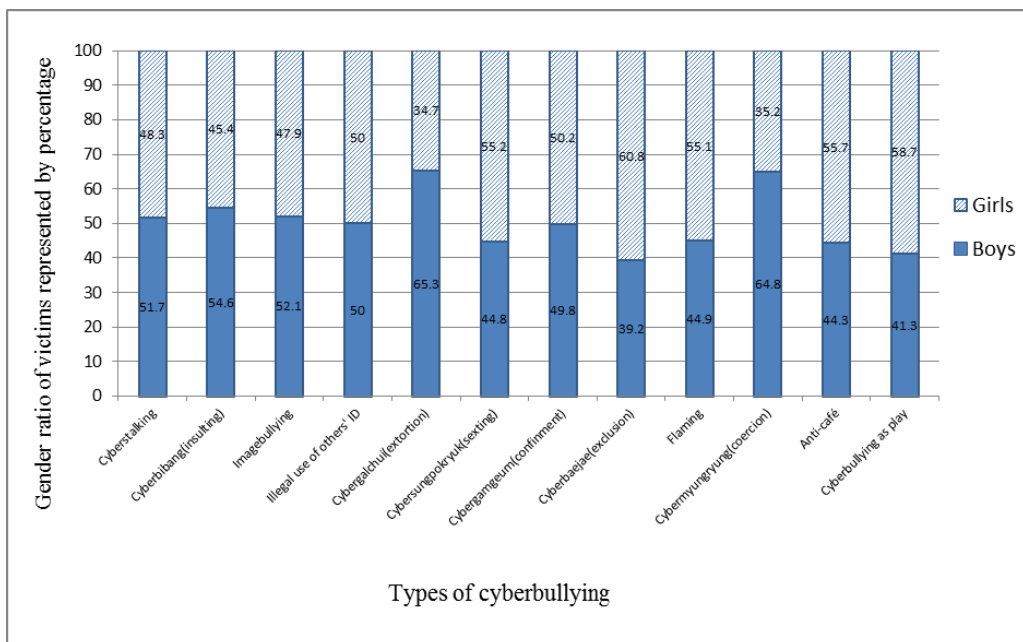
Being a Victim of Cyberbullying

KISA (2013) reported that 30.3% of pupils received *cyberpokryuk*; about 40% of middle-, and high-school pupils had been a cyber-victim during the last year, whereas only 7.4% of elementary school pupils had experienced being a cyber-victim. Adolescents (12-19 year olds) had most commonly received *cyberpokryuk* (75.8%), and the experience of this reduced according to age (from their 20's to their 50's) (KISA, 2011). KISA (2011) reported that 34% of elementary school pupils had experience of receiving *cyberpokryuk*; upper grade pupils (49.3%) had received *cyberpokryuk* which is three times more than pupils in lower grades (13.0%). Figure 3 indicates the percentages of being a cyber-victim by types of cyberbullying (NIA, 2013). The most common type of cyberbullying was *cyberbibang*(insults) followed by *cyberbaejae*(exclusion).

Gender Differences among Those Cyberbullied

Generally, boys were more likely than girls to receive *cyberpokryuk* (Lee et al., 2013; Shin, & Ahn, 2013). Cyber verbal violence, cyber defamation, personal information drain were more common amongst boys than girls. However, cyber sexual abuse was more common in girls than boys (KISA, 2013; Shin, & Ahn, 2013).

Figure 5 shows the gender ratio of being victims of cyberbullying (NIA, 2013). Depending on the type of cyberbullying, boys showed a higher ratio than girls. Cyber-exclusion showed a higher ratio among girls than boys. This may indicate that the girls tended to experience relational cyber aggression more often than boys.



Note. Adapted from "Cyberbullying siltaewa haebeop seminar balpyo jaryo [Prevalence and prevention of cyberbullying seminar. 2013. 12. 18.]" by NIA, 2013. Seoul. p. 22.

Figure 5. Gender ratio of being victims of cyberbullying by its type (NIA, 2013).

By school level, findings were not consistent. There were more girls than boys who received *cyberpokryuk*, whereas in the middle- and high-school levels, more boys than girls were victims of *cyberpokryuk* (KISA, 2013). However, a different study showed the opposite result: elementary school boys (36.2%) had more experiences of receiving *cyberpokryuk* than girls (31.9%) (KISA, 2011).

Responses after Being Cyberbullied

Common responses after being cyberbullied were “get [them] back in the same way” (39.4%), and “demand deletion or correction of the message to the cyberbully(ies)” (17.6%), and “claiming apologies” (17.1%). There was a high frequency who replied “no response” (36.5%) (KISA, 2011). By school levels, middle school pupils (50.3%) and high school pupils (40.9%) were more likely than elementary school pupils (29.7%) to demand that the cyberbully(ies) delete or correct the harmful writing or message. “Telling friends” (elementary: 35.1%; middle: 27.4%; high: 22.2%) and “telling parents/families” (elementary: 24.3%; middle: 16.8%; high: 6.4%) were also common. However, “telling [the] school teacher” (elementary: 8.1%. middle: 9.1% high: 4.9%) showed relatively low percentages. “Reporting [to the] police, Wee-centre (bullying and cyberbullying intervention centre), 117, cyber bureau of national police” showed least common responses (elementary: 5.4%. middle: 7.1% high: 4.4%) (KISA, 2013).

Whether the Coping Strategies Were Effective?

“Telling friends” was most helpful for stopping cyberbullying (elementary: 69.2%. middle: 75.9% high: 60.0%) and “telling parents/families” was also reported as helpful. Around half of pupils who asked cyberbully(ies) to delete or correct the messages reported success (elementary:45.5%. middle: 55.6% high: 48.2%). “Telling teachers” was completely useful (100%) at elementary school level, but much less useful in middle- (38.9%) and high-school (30.0%). Half of elementary school pupils who reported the incidents to the police, Weecentre, 117, or cyber bureau of national police thought it was helpful, and 42.9% of middle school pupils and 44.4% of high school pupils reported this as being effective (KISA, 2013).

Feeling after Being Cyberbullied

Many pupils who received *cyberpokryuk* felt psychological distress or difficulties in their social lives. Common responses were “having difficulty in getting along with friends” (elementary 18.9%; middle: 10.2%: high: 8.4%), “did not want to go to school” (elementary 21.6%; middle: 16.8%; high: 14.8%), did “want revenge” (elementary 21.6%; middle: 35.0%; high: 30.5%) (KISA, 2013). However, older pupils (middle: 34.0%; high school: 43.8%) tended to report “did not feel anything” compared to younger pupils (elementary: 29.7%) (KISA, 2013).

Witnessing Cyberbullying

Around 37% of middle-, and high-school pupils, and 12.6% of elementary school pupils had experience of witnessing *cyberpokryuk* (KISA, 2013). Almost half of them (48.6%) reported they did nothing after witnessing it because they thought of it as “nothing” (45.6%). “Don’t know what to do” was a common reason among elementary school pupils, whereas “it is nothing” was the most common reason among middle- and high-school pupils (KISA, 2013).

Reasons for Not Responding to Cyberbullying

Approximately 42% of pupils who received *cyberpokryuk* reported that they did nothing because “it may be not helpful” (64.4% of these respondents), particularly, elementary school pupils were afraid of being isolated more seriously after reporting the incident (28.6% of these respondents) (KISA, 2013).

RELATED VARIABLES

Individual Factors

Studies reported that some personal traits (i.e., aggression, impulsiveness, self-control) were related to cyberbullying behaviour (Kim & Yoon, 2012a; Nam & Kwon, 2013; Park, 2012). Kim and Yoon (2012a) investigated cyberbullying experiences of 1,303 middle-, and high-school pupils in South Korea in relation to their individual, home environment, and school factors. They found that aggressive traits of male pupils positively predicted cyberbullying behaviour (but not among girls). Similarly, aggression of both male and female pupils showed positive correlations with cyberbullying behaviour (Nam & Kwon, 2013, NIA, 2013; Sung, Kim, Lee, & Lim, 2006). Impulsiveness also influenced cyberbullying behaviour (Nam & Kwon, 2013). Self-control was negatively related to cyberbullying behaviours (NIA, 2013; Park, 2012). Nam and Kwon (2013) reported that guilty feelings were negatively related to cyberbullying behaviour. Oh (2011) reported that upper elementary pupils (aged 11-12 years) who had experiences of perpetrating *cybergorophim* showed lower levels of self-esteem than pupils who had not.

Cyber-victim experiences predicted internalizing (depressive symptoms) and externalizing problems (aggressive traits) which resulted in academic stress (Kim, 2013; Oh, 2013). Low levels of self-control were related to cyber-victim experiences (NIA, 2013; Park, 2012). The more cyber-victim experiences that the pupils had, the more suicidal thinking they tended to do (Seo, & Cho, 2013). Pupils who experienced cyber-victimization experiences in *cybergorophim* had lower psychological well-being than pupils who had not (Oh, 2011).

Home Environmental Factors

Adolescents’ involvement in cyberbullying was related to relationships with their parents’ behaviour (a violent home atmosphere). Kim and Yoon (2012b) reported that witnessing

parental violence and abusive experiences are positively related to cyberbullying behaviour. Furthermore, adolescents' attachment to their parents predicted cyberbullying behaviour; the less attached to their parents, the more cyberbullying behaviour adolescents showed (Sung et al., 2006).

Cyber-victim experiences were related to parental attention and degree of parental control to their children's Internet usage; these were negatively related to children's low level of cyber-victim experiences (Cho, 2013). Parent-child communication skills negatively predicted adolescents' cyber delinquency, and authoritarian and controlling parental attitude were related to it (Kim, 2014).

School Environmental Factors

Delinquent peers, low level of school satisfactions and bully or victim experiences in traditional bullying (i.e., face-to-face school bullying) are related to adolescents' involvement in cyberbullying. Having, or connecting with delinquent peers was a significant factor for cyberbullying behaviours (Kim, 2013; Lee, & Jeong, 2014; Nam, & Jang, 2011). Lee and Jeong (2014) examined several factors which may predict willingness to perpetrate cyberbullying behaviour among 514 middle-, and high-school pupils in South Korea. They investigated *hakkyo-pokryuk* victim experience, cyber-victim experience, contact with delinquent peers, child abuse experience, and subjective norm of cyberbullying (e.g., how other people perceive my cyberbullying), perceived behavioural control for cyber-bullying (e.g., I can do cyberbullying if I want to). They found that delinquent peers, and positive subjective norms of cyberbullying influenced their willingness to participate in cyberbullying behaviour. Also, the NIA (2013) reported that low levels of school satisfaction predicted cyberbullying behaviour experiences.

Bully or victim experiences in traditional bullying are related to cyberbullying. Many studies (e.g., Cho, 2013; Ryu, 2013; Sung et al., 2006) have indicated strong relationships between bullying in cyberspace and victimization in traditional bullying. Ryu (2013) surveyed 1,088 middle-, and high-school pupils' cyberbullying experiences in relation to their traditional school bullying experience in South Korea. The author found that cyberbullying experiences were positively correlated both with victim and bully experience of traditional bullying.

Cyber-victim experiences were predicted by bully or victim experiences in traditional bullying among adolescents (Cho, 2013). There were significant relationships between *gipdan-ttadolim* (group isolation) and cyberbullying. Victims as well as bullies of *gipdan-ttadolim* were more likely than non-victims of it to be either a cyberbully or a cyber-victim (Lee et al., 2013).

Among individual, home environment, school factors, cyber-victim experiences (from both unspecified and specified cyberbully) cyber-victim experiences was most influential predictor for cyberbullying (Jun, & Lee, 2010; Kim, & Yoon, 2012a; Sung et al., 2006).

PERCEPTION

There are not many studies on pupils' perception of cyberbullying. A few studies have investigated pupils' perception of cyberbullying (Kim, & Yoon, 2012a, b; Sung et al., 2006).

Kim and Yoon (2012b) reported that attitudes towards violence were related to individual's cyberbullying experience. They found that tolerance of violence mediated the relationship between victim/cyber-victim experiences, and cyberbullyingbehaviour; victim and cyber-victim experiences increased tolerance of violence, which positively influenced cyberbullyingbehaviour. Pupils' ethical sense was related to cyberbullying. Sung et al. (2006) indicated that a sense of ethics of information communication and experiences of punishment negatively predicted cyberbullying experiences. Many pupils were aware of the legal punishment regarding cyberbullying. Lee et al. (2013) reported that most of them (92.8%) replied that they were aware of legal punishments for perpetrating cyberbullying. Similarly, most middle-, and high-school pupils (92%), and more than half of elementary school pupils (67.8%) knew about legal punishments for cyberpokryuk. Girls were more likely than boys to be aware of this (KISA, 2013).

PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

Laws and policies mainly focused on *hakkyo-pokryuk* and those of cyberbullying have been established recently. The *Hakkyo-pokryuk Prevention and Intervention Act* in 2012 regulated types of *hakkyo-pokryuk*, and *cyberttadolim* was indicated as one type of it. The Act indicates that the school must organize the committee of *hakkyo-pokryuk* if an incidence of *hakkyo-pokryuk* is reported. The committee consists of teachers, parents, judge, lawyer, or medical doctors. The committee deliberates upon the episodes, and decides upon actions: protection for victim, punishment to bully, conciliation between victim and bully, and intervention program for the bully and bully's parents, etc.

Studies or programs for prevention or intervention for cyberbullying have started since 2011/2012. Some websites which support governmental institutions were established to prompt action against the incidence of cyberbullying and to provide useful information for preventing cyberbullying. To intensify the reporting system, and expedite action for cyberbullying incidents, the Ministry of Education has operated an anti-bullying website called *stopbullying* since 2012 (<http://www.stopbullying.or.kr>). Anyone who is bullied can report their experience by telephone (117) or ask for help through the website or via mobile text – the pupil can then get help, including counselling services and coping strategies. This was operated anonymously, so that pupils can ask and obtain help when they are afraid of revenge or reluctant to reveal their name or position. Also, this site is connected to their school teacher, and if they want, their case can be talked with their school teachers.

The ethical culture regarding the use of the Internet or SNS has been emphasized. To increase the sensitivity of information ethics and to create a healthy Internet culture, the Korea Internet & Security Agency (KISA) operates a website (<https://www.iculture.or.kr>). This offers knowledge regarding the correct usage of the Internet, SNS, and diverse educational instructions by school levels.

Studies about prevention or intervention programs are few. The National Information society Agency (NIA) operates programs for information on ethics education. Schools can apply for the information ethics education program; teachers in the schools are trained and organize a pupils' community called *areumnuri-jikimi* which consists of 30-40 pupil-volunteers. The pupils are educated by the teachers and work to form positive usage in

cyberspace (i.e., increasing knowledge of cyberbullying, participating in prevention activities and conduct a campaign for correct Internet use).

These institutions and websites provide very useful information or programs but effectiveness of those programs has not been evaluated yet.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has looked at the studies from South Korean cyberbullying research, including findings about prevalence, related factors, and prevention/intervention efforts. Studies about cyberbullying among pupils have been actively conducted since 2011 and offer comprehensive information for the current state of cyberbullying in South Korea. Recent studies about cyberbullying in South Korea tend to use the term *cyberpokryuk* more so than other terms, because cyberbullying behaviour has become more diverse and the term includes wide ranges of cyber aggression. Verbal insult was the most common type of *cyberpokryuk* and *cyberttadolim*(exclusion) was common - particularly among girls.

There are many steps that are needed to move forward with cyberbullying studies in South Korea. Measurement issues (i.e., definition, types of, terms for, and a time reference period of cyberbullying) need to be better clarified, and there is a lack of studies about pupils' perception of, or attitudes towards, cyberbullying. Considering pupils' responses regarding reasons for bullying (i.e., "no reason," "for fun," "upset for the victim"), and justification of cyberbullying, an important concern to decrease cyberbullying in South Korea is to increase the knowledge of cyberbullying, and to change pupils' perceptions through education. It is strongly required to educate pupils in relation to empathy, respect for others and moral responsibility for their behaviour. Current websites for preventing cyberbullying provide good examples of this.

Individual, home, and school related factors regarding cyberbullying have been investigated among Korean studies. These factors should be considered when developing prevention or treatment programs and helping victims and bullies. Studies suggested a need for concern and efforts by government, community, school, and home for announcing that cyberbullying is seriously harmful behaviour and emphasizing an ethical Internet culture. Current efforts provide good examples of this, but this is just beginning. Future studies and attempts should be provided for preventing Korean bullying.

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Chapter 144

NEEDS, DETERMINANTS, COPING AND STAND-ALONE INTERVENTIONS

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INTRODUCTION

Cyberbullying is a phenomenon that has been linked with several serious negative outcomes for both the victims and organizations (e.g., schools), including anxiety (Bauman, Toomey, & Walker, 2013; Campbell, Spears, Slee, Butler, & Kift, 2012), depression (Goebert, Else, Matsu, Chung-Do, & Chang, 2011; Helweg-Larsen, Schütt, & Larsen, 2012; Lam & Li, 2013), lower levels of self-esteem (Patchin & Hinduja, 2011), suicidal ideation (Goebert et al., 2011; Hinduja & Patchin, 2010), substance abuse (Mitchell, Ybarra, & Finkelhor, 2007), psychosomatic problems (Sourander, 2010), absenteeism, truancy, and decreased performance in school (Beran & Li, 2007; Schneider, O'Donnell, Stueve, & Coulter, 2012).

NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Analysing the problem amongst children and young people (CYP) involved in cyberbullying is an important first step in reaching the population at risk (prevention of cyberbullying) and in need of help (combatting cyberbullying and buffer the negative consequences). However, in the field of cyberbullying research there is still a lot of discussion about fundamental questions like the number of victims, bullies, and bystanders which are in need of help (see Kerstens & Wilsem, 2012), whether cyberbullying is just another form of traditional bullying and thus should be prevented and combatted together (Wolke, Lera, & Tipett, 2015), whether it is an overrated phenomenon (Olweus, 2012), and whether cyberbullying is an antecedent for mental well-being or a consequence of low negative well-

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being (Gunther, DeSmet, Jacobs, & De Bourdeaudhuij, 2015). This paragraph describes some important features of the population at risk (prevention) and in need of help (combatting cyberbullying and buffering negative consequences).

Factors Influencing the Variation in Cyberbullying Prevalence

In a brief history of cyberbullying research Peter Smith (2015) informs us that there is a huge variation in the prevalence of cyberbullying and that this is caused by: (a) the strictness of the timeframe, varying from at least one cyberbullying experience in their life time (Tokunaga, 2010) to once a month during the past six months, or at least twice or three times a month during the past six months (Solberg & Olweus, 2003; Vandebosch et al., 2006), (b) the direct versus indirect assessment method (e.g., “Are you the victim/perpetrator of cyberbullying?” versus “Which of the following behaviors did you experience and how often?”) (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009); (c) the description of the cyberbullying phenomenon preceding the direct assessment; (d) the cut-off score used to define a victim, bully, or bully/victim; (e) the nature and age of the sample; and (f) the year of data collection. These factors should be taken into account when the population at risk (for prevention purposes) and the population in need for help (for combatting and buffering the negative effects) is defined.

How to Choose an Instrument to Measure Cyberbullying Involvement

The direct versus indirect assessments used to rate the prevalence of cyberbullying has an enormous impact of the prevalence rates and the selected population. A study by Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2009) in which the direct as well as the indirect method was used for cyberbullying assessment can demonstrate the differences in prevalence rates: when asked directly whether they had ever been actively or passively involved in bullying via the Internet or mobile phone, 11% answered that they had been a victim, 18% had been a perpetrator, and 28% had been involved as a bystander. When measured indirectly, the percentage of respondents who had experienced at least one form of 12 potentially offensive Internet and mobile phone practices was much higher: 62% had been victim, 53% had been perpetrator, and 76% had been bystanders.

The question remains which of the assessments will be the most adequate to select children involved in cyberbullying for standalone ICT interventions. Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2009) concluded that measuring respondents' experiences with a range of negative online experiences presumed to represent forms of cyberbullying, without taking into account the context in which these activities take place and the interpretations of those involved, is not an adequate method to investigate cyberbullying since it leads to over-estimations of the problem. We agree with the researchers, however for selecting CYP for a standalone ICT intervention aimed at preventing negative experiences, the broad objective indirect assessment is more suitable. For interventions aimed at combatting cyberbullying and buffering the negative impact, the subjective direct assessment is more suitable, since this will lead to a selection of CYP that perceive themselves to be involved in cyberbullying. Additionally, for this target population it is also important to explicitly measure the need for help: Kerstens and Wilsem

(2012) found that 24% reported being involved in at least one of five specific types of cyberbullying (e.g., spreading gossip, name-calling and threats, exclusion, sending or uploading upsetting photos and/or videos) in the past three months, but only 9% of them reported feeling bothered or upset by (one) of these negative experiences.

Time Frame to Assess Cyberbullying

Concerning the time frame, we believe that it is more adequate for stand-alone ICT interventions to take a rather short time frame. For the preventive ICT intervention the past three months might be a proper time frame: their negative experiences might evoke interest among these CYP for preventive tips, whereas for interventions aimed at combatting cyberbullying and buffering the negative affects a more stringent time frame (the past few weeks/days) might be more suitable, since these interventions are focused on CYP that directly need help. However, this must be explored in more detail.

IMPORTANT AND CHANGEABLE DETERMINANTS THAT INCREASE VULNERABILITY FOR NEGATIVE OUTCOMES

The purpose of this part of the chapter is to analyse some individual and contextual changeable determinants that increase adolescents' risk of being cyber victimized, and consequently increase adolescents' vulnerability for negative outcomes. The study of the determinants of cyber victimization is relatively recent, and although some consistent findings have been found, so far there are still some gaps and inconsistencies (Álvarez-García, Pérez, González, & Pérez, 2015; Menesini & Spiel, 2012). Given the fact that most of the studies are correlational (= cross-sectional), causal claims cannot always be made. Nevertheless, even without being able to establish causality, knowledge on these relationships may provide valuable insights for understanding and reducing cyber victimization.

Among the determinants on the individual level, self-esteem has been relatively consistently associated with being the victim of cyberbullying. Victims of cyberbullying often have lower levels of self-esteem (Patchin & Hinduja, 2011) and a low self-esteem has been mentioned as a predictor of cyber victimization rather than an outcome, as several longitudinal studies have found that lower self-esteem at baseline was associated with cyber victimization at follow-up (Modecki, Barber, & Vernon, 2013; Yang et al., 2013). Also, in a longitudinal study by Hemphill and Heerde (2014), it was concluded that emotion control in adolescence (e.g., the ability to control one's own temper when somebody is angry) protected against being a victim of cyberbullying in young adulthood. In addition, in a cross-sectional study, it was shown that, beyond cultural differences, low self-control (= a manifestation of self-regulation capacity) was directly as well as indirectly (via e.g., externalizing behaviour) linked to cyber victimization (Vazsonyi, Machackova, Sevcikova, Smahel, & Cerma, 2012). Furthermore, overall lack of self-efficacy (i.e., an individual's belief in his or her ability to execute behaviors necessary to produce desired outcomes (Bandura, 1977) as well as having poor social skills (Navarro, Yubero, Larrañaga, & Martínez, 2012) were positively associated with victimization, and victims have been consistently found to show low levels of perceived social intelligence

(Hunt, Peters, & Rapee, 2012; Schultze-Krumbholz & Scheithauer, 2009). Cyber victimization has been correlated with high levels of moral disengagement (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014). Also internalizing problems predicts cyber victimization over time (Reijntjes, Kamphuis, Prinzie, & Telch, 2010).

Previous research clearly shows that traditional bullying is one of the strongest predictors for cyberbullying (see Wolke, Leraya & Tipett, 2015) and young people who experience both traditional and cyber victimization are at particular risk of experiencing negative emotions (see Gimenez-Gualdo, Hunter, Durkin, Arnaiz, & Maquilon, 2015).

Lastly, technological determinants have been linked with cyber victimization. Most of the previous studies demonstrated that frequency of Internet use related positively with cyber victimization (see for a review: Álvarez-García et al., 2015; Kowalski et al., 2014). For example, victims of cyberbullying were found to engage in high levels of Internet use (Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007), spend more hours per day using a computer than those who were not victimized (Mishna, Khoury-Kassabri, Gadalla, & Daciuk, 2012). Also weekly online game use predicted cyber victimization (Chang et al., 2015). In addition, Internet risk behaviors are consistently associated with cyber victimization. In recent cross-sectional and longitudinal studies, risky Internet behaviors have been shown to be strongly associated with and strongly predict cyber victimization (Álvarez-García et al., 2015; Chang et al., 2015; Helweg-Larsen et al., 2012). In a meta-analysis (Kowalski et al., 2014) investigating risk and protective factors of cyber victimization, it was concluded that one of the largest effect sizes (although still small), was observed for risky online behavior. As such, children who were more often cyberbullied have been found to be less aware of the risks involved in particular uses of the Internet, such as sharing passwords with others, publishing personal information on a blog, or talking with individuals they did not know in their offline lives (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009; Mishna et al., 2012; Walrave & Heirman, 2011).

Regarding contextual determinants, one of the most frequently analysed determinants that specifically relates to cyberbullying has been parental control of technology, that is, the extent to which parents monitor children's use of technology and have an element of control over their child's online behaviour. Kowalski et al.'s (2014) summary of findings shows that cyber victimization is associated with reported low levels of parental control of technology (see also Aoyama, Utsumi, & Hasegawa, 2012). It seems that families of victimized adolescents usually established less rules about Internet usage and used filter software less often than families of non-victimized adolescents (Mesch, 2009), that cyberbully victims are more likely to have an e-mail account not accessible to parents (Twyman, Saylor, Taylor, & Comeaux, 2010) and that parental control was a risk factor of cyber victimization (Álvarez-García et al., 2015). In contrast, other studies showed that there was no statistically significant association between parental control and cyber victimization (Mishna et al., 2012; Zhou et al., 2013). Positive and negative parenting styles have also been studied in relation with cyber victimization. In a recent meta-analysis, it was found that cyber victimization was related to less parental involvement and support, less warmth and affection, worse parent-child communication, less positive and more negative parenting in general, more abuse and neglect, maladaptive parenting, and overprotection (Lereya, Samara, & Wolke, 2013; Dehue, Bolman, Völlink, & Pouwels, 2012). In addition, it was shown that adolescents living in single-parent homes who were exposed to low family and low peer support were at a greater risk for being cyber victimized in the future (Fanti, Demetriou, & Hawa, 2012). Therefore, in line with Hodges and Perry (1999) it was suggested that interpersonal risk is an important factor in predicting cyber victimization, and

this is especially true for children from single-parent families (Fanti et al., 2012). Other studies did not find parental support to be predictive of cyber victimization (Black, 2014). Kowalski et al. (2014) also identified a number of school risk factors of cyber victimization: individuals who report higher levels of cyber victimization also report lower levels of school safety and school climate.

In conclusion, some young people are more at risk of being cyber victimized than others. However, not all young people who encounter cyberbullying suffer negative effects. Most children do not report being bothered and respond in a positive way to risky online experiences (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011). In other words: they are resilient in the face of cyberbullying (i.e., have the ability to deal with negative experiences online). In contrast, some children feel more upset and experience more difficulties in responding effectively to cyber victimization. These reactions to the demands of a stressor (e.g., receiving a hurtful e-mail) is called coping and can be defined as the cognitive and behavioral effort employed to reduce, master, or tolerate internal and external demands that are the consequence of stressful events (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Besides understanding who is most at risk of cyber victimization, a better understanding of the process of coping with cyber victimization is important in order to develop behavioral change programs (Bartholomew, Parcel, Kok, & Gottlieb, 2006) to help young people adequately cope with cyberbullying and consequently reduce victimization of cyberbullying and its negative effects, which is to develop online resilience.

EVIDENCE BASED COPING STRATEGIES TO PREVENT CYBERBULLYING: WHAT WORKS?

Coping Strategies in Relation to Health Outcomes: What Do We Know?

A classical framework for evaluating processes of coping with stressful events is Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) Transactional Model of Stress and Coping. It emphasizes the importance of a cognitive judgement or subjective perception, which in turn impacts how individuals cope with a stressful situation. The model conceptualizes coping efforts along two dimensions: (a) problem-oriented or active coping strategies, and (b) emotion-oriented or passive coping strategies. Active strategies are geared to solving the problem and hence to decrease the stress, whereas passive strategies are geared to control the stress by cognitively reinterpreting the problem, for example by readjusting the perception of the problem, by making positive comparisons, and by putting the problem into perspective (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Other passive strategies include avoidance or distancing oneself from the problem through, for example, substance use.

Coping strategies have differential impacts on health (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Lazarus, 1999). Numerous studies have investigated the relationship between coping and health related problems. It has consistently been found that active strategies positively impact health: being negatively related to depressive symptoms and health complaints. In contrast, emotional coping has been found to negatively impact health, as they do not function to change a problematic situation or remove the actual stressor (Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen, & DeLongis, 1986; Garnefski, Pannebakker, Ruchlewska, & Kraaij, 2003; Lechner, Bolman, & van Dalen, 2007;

Moos & Holahan, 2007; Stanton, Reverson, & Tennen, 2007; Völlink, Bolman, Eppingbroek, & Dehue, 2013; Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007).

Effectivity of Coping Strategies: Personality Traits and Context

Although coping is distinguished from personality characteristics, it can be seen as a trait or disposition based on personality characteristics (Carver & Schreier, 1994; Moos & Holahan, 2003). Indeed, individuals who generally use problem-focused coping less often use emotion-focused strategies (Nielsen & Knardahl, 2014). Concurrent research in biology and epidemiology has shown that some personality dispositions like optimism are linked to coping. Optimism is defined as the tendency to have positive rather than negative generalized expectancies for outcomes. These expectancies are rather stable over time and across situations (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010). According to the Cognitive Activation Theory of Stress (CATS), coping strategies are selected based on previous learning as well on expectations of the outcomes. Individuals who generally have a positive outcome expectation use problem-focused coping strategies, whereas individuals who generally have the perception that situations are not controllable consider their actions as useless or as actions which decrease chances on positive outcomes. So, they expect no relation or a negative relation between actions and outcomes (Ursin & Eriksen, 2010). Thus it seems that optimism and related outcome expectancies and controllability of the situation influence the coping strategies.

Do We Have Enough Insight in Effectiveness of Coping Strategies to Advise Cyberbully Victims?

From the above it can be concluded that emotion-focused coping strategies lead to more health problems than problem-focused strategies, and that emotion-focused strategies are used in situations which are perceived as uncontrollable.

Coping in the context of cyberbullying has received a substantial amount of attention, because ineffective coping strategies appear to maintain cyber victimization (Skrzypiec, Slee, Murray-Harvey, & Pereira, 2011). Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2009) found that contextual features, such as the kind of relationship between victim and perpetrator, are relevant for the emotional impact of the cyberbullying experience. So it seems plausible that this relationship affects the effectiveness of the coping strategy. One important aspect regarding bullying is the power differential between bully and victim and the inferior position of victims (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2011; Leymann, 1996; Smith & Brain, 2000; Smith et al., 2008), which may implicate that victims of bullying perceive their situation as less controllable. Hence, it may be expected that they often use emotion-focused coping strategies. This has been confirmed in the literature. Victims of bullying at work tend to use emotion-focused coping strategies (Djurkovic, McCormack, & Casimir, 2005; Hogh & Dofradottir, 2001; Ólafsson & Jóhannsdóttir, 2004), victimized CYP of traditional bullying tend to use passive or avoidance styles and are less likely to use active styles (Skrzypiec, et al., 2011; Waasdorp & Bradshaw, 2011), and victims of cyberbullying use less problem-focused coping strategies (Cassidy & Taylor, 2005), more depressive coping (Völlink, Bolman, Dehue, & Jacobs, 2013), and are less likely to seek social support, compared to other strategies (Dehue, Bolman, & Völlink, 2008;

Kowalski, Limber, & Agatston, 2008; Parris, Varjas, Meyers, & Cutts, 2011; Slonje, Smith, & Frisén, 2013).

In some cases however, problem-focused strategies are not successful (Perren et al., 2012). In one study, young people were asked which strategies against victimization of cyberbullying were effective and which were not. The study showed that victims used technical solutions like blocking contacts, sought social support, and confronted their bullies online, which are active strategies through which the problem should be solved. However, they also indicated that these strategies are not effective (Machackova, Cerna, Sevcikova, Dedkova, & Daneback, 2013). Thus, problem-focused coping strategies are not always to the benefit of victims. This is in line with CATS and Zapf and Gross (2001) suggesting that emotion-focused strategies are more suitable when control over the situation is lacking. This was corroborated in the work of Dehue et al., (2008) and Parris et al., (2011), in which students recommended strategies like distancing and ignoring. In the study of Machackova et al., (2013), victims indeed rated ignoring as emotionally helpful. Machackova et al. (2013) and Parris et al., (2011) concluded that ignoring might be a good solution for victims of cyberbullying and they recommend taking such “inaction” into account when elaborating on coping strategies against cyberbullying.

These results suggest that more research is needed to effectively advise cyberbully victims, as knowledge regarding the effectiveness of these strategies in cases of cyberbullying is still scarce. This is partially due to the lack of instruments for the assessment of coping strategies in the context of cyberbullying. Almost all studies investigating coping with cyberbullying used instruments which measure coping in stressful situations. Cyberbullying however has some specific features which are distinguished from stressful situations in general. Recently, new instruments have been developed to measure coping with cyberbullying, like the Cyberbullying Coping Questionnaire (CCQ) (Jacobs, Völlink, Dehue, & Lechner, 2015), and the Coping with Cyberbullying Questionnaire (CWCBQ) (Sticca et al., 2015).

Is It Possible to Advise Children and Young People?

Although more research is obviously needed, we cannot afford to wait as children and young people need help and advice. We have to base the advice for these young people on the most conclusive knowledge we have so far. Seeking social support from parents and peers, for example, is proven to be an effective way to prevent victimization and to control negative outcomes (Kowalski et al., 2014). Since CYP tend to keep silent (Tokunaga, 2010), they have to be convinced to inform their parents and peers when they are online victimized.

Advice for CYP may be based on determinants of cyber victimization as described above. The way of using the Internet appears to be an important determinant. Victims should learn how to behave on the Internet (Kowalski et al., 2014) and how to use the Internet in a safe and secure manner (Álvarez-García et al., 2015; Barlińska, Szuster, & Winiewski, 2013; Chang et al., 2015; Helweg-Larsen et al., 2012; Hinduja & Patchin, 2009; Mishna et al., 2012; Walrave & Heirman, 2011). Another important determinant is the control over emotions whilst using the Internet (Hemhill & Heerde, 2014; Vazsonyi et al., 2012). Moreover, as described above, providing training to increase social skills (Navarro et al., 2012) should also be effective. In the meantime, we have to try to influence their outcome expectations, which are determinants of coping behaviour (Ursin & Eriksen, 2010), as stated above.

For some advice, positive effects are plausible. Since evaluative thoughts mediate the relation between the interpretation of the situation and the emotional, behavioral, and inferential reactions to these events (Ellis, 2001; Ringrose, & Nijenhuis, 1986), awareness in the relation between a thought, feeling, and behavior should be raised, and irrational thoughts should be replaced by more rational thoughts.

Is It Necessary to Tailor Advice for Children and Young People?

Advice cannot be effective if it does not fit the personality dispositions, outcome expectancies, and knowledge of the receiver. Prior research has shown that CYP who are resilient, tend towards a problem-solving approach of coping, such as deleting unwelcome messages and blocking contacts in the context of cyberbullying, or seeking social support from peers and adults (D'Haenens, Vandoninck, & Donoso, 2013; Hunter, Boyle, & Warden, 2004; Machmutow, Perren, Sticca, & Alsaker, 2012; Matsunaga, 2011). It is also suggested that optimism, related outcome expectancies, and controllability of the situation influence the use of coping strategies (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010; Ursin & Eriksen, 2010). Also, as mentioned above, traditional bullying is one of the strongest predictors for cyberbullying, and CYP can be involved in bullying as a passive victim, a bully, a bully/victim, and a bystander. Bully/victims are victims who retaliate by bullying, probably because they expect positive outcomes of this behavior. Moreover, in evaluating their intervention, Jacobs, Völlink, Dehue, and Lechner, (2014a) suggest that lower-educated cyberbully victims aged between 12-15 years old do not like to read a lot. Hence, victims should be offered intervention strategies based on individual needs (Patchin & Hinduja, 2011).

Huang and Chou (2010) found that the most frequent behavior reported by victims and cyberbullies was threatening and harassment, followed by making jokes about someone or making fun of someone, and lastly spreading rumors. The impact of the cyberbullying experience and the kind of emotion that is evoked may depend on specific bullying behavior. For example, threats might evoke anxiety whereas making jokes and name-calling might evoke anger, and placing humiliating photos and video clips might evoke shame. These different emotions require specific coping strategies. In line with Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2009), effectivity of coping strategies also depends on contextual features like the relationship between victim and perpetrator.

Therefore, it is of utmost importance that information and advice in interventions is tailored. Important factors for tailoring are personality features, educational level and age, (cyber)bullying behaviors, contextual features, and roles of involvement in (cyber)bullying. Tailoring is possible through the use of web-based interventions. Research has shown that computer-tailored messages are perceived as more personal and relevant than general information, are more often read, saved, remembered, and discussed (Brug, Oenema, & Campbell, 2003), and are more effective, that is, result in more improvement in behavior, than general information (Krebs, Prochaska, & Rossi, 2010).

STAND-ALONE ICT INTERVENTIONS

Stand-Alone ICT Interventions to Prevent and Combat Cyberbullying: Theoretical and Evidence-Based Methods

Cyberbullying intervention resources can be divided into school-based and stand-alone interventions. School-based interventions are programs which are used in classrooms or whole schools, for example *Medienhelden* (Wölfer et al., 2014), *ConRed* (Ortega-Ruiz, Del Rey, & Casas, 2012), *Let's not fall in a trap* (Menesini, Nocentini, & Palladino, 2012), *Cyber friendly schools project* (Cross, Roberts, & Slee, 2013), and *Survivors* (Amse, 2014), containing for example; lessons, videos, presentations, discussions, and workshops. Most of the programs, however, are lacking scientific merit, due to a lack of inclusion of a follow up measure and a failure to use random assignment at the classroom or school level and the effectiveness is not impressive (Cioppa, O'Neil, & Graig, 2015).

Stand-alone interventions are programs that can be used independently of schools and classrooms, at the time and place of benefit to the user. Most stand-alone interventions are psycho-educational websites. A host of these sites are provided, containing tips, advice, and recommendations regarding cyberbullying. The advantage is that the users can select items they need. The problem is, however, that many of these materials and programs, whilst well intentioned, do not have a theoretical base, nor has the effectiveness of their materials been investigated (Völlink, Dehue, Mc Guckin, & Jacobs, 2016). There are some exceptions which will be described below. These stand-alone interventions are tailored to personality characteristics and needs and are based on theory and tested on effectivity.

FearNot (Sapouna, Enz, Samaras, & Wolke, 2015) is a game in which the participants have an active role, in that they are asked to help the victims. The game shows them the effects of their support. The intervention consists of a virtual simulation of a primary school environment in which virtual characters can take the role of a bully, victim, bully-assistant, victim-defender, or bystander. It is based on the proven educational benefits of role-playing as a form of experiential learning, a process in which experience is transformed in acquired knowledge. Role-playing is proven to be particularly effective with social and emotional difficulties in school (Sapouna et al., 2015).

Online Pestkopenstoppen (Jacobs, Völlink, Dehue, & Lechner, 2014b) or "Stop the Bully Online" has been developed for victims and bully/victims of (cyber)bullying, and contains three online tailored modules. The intervention is based on principles of Rational Emotive (Behavioral) Therapy (RE(B)T) (Ellis, 2001). The first module aims to teach participants about the connection between thoughts and behaviour. In the second module participants learn effective coping strategies in response to cyberbullying, and in the third module participants learn to use the Internet in a safe and secure manner. This intervention is developed according to the Intervention Mapping protocol, which consists of six steps that can be used as an iterative process for theory- and evidence-based development of health promotion interventions. The aforementioned needs assessment is the first step, the determinants influencing victimization are needed for the second step, and the selection of theory-based intervention methods contains the third step. *Online Pestkopenstoppen* uses several theoretical and evidence-based methods like modelling by introducing role models, demonstrating how to act, repeated exposure, consciousness raising, guided practice, and persuasive communication (Jacobs et al., 2014b).

Friendly Attac (Van Cleemput et al., 2015) is a serious game for bystanders of bullying. It is an online, one-player puzzle game with a virtual character and bullying experience scenarios in which players can choose several behavioural alternatives, like ignoring the bully and standing up for the victim. Like *Pestkoppenstoppen*, it is developed according to the Intervention Mapping protocol, and uses modelling and active learning for behavior change. Moreover, the intervention is based on a narrative, which is developed according to several theoretical statements. For example, the statement that participants who are more engaged in a story show more story-consistent beliefs and opinions, and that this “transportation” is positively predicted by story-line appeal, quality of production, and by unobtrusiveness of persuasive subtext (Van Cleemput et al., 2015).

The Empathic Virtual Buddy (Van Der Zwaan, 2014) automates the one-to-one online counseling between victimized children and the virtual buddy, the latter providing emotional support and practical advice on how to deal with the situation. The intervention is developed according to a conceptual communication model that is based on the literature on social support. The model specifies the content of conversations in which social support is provided, and contains several types of social support, such as sympathy, compliments, advice, encouragement, and technical support. The model also specifies the structure and sequence, or pattern, of conversations (question and answer).

The Reporting Button is an intervention specifically aimed at combatting cyberbullying and buffering the negative effects in a short time frame. The visitor of the website is provided with a button that can be installed on the computer and that can then be used to report an incident of cyberbullying. The site also provides information on how to prevent cyberbullying and what to do if it occurs. Free telephone numbers, a link to the bullying-website Pestweb (<http://pestweb.nl>), and a link to chat sessions with co-workers of the bullying-website is provided. The site also contains information on how to report cyberbullying incidents to the police.

Stand-Alone ICT Interventions: Important Conditions to Let It Work

The paragraphs above refer to several useful conditions to let a stand-alone intervention work. First of all, the intervention should be tailored on relevant needs and determinants, like personality dispositions, knowledge, emotions, and outcome expectancies of the target group. However, the number of questionnaires necessary for tailoring should be limited, and questionnaires should be kept as short as possible (Edwards et al., 2009; Jacobs et al., 2014a).

The content is an important condition for interventions to be successful. Appreciation of the materials seems to depend on the novelty and on the helpfulness of the information. Therefore information should be new and related to solving examples of specific cyberbullying situations, and less attention should be given to abstract concepts (e.g., recognizing, disputing, and replacing irrational thoughts (Jacobs et al., 2014b)). In the meantime, to keep the participants motivated, the information provided should be limited and not too complex (Baumeister, 2014; Brouwer et al., 2009; Jacobs et al., 2014a). Another possibility to reach the target population is the gamification of the online ICT-intervention. Nacke, Bateman, and Mandryk (2014) and Yee, Ducheneaut, and Nelson (2012) distinguish seven gamer types that differ in the features that make games interesting: the achiever, the conqueror, the daredevil, the mastermind, the seeker, the socializer, and the survivor. The achiever, for example, is goal-

oriented and gets satisfaction from completing tasks, whereas the seeker is more curious, enjoys exploring things, and discovering new situations.

Also the structure is an important condition. Online interventions should have an easy login procedure, should be clearly structured with a simple design (Brouwer et al., 2009; Schneider, van Osch, Schulz, Kremers, & de Vries, 2012), should have a progress bar and the option to partially complete questionnaires, and the choice to continue at a more convenient time (Schneider et al., 2012). Moreover, since re-visits are relatively uncommon (Schulz et al., 2014) and interest in returning to intervention websites decreases over time (Gustafson et al., 2001), participants should be able to select and use intervention components immediately (Jacobs et al., 2014a) or should be able to complete the intervention by returning to the website a number of times. Sessions should be short; website visits should not be longer than 17 minutes (Verheijden, Jans, & Hildebrandt, 2008). Moreover, the online world of adolescents is subject to change rapidly, so websites should be updated on a regular basis (Leslie, Marshall, Owen, & Bauman, 2005).

In evaluating Online Pestkoppenstoppen, Jacobs et al. (2014a) found that many low-educated adolescents lack the motivation and discipline to complete their intervention on an individual basis. They concluded that this low-educated target group needs more guidance and structure in using the intervention. Adding face-to-face elements with parents or teachers to stimulate engagement might also strongly increase retention.

Although stand-alone ICT interventions are to the benefit of adolescents because of tailoring possibilities and the possibility of completing the intervention at convenient moments and places, there are many aspects that should be taken into account to make them successful and effective.

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Chapter 145

COPING WITH CYBERBULLYING

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“OLD WINE, NEW BOTTLES”: THE CHALLENGE OF NEW TECHNOLOGY

Each period of technological advancement brings with it excitement and opportunity whilst also being accompanied by worry and concern regarding the risk and potential harm posed to society - particularly its young. With the arrival of television there was concern that children would be exposed to unsuitable content, that they would damage their eyes by sitting too close to the television screen, and that their academic and intellectual development would be impaired and hindered. Similarly, widespread access to video games (especially violent ones) in the 1990s raised many of the same concerns. Historically, there were many other technological advances to create anxiety. Cassette players with earphones might have damaged the hearing of a generation. Before that, there was the supposed danger of records being played backwards to communicate satanic messages. In the 1800s, there was worry about the problem of students becoming overly reliant on paper and neglecting to learn how to properly use a slate and chalk, for when paper would inevitably be in short supply. In the first part of the 21st century, the focus has been firmly on Internet access, and in particular, the risks posed to children and young people (CYP). This brief look at historical advances and the challenges of technological progress begs the question - why do we always feel the need to “reinvent the wheel”? Just as those people who were alive at the beginning of the agricultural revolution or the industrial revolution faced challenges, those of us living through the “digital age” face new and previously unimaginable tests. Can we not, in a Piagetian manner, just assimilate the digital challenges into existing schemas - like the schema we all have for “coping” with other, more familiar stressors? However, in saying this, it must be acknowledged that the online world poses unique challenges.

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Staksrud and Livingstone (2009) make a distinction between different types of risks faced online, including: content risks (receiving unwanted or inappropriate mass communication); contact risks (participation in risky communication); and conduct risks (contributing to risky content or contact). These types of risk can be further broken down into risk categories depending on their commercial-, aggression-, sexual- or value-based nature. Bullying would most likely fall under the sub-types of aggressive conduct (for the perpetrator) and aggressive contact (for the targeted individual). Whilst cyberbullying is certainly considered a risk to CYP, it does not always lead to psychological harm. Indeed, harm is not an inevitable outcome of risky behaviour. Harmful effects of cyberbullying can be mediated and moderated by variables such as the severity of the online content, the public access to the abusive content, and, importantly, the coping strategies used by those targeted and those around them, such as parents and teachers. Although people have always found ways to cope with risks posed, it is important to keep in mind that these strategies are not always advantageous.

Just like adults, modern CYP will use both adaptive and maladaptive coping strategies. However, unfortunately their developmental stage does not always work in their favour. A frontal cortex that is not fully matured to aid reasoned and considered decision making and to support a capacity to foresee consequences can lead to impulsive reactions. Furthermore, the invincibility fable (belief that one is invulnerable to risk: e.g., Berger, 2011) which is characteristic of this age group is not associated with cautious risk assessment, and indeed may put teenagers at increased risk for exploitation online. For instance, a teenage boy who shares intimate photos of himself with his girlfriend through private messaging may underestimate both the risk and potential personal impact of such content being shared with others. Furthermore, upon discovering that such personal material has been widely disseminated with his schoolmates, he may respond instantly and aggressively, serving to escalate an already precarious situation. So, this begs the question: how can we best support CYP to deal with aggression and bullying online?

In the current chapter, both of the terms cyberbullying and cyber aggression (see Corcoran, Mc Guckin & Prentice [2015] for examination of cyberbullying and cyber aggression) will be discussed. In the current context, both refer to peer-to-peer abuse in a cyber setting. The purpose of the current chapter is to review the knowledge on coping strategies in relation to cyber victimization, and to offer direction regarding the next steps needed to better equip young Internet users to protect themselves online. The work of Kochenderfer-Ladd and Skinner (2002) emphasises the importance of exercising caution when assessing the effects of coping strategies, given that poor selection of coping may increase risk. Therefore, we will review the relevant literature examining the concepts of stress and coping before looking more closely at the literature which pertains to individual coping with bullying specifically. Furthermore, this chapter will review some of the societal or community-based efforts to cope with bullying and victimization, such as intervention programmes, national and international guidelines, and proposed legislative changes. Ultimately we will argue that, although the cyber world entails some daunting challenges, this is not the first point in history at which humans have felt threatened by new technology. Thus we should consider what we “already know” about effective coping and strive to further our empirical knowledge.

COPING WITH PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS

Coping can be defined as “. . . the things that people do to avoid being harmed by life strains” (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978, p. 2). That is coping includes the efforts people make to prevent, avoid, or control emotional distress. According to Pearlin and Schooler (1978) coping is a broad term and coping resources include behaviours, cognitions, and perceptions which can prove useful when one is faced with stressors or problems. Thus, when considering aggressive victimization in cyberspace, different individuals may have different behavioural responses, differing thoughts and emotions regarding the incident, and indeed may perceive the aggression as more or less harmful, intentional, or severe than another individual would.

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) define coping as “. . . constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person” (p. 141) which suggests that coping strategies are employed when there are demands which exceed an individual's resources and furthermore, coping includes attempts to manage these demands. Thus, the effectiveness of coping strategies is not integral to recognising the response as coping. For example, externalising one's distress through stamping on the Smartphone which delivered aggressive, hurtful content, may not be adaptive, but it may still be considered a coping response. Furthermore, where aggressive behaviours online are not considered to be especially taxing or distressing, perhaps coping strategies are unnecessary. It is important to be mindful of the great variations in individual responses to cyber aggression. Whilst for Jane, an embarrassing photo shared on a social media platform may be highly distressing, it may not bother Sophie in the least. However, how Jane and Sophie respond to (or “cope with”) the sharing of such a photo may have important implications for how the perpetrator(s) proceed(s) thereafter. Furthermore, coping strategies may include efforts which are effective, ineffective, or indeed harmful in terms of protecting physical and psychological well-being or in stopping the aggression from recurring. Indeed, Carr (2011) suggests that different coping styles include strategies which can be functional or dysfunctional. For instance, although physical exercise may constitute functional emotion-focused coping, aggressive acts may constitute dysfunctional emotion-focused coping.

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) suggest that coping functions defined in relation to specific situations are more situation-specific, and therefore, it is important to examine coping in relation to traditional bullying and cyber aggression problems in a situation-specific manner. In other words, it is important that researchers examine coping with cyber aggression by looking at real experiences of coping with such victimization or by examining participants' suggested coping strategies in response to victimization, as opposed to studying general coping styles. Folkman and Lazarus (1980) describe how “. . . coping efforts serve two main functions: the management or alteration of the person-environment relationship that is the source of stress (problem-focused coping) and the regulation of stressful emotions (emotion-focused coping)” (p. 223). That is, when faced with aggression on a social media platform, the victimised individual might choose a strategy that is problem-focused, such as cancelling their account, blocking the aggressor, or reporting the abusive content to the provider. Alternatively, the targeted person may choose to spend time with friends who can help to take their mind off the upsetting incident, or they might binge eat chocolate and sweets so as to divert their attention to some transitory pleasure in an effort to regulate distressing emotions. A person may also employ both problem-focused and emotion-focused strategies. Appraisal theory suggests that

emotion-focused strategies are generally used when a situation is considered to be too difficult to rectify or improve, whilst problem-focused coping is generally employed when one feels the situation can be dealt with effectively (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). One of the difficulties of dealing with cyber aggression is that without knowledge of appropriate coping responses, victimization can seem overwhelming and unmanageable.

According to Roth and Cohen (1986) coping can be categorised as approach or avoidance strategies, that is, “. . . cognitive and emotional activity that is orientated either toward or away from threat” (p. 813). Roth and Cohen (1986) suggest that avoidance can be adaptive initially when an individual has limited emotional resources and can be appropriate when the situation is beyond one's control. By contrast, approach strategies are appropriate when there is the possibility to control the source of stress. Therefore, when a teenager is overwhelmed by cyber aggression and does not have the tools or social support to stop the abusive behaviour, it may be adaptive in the short term to avoid social media. However, over time this strategy could be isolating and ultimately harmful. In addition, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) argue that how we cope can be determined by a range of factors including physical health, psychological factors such as positive beliefs, and personal competencies such as social skills. Thus, CYP who are victimised via social media may be better equipped to cope in an effective manner to stop the problem and to buffer the negative psychological effects, if they feel well physically, have high self-efficacy with regard to their ability to deal with the issue at hand, and can garner support from friends, teachers, and family.

When examining how people deal with cyber victimization, it is evident from this brief review of the general coping literature that coping strategies include thoughts and behaviours which may help or hinder both success in ending the victimization and success in protecting psychological well-being. In their literature review of coping with cyberbullying, Perren et al. (2012a, 2012b) make this distinction between combating cyber victimization and buffering the negative effects. In this field we are faced with many challenges. As Coolican (2007) highlights, there is no guarantee that a solution to a problem will succeed every time it is tried, or that it will be successful with specific individuals. Each individual will behave in different ways, even though external circumstances can sometimes be almost identical. As the old adage goes, in psychology we deal with people, not chemicals - that is, we are trying to do important science but using dirty test-tubes. Taking again the example of Jane and Sophie; both are teenage girls who have been “victim” to an embarrassing photo posted online. Yet, each girl will have their own unique set of situational components (e.g., concurrent stresses, appraisal of the situation), self-related components (e.g., internal locus of control, psychological maturity), supports (e.g., family support, community), and strategies (e.g., preferred coping responses) which can impact how they experience and deal with the situation (Schlossberg, Waters, & Goodman, 1995). In other words, each person will bring a unique array of assets and limitations to every experience; making it exceptionally difficult for researchers to provide a generic set of coping strategies for a wide array of potential victim experiences. Despite such real issues, we are tasked with supporting CYP to make better decisions in response to online risk, and therefore, we must start by examining how CYP respond to victimization and what we know about the effectiveness of such responses in terms of (a) combating cyber victimization and (b) buffering the negative effects. Therefore, the next section reviews the literature regarding how CYP cope with peer-to-peer bullying and aggression.

COPING WITH TRADITIONAL BULLYING: WHAT WORKS?

When exploring how individuals cope with bullying, researchers have used a variety of methods including retrospective accounts of victimization, observation, self-report questionnaires, and interviews. Whilst some researchers have assessed victims' coping styles in relation to coping with daily stress (e.g., Escobar, Fernández-Baena, Miranda, Trianes, & Cowie, 2011), others have utilised hypothetical scenarios (e.g., Andreou, 2001), and then again other studies examined how victims coped with real experiences of victimization (e.g., Frisén, Hasselblad, & Holmqvist, 2012). Although varied methods are useful in terms of enhancing our knowledge of how individuals respond to victimization, it is difficult to accurately compare findings across the research. The literature has also highlighted that coping styles are selected based on different factors such as the types of bullying one is faced with (Kanetsuna, Smith, & Morita, 2006; Kristensen & Smith, 2003; Murray-Harvey, Skrzypiec, & Slee, 2012), appraising the situation as either a threat or challenge (Hunter & Boyle, 2004), environmental aspects of the situation such as the school environment (Murray-Harvey et al., 2012), and personal factors like one's capability to regulate emotions (Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004; Spence, De Young, Toon, & Bond, 2009). Thus it can be difficult to find a coherent thread in the literature, which is also limited by a lack of focus on the effectiveness of coping in stopping the victimization or reducing its negative consequences.

Despite such limitations it is evident that some trends emerge across studies. For example, it seems that females are more inclined to seek social support than males (Hunter & Boyle, 2004; Kristensen & Smith, 2003; Murray-Harvey et al., 2012; Naylor, Cowie, & del Ray, 2001; Olafsen & Viemerö, 2000; Smith & Shu, 2000), and this may in fact be an effective strategy (Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004; Smith, Talamelli, Cowie, Naylor, & Chauhan, 2004). Also, similar to more general psychological literature, females seem more inclined to engage in internalising coping (Kristensen & Smith, 2003), whilst males tend to engage in externalising coping (Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002; Kristensen & Smith, 2003) and are quicker to retaliate (Smith & Shu, 2000). In addition, those who are both perpetrators of bullying and are victimized tend to engage in retaliation (Pateraki & Houndoumadi, 2001) and also favour externalising strategies (Kristensen & Smith, 2003). Although there is a lack of focus on the efficacy of various coping responses, there is in fact some knowledge regarding strategies which seem to be useful in terms of stopping victimization and buffering its negative effects, and strategies which seem to be ineffective or even counter-productive.

For instance, it seems that, in general, retaliation and aggressive coping are not to be encouraged as these strategies can serve to escalate and prolong bullying (Mahady Wilton, Craig, & Pepler, 2000; Spence et al., 2009) and can have negative psychological consequences such as depression (Mahady Wilton et al., 2000). Avoidance, distancing, or passive coping; responses which could perhaps be symbolised by the ostrich with its head in the sand, are also undesirable coping styles (Escobar et al., 2011; Hunter & Boyle, 2004; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002; Mahady Wilton et al., 2000; Murray-Harvey et al., 2012) with, for example, distancing being linked with greater risk of victimization (Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004). By contrast, problem solving strategies have been found to de-escalate a bullying incident (Mahady Wilton et al., 2000) and active (rather than passive) problem-solving may be effective as it can allow for assertive behaviour. There is also some evidence that conflict resolution and seeking advice are associated with decreased victimization and internalising problems. However,

cyberbullying and aggression bring a host of new challenges which were not encountered when dealing with traditional bullying; such as the capacity to attack a targeted individual at any time of day or night from almost any location, the potentially global audience for abuse, the unique role of bystanders, the possibility to remain anonymous, and the difficulty in retrieving widely disseminated data. Thus, in 2016, we must ask whether we can use the existing knowledge to inform the coping strategies we recommend when facing traditional bullying, cyberbullying, or both. In other words, is cyberbullying really a case of “old wine, new bottles” (e.g., Li, 2007) or do we need to reinvent the wheel?

COPING WITH CYBERBULLYING AND AGGRESSION: A DIFFERENT BALL GAME

Similar to the literature which has focused on traditional bullying, studies of how CYP cope with cyber victimization indicate that researchers have used a variety of approaches, including self-report questionnaires and interviews, which again makes it difficult to compare studies and to identify effective coping strategies. However, the research to date has allowed for some useful insights. For example, it is apparent that there is general reluctance to report cyber victimization to adults (Hoff & Mitchell, 2009; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Li, 2006; Smith et al., 2008). Perren et al. (2012a, 2012b) conducted a systematic literature review which focused on coping with cyberbullying among CYP. The review indicated that in a number of studies it has been found that there is a disinclination to consult adults for fear of losing technology-related privileges. In addition, they are concerned that parents might encourage them to ignore the problem or simply be unable to assist them due to lack of familiarity with cyberspace. Recent large scale research in an Irish context (Dooley & Fitzgerald, 2012) examined the psychological health of a large sample of adolescents and young adults. This study revealed that not only is bullying a predictor of increased depressive and anxiety symptoms, but the availability of at least “one good adult” (an adult who knows him/her personally and is available, particularly in times of need) was one of the strongest predictors of good mental health. This was associated with self-esteem, sense of belonging, and coping in response to difficulties. By contrast, the absence of such a person was significantly associated with the level of depression, suicide, and self-harm. This is particularly relevant to the literature indicating the reluctance of young people to confide in parents and teachers when confronted with online victimization. It seems that the perception of adults as ill-informed or reactionary in terms of taking away technology in effect removes a very important coping resource from young people. Not only do they lose the potentially useful practical assistance that an adult might provide, but the very comfort of knowing that there is “one good adult” on standby is eliminated. Whilst there is evidence to suggest that social support may benefit cyber victims (Machmutow, Perren, Sticca, & Alsaker, 2012), it seems that social support may worsen the situation for males, but may benefit females over time (Shelley & Craig, 2010). More gender-specific research is required to further explore this finding. It would also be useful to examine the role of bystanders in a cyber setting. Given the potential for bystanders to spread aggressive content very rapidly and widely it is worth examining how one might gain support from others online.

Technical coping strategies (i.e., strategies which require engagement with the Internet, with a device, or with a particular medium) may help to reduce a cyberbully's access to the victim. Furthermore, the capacity to save and reproduce online content can allow a victim to document evidence of aggression if support is required from school administrators, or the police. Price and Dalglish (2010) found that blocking an aggressor was reported to be the most effective online strategy. With technical coping in mind, researchers have suggested that more focus on education in relation to cyber safety may be beneficial (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Yilmaz, 2011). However, it is important to remember that relying on technical strategies alone may leave young people vulnerable to ongoing abuse. Šléglová and Černá (2011) highlight that the effectiveness of technical strategies is partly dependent on support from administrators. For instance, if a young person reports upsetting activity on a social networking site, such as having a profile set up by an impersonator for malicious purposes, an action from the site administrators is required. In addition, blocking the phone number of a cyber aggressor does not preclude that person from creating a new account and recommencing negative contact. Thus, it is important to remember that there are limits to the effectiveness of technical coping alone and an arsenal of strategies would be desirable.

Although there is some evidence to suggest that seeking social support and utilising technical coping strategies can be effective, seeking revenge or retaliating seem not to be effective strategies in cyberspace as they neither reduce victimization (Shelley & Craig, 2010) nor combat depression (Machmutow et al., 2012). Taking a contrasting approach, the sometimes “head in the sand” response, such as passive coping, depressive coping (Völlink, Bolman, Dehue, & Jacobs, 2013), avoidance (Hoff & Mitchell, 2009), or helpless coping (Machmutow et al., 2012) also seem not to be desirable strategies. Indeed, recent research by Corcoran and Mc Guckin (2014) revealed that, similar to victimization by traditional or cyber victimization, recommending helpless coping as a response to cyber aggression (i.e., self-blame, passive inaction) was a predictor of increased depressive symptoms and reduced psychological well-being. By contrast, assertive coping, characterised by asking the bully why he/she is doing this, telling the bully to stop, and using technical strategies, was a weak, but significant predictor of increased psychological well-being. Overall, the small amount of evidence which examines the effectiveness of coping strategies in response to cyber victimization indicates some parallels with traditional victimization, with for instance, social support seeking showing some positive potential as a strategy and avoidant or aggressive coping appearing to be maladaptive responses. It is evident that more research is required in order to adequately assess the most useful strategies a young person can engage in as an individual when faced with cyber-based aggression. However, there has been a number of initiatives in the form of anti-cyberbullying programmes which aim to prevent and intervene with this form of aggression on a larger scale.

PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION: ANTI-BULLYING AND ANTI-CYBERBULLYING INITIATIVES

Not surprisingly, school-level efforts to cope with cyberbullying and cyber aggression have been informed by prior initiatives to combat traditional bullying. Mc Guckin and Corcoran (2016) emphasise the need to consider a number of important yardsticks when designing and/or

implementing an intervention for bullying and cyberbullying/cyber aggression. Principles of sound intervention include, for example: theoretical grounding; evidence-based practice; and clarification of what the proposed outcomes should be, such as reduced perpetration of, and victimization by, bullying and cyberbullying or cyber aggression. Existing traditional anti-bullying programmes are underpinned by a variety of different theories and philosophies such as focusing on positive bystander behaviour (Kiva: Kärnä et al., 2011), a zero tolerance response to bullying with importance placed on adult authority figures (Roland, Bru, Midthassel, & Vaaland, 2010), the Shared Concern Method (Pikas, 2002), restorative justice (Morrison, 2006), social skills training (DeRosier & Marcus, 2005), and peer support networks (Cowie & Olafsson, 2000).

For instance, in Finland the Kiva anti-bullying programme “. . . is predicated on the idea that a positive change in the behaviors of classmates can reduce the rewards gained by bullies and consequently their motivation to bully in the first place” (Kärnä et al., 2011, p. 313). The Kiva programme (Kärnä et al., 2011) was developed based upon the insights regarding the different participant roles of those directly involved in bullying and those who witness it. The purpose of the programme is to enhance the empathy, self-efficacy, and anti-bullying attitudes of bystanders so as to encourage pro-social responses upon witnessing bullying (Kärnä et al., 2011). Such an approach in which young people are empowered to respond to aggression in a pro-social manner could be useful in the cyber setting – an environment which is often lacking an adult presence. However, it would be important to ensure that efficacy is enhanced with appropriate strategies for helping.

Peer support networks (Cowie & Olafsson, 2000) offer an approach somewhat similar to the Kiva programme in that the peer group holds the power in terms of offering potential solutions. Cowie and Olafsson (2000) suggest that “One effective way of tapping the potential resource of the peer group comes from training selected young people in peer support” (p. 80). Citing Cowie and Sharp (1996), Cowie and Olafsson (2000) acknowledge three forms of peer interventions, namely: befriending, conflict resolution, and counselling-based approaches. Moreover, they suggest that these forms of peer support require: (a) a response to a request for help; (b) appropriate skills to support victims to find solutions; (c) adults who can supervise the network; and (d) the incorporation of non-punitive interventions. A peer support approach which tackles traditional bullying could be extended to also deal with cyber-based bullying and aggression, so long as there is adequate adult involvement and research informed strategies in response to victimization.

The “Zero” programme (Roland et al., 2010) takes an alternative approach, emphasising that bullying tends to occur when teacher control and support is lacking, thus creating an environment for such abuse to occur. Therefore, the Zero programme promotes an authoritative classroom leadership approach which can be implemented to inhibit behaviours such as humiliating peers as a bid for power, whilst striving to enhance social cohesion in the group. Thus, it is the adults who take responsibility for facilitating development of a climate in which bullying will be reduced. Within the Zero programme school personnel must address any divergence from the appropriate standards of behaviour in a respectful manner. Such a programme may not be appropriate in a cyber setting considering the lack of monitoring in many cyber environments. Although anti-bullying programmes tend to vary in terms of the theoretical underpinnings, a common component of many initiatives is the Whole School Approach which advocates involving the whole school and extended community to both prevent and intervene in bullying problems.

Rigby, Smith, and Pepler (2004) argue that “It is widely accepted that countering bullying requires a ‘whole school approach’ in which the elements and initiatives in a programme are carefully co-ordinated” (p. 2). The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP: Olweus, 1993) is a whole school intervention programme which has been implemented and assessed on a large scale which targets bullying at the school-level (e.g., rules against bullying, involving parents), the classroom-level (e.g., holding meetings with students' parents, and posting and enforcing rules against bullying), the individual-level (e.g., student activities would be supervised and staff would be expected to intervene immediately upon witnessing bullying), and the community-level (e.g., helping to spread anti-bullying messages of best-practice throughout the community) (Olweus & Limber, 2010). In this way, bullying is regarded as a systemic problem, and therefore, it is addressed with a system-wide response. Farrington and Ttofi (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of studies which examined the effectiveness of school-based anti-bullying programmes. Elements associated with reduced bullying behaviour included a whole-school anti-bullying policy. Importantly, programmes which took their philosophy from Olweus were found to be most effective. However, a whole school anti-bullying policy was not found to be an important factor in reducing victimization. In fact, the meta-analysis highlighted the complexity of countering bullying in schools as different programme components were significant predictors of reducing victimization and reducing perpetration. So, does it make sense to roll out the same approaches to tackle cyber-based bullying and aggression? Perhaps there is some rationale for doing so, as many studies have highlighted an overlap across the two forms of aggression with the same individuals involved in both forms (e.g., Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Riebel, Jäger, & Fischer, 2009). However, once again it is important to consider the unique characteristics of cyberspace and it is vital that practitioners do not intervene in a way that ultimately does more harm than good.

Menesini, Palladino, and Nocentini (2015) argue that, considering the established overlap between traditional bullying and cyber forms of bullying, it is sensible to extend existing anti-bullying programmes to address cyberbullying. However, they too recognise that cyberspace has specific characteristics which do not pertain to traditional bullying. They have evaluated a programme called “Noncadiamointrappola!” (“Let’s not fall into the trap”) which aims to counter both forms of bullying and to promote positive use of technology. Displaying some parallels with Kiva and peer-support efforts, their programme has a pro-social approach, with provision of online support, promotion of positive cyber behaviours, and involvement of peers as educators in both physical and cyber settings. The first edition of the programme (2009/2010) was reported to have moderate positive effects. However, a stronger impact was found following a number of adaptations such as: equal emphasis on both bullying and cyberbullying; more focus on the bystander and victim roles; consideration given to coping strategies; peer-led face-to-face activities; and greater emphasis on the ecological approach where teacher support of class activities is emphasised. It is evident that this programme has a broad scope. Compared with control participants, the experimental group displayed reduced bullying, victimisation, and cyber victimisation. In addition, experimental participants had an increased tendency towards adaptive/desirable coping strategies and showed reduced maladaptive coping. Menesini et al. (2015) state that approach coping styles make bystander defending more likely, whilst empathy and anti-bullying attitudes are associated with increased bystander intervention. They also emphasise the need to focus not only on developing individual attitudes and coping styles, but also the importance of addressing the group as a whole. In the third stage of development, some additional emphasis was placed on new components, such as cooperative

work with increased consideration given to empathy and problem solving. More attention was also given to victim and bystander perspectives so as to show how change can be achieved. Showing consideration for the whole school approach, the programme included an ecological perspective (i.e., a school-wide approach). Overall, a significant decline in bullying, victimisation, cyberbullying, and cyber victimisation was found for the experimental participants compared to the controls. Although the effect size was not very strong, a programme such as this appears to meet the criteria that are important if we are to achieve what Mc Guckin and Corcoran (2016) emphasise as important: anti-cyberbullying programmes that are theoretically informed, methodologically robust, and empirically supported. Although there is relatively little evidence to date of the effectiveness of interventions and programmes which target cyberbullying specifically, there has been a number of international EU-funded initiatives (e.g., CyberTraining, CT4P, and COST IS0801 - see below) which have sought to develop educational tools and inform policy and practice through research, so as to counter online aggression.

CROSS-NATIONAL COLLABORATION: FORGING AHEAD IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE “ALWAYS-ON GENERATION”

In an ideal world there would be a wealth of knowledge in terms of how CYP cope effectively with cyber victimization and plenty of evidence regarding best practice in terms of intervening to protect children and adolescents online. However, there is little clarity regarding the best coping strategies and a paucity of robust research such as that provided by Menesini et al. (2015) detailing the effectiveness of anti-cyberbullying programmes and their components. We do not live in an ideal world, and we simply cannot wait until we have an abundance of evidence before we attempt to guide policy and practice so as to protect young Internet users. In order to advance knowledge about the nature of cyber-based aggression and bullying, and ultimately to facilitate development of better policy-making and practice, the European Union has funded a number of cross-national collaborations with important research and resource outputs.

The CyberTraining project (funded by the EU Lifelong Learning Programme: see Mora-Merchan & Jäger, 2011) culminated in a research-based training manual on cyberbullying. The manual provided a broad overview of the topic of cyberbullying, its nature and prevalence in Europe, approaches to countering cyberbullying, and best practice. The purpose of the project was also to provide practical guidance and resources for trainers working with the various target groups including school students, parents, teachers, as well as other professionals. Following the CyberTraining project, the CyberTraining for Parents (CT4P) was undertaken. The CT4P initiative sought to develop a more focused output aimed at training parents to address cyber safety and also to assist coping with cyberbullying. Specifically, outputs from CT4P included “face-to-face” training courses, self-directed online courses for trainers, and moderated online courses for parents. Through its initial development and implementation, many of the principles that we outlined above can be seen in action in the CT4P project. The project partly extended the material developed by the CyberTraining initiative, with the purpose of educating parents on ICT and Internet safety, the nature of cyberbullying, its prevalence and effects, legal

considerations at a national and international level, as well as strategies for preventing and countering cyberbullying.

Although the COST Action IS0801 (Cyberbullying: coping with negative and enhancing positive uses of new technologies, in relationships in educational settings: <https://sites.google.com/site/costis0801/>) led by Peter Smith, did not lead directly to an educational tool to be used in training, or a specific anti-cyberbullying programme, it made a very important contribution to many aspects of cyberbullying research and ultimately to prevention/intervention efforts. The Action allowed for collaboration among researchers and practitioners from the fields of traditional bullying, law, and telecommunications providers so as to advance the current knowledge on cyberbullying. Working groups were established in order to address specific aspects, such as: conceptualisation and definitional concerns; provision of national guidelines; reviewing knowledge on coping with cyberbullying; legal considerations and input telecommunication companies and service providers; and positive uses of new technologies. Not only did the Action facilitate the production and dissemination of new knowledge and research, it provided funding to facilitate development of research capacity among early stage researchers. Although such initiatives contribute greatly to current understanding of how “we” (researchers, psychologists, parents, teachers, government staff) can best cope with cyber-based bullying and aggression, some would argue that the only way to eliminate cyber aggression is to prosecute perpetrators. As a result, there are places in the world where traditional bullying and cyberbullying legislation has already been created, and there are currently many countries where there is hot debate as to whether this is the best way of coping with cyberbullies (e.g., Purdy & Mc Guckin, 2013).

POLICING THE WILD WEST: IS CYBERBULLYING LEGISLATION THE ANSWER?

Producing legislation to crack down on cyberbullying and trolling is sometimes likened to efforts to police the Wild West (Corcoran, Frazer, & Mc Guckin, 2015). However, bullying and cyberbullying offences have been criminalised in some parts of the world, and it is often the case that such legislation is introduced following tragic deaths by suicide following prolonged victimization. For example, in California, USA, Seth’s Law (2011: <http://e-lobbyist.com/gaits/text/354065>) pertains to students’ rights in relation to bullying and victimization on the basis of characteristics such as ethnicity or sexual orientation, and the law requires schools to implement policy and investigation processes. This legislation was preceded by the death by suicide of 13-year-old Seth Walsh who was harassed about sexual orientation and identity, and requires that policy adopted by educational agencies prohibit discrimination, harassment, intimidation, and bullying based on actual or perceived characteristics. Similarly, the death of a young woman, Brodie Panlock, following victimization by bullying in the workplace preceded the introduction of Brodie’s Law (<http://www.justice.vic.gov.au/home/safer+communities/crime+prevention/bullying+-+brodies+law>) in Victoria, Australia. This law pertains to serious bullying such as physical bullying, psychological bullying, verbal bullying, and cyberbullying and applies to workplaces, schools, sports clubs, and the Internet. Serious bullying may include behaviours that are intended (or could reasonably be expected) to lead to suicidal thoughts and thoughts or actions relating to self-harm. It is evident that whilst some

legislation places obligations on schools to implement best practice and appropriate policy, other legislation allows for prosecution of those who perpetrate bullying and aggression. There is a great debate as to whether criminalizing cyberbullying and aggression is the most effective way of coping with this undesirable and potentially harmful behaviour. Despite this, we should remember that civil society and ourselves, as citizens, have signed up for, and accepted, the principles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child - particularly the notion of an education free from harm and harassment.

Reviewing some of the approaches in an American context, Szoka and Thierer (2009) argue that when attempting to cope with cyberbullying, education is preferable to criminalization. They argue that attempts to introduce cyberbullying-specific law means that cyberbullying perpetration could carry much more severe repercussions than traditional bullying. In a case of traditional bullying, perpetrators may be provided with counselling, whereas if they conduct such aggressive behaviour online, they could face incarceration in a federal prison. Szoka and Thierer (2009) argue that those who create legislation could alternatively focus on supporting Internet safety education and awareness-raising strategies. They cite the “School and Family Education about the Internet (SAFE Internet) Act” (see <https://www.congress.gov/bill/111th-congress/senate-bill/1047/text>) which facilitates outputs such as: implementation of Internet safety education programmes; provision of training to teachers and other school staff; development of online-risk prevention initiatives for children; peer-driven Internet safety education; and parent education which can support guidance of children in terms of Internet and new media safety. They also highlight important issues when considering legislating for cyberbullying. For instance, the fact that the definition of cyberbullying (or peer-to-peer cyber aggression) is still evolving poses certain challenges, such as the possibility of creating a law that also targets other forms of cyber abuse, such as cyber harassment or cyberstalking – distinct but perhaps overlapping behaviours. It is also important to consider whether such legislation should only apply to minors. Szoka and Thierer (2009) also highlight the issue that criminalizing children for cyberbullying can stigmatize them for ill-judged behaviours of their childhood or youth. They suggest that this form of aggression should instead be dealt with by education, awareness-raising, and appropriate discipline and counselling procedures at school level. In other words, they recommend taking an “educate first” approach; an approach which may equip children and adolescents with skills and strengths that will serve them long after they have finished school. Furthermore, they raise the important point that, just as we teach children etiquette and manners for the physical world and we try to equip them with skills so as to navigate risk in the “real world,” we must do so in the cyber world. Until we can properly assess the impact of cyberbullying legislation, it is difficult to definitively state that such an approach is an inferior coping strategy. Certainly, it is important to enforce laws that are responsible and thoroughly considered.

Child pornography laws have exemplified exactly the types of challenges created by the black and white nature of legislation, with children sometimes being prosecuted for sharing intimate photos of their own bodies. Levick and Moon (2010) state that

Prosecuting sexting cases as child pornography is a gross misapplication of child pornography statutes by using them as a sword and not a shield to protect exploited child victims. Sending more youth into the juvenile delinquency system for behaviour that is consistent with normative adolescent development unnecessarily exposes youth to the

stigma and collateral consequences that flow from a delinquency adjudication, including possible sex offender registration (p. 1035).

It could be argued that prosecuting children for any type of cyber-crime is attempting to protect children with a sword rather than a shield.

CONCLUSION

Having reviewed the background theories that are important in the area of coping and cyberbullying/cyber aggression, this chapter sought to contextualise the current knowledge regarding the most efficacious ways for CYP and others (e.g., schools, families) to cope with such insidious behaviours. The “take home” message from this chapter is that, as we advance rapidly into the future, perhaps we should reach back to our past - and pause - for inspiration. Quite often in our research endeavour to help ameliorate social and educational concerns, we are afforded the chance by “the academy” to “stop and stand and stare”, and consider not just the empirical facts and theoretical suppositions, but also the anecdotal knowledge of our parents, grandparents, and forbearers. To what extent is the problem of coping with cyberbullying different from the trials and tribulations of our Cro Magnon ancestors, who perhaps had to chastise and teach their offspring regarding the potential negative effects of daubing “certain images” on the caves they inhabited. And so, with “your grandmother” in mind, along with the emerging empirical knowledge in the area, consider how we do our best for the CYP of today - and tomorrow. Whilst today will come and today will go, the coping issues of concern to this chapter will be quickly superseded by the concerns now emerging regarding racism, xenophobia, and online radicalization.

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Chapter 146

CYBERBULLYING AND MENTAL HEALTH: INTERNET-BASED INTERVENTIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses intervention efforts for youth to prevent and combat cyberbullying and its subsequent negative impact on mental health, with emphasis on the potential advantages of Internet-based interventions.

CYBERBULLYING: THE IMPACT ON MENTAL HEALTH

The word “cyberbullying” did not exist a decade ago (Notar, Padgett, & Roden, 2013). Hence, although traditional bullying is found to have negative consequences for the psychological, social, and physical health of both the bullies and victims involved (Bauman, Toomey, & Walker, 2013; Tokunaga, 2010), there is a delay in the clinical research community in recognizing cyberbullying experiences as an important risk factor for developing mental health problems (Foody, Samara, & Carlbring, 2015). However, studies on the negative impact of cyberbullying for bullies, victims, and bully/victims have emerged over the last decade. Most of these studies focused on the negative impact related to victimization and showed that the psychological and emotional consequences of cyberbullying represent the largest problem (Dredge, Gleeson, & de la Piedad Garcia, 2014; Jang, Song, & Kim, 2014). Due to its repetitive and pervasive nature, cyberbullying has detrimental short- and long-term effects on the mental health of the children and young people (CYP) victimized. Cross-sectional studies and a few

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longitudinal studies have linked cyber victimization to stress, low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation (Bauman et al., 2013; Bonanno & Hymel, 2013; Campbell, Spears, Slee, Butler, & Kift, 2012; Cénat et al., 2014; Goebert, Else, Matsu, Chung-Do, & Chang, 2011; Helwig-Larsen, Schütt, & Larsen, 2012; Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014; Lam & Li, 2013; Mitchell, Ybarra, & Finkelhor, 2007; Patchin & Hinduja, 2010; Reed, Cooper, Nugent, & Russell, 2016; Selkie, Kota, Chan, & Moreno, 2013; Wang, Nansel, & Iannotti, 2011). However, the few longitudinal studies available suggested that cyberbullying may be causally related to depression, though depressed CYP are also more vulnerable to cyberbullying (Gámez-Guadix, Orue, Smith, & Calvete, 2013), or indicated that some negative consequences were in fact predictors of cyber victimization (e.g., anxiety, low self-esteem) rather than consequences (van den Eijnden, Vermulst, van Rooij, Scholte, & van de Mheen, 2014; Yang et al., 2013).

Also, the experience of being a cyberbully has been linked to mental health outcomes. Cyberbullies often experience depression as well as cyber victims (Wang et al., 2011) and a study by Hinduja and Patchin (2010) found that cyberbullies report more suicidal ideation and more suicidal attempts than those not-involved in cyberbullying, but less than cyber victims. The worst impact on mental health has been related to being a bully/victim. Similar to traditional bully/victims, there is a consensus in the literature that the impact on mental health and need for help is heightened for this subgroup compared with non-involved CYP (Campbell et al., 2012; Låftman, Modin, & Östberg, 2013; Sourander, 2010) and other participant roles in cyberbullying (Chang et al., 2013; Gámez-Guadix et al., 2013), as they experience both problems related to victimization and those related to perpetration.

It is clear that a focus on prevention and intervention efforts is important to ensure the safety of CYP for whom technology is increasingly an academic and social necessity and way of living. Furthermore, research demonstrating correlations between cyberbullying and serious mental health problems underscore the clinical importance of assessing cyberbullying in CYP.

INTERVENTIONS TO PREVENT AND COMBAT CYBERBULLYING AND ITS NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES

A limited number of interventions have been specifically designed for CYP involved in cyberbullying (Slonje, Smith, & Frisé, 2013), although parent-targeted messages do exist as well as school-based interventions such as “Medienhelden” (Wölfer et al., 2014), “ConRed” (Ortega-Ruiz, Del Rey, & Casas, 2012), “Let’s not fall in a trap” (Menesini, Nocentini, & Palladino, 2012), “Cyber friendly schools project” (Cross et al., 2016), and “Survivors” (Amse, 2014), containing, for example, lessons, videos, presentations, games, discussions, and workshops. However, most of these interventions are lacking scientific evidence due to, for example, a lack of inclusion of a follow-up measure and a failure to use random assignment at the classroom or school level. Moreover, only a few school-based programs are demonstrating positive effects (Della Cioppa, O’Neil, & Graig, 2015). Another disadvantage of these interventions is the involvement of parents and schools. Research has shown that youth victims of cyberbullying are reluctant to report experiencing cyberbullying to their parents and are even less likely to disclose cyberbullying abuse to teachers, school personnel, or physicians (Li, 2010; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2008). For example, a study by Dehue, Bolman, and

Völlink (2008) showed that 11% of the parents reported that their child had been cyberbullied, compared to almost 23% of their children. Moreover, the study suggested that only 20% of the victims of cyberbullying talked about their experiences, from which 3% with their parents and only 1% with their teachers. The reasons to keep cyberbullying incidents to themselves include the need to manage or deal with cyberbullying individually, feelings of shame, and fear of being restricted in the use of electronics (Juvonen & Gross, 2008), and hence, isolation from peers (Kraft & Wang, 2009). Furthermore, today's CYP spend significant amounts of time online (Lenhart, Purcell, Smith, & Zickuhr, 2010), prefer to get anonymous help (Webb, Burns, & Collin, 2008), and report a need for information and help through the Internet (Havas, de Nooijer, Crutzen, & Feron, 2011).

As a result, parent-targeted intervention messages are often insufficient due to CYP's reluctance to disclose experiencing cyberbullying to their parents (Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007). School-based interventions are insufficient for the same reason, but they are also not equipped to provide individualised psychological support to victims as they are normally focused on children and adolescents only in the form of a whole school approach and/or standard care packages (Foody et al., 2015). Therefore, the Internet becomes the next logical method for reaching children and adolescents struggling with the consequences of a cyberbullying incident.

INTERNET-BASED MENTAL HEALTH INTERVENTIONS

The Internet is increasingly becoming an integral part of the daily lives of people of all ages, and particularly of young people. More than three-quarters of European households (83%) had access to the Internet in 2015 and 94% of those aged 16-24 were regular Internet users in that year (Eurostat, 2013, Eurostat, 2015). To communicate with each other, CYP frequently make use of electronic communication tools on the Internet, such as chatrooms and social networking sites, and applications on their smartphones (Lenhart et al., 2010; Patchin & Hinduja, 2010). As Kowalski and colleagues state, the Internet is a critical tool for their social life (Kowalski, Limber, & Agatston, 2008). The health care sector uses this trend and develops online prevention, treatment, and support systems, collectively referred to as e-mental health. E-mental health has been defined as "... the use of information and communications technology (ICT) to support and/or improve mental health and mental health care" (Blankers, Donker, & Riper, 2013, p. 13). In this chapter, e-mental health refers to Internet-based interventions focusing directly on the mental well-being of the consumer.

Recently, Internet-based mental health interventions are gaining momentum (Lindfors & Andersson, 2016; Thewissen & Gunther, 2015). In the Netherlands for example, two out of three Dutch mental health care institutions apply e-mental health in their care provision and in communication with patients (such as e-consultations, e-appointments, and e-intakes). The number of people receiving Internet-based help for depression or eating disorders has tripled in a period of three years (GGZ-Nederland, 2013). The technological developments of Internet-based mental health interventions offer some benefits over traditional face-to-face interventions for both client and health care professional. For example, the low-threshold accessibility of the Internet makes it suitable for offering and receiving help for psychological problems, and clients who are treated on the Internet can avoid the stigma incurred by seeing a therapist (Gega,

Marks, & Mataix-Cols, 2004). In addition, CYP find it easier to communicate about thoughts and feelings online than face-to-face (Livingstone & Bober, 2004). Other benefits of these interventions that are mentioned in literature are “obtaining help at any time and place”, “working at one’s own pace,” and “reviewing the material as often as desired” (Spek et al., 2007). Also, because of the long waiting lists and, hence, treatment delays of traditional face-to-face interventions, the greater accessibility of Internet-based interventions make them an attractive treatment alternative. Given the need for early intervention in mental health disorders, long delays in receiving treatment could have devastating effects.

Based on the level of therapist involvement, Internet-based mental health interventions can be divided into self-guided interventions (information and advice, self-tests, and unsupervised self-help programs; no assistance; mainly prevention), guided self-help (minimal therapist contact by email, chat, telephone, or face-to-face sessions), and online psychotherapy (Ruwaard, 2013). However, the differences in effectivity between guided self-help and online psychotherapy cannot easily be determined, because in research the terms “guided self-help” and “online psychotherapy” are often used interchangeably (for example Johansson, Frederick, & Andersson, 2013).

One of the core factors discussed in the context of effectiveness of Internet-based mental health interventions, is guidance as part of these interventions. Literature so far has suggested that users benefit more from Internet-based mental health interventions when guidance is provided. For example, it was shown from a recent systematic review and meta-analysis (Baumeister, Reichler, Munzinger, & Lin, 2014) that guided Internet-based mental health interventions are significantly more effective than unguided Internet-based mental health interventions. Evidence further suggests that the qualification level of the therapist providing guidance might be of minor importance. Internet-based mental health interventions have proven their added value in prevention and early interventions for mental health problems such as depression, addiction, suicide, and eating disorders (GGZ-Nederland, 2013). Looking into Internet-based treatment interventions (guided self-help and online psychotherapy) usually an approach based on cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) is at the heart of these interventions. CBT is characterized by clear-cut therapeutic procedures which are relatively easy to translate into a format suitable for delivery over the Internet (Ruwaard, 2013). In addition, CBT has been found to be an effective treatment for a wide range of mental health problems in children and adolescents, including anxiety disorders and depression (James, James, Cowdrey, Soler, & Choke, 2013; McDermott et al., 2010). A recent systematic review showed that Internet-based CBT (guided self-help) is associated with significant reductions of symptoms of depression, panic disorder, and social anxiety disorder in adults (Hedman, Ljótsson, & Lindefors, 2012). Also, meta-analyses showed that Internet-based CBT and face-to-face CBT were equally effective in the above mentioned disorders and population (Andersson, Cuijpers, Carlbring, Riper, & Hedman, 2014; Cuijpers, Donker, van Straten, Li, & Andersson, 2010). Although Internet-based treatment interventions are promising in reducing symptoms related to depression, panic disorder, and social anxiety disorder in adults, more research in this context is needed.

In recent years, there is growing attention for Internet-based treatment interventions for children and adolescents with mental health problems (Spence, March, Vigerland, & Serlachius, 2016). But how effective are these interventions? To give an answer to this question, several randomized clinical trials have been conducted to investigate the effectiveness of Internet-based treatment interventions for children and adolescents with mental health

problems. These trials focused exclusively on anxiety symptoms and assessed Internet-based cognitive behavioural therapy. They demonstrated positive effects for the Internet-based intervention relative to the control group and these interventions were equally effective as the face-to-face intervention group (Khanna & Kendall, 2010; March, Spence, & Donovan, 2009; Spence et al., 2011; Spence, Holmes, March, & Lipp, 2006). There were also some trials reporting positive results on the effectiveness of Internet-based CBT for youth depression, but these interventions focus on prevention, rather than treatment (for example Stasiak, Hatcher, Frampton, & Merry, 2014). Hence, there is growing evidence for the effectiveness of Internet-based treatment interventions based on CBT for reducing the level of anxiety symptoms, but more research is needed to strengthen the evidence base for prevention and treatment programs that are delivered via the Internet, particularly for depression and other disorders in children and adolescents, such as eating disorders. In the next paragraph, existing Internet-based prevention and treatment interventions for cyberbullied CYP and their effectiveness are outlined.

INTERNET-BASED INTERVENTIONS FOR CYBERBULLIED CYP WITH MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS

As mentioned above, it is common to find that adolescents have been cyberbullied for a long time before reporting it to adults, such as their parents, teachers, or health professionals (Dehue et al., 2008; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Li, 2010), even though cyberbullying can be very emotionally distressing. Many of these cyberbullied adolescents with mental health problems do not seek help from professional services, although effective treatment is needed. The most significant barriers to seeking help for mental health problems in this age group are perceived stigma and embarrassment, an inability to access services because of extended waiting lists, geographical dispersion, costs of services, and, in the case of cyberbullying, poor awareness about how this impacts their psychological functioning (Gulliver, Griffiths, & Christensen, 2010; Rickwood, Deane, Wilson, & Ciarrochi, 2005; Zalpuri, 2015). Another complication associated with cyberbullying is that *when* they come to health professionals, they often present their problems to these health professionals as general symptoms of depression, anxiety, and refusal to attend to school. Therefore, the trigger for these mental health problems may be missed, unless paediatricians and child psychiatrists routinely screen specifically for cyberbullying (Zalpuri, 2015). Many adolescents will never report that they are being cyberbullied, unless asked directly (Li, 2010). Therefore, according to Zalpuri (2015) a thorough psychiatric evaluation of CYP must also include questions about bullying and cyberbullying.

Hence, there is an urgent need for Internet-based treatment interventions for CYP with mental health problems as a result of involvement in cyberbullying. Youths appear to engage regularly in online activities, regardless of the risk of cyberbullying, so developing an Internet-based treatment that is readily available to them is strongly encouraged (Reed et al., 2016). The Internet is now widely used to provide Internet safety tips, cyberbullying prevention tips, and tips for managing cyberbullying for parents, teachers, and young people. In the context of prevention and early intervention of cyberbullying, a qualitative study by Ahlfors (2010) analysed the general information and themes available on 17 websites (written in English and

in the public domain) dedicated strictly to cyberbullying prevention and intervention. Of the 17 cyberbullying websites, the most frequently addressed population are parents/caregivers and not the populations most in need of Internet-based cyberbullying interventions, the cyber victims and cyberbullies. In fact, none of the reviewed websites were specifically designed for cyberbullies. Most of the reviewed websites are used as a source of information for Internet safety tips and cyberbullying prevention tips. Only five of the reviewed websites can be categorised as intervention websites and give specific directions to parents, teachers, or cyberbullied children and cyberbully witnesses to manage cyberbullying. Only one of these five websites pays (minor) attention to the negative outcomes of being bullied by introducing a screening instrument for depression. Also in the Netherlands, many cyberbullying prevention and intervention websites have been developed in recent years to address the growing problem of cyberbullying (for example <http://www.pestweb.nl> and <http://www.internethulpverlening.nl>).

Apart from the fact that almost none of the available websites contain Internet-based treatment interventions, a main problem is that many of these materials and programs do not have a theoretical base, and that the effectiveness of these websites in decreasing incidences of cyberbullying and its consequences has not yet been investigated (Ahlfors, 2010; Völlink, Dehue, Mc Guckin, & Jacobs, 2016). A starting point to investigate the effectiveness of these cyberbullying websites should be to determine how many people access the websites as well as to determine whether the information was of help or not (Ahlfors, 2010).

While cyberspace is the perfect location to offer interventions for individuals experiencing negative consequences of cyberbullying, as far as we know, no evidence-based Internet-based mental health interventions are developed addressing directly cyberbullied CYP with mental health problems. Although the web-based online intervention *Pestkoppenstoppen.nl* (Stop Online Bullies) is a promising approach to the problem, with a theoretical base and aiming to teach victims effective ways of dealing with anxiety and depression associated with cyber victimization without the interference of adults (Jacobs, Völlink, Dehue, & Lechner, 2014), empirical evidence is lacking and at present no randomised control trial (RCT) or effect sizes are available to demonstrate its effectiveness.

A worthwhile action would be to look at current Internet-based mental health interventions for CYP, such as online CBT, showing positive outcomes in terms of reduction in symptoms associated with a broad range of psychological disorders, and incorporate some of their modules into an online programme for cyberbullied CYP with mental health problems. An alternative is to incorporate a cyberbullying module into current Internet-based mental health interventions for CYP with, for example, depression. However, we are a long way from knowing what the ideal format is because Internet-based mental health interventions for CYP are developed to a much lesser extent than those for adults and do not focus on the whole range of mental health problems. Furthermore, the number of effectiveness studies in CYP is limited and studies are mainly directed at anxiety disorders. Hence, more studies are needed on CYP-focused Internet-based programs as a whole that include, within one design, a control group, an intervention group that has undergone a proven effective face-to-face therapy, and an online intervention-based therapy, with special attention for mental health problems associated with cyberbullying. Also, more effectiveness studies on Internet-based mental health interventions for CYP as well as on cyberbullying interventions have to be conducted with a specific focus on the “critical ingredients” or the key processes that lead to reduction in mental health problems in general, but also to reduce mental health problems associated with cyberbullying.

Furthermore, effectiveness studies have to give an answer to questions such as “for whom does CBT/cyberbullying interventions work and under what context?” and “what is the best quantity and quality of therapist support or guidance?”

Despite these reservations, the literature to date is encouraging and suggests that Internet-based mental health interventions for children and adolescents are promising and rapidly expanding. It is not likely that Internet-based mental health interventions will completely replace traditional face-to-face therapies. In fact, blended care, a combination of online and traditional face-to-face contact, is increasingly being applied in mental health care (Thewissen & Gunther, 2015). In this context, a promising treatment for cyberbullied CYP with mental health problems, such as depression, would be blending online cyberbullying modules into face-to-face sessions in order to obtain the optimal benefits from the advantages of these two treatment modalities.

CONCLUSION

Internet-based interventions might be an effective way to overcome treatment barriers of traditional face-to-face interventions for cyberbullied CYP with mental health problems. However, research to date shows that no evidence-based Internet-based mental health interventions are developed addressing directly cyberbullied CYP with mental health problems. Also the number of studies on the effectiveness of Internet-based mental health interventions for CYP is limited. More methodologically sound research on the effectiveness of Internet-based mental health interventions and cyberbullying interventions should be considered a crucial step forward in the development of Internet-based interventions for cyberbullied CYP with mental health problems. Future research needs to investigate the process at work in these interventions, in addition to how to include a cyberbullying module as part of face-to-face sessions.

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Chapter 147

THE AUSTRALIAN PERSPECTIVE: EFFORTS TO COUNTER CYBERBULLYING

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INTRODUCTION

Australian young people have easy access to technology with 89% of 14-17 year-olds using the Internet and 89% accessing a mobile phone with 69% of this group owning or using a Smartphone (one with Internet access, television, and multi-media) (Australian Communications and Media Authority: ACMA, 2014). Additionally, 70% of 12-14 year-olds use social networking sites (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Australian research has shown that although most of these young people use this technology appropriately and gain advantages in access to information and social communication, there are also those who use it to cyberbully others.

DEFINITION

Defining what we are talking about is fundamental to all research and to prevention and intervention of cyberbullying. Since Bill Belsey coined the term cyberbullying in 2004 it has eclipsed other words such as e-bullying, electronic bullying, or technological bullying. Without a consensual definition of cyberbullying however, measurement difficulties arise which impacts upon the development of prevention and intervention strategies. There have been many Australian contributions to the continuing debate on the definition of cyberbullying.

The arguments regarding the most appropriate term are usually conceptualised first by a broad question of “is cyberbullying a form of bullying”; or “is it a different subset of aggression from traditional or face-to-face bullying” in which case the word bullying needs to be removed.

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Bullying is characterised by what most researchers agree are three fundamental pillars of bullying: intention, repetition, and power imbalance (Olweus, 1993).

One of the first Australian papers to consider the theoretical and conceptual similarities of cyberbullying and face-to-face bullying (or traditional bullying) was by Dooley, Pyżalski, and Cross in 2009. In this paper, it was argued that Olweus' (1993) definition of bullying, which differentiates it from aggression, is the repetitive nature and the imbalance of power involved in bullying, and thus cyberbullying needs to evidence these factors if it is to be considered bullying. It was argued that even though repetition in cyberbullying can be different from traditional bullying, in that for instance, a single act of a cyberbully may become viral and therefore "repeated" it is a factor in cyberbullying. The factor of imbalance of power between the perpetrator and the victim is considered fundamental to distinguishing aggression and bullying. However, Belsey (2004), in common with some North American researchers (e.g., Justin Patchin, Michele Ybarra), did not include this factor in his definition of cyberbullying as "... the use of information and communication technologies to support deliberate, repeated and hostile behavior by an individual or group that is intended to harm others". This could be interpreted as fighting among equals and continues to be a contentious point between North American scholars and others.

Another Australian, (Langos, 2012) has also contributed to this debate on the definition of cyberbullying following the same arguments on the two fundamental propositions of repetition and imbalance of power, and adding an interesting classification of the subjective nature of intention, resolving whether it is a perpetrator's intent or the victim's perception of the act that should be considered. Following a legal tradition she suggested that "... intention is best determined based on how a reasonable person would perceive the perpetrator's conduct" (p. 288).

Recently, the Australian Research Alliance for Children & Youth (ARACY) proposed a definition of school-based bullying as:

... a systematic abuse of power in a relationship formed at school characterised by: 1. Aggressive acts directed (by one or more individuals) towards victims that a reasonable person would avoid; 2. Acts which usually occur repeatedly over a period of time; and 3. Acts in which there is an actual or perceived power imbalance between perpetrators and victims, with victims often being unable to defend themselves effectively from perpetrators (Hemphill, Heerde, & Gomo, 2014, p. 3).

Independently, at the same time, the United States Center for Disease Control also issued a statement that cyberbullying or electronic bullying can be identified using the general definition of bullying which:

... is any unwanted aggressive behavior(s) by another youth or group of youths who are not siblings or current dating partners that involves an observed or perceived power imbalance and is repeated multiple times or is highly likely to be repeated (Gladden, Vivolvo-Kantor, Hamburger, & Lumpkin, 2014, p. 7).

It will be interesting to note if this definition, agreed on by eminent bullying researchers in Australia and North America will be taken up world-wide or some other definition is reached so that the field can progress in measurement and prevention efforts.

PREVALENCE

The first published study in Australia on cyberbullying reported that in a small sample of 120 students in Year 8 (13-year-olds), 14% claimed to have been cyberbullied while 7% reported they had cyberbullied another student during that year (Campbell, 2005). One large national study of 7,500 8-14 year-olds reported that 7% had been cyberbullied frequently (every few weeks in the last 3 months) with 3.5% reporting frequently bullying others (Cross et al., 2009). In 2011, Campbell and colleagues found in a national sample of over 3,000 students that 14% were cyberbullied and 7.6% cyberbullied others (Campbell, Spears, Slee, Kift, & Butler, 2011). Other Australian studies have found cyberbullying victimisation rates of 11.5% (Sakellariou, Carroll, & Houghton, 2012) and 13.4% (Hemphill, Tollit, & Kotevski, 2012).

It is of course difficult to make accurate comparisons between these studies to ascertain what trends there are in cyberbullying in Australia because of the different age groups and cut points for frequency, national and state samples, as well as studies including both or one gender. However, in 2014 in reviewing Australian cyberbullying victimisation prevalence studies, it was estimated that about 20% of young people aged between 8-17 years old had been victimised in this way (Katz et al., 2014). This is similar to international studies showing that students between the ages of 10-15 years old were cyber victimised the most (Genta et al., 2012).

Cyberbullying in Australia is not confined, however, to young people. It has been documented in a sample of 91 TAFE (Technical and Further Education) students in Victoria that 9% were cyberbullied (Reeckman & Cannard, 2009). Two studies of university students in Australia also reported cyberbullying; one with 528 students found 11.6% were victims of cyberbullying in the preceding 12 months (Wensley & Campbell, 2012), and one with 282 students found 14.5% had been victimised by these means (Wozencroft, Campbell, Orel, Kimpton, & Leong, 2015). Cyberbullying has also been shown to occur in the Australian workforce, with 10.7% of a sample of 103 workers belonging to the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union being cyberbullied (Privitera & Campbell, 2009).

RESEARCH

Australian research has also contributed to our understanding of: (a) the consequences of cyberbullying on both the perpetrator and the student who is victimised; (b) the motives of those who cyberbully; and (c) the actions of bystanders to cyberbullying. This is all vital information in our efforts to counter cyberbullying.

Consequences

It has been shown that Australian students who were cyber victimised reported more social difficulties and higher levels of depression and anxiety than those students who were victims of traditional bullying (Campbell et al., 2012). While these are serious sequelae for students who are victims of cyberbullying, those students who are perpetrators also reported more social difficulties and obtained higher scores on stress, depression, and anxiety scales than students not involved in bullying (Campbell, Slee, Spears, Butler, & Kift, 2013). Additionally, in a

longitudinal study of 650 Australian high school students it was found that cyber victimisation was linked to depressive symptoms one year later, whilst cyber perpetration was linked with theft. Furthermore, if the student was involved in both cyberbullying perpetration and was also a victim, they were more likely to be suspended from school and involved in binge drinking one year later (Hemphill, Kotevski, & Heerde, 2015).

It has also been shown that students who were cyber victimised were less likely to seek help than those who were victimised by more traditional means (Dooley, Grading, Strohmeier, Cross, & Spiel, 2010). Cyberbullying victims in Australia also appear unwilling to seek help from online services, including self-help apps and websites (Spears, Taddeo, Daly, Stretton, & Karklins, 2015).

Motives

The motives that propel students to bully in traditional ways have been well documented: the need to belong (Owens, Shute, & Slee, 2000), influence from families (Rigby, 1994), and victim provocation (Rose & Rudolph, 2006). When Australian adolescents were asked why young people cyberbullied, the reasons were to "... get attention from others, make themselves feel better and to get their own way" (Wilton & Campbell, 2011, p. 107). Those students who engaged in cyberbullying said it was good to be able to be someone else. In a follow-up study, teachers and parents as well as students were asked what motivated students to cyberbully (Compton, Campbell, & Mergler, 2014). Interestingly all three groups perceived a different main motivation for young people to cyberbully. Teachers perceived the main motivation was that it was easy for students to cyberbully. Parents thought that being able to be anonymous was the reason that young people bullied, while students reported that they thought the main motivation to cyberbully was to be able to avoid retaliation from victims or punishments from teachers and parents.

Bystanders

We know that bystanders to traditional bullying can influence this behaviour as their actions can either escalate or stop this behaviour by passively watching, joining in, or intervening to stop the bullying (Rigby & Johnson, 2006; Trach, Hymel, Waterhouse, & Neale, 2010). Less is known about bystanders to cyberbullying. Two Australian studies have explored this topic. Duncanson et al. (2015) found in a study of over 3,000 students that bystanders to cyberbullying responded differently to bystanders to traditional bullying. Bystanders to traditional bullying more frequently endorsed telling parents, friends, and adults whereas bystanders to cyberbullying were more likely to help the person being cyberbullied, stand up to the person cyberbullying, or get back at the bully later. It was hypothesised that this difference could be because of the lower risk of harm to the bystander in taking action in cyberbullying. Following on from this study another project explored whether bystanders to traditional and cyberbullying used online methods or face-to-face encounters or both, when taking action to report the bullying, stop the bullying, or support the victim (Sheppard & Campbell, 2015). It was found that most of the young people surveyed would take action as a bystander to either traditional or cyberbullying in person, when they reported the bullying or

when they were supporting the student who was victimised. However, when it came to intervening directly with the student who was bullying, bystanders told traditional bullies to stop face-to-face and cyberbullies to stop by online methods.

PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION EFFORTS IN AUSTRALIA

In this section the influence of the media is examined in reporting on cyberbullying in Australia. This is followed by a description of the legal arguments fuelled by the media about how to reduce cyberbullying. The place of anti-bullying policies in schools is then discussed. A description of the resources provided by the Australian government and the many non-government agencies follows. Finally, current research projects which are investigating prevention and intervention efforts are described.

Media in Australia

Mass media has a significant influence on society (Macnamara, 2005) as explained by the agenda setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) which postulates that the media determines what people think about. Issues which are reported frequently in the media are issues which will be high on the public's agenda and consequently important to policymakers. Online risks to young people, such as cyberbullying, are relatively high on the media agenda in Australia. In a content analysis study, it was found that there was sustained media attention in the 10 year period from 2001 to 2011 on articles about bullying and cyberbullying (Kimber & Campbell, 2015). The articles were framed in different ways by the two newspapers, one of which would be considered in terms of popular journalism and the other in terms of quality journalism. The articles ranged from where cyberbullying was the main issue in the article to those about e-safety concerns in general. Similar to Vandebosch, Simulioniene, Marczak, Vermeulen, and Bonetti (2013), it was found that the "quality" newspaper was found to publish less articles on cyberbullying and had a more neutral and reassuring tone than the popular newspaper which portrayed cyberbullying in a light that could give rise to moral panic. These are examples not only of the media setting the agenda for the public to think about but also of the role of framing of such agendas, that is, reconstructing the story from a certain angle (Scheufele, 2000).

In the case of cyberbullying, most media reports on young people and the Internet take a negative news perspective. The way media frame an issue can have an impact on how people think about it and can determine their knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour with regard to the problem (De Vreese, 2005). If an issue is framed disproportionately and without proper evidence as a problem it is called a moral panic (Burger & Koetsenruijter, 2008).

It would seem in Australia that there are some indications that the media is portraying cyberbullying as a moral panic, with negative overtones (Kimber & Campbell, 2015), which has not been the case for traditional bullying. The consequences of cyberbullying and the seriousness of this issue have been brought to the attention of the public which has been useful in alerting society to what is happening. However, confronting stories of the suicide of adolescents and adults both overseas and in Australia who have been the target of cyberbullying (Lannen, 2009; Wise, 2009) is not helpful as most of these incidents involved mental health

problems as well as cyberbullying. This is consistent with studies that have found that there is a tendency in the media to link suicide and cyberbullying (Thom et al., 2011).

Media attention usually results in calls from the public for solutions to the problem and thus there are many calls for “something to be done” about cyberbullying in the media. The reaction to this media hype/attention in Australia has had the community and politicians calling for a law against cyberbullying and to have the police involved in instances of cyberbullying although there is no law against cyberbullying in Australia (Langos, 2014) to enable police to act.

Legal Responses

One of the responses to cyberbullying in young people in Australia is the community debate regarding the law and cyberbullying. Australia at present does not have a specific law against cyberbullying (Butler, Kift, & Campbell, 2009), which means that these behaviours are not legally defined and cannot be prosecuted (Langos, 2013). However, there are criminal offences that can be enforced against these behaviours, such as misuse of telecommunications, indecent filming, stalking, and criminal defamation (see Department of Communications Discussion Paper, Appendix B, Current Offences in the Criminal Code Act, 2014). Cases of traditional bullying in schools have led to civil claims for compensation or prosecution in the criminal courts in Australia (Campbell, Cross, Spears, & Slee, 2010). However, there has yet to be a reported case seeking civil compensation for cyberbullying and only one criminal prosecution arising from a case of a young adult involving threatening SMS messages (Milovanovic, 2010).

It is interesting to note that the general public in Australia has not called for changing laws to prevent or punish students who bully face-to-face. There could be several reasons for this. The first is that adults have not grown up with technology and often feel they do not understand this world which young people inhabit. As youngsters themselves they have had no experience of cyberbullying and so feel some degree of panic when confronted with this phenomenon (Campbell & Zavrsnik, 2013). Second, as previously argued, the constant media attention that cyberbullying attracts and the links that the media draws between cyberbullying and suicide could be reasons why adults are calling for specific laws to punish young people who cyberbully. The coining of the word “bullicide” illustrates the prominence given to students with mental health problems who are cyberbullied and then take their own life (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010).

The community mainly sees that the law exists to punish people, however, considering the ages of young people who cyberbully, this is a potential problem as in Australia children below the age of 10 are not deemed capable of criminal intent and it is up to the courts to decide if the child is capable between the ages of 10 and 14 (Butler, Kift, Campbell, Slee, & Spears, 2011). Additionally, the law is seen as a deterrent as it is thought that the fear of punishment will deter young people from cyberbullying. However, due to the impulsiveness of young people and the fact that they do not believe they can be caught cyberbullying, a law for this purpose might not work.

The convening of the Bullying, Young People and the Law symposium held in Melbourne, Australia, in 2013, was one effort to examine ways of reducing cyberbullying by legal solutions. The symposium was attended by pre-eminent legal, law enforcement, and educational experts

from Australia and New Zealand. Its recommendations were to introduce an appropriate legal framework to address bullying and cyberbullying in Australia, establish a national digital communication tribunal, and to continue to provide education about cyberbullying. Public consultation was also called for by the Federal Department of Communication in 2014 to explore options under Commonwealth legislation to deal with cyberbullying.

An interesting study garnered the views of Australian education employees' perceptions of cyberbullying and the law (Young et al., 2015). All the interviewees held senior authoritative positions in either education or the law or both. Overall, participants were divided in their support for the introduction of a specific law for cyberbullying, mirroring both the wider community and the scholarly world's views (Katz et al., 2014). Participants identified many sanctions which they thought would be appropriate for children and adolescents who persist in cyberbullying: such as mediation, victim impact statements, family conferences, bonds, cautions, and taking a juvenile justice team approach (Young et al., 2015).

In 2015 the Federal government enacted the "Enhancing Online Safety Act 201". This statute established a Children's e-Safety Commissioner and provides for a complaints system for Australian children who are cyberbullied. Removal of cyberbullying material from large social media services, such as Facebook and YouTube, will be at the service providers' discretion, using their own procedures to handle complaints of harassing materials posted on their services. Other smaller social media services are subject to direct regulation. The Commissioner on receiving a complaint of cyberbullying material may give a binding direction to have the material removed within 48 hours or the service could be subject to a civil penalty. The statute has no effect on existing laws about cyberbullying and still leaves the question of enacting a specific cyberbullying law open.

Policy

Even though cyberbullying occurs mainly outside of school property and school hours (Smith et al., 2008) the consequences often interrupt school life and impact on student learning (Bhat, 2008), so many believe efforts to combat cyberbullying to be a school responsibility. Thus, another strategy used to counter cyberbullying in Australia is the school anti-bullying policy. Having an anti-bullying policy that incorporates proactive policies, plans, and practices that reach beyond the school is an important strategy suggested both nationally and internationally to assist schools to prevent and intervene in instances of cyberbullying (Cross, Monks, Campbell, Spears, & Slee, 2011).

The Australian government was one of the first to provide leadership internationally in this area by providing schools with a set of guiding principles regarding the provision of a safe and supportive school environment called the National Safe Schools Framework (NSSF) (MCEERYA, 2003). This framework was developed to assist schools to both reduce bullying behaviour while improving the social and emotional health of the children in their school (Cross et al., 2011). The framework was first developed in 2003, revised in 2010, and updated in 2013. It sets out a vision and a set of principles for Australian schools taking a whole school approach aiming to promote student well-being by creating school environments in which members of the school community both feel and are safe from harassment, aggression, violence, and bullying. The policy was evaluated by Cross and colleagues (2011) four years after its implementation. While a small decline in self-reported bullying rates was observed from 1999

to 2007, it was concluded that the NSSF required greater implementation support and Australian teachers required further training.

A study by Butler et al. (2011), examined the anti-bullying policies of a small sample of Australian schools to gauge the extent of their readiness to respond to cyberbullying with regards to the potential liability they may face. The policy responses of nine schools were analysed to obtain a sense of how these schools were addressing cyberbullying according to the expectations of the law. Many of the schools' policies were found wanting in terms of inclusive definitions for cyberbullying, procedures to report cyberbullying, and processes by which complaints would be handled. Potential sanctions were often not included and policies were not seen to be sufficiently disseminated throughout the school community.

In trying to ascertain why these policies were poorly written, another study was conducted seeking the views of Australian education authorities' views on school policies concerning cyberbullying (Chalmers et al., 2015). In the Australian school system there are different education sectors in each state and territory, which provide schools in their jurisdiction with guidelines or templates for developing anti-bullying policies. Thus, there are different documents provided by each state which are supposed to adhere to the set of guiding principles of the NSSF. Therefore, the views of 10 key stakeholders in three states from Education Departments were sought in relation to their anti-bullying policies. Surprisingly, over half of the stakeholders did not mention the imbalance of power in their definitions of bullying for state education policies. The participants were divided in their opinions whether cyberbullying required a totally new anti-bullying policy, but most of them were advising their schools to have a 24-hour, seven day a week policy, to enable schools to officially deal with incidents between students that occur outside of school grounds and hours. This has not been the case for policies on traditional bullying in the past.

TEACHER TRAINING

Another initiative for countering cyberbullying in schools is the provision of resources for teacher training institutions. Teachers are often responsible for delivering anti-bullying programs in their classrooms and so the national project of Response Ability, which is an initiative of the Australian Government's Department of Health implemented by the Hunter INSTITUTE of Mental Health in partnership with tertiary educators throughout Australia (<http://responseability.org>) supports the pre-service training of school teachers. The project has many free, multi-media teacher resources on bullying and cyberbullying. It also provides additional information on its website and at conference presentations as well as support to tertiary educators to assist them to integrate mental health into their teaching.

Many studies have shown that pre-service teachers believe bullying is an important issue but express low levels of confidence to deal with it (Craig, Bell, & Leschied, 2011; Ryan & Kariuki, 2011). However, the present cohort of pre-service teachers has grown up with the National Safe Schools Framework as well as being part of the always-on generation. It was found in a recent study that most of the 717 pre-service teachers from three different states in Australia, in three different universities, were able to correctly identify cyberbullying situations from banter, conflict, and aggression. They also felt informed and capable of addressing bullying (Spears, Campbell, Tangen, Slee, & Cross, 2015).

ADVICE AND RESOURCES

The Australian Federal government has been very active in its efforts to counter cyberbullying among youth. There is also a government initiative of the Safe and Supportive School Communities, a national collaboration in which all States and territories have representatives. This project is under the auspices of the State Ministers of Education with a major outcome of the project being the website *Bullying. No Way!*

A government agency called the Australian Communication and Media Authority (ACMA) provides the Cybersmart program, a national cyber-safety education program. All the resources are provided free on their website (<http://www.acma.gov.au/Home/Citizen/Stay%20protected/My%20online%20world/Staying%20safe%20online>). The government along with the Principals Australia Institute and *beyondblue* provide a framework for secondary schools to promote mental health, providing training for schools and resources on their website (<http://www.mindmatters.edu.au/about-mindmatters/what-is-mindmatters>). A similar framework is available for primary schools called Kids Matter (<http://www.kidsmatter.edu.au/primary/about-kidsmatter-primary>). Both frameworks include resources on cyberbullying. Police in Australia also offer the Internet Safety program ThinkUKnow to parents and teachers (<http://www.thinkuknow.org.au/>).

Non-Government Agencies

Non-government agencies are also involved in countering cyberbullying. In addition to programs and resources, there are two main organisations which provide help for young people in the form of telephone or online counselling. Kids Help Line is an initiative of Boys Town and offers a free, private, and confidential telephone and online counselling services for young people between five and 25 years of age (<http://www.kidshelp.com.au/>). Also, Reach Out run by the Inspire Foundation (<http://au.reachout.com/get-involved/about-reachout>) offers online mental health services.

The Alannah and Madeline Foundation was set up by Walter Mikac after his wife and two children Alannah and Madeline were among 35 people shot dead at Port Phillip in Tasmania in 1996. The aim of the foundation is to prevent and intervene in all forms of violence against children. To this end one of their initiatives was the formation of the National Centre Against Bullying (NCAB). This Centre comprises expert researchers in bullying, practitioners, and policy makers. The Centre works closely with school communities, government, and industry. It is the peak body for anti-bullying messages in Australia and one of its main functions is to hold a biennial conference to disseminate the latest research on bullying. The Foundation also founded the e-Smart program in 2013. This program, for use in schools, has been designed to reduce the incidence and harm associated with cyberbullying.

The Alannah and Madeline Foundation has also run, in conjunction with a major national bank, a community service announcement across TV, press, radio, digital, outdoor, and cinema, highlighting the role of the bystander in bullying on the premise of “words are more powerful than you think – say something... find a voice for someone who can’t find theirs and help prevent bullying”.

While all these initiatives are useful, none is actually evidence-based and we have no way of knowing about the uptake of the resources. As these resources have not been empirically tested, it is vital for researchers in Australia to collaborate to build a research base on reducing cyberbullying. To respond to this need Professors Donna Cross, Phillip Slee, and Marilyn Campbell together with Dr Barbara Spears formed the Australian Universities' Anti-bullying Research Alliance (AUARA). This brought together university-based research teams from the University of Western Australia, Flinders University, Queensland University of Technology, and University of South Australia. AUARA has made submissions to the Federal Government on cyberbullying such as the Joint Select Committee on cyber-safety in 2011 (http://www.ap h.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/House_of_representatives_Committees?url=js cc/index.htm) and have made significant international links with organisations concerned with the issue of cyberbullying including Canadian PREVNET; the International Observatory on Violence, and the Cyberbullying Action Network. AUARA established the Australia-India research collaboration in 2013 and worked with the European (COST) Action 1S0801 from 2008-2012. We hosted a four-day Training School in Melbourne, Australia for this action which is the first time a training school had been held outside of Europe. Led by Professor Donna Cross when she was at Edith Cowan University, AUARA was also funded for a Collaborative Research Network to build research capacity and produce evidence-based outcomes to reduce harm from cyberbullying from 2011-2014. Some of these major research projects are outlined below.

RESEARCH PROJECTS

Cyber Friendly Schools

Donna Cross and her colleagues have been researching in the area of prevention and intervention of bullying in school-aged students for many years. During the Supportive Schools project, a randomised control trial which targeted bullying in secondary schools (Cross, Hall, Waters, & Hamilton, 2008), Cross noticed that cyberbullying was being reported as an issue by students. After three formative studies from 2007-2009, the research team received funding in 2010 to conduct a group randomised control trial to evaluate the effectiveness of a new program called the Cyber Friendly Schools program in reducing cyberbullying in secondary schools compared to standard cyberbullying intervention practices. Thirty-seven secondary non-government schools were randomly assigned to the intervention and comparison conditions, involving 3,500 students in Year 8 (ages 13-14). Using an online survey the students were asked about their cyberbullying experiences in a pre-test (beginning of Year 8), post-test (end of Year 9), and follow-up (end of Year 10).

The Cyber Friendly School program targeted pastoral care staff, teaching staff, students, and parents based on Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological approach. Young people were involved in designing the teaching and learning intervention and Year 10 students who were trained as "cyber-leaders" helped teachers plan for and implement the program of whole-school activities. The study found the program slightly reduced student involvement in cyberbullying after 18 months of intervention but this was not sustained at follow-up.

One suggested reason for the small effect size was partial implementation failure. Teachers taught an average of only two to three 40-60 minute classroom modules out of a total of eight modules. Staff reported that they felt under-skilled to teach the program despite receiving training. Although the program had been modified from pilot testing with teachers, and was designed for teachers to facilitate the students' online self-directed learning, many teachers indicated they could not find the time in the curriculum/classroom to include this content as they were struggling to teach their allocated subject matter. Teachers' self-efficacy in this area therefore seems to need more professional learning and innovative methods to enable them to find time in the classroom to include these programs. An interesting finding was the Year 10 cyber leaders were so enthusiastic that many school pastoral staff were not prepared to support their suggestions as they were too adventurous. Perhaps staff need more preparation also in engaging with young people as co-researchers and collaborators.

Beyond Bullying

Following on from the Cyber Friendly School project, Cross' research team was granted funding in 2013 to conduct another randomised controlled trial of a universal and a targeted intervention to reduce mental health problems from all forms of bullying in school students. The study was designed to compare three groups of schools with students in Year 8 and Year 9; a high dose cluster of schools who will receive a universal intervention against bullying (including cyberbullying) plus a targeted intervention for students who persistently bully; a moderate dose condition with the universal intervention only and a low dose condition with care as usual. It is hypothesised that the high dose intervention schools will have significantly lower student reported anxiety and depression symptoms, as well as lower rates of bullying perpetration and victimisation as reported by school staff and students. The innovative part of this project is that it targets the individual perpetrator of traditional and cyberbullying. It has been shown that these students have well developed social skills and understanding and score high on social cognition (Bem, 1972; Erol & Erdogan, 2008; Rubak, Sandbæk, Lauritzen, & Christensen, 2005). However, students who bully have been shown to show low levels of empathy (Sutton, Smith, & Sweetenham, 1999) and thus interventions which appeal to the student's empathetic response to their victim, such as the Method of Shared Concern (Pikas, 2002), are often ineffective in discouraging the bullying. This project is instead trialling motivational interviewing, a cognitive counselling technique, which has been successfully used to reduce drug use, eating disorders, and violent behaviour in adolescents (Frey et al., 2011; Hettema, Steele, & Miller, 2005).

Research on Legal Interventions

Professor Campbell and her team won two grants from the Australian Research Council examining cyberbullying and the law in Australia. The first project investigated the incidence and consequences of cyberbullying among students and amongst teachers. Using a scenario method the understanding of cyberbullying among primary and secondary school students and teachers was investigated. Written anti-bullying school policies were analysed to ascertain their adherence to legal requirements. The second project is currently examining the knowledge and

attitudes of the school community to legal responses to cyberbullying and will produce legally-informed resources for use in schools.

Safe and Well Project

An innovative strategy for the prevention and intervention in cyberbullying that is being researched in Australia is the use of a social marketing campaign (Cross, Campbell, Slee, Spears, & Barnes, 2013). Social marketing attempts to change attitudes and behaviours for social good. It is based on the model of goal directed behaviour (Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001) that proposes that attitudes are antecedents for desires which provide direct impetus for intentions which are the key predictor of behaviour. Usually in an effort to reach young people about cyberbullying, the Internet is used to build adult created websites. However, none of these are evidence-based and so we do not know if young people are accessing them. Furthermore, most have been created without consulting young people (Cross et al., 2013).

Additionally, the messages are not usually in the media spaces where the young people interact. The Safe and Well Online project is exploring ways to rectify these issues by developing an online marketing campaign, designed by youth. A longitudinal study is being conducted to examine changes in attitude and behaviour together with an online panel to estimate campaign reach and impact. The first marketing campaign to counter cyberbullying was based on respectful behaviour online. It is called *Keep It Tame* (<http://keepittame.youngandwellcrc.org.au/>) and was launched in November 2012, running for four weeks online. The YouTube clip features an animated smartphone which becomes ugly and nasty if wrong decisions are made. The clip formed an interactive “banner ad” which literally popped up all over the Internet. The reach and impact of the campaign was measured by purchasing advertising space in social media websites such as Facebook and Club Penguin.

Another project from the Safe and Well Online project, which involves an innovative approach to cyberbullying, is a smartphone app called *Appreciate a Mate* (<http://www.youngandwellcrc.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Young-and-Well-Annual-Highlights-2013-14.pdf>). The app instantly generates messages of appreciation so that young people can share positively online. It is aimed at strengthening self-esteem and enabling young people to start a positive cycle of online communication with their peers.

On a much smaller scale there has been interventions reported in Australian schools. One compared Year 6 students’ experiences of both traditional and cyberbullying who were in a school which taught Philosophy for Children (P4C) with a matched sample of students who attended schools which do not conduct this program (Tangen & Campbell, 2010). The Philosophy for Children approach (Lipman & Bynum, 1976) is based on both cognitive development and also, through participation in the “community of enquiry,” developing students’ social skills. The process involves children reading or viewing a stimulus, developing questions about the stimulus, and then participating in a dialogue with each other (Haynes, 2008). Although it was hypothesised that students at the P4C school would report significantly less bullying than the other students this was not the case. In fact there were more reports of face-to-face bullying in the P4C school. There were no differences in reported cyberbullying victimisation or perpetration between the two groups. It was hypothesised that while the P4C students learnt how to discuss and problem solve situations from story books they may not have transferred these solutions to their own lives. An interesting finding was that both cohorts of

students reported that at their schools adults were twice as likely to prevent face-to-face bullying than cyberbullying, as the students perceived that teachers were not generally as aware of cyberbullying taking place as they were of face-to-face bullying.

CONCLUSION

Unfortunately, despite these efforts, Australia's rate of cyberbullying in young people is similar to other countries as mentioned earlier. As Shariff (2015) has written, we seem to be no further ahead in our efforts to reduce cyberbullying. However, as cyberbullying is still half the prevalence of traditional bullying, perhaps our efforts have been able to at least contain cyberbullying if not yet to reduce it. There are many challenges for researchers of cyberbullying remaining. Until there is widespread agreement on the definition of cyberbullying then measurement difficulties will continue and prevention and intervention efforts will be hampered. Similarly measurement instruments need to be standardised, with the same cut-off points, definitions, and comparable age and nature of samples. More studies using a longitudinal design on consequences and risk and protective factors need to be carried out. In addition, community responses by the media and the legal profession need to be influenced by rigorous research. Finally, more large scale well-funded randomly controlled intervention studies to reduce cyberbullying are required.

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Chapter 148

TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF CYBERBULLYING IN IRISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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INTRODUCTION

School bullying is by no means a novel issue. Throughout the history of formal education systems, violence, to a certain extent, has been common place in schools (Aries, 1962). However, prior to the 1970s, school violence and bullying was not considered by teachers as an issue of foremost concern (Bayh, 1975; Gabriel, 1957; Phillips, 1932), and the cross-cultural perception that school violence is a major social and public health concern is a relatively modern occurrence (Chen & Astor, 2009; Flannery, Modzeleski, & Kretschmer, 2013; Li, 2007). For instance, during the 1930s, school bullying was not a concern for any of the newly-qualified teachers in England surveyed; rather they reported maintaining discipline, inadequate teaching equipment, social stance of the school, and violence between parents and teachers as their main matters for concern (Phillips, 1932). By the 1950s, teachers in England were mostly concerned about class control and class inspections rather than school violence (Gabriel, 1957).

However, the following decades saw an increase in school violence. By 1975, US School Superintendents noted an increase in school robberies (36.7%), student assaults on other students (85.3%), confiscation of weapons by school authorities (54.4%), school rape and attempted rape (40.1%), and school homicide (18.5%) in just three years between 1970 and 1973 (Bayh, 1975). By 1978, the U.S. congress mandated The Safe School Study, which found that 282,000 students were physically assaulted in U.S. secondary schools each month. At the same time, European countries were finding similarly high rates of school violence. In 1983, research conducted in Norwegian schools found that 15% of students were regularly bullied or acted as a bully (Olweus, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997). The 1980s saw a rapid growth in research on school bullying throughout Europe (Brown & Winterton, 2010; Menesini et al., 2012; Olweus, 1991, 2011; O'Moore & Minton, 2009; Ortega et al., 2012; Wolke, Woods, Stanford,

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& Schulz, 2001), North America (Craig & Pepler, 2007; Good, McIntosh, & Gietz, 2011; Schneider, O'Donnell, Stueve, & Coulteret, 2012; Turner, Exum, Brame, & Holt, 2013), Asia (Chen & Astor, 2009; Ong, 2015; Zhou et al., 2013), and Australia (Rigby, 2000; Srivastava, Gamble, & Boey, 2013).

Notably, this wealth of research supports the view that school bullying is a global concern. Furthermore, findings strongly indicate that bullying is particularly persistent in schools during adolescence, and largely involves violence among students and their fellow peers. This increase in school violence and bullying continued to develop as a major concern for teachers around the world. By the late 1980s, research on teachers' perceptions of bullying had commenced, and teachers were reporting violence and bullying to be one of, if not the most serious issue within schools (Borg & Falzon, 1989; Kyriacou & Roe, 1988; Wilson, 1987).

In recent years, cyberbullying has become a major public concern for teachers throughout the world (O'Moore, 2012a). Cyberbullying has received increased international attention due to mass media reports of homicide and suicide cases, in which bullying was a precipitating factor (Dooley, Pyzalski, & Cross, 2009). Cyberbullying has received much attention from the research community with many survey-based studies being conducted (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014; Monks, Robinson, & Worlidge, 2012; Raynor & Wylie, 2012; Schneider et al., 2012; Slonje, Smith, & Frisén, 2013), with results suggesting that there are a significant number of young people experiencing cyberbullying globally (Baek & Bullock, 2014; Hinduja & Patchin, 2014).

Regrettably, Ireland is no exception; with research findings showing that 13.9% of respondents aged 12 to 16 years reported that they personally experienced cyberbullying in recent months (O'Moore, 2012a). Furthermore, it seems that teenagers living in Ireland have an exceptionally challenging, byzantine relationship with cyberbullying. Research conducted by YouGov (2015) has found that Irish teenagers are more likely to be cyberbullied, with one in four Irish teenagers reporting that they had been cyberbullied, in comparison to one in five teenagers over 11 other countries surveyed. Of those Irish teenagers who had been cyberbullied, 45% reported feeling helpless, and one in four experienced suicidal thoughts (YouGov, 2015).

Bearing in mind that Irish youth suicide rates are one of the highest in Europe (European Child Safety Alliance, 2014), it is crucial that this issue is explored on both a scientific and governmental basis. Although there has been a growth in cyberbullying research over the past number of years, there remain many unexplored areas within the Irish context. One such area is the analysis of employed Irish secondary school teachers' perceptions of cyberbullying. Teachers are at the forefront of dealing with student bullying within schools (Byrne, 2015; Elledge et al., 2013; Li, 2008; Stauffer, Heath, Coyne, & Ferrin, 2012). All intervention programmes are primarily implemented by teachers, yet international research has found that although teachers acknowledge that cyberbullying is a major concern, they do not feel confident in dealing with it (Beringer, 2011; Eden, Heiman, Olenik-Shemesh, 2012; Li, 2008; Yilmaz, 2010).

BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING: WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

In order to truly understand cyberbullying, it is essential to review and appraise traditional bullying as both coincide to a certain extent. Olweus (2011) defines traditional bullying as "(1)

intentional negative behaviour that (2) typically occurs with some repetitiveness and is (3) directed against a person who has difficulty defending himself or herself" (p. 151). Although bullying has long been established as a school-based issue (Craig & Pepler, 2008), the growing demand and dependence of social networking and electronic communication has resulted in the topic of bullying shifting from the real world to the realm of the cyberspace (Mishna, Saini, & Solomon, 2009). Over the last decade, social interactions have changed quite drastically, owing to the exponential increase of electronic and computer based communication systems (Mishna et al., 2009). More youths are online now than ever before. In Europe, 96% of teenagers reported going online daily (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011). According to the Internet World Stats (2014), 82.5% of the Irish population uses the Internet, with a 16.7% increase since 2010. Given that 84% of Irish teenagers own a Smartphone, it's becoming easier for these teenagers to access cyber technology at any time of the day (Thinkhouse, 2014). Although most online interactions are considered positive, such as academic support, social support, identity exploration, interpersonal and critical thinking, and cross cultural interactions (Gross, 2004; Jackson et al., 2006; Valkenburg & Peter, 2007), the dangers of social networking are also of concern (Shariff, 2009; Turel & Serenke, 2012; Valcke, Wever, VanKeer, & Schellens, 2011). One such risk is cyberbullying.

O'Moore (2012a) describes cyberbullying as "an extension of traditional bullying with technology providing the perpetrator with another way to abuse the target" (p. 210). Taking this into account, cyberbullying can take different forms including racist, homophobic, religious, transphobic, or cyberbullying of people with a disability or special educational needs (Li, 2008; Anti-Bullying Working Group, 2013). Although there are many similarities between traditional bullying and cyberbullying, research indicates that cyberbullying can be more problematic than bullying as not only can it follow the target wherever they go, the cyberbully can also remain sometimes anonymous (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004a). Although research on the effects of cyberbullying in secondary schools is much more restricted than research on traditional bullying, researchers believe that the effects of cyberbullying can be similar and even more harmful than traditional bullying (Beran & Li, 2007; Bonanno & Hymel, 2013; Campbell, 2005; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004b). These effects range from school absenteeism, reduced academic achievement, poor concentration, anger, frustration, depression, and in some cases suicide (Beran & Li, 2007; Bonanno & Hymel, 2013; Kowalski, Limber, & Agatson, 2008).

IRISH SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS AND CYBERBULLYING

Considering the potential negative effects of cyberbullying, it is important for schools and teachers to take action to reduce cyberbullying within and outside of school (Stauffer et al., 2012). Not only are secondary school teachers in a vital position of authority, they are also responsible for the students' rules and behaviour (Jackson, Boostrom, & Hansen, 1993; Stauffer et al., 2012). According to the Association of Secondary School Teachers in Ireland (ASTI, 2012), the role of the teacher is to educate, respect, care for, trust, and exercise integrity. Furthermore, teachers should "work to establish and maintain a culture of mutual trust and respect in their schools" (ASTI, 2012, p. 6).

At present, research on teachers' perceptions of bullying and cyberbullying has been internationally examined, with results indicating that cyberbullying is an urgent and significant issue which needs to be directly addressed. Owing to the growing severity, character and adverse effects of cyberbullying, there is a call for educators to precede and initiate responses both nationally and internationally. In Ireland, responses have commenced, and an action plan on bullying was published by the Minister for Education and Skills in January 2013, which released a number of recommendations for consideration (Anti-Bullying Working Group, 2013). This contributed to the development of updated anti-bullying procedures for primary and post-primary schools (Department of Education and Skills, 2013). Moreover, the Joint Committee on Transport and Communications (2013) has also issued a report on tackling cyberbullying. Some of their recommendations include the establishment of a single body to govern social media content, the development of an EU wide response, appropriate training on cyberbullying for parents and teachers, and guidelines on managing cyberbullying for school principals.

Although research has investigated students' experiences, teachers' experiences and perceptions of cyberbullying within an Irish cohort (e.g., Corcoran, Connolly, & O'Moore, 2012; McNamara & Moynihan, 2010; O'Moore, 2012a), currently no such research on employed teachers' perceptions of cyberbullying in Irish secondary schools has been undertaken; with prior research focusing on students or pre-service teachers. This chapter will examine a study which adds to the research on cyberbullying by focusing on secondary school teachers' experiences and perceptions and concerns regarding cyberbullying. It investigates how secondary school teachers cope with cyberbullying, along with prevention strategies they have in place. In addition, it also investigates secondary schools' commitment to addressing cyberbullying.

METHOD

Design

In order to examine teachers' perceptions of cyberbullying in Irish secondary schools, a mixed methods research design was utilised (Hanson, Creswell, Clark, Petska, & Creswell, 2005). Prior research has indicated that there is a lack of mixed method research on teachers' perceptions of cyberbullying (Newey & Magson, 2010; Sassu, 2006). The quantitative component consisted of an online survey. An email was sent to every secondary school in Ireland, explaining the research and inviting teachers to participate. The questions were based on prior international research which examined teachers' perceptions of cyberbullying, and were edited to account for an Irish cohort of qualified teachers (Li, 2008; McNamara & Moynihan, 2010; Stauffer et al., 2012). Qualitative data was gathered by means of four semi-structured interviews with qualified secondary school teachers currently employed by the Irish Department of Education and Skills. The interview questions were also based on prior research, which examined teachers' understanding of cyberbullying (Mishna, Scarcello, Pepler, & Wiene, 2005). Descriptive-interpretive analysis was used to analyse the interviews (Elliott & Timulak, 2005). Ethical approval was granted by Trinity College Dublin for this study.

Participants

A survey examining teachers' perceptions of cyberbullying was sent to every secondary school in Ireland ($N = 721$) via email. One survey was to be completed by each school. Of the schools invited to participate, 82 completed the survey (see Table 1). Two were eliminated as they were unqualified (Higher Diploma students), leaving a response rate of 80 (11.1% participation rate).

Table 1. Demographic details of Quantitative Participants

		Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	29	36.3
	Female	51	63.8
Level of Education	Higher Diploma	39	48.8
	Masters of Education	34	42.5
	PhD/Other	7	8.80
Teaching Role	Class Teacher	15	18.8
	Curriculum Leader	1	1.30
	Anti-Bully Coordinator	2	2.50
	Home-School Liaison	1	1.30
	Pastoral Care/Chaplin	7	8.80
	Vice Principal	8	10.0
	Principal	35	43.8
	Guidance Counsellor	7	8.80
	Coordinator Position (i.e., SPHE)	4	5.10
Types of Secondary School	Male Secondary School	16	20.0
	Female Secondary School	17	21.3
	Co-educational Secondary School	47	58.8
	Secondary School	40	50.0
	Vocational Secondary School	10	12.5
	Community School	6	7.50
	Community College	24	30.0

The participants were fully qualified secondary school teachers currently employed by the Irish Department of Education and Skills. In total there were 39,103 pupils in all respondents' schools, with the mean number of 479.08 pupils ($SD = 252$). On average, participants were teaching for 19.5 years ($SD = 10.75$). The mean respondent age was 43.72 years ($SD = 9.86$). Four teachers were also interviewed with a semi-structured interview schedule concerning teachers' perceptions of cyberbullying (two female, and two male).

Materials

Quantitative Materials

Due to its recent emergence, measures for cyberbullying are limited (Li, 2008). However, due to the evident relationship between traditional bullying and cyberbullying, it has been

suggested that instruments used in traditional bullying research can also be used in cyberbullying research (Li, 2008). In turn, three surveys used in prior bullying research were utilised in this study (Li, 2008; McNamara & Moynihan, 2010; Stauffer et al., 2012). Adaptations were made so as to make the surveys suitable for an Irish cohort.

Li's (2008) survey, which focused on teachers' attitudes, was an edited version of a bullying survey, developed by Siu (2004), entitled 'Teacher's Attitude About Bullying Questionnaire'. It was edited by Li (2008) to address preservice Canadian elementary and secondary school teachers' attitudes about cyberbullying. McNamara and Moynihan's (2010) survey focused on teachers' experiences, perceptions and skills in addressing cyberbullying. A survey by Stauffer et al. (2012) which focused on prevention and intervention strategies for cyberbullying, was an edited version of a larger study which examined teachers' overall perceptions of bullying, whereby cyberbullying was viewed as a subset of bullying. It addressed qualified secondary school teachers, and it was formatted for an American population. The edited surveys were combined into one 59 item survey divided into three sections, consisting of a combination of Likert scale response options and open ended questions. The general awareness and skills in addressing cyberbullying scale consisted of 12 items, the tackling cyberbullying scale consisted of 21 items, and the prevention and intervention strategies scales consisted of 6 items.

Qualitative Materials

The interview schedule used in this study was based on prior research, and was adapted to be suitable for a fully qualified Irish sample of secondary school teachers (Mishna et al., 2005). It was also edited to address cyberbullying, rather than traditional bullying; thus the following cyberbullying definition was used; *An aggressive, wilful act carried out by an individual or group using electronic communication* (e.g., O'Moore, 2012b).

Procedure

Data was gathered concurrently for this research. On the 25th of February 2013, surveys were sent via email to each of the 721 secondary schools in Ireland. All relevant information regarding the research was provided in the email. Only one survey was required to be completed per school. Reminder emails were sent monthly over a four-month period. At the end of the survey teachers were invited to partake in an interview, and were asked to provide their name and contact details if interested. Each interview took approximately 40 minutes and each was recorded and transcribed verbatim. A debriefing form with a list of psychological support services in case of distress was given to each participant.

RESULTS

Quantitative Findings

General Awareness and Skills in Addressing Cyberbullying

Teachers' overall awareness and skills in addressing cyberbullying were examined (see Table 2 below). When asked "are you aware of a type of bullying called cyberbullying" all

teachers responded that they were Aware or Very aware of cyberbullying (100%). The majority of respondents (67.5%) reported that traditional bullying was the most prevalent form of bullying at their school. Of those who responded, 100% agreed that cyberbullying occurs mainly outside of the classroom, such as at lunch time or on the corridor. When asked, “how able are you to resolve cyberbullying incidents so everyone is content” just 38.8% felt that they were able to do so.

Concern about Cyberbullying

Findings suggest that teachers believe that cyberbullying is a problem in schools, with 93.8% respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement. Of the sample, 98.8% agreed that children are affected by cyberbullying, and 96.3% are concerned about cyberbullying. Results are displayed in Table 3.

Table 2. Teachers' General Awareness of and Skills for Cyberbullying: Main Findings

Statement		N	Percent
Awareness of cyberbullying	Aware/Very Aware	80	100
Types of bullying	Traditional	54	67.5
	Cyber	18	22.5
	Other	4	5.00
	None	3	3.80
Cyberbullying occurs in your school	Yes	67	83.8
	No	13	16.3
Able to support cyberbullied students	Incapable	13	26.3
	Capable/Very Capable	67	83.8
Able to resolve so everyone is content	Not able/Somewhat	37	46.3
	Unsure	12	15.0
	Able/Very Able	31	38.8

Note. Due to missing values, some percentages may not add up to 100%

Table 3. Proportion of Teachers' Concerned About Cyberbullying

Statement	Percent of Teachers' Responses					
	1/2	3	4/5	M	Median	SD
Problems in schools	1.3	5.0	93.80	4.61	5	.63
Children are affected	1.3	--	98.80	4.34	4	.69
I'm concerned	2.6	1.3	96.30	4.25	4	.61

Note: N = 80. Response options 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly agree.

Confidence in Dealing with Cyberbullying

In response to the statement “I feel confident in identifying cyberbullying” only 50.1% reported that they were confident. Similarly, in response to the statement “I feel confident in managing cyberbullying”, just 50% reported that they were confident. However, in response to the statement “If I knew cyberbullying was happening at a school, I would do something”, 96.2% of teachers reported that they would do something. Results are summarised in Table 4.

Prepared to Deal with Cyberbullying

In general, the vast majority of teachers (80%) felt that their university education left them unprepared to manage school cyberbullying. Overall, 91.3% indicated that they would like to learn more about cyberbullying during their training, and 70.1% agreed that training in cyberbullying is just as important as other topics covered in their university education.

Importance of School Commitment

Teachers’ attitudes concerning the importance of school commitment were examined. Results found that teachers were in favour of most statements regarding school commitment, such as developing school cyberbullying policies (97.6%), use of professional development days to train staff on cyberbullying (93.8%), use of cyberbullying curriculum (91.3%), and the use of classroom activities to address cyberbullying (90%). However, the majority strongly disagreed with discussing cyberbullying with parents (63.8%), addressing cyberbullying at school assemblies (46.3%), and using television and other media to discuss cyberbullying (55%).

Table 4. Proportion of Teachers Confident in Dealing with Cyberbullying

Statement	Percent of Teachers’ Responses					
	1/2	3	4/5	M	Median	SD
Confident in identifying	17.5	32.5	50.1	3.44	3.5	.991
Confident in managing	20.1	30.0	50.0	3.34	3.5	.967
I would do something	0	3.80	96.2	4.68	5.0	.546

Note: N = 80. Response options 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3= Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly agree.

The Impact of Cyberbullying

The majority of teachers reported that cyberbullying has long lasting negative effects (88.8%). Almost all teachers (98.8%) were supportive of implementing a formal bully prevention programme in their school. Furthermore, respondents reported that cyberbullying does not toughen kids up (96.3%), nor does it prepare them for life (85.1%).

Prevention Strategies

Increased parental involvement was found by teachers to be the most helpful prevention strategy for cyberbullying, with 96.3% agreeing that it would be Helpful or Very Helpful. Teachers were asked to share there ideas on what teachers need to manage cyberbullying. Of the 75 teachers (93.75%) who responded, 27 teachers (36%) suggested training and in-services on cyberbullying. Fourteen teachers (18.7%) endorsed increased training in information technologies; specifically one Vice Principal, M, with 30 years teaching experience, reported that “Many teachers are so unfamiliar with social networks that they don’t even share the language used by students . . . and therefore are at a loss when it comes to dealing with incidents . . . some teachers are wary of technology and it’s a very slow process to bring them on board to adopt it in their classroom.”

Teachers were also asked to share their ideas on what makes it difficult to address cyberbullying. Of the 75 teachers who responded (93.75%), the majority (N = 13; 17.3%) recognised its occurrence outside of school. Of the sample, 12 teachers (16%) referred to the lack of training, 12 teachers (16%) addressed the prevalence of bystanders and secrecy, eight

teachers (10.7%) addressed the lack of parental supervision, and seven teachers (9.3%) addressed the lack of protocols. Only two teachers (2.7%) mentioned lack of school initiative, and lack of training in technology (2.7%).

Qualitative Findings

Qualitative findings obtained from teachers allow for better understanding of teachers' perceptions of cyberbullying within Irish secondary schools. Details of the sample interviewed is displayed in Table 5. The domains, categories and themes were identified, and are displayed in Table 6. The section that follows discusses the most prominent themes in detail.

Gender Differences

All teachers agreed that female students' cyberbullying is more malicious, intentional and more frequent than male students. J reported that

"I think that, that it's more sorta female linked, maybe I'm wrong on that but that would be my perception that girls tend to use it more than the fellas."

Table 5. Demographics for Qualitative Participants

Name	Male/Female	Location	Students	Years Teaching
Á	Female	Urban	700+	3 years
R*	Female	Rural	350+	10 years
J	Male	Urban	600+	10 years
E	Male	Urban	600+	10 years

* R is the schools anti-bullying coordinator

Table 6. Domains, Categories and Themes Identified in Descriptive-Interpretive Analysis

Domain	Category	Theme
General Awareness of Cyberbullying	Definition	Misuse of mobile phones (1/4)
		Misuse of social networks (3/4)
	Gender Divide	Nature of female cyberbullying (4/4)
		Nature of male cyberbullying (4/4)
Exposure to Cyberbullying	Disclosure	Student disclosure (3/4)
		School management disclosure (1/4)
		Witnessing cyberbullying (1/4)
		Peer victimisation (1/4)
	Reasons for Cyberbullying	Being different (1/4)
		A sense of belonging (1/4)
		Resentfulness (2/4)
	Effects of cyberbullying	Short and long term effects (4/4)
		Fear of victimisation (1/4)
		Invulnerability (1/4)

Table 6. (Continued)

Domain	Category	Theme
Specific Responses to Cyberbullying	Parental and School Responses	Proactive responding (2/4)
		Passive responding (2/4)
	Training/Policies/ Programmes	Insufficient training on cyberbullying (4/4)
		Anti-cyberbullying school policy (4/4)
		Role of parents and communities (4/4)

By contrast, all four teachers agreed that male students use traditional forms of bullying more often than female students. Furthermore, all four teachers agreed that male students can often be unaware that they are cyberbullying, and are unaware of the damage that they are doing. E explained how oblivious boys can be when it comes to cyberbullying.

“I find, boys in particular bully, and then say I was only messing, and they really do feel that it was only messing, but often you know, in this only messing some of the . . . most horrendous things are said.”

Short and Long Term Effects

All teachers interviewed agreed that cyberbullying affects students both in the long term and short term. E went on to discuss how cyberbullying can have numerous short term and long term effects

“Students can become introspective, and you know just feeling deeply hurt about it. Others will become quite angry, and will lash out . . . in the long term, students who don’t disclose may suffer from psychological harm. It’s the children who don’t say anything, who suffer in silence, who never disclose. They’re the ones I think who are more likely to suffer more long term damage, and maybe psychological damage into the future because for them it was never resolved.”

Proactive and Passive Responding

All teachers agreed that some parents are very proactive in protecting their child from cyberbullying. R noted that parents often set up a Facebook page to monitor their child’s online activity.

“A lot of parents insist on being a friend of their son or daughter, or they insist on having controls to the profile.”

Furthermore, two teachers reported that some parents are somewhat ignorant and oblivious to cyberbullying. E in particular reported that some parents believe that cyberbullying doesn’t exist.

“There will always be a small minority who really don’t believe it’s happening, and don’t believe it’s of any great consequence. I mean . . . I had a parent who told me last year that, you know, boys will be boys.”

Furthermore, A noted that some parents will use their Facebook page to cyberbully alongside their child.

"The other girl's mother was on Facebook, even writing stuff about her . . . it's another story and parents are even getting involved in the cyberbullying, let alone trying to sort it out."

Insufficient Training on Cyberbullying

All four teachers reported that they had received insufficient, or no training on cyberbullying. Although two teachers received training on cyberbullying, they reported that it was too trivial and general, and they would like to receive more specific training for cyberbullying. R, for instance reported that she would like to attend training on strategies for cyberbullying, and how to actively seek cyberbullying as

"when students see that you're actually actively looking out for bullying, that makes a huge difference as well, there's a change in the behaviour."

A, who was newly qualified and had not received training in cyberbullying, reported that she felt ill-equipped to deal with cyberbullying. She further reported that senior teachers were more prepared for dealing with it.

"At a senior level . . . They've more experience with it but at a teacher's level and form teacher's level . . . not so much."

Role of Parents and Communities

All teachers reported that cyberbullying is a problem. J noted that although by nature we will always have bullies, the development of cyberbullying has established an easy avenue into bullying, encouraging students once unlikely to bully to become involved in the behaviour.

"I think the development within information technology has added. It's another avenue into bullying, and it's probably an easy enough avenue. People who mightn't have traditionally bullied, might have had bullying tendencies. It's a lot easier for them to go and, and bully due to cyber technology".

E noted that cyberbullying enhances the opportunity of prolonging bullying, whereby students can be bullied 24/7.

"It's 24/7 it, it you know? I used to come home from school, and tell my mate I'd meet him at the corner at 5 o'clock, you know because neither of us would have phones in our houses. You know? And there wasn't this need for constant contact. They have this need for constant affirmation and contact with each other and they use that type of media to also bully each other . . . So it seems to be a constant".

All teachers noted that they need more training on cyberbullying. Specifically, A noted that teachers need training on what to do when they are approached by a child who is being cyberbullied, so that every child is given the same opportunities.

"There should be some sort of in-service or more talks on cyberbullying and how to actually deal with it because yesterday I actually didn't know what to do . . . teachers who aren't form teacher should have some sort of idea of what to do, because any sort of a

student can come to you . . . everyone in the school should have some sort of idea of what to do.”

Additionally, all teachers interviewed agreed that parents and communities have an important role in tackling cyberbullying. J noted that teachers and schools should not take sole responsibility of tackling cyberbullying, rather parents and community need to take action.

“Society will often feel, there’s an issue in society, throw it onto the schools. I think what schools are finding now is that we’re overloaded with stuff. That other agencies and parents and that have to take responsibility. Schools have a role, but we can’t have ultimate roles.”

CONCLUSION

The overall aim of this study was to examine secondary school teachers’ experiences and perceptions of cyberbullying within the Irish cohort. Given that cyberbullying is a developing global issue, and given that there is a paucity of research on teachers’ perspectives on cyberbullying in Ireland, this research gives an insight and understanding on what the current situation is like in Irish secondary schools. The insights gained from this research go some way towards highlighting the needs of Irish teachers in the current school climate; indicating some of the challenges they face, the supports they require, and the efforts they are currently making to best serve their students. The survey in the current research was conducted online, and therefore only accessed Internet users. This has important implications given the nature of the study, and future research should strive for a more representative sample of teachers. In addition, none of the teachers interviewed reported that they were bullied or cyberbullied as children or adolescents. Prior research has found that personal experiences of bullying or cyberbullying may affect one’s responses to school cyberbullying (Kallestad & Olweus, 2003; Mishna et al., 2005). Future research is necessary to develop our understanding of cyberbullying in Ireland and internationally. Based on prior research, it is recommended that future studies examine gender differences in teachers’ perceptions of cyberbullying in Irish secondary schools. Evidence to date indicates that there is a relationship between pre-service teachers’ gender and their confidence in dealing with cyberbullying; with male pre-service teachers being more confident (Li, 2008; Yilmaz, 2010). In addition, other possible correlates of teacher attitudes could be examined, such as personal attributes and empathy. Furthermore, it is not only teachers who provide care for students when in a school environment, and therefore inclusion of school principals, educational psychologists, and school coordinators in future studies could provide valuable knowledge.

Although cyberbullying is a recent phenomenon in Ireland, findings from both surveys and interviews support previous research indicating that cyberbullying is a complex and multifaceted issue embedded within secondary schools (e.g., Beran & Li, 2005, 2007; Cassidy, Brown, & Jackson, 2012). Whilst we have updated guidelines that require schools to address the issue of cyberbullying in their anti-bullying policy, there is a need to develop resources and supports for teachers. In general, the results from both surveys and interviews found that teachers are concerned about cyberbullying, and feel committed to managing and handling it, but are underprepared and lack confidence in dealing with it. Considering that teachers’

confidence can help students develop a sense of security and safety (Boulton, 1999), it is vital to develop teachers' knowledge and skills about cyberbullying, which in turn, will increase their confidence. As cyberbullying incidents predominately occur outside of Irish secondary schools, teachers emphasise their concern regarding parental and community awareness of cyberbullying. Therefore, it is vital that both parents and communities in Ireland become more familiar with the characteristics and prevention strategies of cyberbullying, especially considering that more Irish youth are using technology than ever before. In order to best support schools to provide for the educational, physical, and psychological well-being of children and young people, we need to implement a collaborative, whole school and community approach to traditional bullying and cyberbullying with provision of adequate training, management, and resources at school- and societal-level.

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Chapter 149

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: WHERE ARE WE NOW AND WHERE TO NEXT?

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INTRODUCTION

This book comes at an important juncture for young Internet users, families, teachers, cyberbullying researchers, practitioners, and policy/law makers. Cyberbullying is high on the education and psychological welfare agenda internationally. In fact cyberbullying is recognised by many as a key challenge facing today's youth - although still regarded by many as a "first world problem" rather than a pressing matter. There is a wealth of literature pertaining to the issue of cyberbullying and we see national and cross-national initiatives aimed at developing research and practice in order to best serve young people, schools, and communities in their interaction with the cyber world. This chapter reviews some of the key issues raised throughout this book and attempts to draw some conclusions regarding a range of issues, from fundamental considerations in relation to how we conceptualise cyberbullying, to important issues we must reflect on so as to intervene effectively; many of which have been highlighted by the authors throughout.

BACK TO BASICS: DEFINITIONS, MEASUREMENT, AND DETERMINANTS

The early chapters in the book examine the development of cyberbullying research, the current arguments regarding definitions, international prevalence rates, and the role of gender. Peter K. Smith and Fethi Berkkun examine the development of cyberbullying research since its beginnings with the emergence of the term 'cyberbullying.' They refer to four phases of development of traditional bullying research from the 1970s: (i) beginning with Olweus' initial

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examination of school aggression which led to the creation of a self-report measure and school-based intervention; (ii) this was followed by international surveys of school bullying and intervention efforts outside of Norway, whilst the concept of bullying was expanded to encompass relational bullying; (iii) following this, school bullying became established as an international research program and in Finland Salmivalli and colleagues began to look at the various bystander roles; (iv) this leads to the most recent phase which has focused on cyberbullying and began around 2004 with emphasis on text and email bullying. Smith and Berkun undertook to chart the evolution of cyberbullying research with a literature review of journal articles from 1990 to the end of 2015 where the abstract is written in English and the article is focused on cyberbullying, victimization, or harassment. This review highlights the recent growth in academic literature which focuses on bullying and cyberbullying. Smith and Berkun credit availability of funding with some of the recent growth in European studies, whilst also highlighting the parallels between the access to cyberspace and the emergence of literature. It is also evident from this review that the research has tended to be quantitative and cross-sectional rather than longitudinal or qualitative. Smith and Berkun argue that there is a need for more qualitative research; a move away from the more traditional and perhaps psychological approach to bullying research.

These articles have covered a range of relevant issues, including definitional and measurement considerations such as the various perspectives on how best to label, define, and conceptualise cyberbullying, and the variety of available measures for assessing the incidence of the behaviours. Despite the inconsistencies across study methods, it is estimated by the authors that occasional occurrences may be reported by over 20% of research participants, but that serious, recent, or repeated incidents are generally reported by around 5%. Analysis also revealed that cyberbullying is experienced amongst a wide variety of ages, but seems to peak in adolescence. Smith and Berkun suggest that the increasing cyber access among younger age groups may come to be reflected in cyberbullying research over time. When examining gender differences, they found that age is an important consideration, with boys possibly becoming more involved as perpetrators than girls as they get older. Furthermore, it is proposed that cyberbullying via social networking may be more appealing to girls as it facilitates reputation damage. Studies which include a cross-cultural comparison or focus on disability and minority groups are rare within the literature according to this review, whereas research focusing on risk factors, or predictors, or outcomes of involvement in cyberbullying occurred more frequently. Around one fifth of studies have also focused on the peer group and group norms, whereas other researchers examined the roles of parents, teachers, and siblings. A small proportion of studies reviewed had focused on legal implications whilst studies of coping strategies, resources, and interventions were somewhat better represented. Overall this chapter provides an up-to-date account of the face of cyberbullying research, and indicates the key areas that require further examination.

Taking a narrower focus, Pauline K. Hyland, John M. Hyland, and Christopher Alan Lewis examine the conceptual issues and definitional considerations regarding cyberbullying, and also discuss the appropriateness of the term cyber aggression as an alternative label. Their review of the main theories and types of aggression highlight the complexity of aggressive and bullying behaviour and the possible factors which contribute to the problem; an important consideration for those hoping to counter it or intervene effectively. They position bullying as a sub-type of aggression which is generally agreed to be intentional, repetitive harm doing which is also characterised by a power imbalance; components they argue are more important

to focus on than the name or label provided by different cultures. Hyland and colleagues go on to examine the appropriateness of the term cyberbullying and the applicability of the criteria of traditional bullying to this cyber-based aggression. Moreover, they examine the overlap between these distinct yet related behaviours and emphasise the relevance of operational definitions for measurement of cyberbullying; highlighting the merits of a multiple-item scale as opposed to a global question. Finally, the authors examine the usefulness of the label and concept of cyber aggression rather than persisting with the term cyberbullying and the criteria which that label entails. This chapter offers an important overview of some of the fundamental considerations with which researchers must engage before undertaking to extend the knowledge in this field.

Irene Connolly echoes some of the points made by Hyland and colleagues, as she highlights the importance of definitional and measurement issues when reviewing current knowledge of cyberbullying prevalence rates. Also making reference to the evolution of cyber technology, this chapter indicates how the Smartphone has led to the merging of Internet and mobile telephone media. Connolly also discusses the importance of online anonymity (an important aspect of the cyber world) which, she says, facilitates "... an almost dual Bruce Banner/the Hulk personality ..." where individuals who conduct themselves in a polite manner face-to-face, abuse others online. Furthermore, Connolly indicates the importance of achieving an appropriate definition for standardising national and cross-national prevalence rates, as a standardised definition could facilitate standardised methodologies; a consideration highlighted by Smith and Berkkun when considering the inconsistent prevalence rates found internationally. Connolly argues that, with the emergence of cross-national cyberbullying research, it is important to examine the methodologies which can affect the prevalence rates obtained. Methodological variations include: the provision of a cyberbullying definition and listing of exemplary behaviours; the labelling/conceptualisation of the phenomenon (e.g., cyberbullying, Internet harassment); the timing of the studies in terms of how they relate to technological advances such as the development of the Smartphone; age groups included in samples; the time referencing of questions (e.g., experiences in the last month, or ever in school); and methods of collecting data and sampling approaches (e.g., offline convenience sampling). Furthermore, Connolly highlights the fact that cyberbullying rates are often examined as one/two item measures, based on yes/no responses; an approach that could create difficulty as a simple yes/no response may not be adequate for a complex construct such as cyberbullying. An important conclusion that is drawn towards the end of this chapter is that it is important for researchers to turn their attention towards the duration and length of time between cyberbullying incidents so as to gain better insight into the potential effects, whilst development of valid and reliable measures can improve the quality of literature.

Addressing another fundamental issue within the literature, Raúl Navarro, Santiago Yubero, and Elisa Larrañaga provide a current review of the findings regarding gender as it relates to cyberbullying; a variable measured in many studies on the topic of bullying or cyberbullying. Setting out the boundaries of the term gender, Navarro and colleagues indicate that it is more than our biology; it is a social category which informs our social world, including stereotypical beliefs about personality traits and roles. This has important implications for aggressive behaviour as it may be considered adaptive for males, whilst for females it may be seen as something to be suppressed. Additionally, such gender norms may contribute to the increased risk of victimization associated with being female and therefore having a less powerful position in society and indeed a disadvantaged position in the cyber world. Navarro

and colleagues highlight the common claim that males and females are inclined to engage in different forms of aggression; with males tending more towards verbal and physical bullying, and females engaging more in relational bullying. Although this gender difference has been rationalised by arguments such as the superior social intelligence of young girls contributing to more skilled manipulation, the authors make reference to research which contradicts this trend. Meta-analytic research has indicated that males engage in every form of aggression to a greater extent, and the authors suggest that “People mostly use various types of aggression depending on surrounding demands.”

In their own research, Navarro and colleagues found that, amongst Spanish students, males were more frequent perpetrators of cyberbullying than females. Similar to the points made in previous chapters, the lack of consistency in approaches to cyberbullying research makes analysis difficult. However, they found that males were more inclined to send threatening or insulting messages by mobile phone, and more likely to be victims of a video or pictures by mobile phone when someone hits or hurts them. Navarro and colleagues argue that their findings and international research suggest that in cyberbullying there is no clear difference in prevalence of involvement between males and females. It seems that females are more likely victims of cyberbullying than traditional bullying, and males are inclined to perpetrate and suffer cyberbullying that contains humiliating images or contains physical aggression. Males also have a greater tendency to send more sexual or pornographic images; which is a form of victimization to which females are more exposed. Therefore, they argue that these forms of sexual and gender harassment require more attention from researchers.

In their own research, Navarro and colleagues found that all of those who carried out cyberbullying were aware of the gender of the targeted person. Furthermore, they found that cyberbullying was directed at significantly more people of the same sex than of the opposite sex. However, males were more likely to report involvement in cyberbullying that concurrently included males and females. The authors state that males use more types of indirect and relational aggression when targeting females, and they suggest that the anonymity and differing social norms of cyberspace may contribute to higher rates of female-directed bullying. Furthermore, it is proposed that there is a need to examine romantic relationships because cyberspace is an important component in developing and maintaining intimate relationships, and therefore could be used as a vehicle to assault and control partners. Navarro and colleagues express concern about the stereotypical view among both male and female Spanish students that females are worse, more subtle and more harmful, despite the findings to the contrary. This in-depth analysis of gender roles is one which should be given real consideration as we move forward in research.

APPROACHING CYBERBULLYING WITH A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE

Jolanta Burke and Stephen Minton offer an alternative view to much of the research to date, by inviting readers to examine traditional bullying and cyberbullying from a positive psychology perspective. They argue that, in light of the modest success of many existing anti-bullying interventions, a different approach is warranted. Burke and Minton highlight the pattern in bullying research to date which has focused largely on deficits and ill-being; examining the negative effects of involvement and the negative characteristics associated with

perpetration. With regard to measurement of well-being, the “body-builder” approach has been common. Measures of well-being have allowed measurement of the individual levels of their assumed sub-components; therefore “overall” well-being scores can be calculated which comprise the sum of sub-componential scores. In this way it could be argued that to enhance well-being, each sub-component can be increased. This chapter examines some of the key theories of well-being and highlights the philosophical underpinnings. For example, Subjective Well-Being theory, is described as deriving from hedonic philosophical tradition and focuses on life satisfaction, pleasant affect, and unpleasant affect, whereas Psychological Well-Being theory has links to the eudaimonic tradition and focuses on self-acceptance, positive relations, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth. Furthermore, the Authentic Happiness Model includes both hedonic and eudaimonic elements of well-being; the components focus on the life of pleasure, engagement, and meaning. Burke and Minton argue that in order to measure well-being, it is important that we assess positive states of well-being as well as absence of negative states; drawing on research which suggests that there is more to positive affect than constituting the opposite of negative affect. For instance, some research indicates that ill-being and well-being can co-exist within a person. The authors argue that distinguishing well-being from ill-being can facilitate further insights into bullying and cyberbullying, but can also protect against researchers drawing flawed conclusions from the research. Burke and Minton suggest that such a broadening of the research may enhance the efficacy of anti-bullying and anti-cyberbullying intervention efforts.

Following this, Stephen James Minton offers an important, different perspective on cyberbullying behaviour; making reference to the idea of ‘distance’ in a literal or psychological sense. The role of physical proximity was an important variable in Milgram’s experiments with compliance being predicted by physical proximity to the learner and/or the experimenter. Minton also discusses the importance of proximity to weapons and how this relates to our inhibitions to use them. This can have self-destructive consequences as it is argued that our development of weaponry has outstripped our progress in relation to ethical and humane treatment of others. This chapter also argues social distance can also contribute to the lack of responsibility we feel for our aggressive behaviours. Such social distance can be facilitated by seeing others as something different to, or less than, human. Furthermore, Minton highlights the influence of de-individuation and the bystander effect on our response. By utilising decreased physical proximity and increased social distance we can morally distance ourselves from our aggressive behaviours. In this way, it is suggested, we can conduct hostile acts and bear the consequences. The relevance of this to cyberbullying is important to consider, and Minton argues that physical proximity and social distancing perhaps make it easier to abuse someone online and then justify our actions later compared with attacking someone face-to-face.

Furthermore, Minton highlights the fact that research has shown cyber aggression to be positively associated with moral disengagement and moral justification. This chapter offers Stephen James Minton’s reflections on the next possible steps for cyberbullying research. He argues that, in light of the various debates regarding conceptualisation of cyberbullying, there is a need to examine meaning-making used by young people with regard to their online activity and that this might best be achieved via qualitative methodologies. Ultimately this chapter concludes with the following recommendations: (i) there should be further exploration of the role of physical proximity and social distance as it relates to cyberbullying; (ii) young people’s meaning-making with regard to cyberbullying and cyber aggression should be examined

utilising qualitative methods. Both chapters provide thought-provoking suggestions which differ from previous literature.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CROSS-NATIONAL RESEARCH AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

Cyberbullying research has been furthered by funded cross-national collaboration. Brian O'Neill and Thuy Dinh provide a review of the main findings from EU Kids Online research and examine the contribution of cross-national large scale studies to cyberbullying literature. With regard to policy development, they state that the first phase of policy interventions focused largely on addressing potential harm and was based on assumptions about risk posed by the Internet. However, due to the lack of adequate evidence to inform policy, the EU Kids Online was established as a research network with the purpose of developing knowledge regarding children's online opportunities, risks, and safety. In its first stage (2006-09) a comparative analysis of the existing evidence base carried out by a network of European researchers led to development of a typology of content, contact, or conduct risks and opportunities that arise for young people in cyberspace. Furthermore, this first stage promoted the facilitation of children's confident and flexible Internet use. O'Neill and Dinh go on to describe phase 2 of the programme, which involved a major quantitative survey of 9-16 year olds across 25 European countries; the purpose of which was to develop knowledge about children's and parents' experiences and practices in relation to risky and safer use of online technologies so as to inform efforts to develop a safer online environment for children. The data collection focused on: exposure to sexual images; sending/receiving sexual messages; bullying and harassment; and meeting strangers. Echoing the same point made in previous chapters, O'Neill and Dinh highlight the challenge of using terminology for bullying (not an easy term to translate) in a cross-national study. Findings indicated that face-to-face bullying was more prevalent than online bullying, that girls and older adolescents reported higher levels of victimization, and an overlap between traditional bullying and cyberbullying was evident. Furthermore, O'Neill and Dinh report that those involved in online bullying showed greater psychological vulnerability than those not involved. Also, compared with perpetrators of traditional bullying, cyberbullies were more inclined to engage in risky online behaviours, spend more time using the Internet, and also felt it was easier to be themselves online. When examining participants who were involved in online bullying, higher SES was linked to increased involvement in bullying, whilst lower SES was linked to greater involvement as a victim. Importantly the authors indicate that lower SES was related to lower use of certain coping strategies such as altering Internet settings, or deleting messages. The authors also note some cross national differences, with certain countries characterised by a parent-child gap in agreement on whether the child has been victimized online. For instance, in Norway, parents are more likely to report that a child has been victimized even when the child does not, whereas in Romania, for example, a child is more likely to say he/she has been victimized than the parents are. EU Kids Online categorised countries on the basis of their levels and types of Internet use and risks as follows: Lower use, lower risk; Lower use, some risk; Higher use, some risk; and Higher use, higher risk. An important insight offered by the authors is the finding that cyberbullying is more prevalent in countries with a higher prevalence of bullying in general, rather than being more prevalent in

places where the Internet is more established. It is interesting to consider the argument proposed by Navarro and colleagues, as O'Neill and Dinh report that boys and girls were equally likely to bully online, but boys were more likely to bully offline. The authors also propose that we can make a distinction between those who bully online and offline when we examine their gender, and behaviour and attitudes associated with the Internet. They propose that those who are involved in bullying online either as a perpetrator or victim are also the most vulnerable offline and require support in both the cyber world and the 'real' world. A more recent cross-national study called Net Children Go Mobile has found that, within a sub-set of the countries involved in EU Kids Online, although prevalence of bullying has not increased since the EU Kids Online survey, cyberbullying has become more prevalent than face-to-face bullying and takes place most frequently on SNS. They argue that the rise in cyberbullying has been amongst females and amongst the youngest age group. O'Neill and Dinh conclude that there is value in research like EU Kids Online as a way of providing "... a solid baseline for policy development and where necessary targeted intervention."

Seung-Ha Lee provides a chapter on cyberbullying from a South Korean perspective. It is noted that cyberbullying has been highlighted in South Korea due to high profile cases of suicide following victimization, and more recently the government have recognised cyberbullying as a sub-type of school bullying. This hierarchical categorisation of cyberbullying is similar to those approaches outlined by Hyland and colleagues when examining definitions and conceptualisations of the phenomenon. Also, echoing some key points made in previous chapters, it is noted that in a South Korean context, a variety of terms are used to describe bullying-type behaviours such as *gipdan-ttadolim* (group isolation) and *hakkyo-pokryuk* (school violence), and that such labels are sometimes used interchangeably. Similarly, a number of labels are used for cyberbullying; *cybergorophim* (cyber-harassment), *cyberttadolim* (cyber isolation), *cyberpokryuk* (cyber violence), and *cyber wang-ta* (a socially excluded person in cyber space, or social exclusion in cyber space). Furthermore, even within South Korea, there is a lack of agreement as to the appropriate definition. Seung-Ha Lee highlights the complexity and array of cyber-based aggression (including *cybergangyo* or *wifi shuttle*) and how they relate to school bullying. Indicating efforts to develop an understanding of such problems, it is reported that the South Korean government has conducted a bi-annual data collection amongst school pupils to assess the levels of *hakkyo-pokryuk*. Fortunately this has indicated that being a recipient of school violence has been quickly decreasing in the last 2-3 years. Again emphasising a point made by Irene Connolly, Seung-Ha Lee argues that the varying prevalence rates of cyberbullying found in South Korea may be attributable to varying methodologies.

Lending some findings to the earlier discussion of gender differences, this chapter indicates that in general, boys were more likely to perpetrate *cyberpokryuk*. Furthermore, more boys were involved in a number of specific types such as cyber defamation and cyber sexual abuse, whereas females were more likely to perpetrate *cyberttadolim* and with regard to cyberexclusion (or *cyberbaejae*), a higher percentage of perpetration emerged for girls. Furthermore, boys were found to be more likely to be victimized by *cyberpokryuk* and across a variety of forms. However, cyber sexual abuse was more common in girls; a particular form that requires further investigation if we are to consider the analysis provided by Navarro and colleagues. Seung-Ha Lee also suggests that girls may experience relational cyber aggression more frequently than boys. Gender differences were also found to vary across school levels.

It is evident from these studies that perpetrators were most inclined to engage in cyberpokryuk “for fun” or to “upset the victim.” This has important implications for appropriate prevention and intervention as it would suggest a certain lack of emotional empathy. However, it is stated that many also felt negative feelings as a result of their behaviour. Those who are victimized report a variety of responses including getting revenge, and demanding removal of content. Telling a school teacher was an uncommon response to victimization. The least frequent reaction was to report to the police or the bullying and cyberbullying intervention centre. Sharing the incident with friends or family was considered to be a useful coping strategy to stop the problem. Whilst telling teachers was effective at elementary school level, it was not so helpful at higher school levels. This has important implications for successful intervention and reflects a need for either attitudinal change or alternative strategies with older age groups. Another finding reported by Seung-Ha Lee was that almost half of those who witnessed victimization did nothing to help because they thought of it as “nothing” or did not know what to do. Again there are important implications here, particularly in relation to bystander apathy; bringing to mind the relevance of social and psychological distance that Stephen James Minton discussed. South Korean research has identified correlates of cyberbullying involvement at an individual level (e.g., aggression, impulsiveness), at a home level (e.g., parenting style, violence in the home), and at a school level (e.g., school satisfaction, delinquent peers). Efforts to counter cyberbullying have been undertaken; for instance The Hakkyo-pokryuk Prevention and Intervention Act in 2012 requires that a school must assemble the committee of hakkyo-pokryuk if an incident is reported. The committee will deliberate on the incidents, and decide an appropriate course of action such as punishing the bully or facilitating conciliation between a victim and bully. In addition, the Ministry of Education has services which can facilitate reporting or advice seeking following an incident. This is supported via cyber technology and although it protects anonymity, it can also be linked to the class teacher. Seung-Ha Lee also recommends that there is a need to develop a healthy Internet culture, where ethics are emphasised. Evaluation of current efforts is also recommended.

COPING AND INTERVENTION

Francine Dehue, Trijntje Völlink, and Nicole Gunther discuss important considerations when developing and implementing stand-alone interventions. They begin by restating some of the main points made in previous chapters; for instance that there is still debate regarding some fundamental questions in the cyberbullying literature; such as the prevalence of involvement or witnessing of cyberbullying, whether we should regard it as a form of traditional bullying and therefore the two should be addressed together, whether cyberbullying has been over-rated in terms of prevalence and impact, and whether it is a cause or consequence of compromised well-being. Similar to other chapters, the authors refer to the various methodological inconsistencies that hamper assessment of prevalence; an important consideration when identifying the population at risk for prevention or intervention purposes. With regard to measurement, Dehue and colleagues suggest that, when attempting to identify those at whom an intervention programme to stop cyberbullying and reduce its effects would be aimed, a subjective direct assessment is suitable, as this would indicate those who consider themselves to be involved. In addition, they recommend that, for stand-alone ICT

interventions it is better to use a short time frame for assessment of involvement. Smith and Berkun had highlighted the tendency towards cross-sectional studies, and Dehue and colleagues also emphasise this as it impacts on the possibility to draw cause and effect relationships between variables.

This chapter highlights the need to develop our understanding of coping strategies, so as to facilitate behavioural change programmes which will be effective and to support reduction of victimization and its associated effects. The authors indicate the importance of contextual factors such as relationship with the perpetrator and the perception of control over the situation. A perceived lack of control could lead victims to rely more on emotion-focused strategies. A key advancement in research has been the development of cyberbullying-specific coping questionnaires. Although we have not the luxury of a wealth of evidence as to what methods and strategies are effective in terms of reducing and stopping victimization and reducing its effects, Dehue and co-authors state that we cannot afford to wait before providing guidance. For instance, seeking social support is an evidence-based recommendation for prevention and reduction of negative impact.

Furthermore, great emphasis is placed in this chapter on tailoring the advice appropriately for individual personality, outcome expectancies, and knowledge. In addition, there is a paucity of empirical evidence to support the effectiveness of programmes; a concern also highlighted by Seung-Ha Lee. Only a handful of programmes have a theoretical basis and have been assessed for effectiveness. Dehue and colleagues also recommend a particular focus on content as it is important to provide novel and helpful information whilst also being limited and not too complex. A possible approach mentioned is ‘gamification’ of an intervention. Along with content, structure must be appropriate with easy procedures, simple design and other helpful features to enhance convenience for the user.

Picking up on some of the points made by Francine Dehue, Trijntje Völlink, and Nicole Gunther regarding intervention, we (Corcoran and Mc Guckin) discussed some important considerations when exploring the issue of coping with cyberbullying. Our chapter begins by placing cyberbullying in a historical context and highlighting the fact that today’s youth is not the first generation to be exposed to new and frightening technologies, nor is it likely to be the last. Therefore we ask, is this not a challenge that requires us to use our existing coping skills, as opposed to developing new ones. It is also emphasised that the adolescents (on whom most research focuses) are those who are at a particularly vulnerable stage developmentally for victimization and ill-considered coping. This chapter highlights the importance of appraisal of actual or perceived victimization, as well as coping strategies employed. Echoing a point made by Dehue and co-authors, we emphasised that coping with victimization does not happen in a vacuum or as part of some template. Every incident and response comes with personal and situational factors which impact the development of the situation. Therefore, again aligning with Dehue and colleagues’ recommendations regarding tailoring of interventions, it is not ideal for researchers to offer generic advice regarding coping.

The methodological inconsistency highlighted throughout this book also pertains to studies on coping with traditional bullying and cyberbullying. This issue, in conjunction with the lack of focus on effectiveness of responses, leaves us with a lack of evidence to inform our guidance. Although insights have been gained in relation to coping effectively with traditional victimization, we question whether cyberbullying requires a different set of responses. Parental support or reluctance to seek it emerges as an important issue in the literature, whilst social support seeking generally may be dependent on gender. Technical responses; often considered

a potential quick fix, are helpful but not without limitations. Avoidant or distancing coping seems to be highly undesirable.

Taking coping to a school or community intervention level, this chapter also provides a review of an intervention programme which appears to meet the criteria of theory-based, methodologically sound, and empirically tested. Coping at an international level can be seen in funded projects such as the Cyber Training projects and The COST Action IS0801. Although many of these efforts are focused on education-based or policy-based coping, there is also a form of legislative coping; the focus of which is prosecution of those who perpetrate cyberbullying. In this chapter, we ultimately argue against such an approach as an “educate-first” philosophy is preferable.

Following this, Nicole Gunther, Francine Dehue, and Viviane Thewissen provide a valuable review of intervention efforts to prevent and counteract cyberbullying among youth and its negative effects on mental health, with a particular focus on Internet-based interventions. They comment on the common finding that research has indicated an association between victimization and stress, low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation. However, importantly, they note that some research has revealed that some negative states were in fact predictors of cyber victimization rather than consequences. Whilst all roles involved in cyberbullying are associated with negative states, it is the group who both perpetrate and are victimized who seem to have the worst mental health markers. Similar to previous chapters, Gunther and colleagues highlight the lack of evidence-supported interventions, and furthermore, they comment on the difficulty associated with parent-directed interventions, due to the lack of desire among young people to report to parents when victimized. Therefore, they argue that the Internet-based intervention is a logical alternative. They make reference to the implementation of e-mental health; Internet-based interventions aimed at supporting the mental well-being of the user. There are a number of potential advantages of e-mental health outlined, such as the avoidance of stigma and the potential to get help at any time and in any place (interestingly the same time and space characteristics that make cyberbullying so challenging). Overall, Gunther and colleagues suggest that there is growing support for the effectiveness of Internet-based treatment interventions which have a CBT basis and aim to reduce anxiety symptoms. However, they caution that more research is required, especially in relation to other disorders among children and adolescents. Difficulty for health professionals in detecting cyberbullying as a cause of mental health difficulties is one reason that Gunther and co-authors recommend facilitating online intervention. In addition, this chapter suggests that it would be of value to examine current effective e-mental health interventions and include some of their modules in a web-based programme for cyberbullied youth who also experience mental health difficulties, or alternatively, to include a cyberbullying-focused module in a Internet-based mental health intervention. Although the authors recognise that there are limitations to the current literature, they feel that there is promise in the online intervention approach, and advocate for blended care; a combination of cyber-based and face-to-face contact for those in need of support.

Somewhat straddling different sections of the book Marilyn Campbell provides the Australian perspective; with a chapter that covers fundamental issues associated with cyberbullying research, examines prevalence rates, associated variables, and efforts to counter cyberbullying. Similar to Dehue and co-authors and reiterating fundamental points made in previous chapters, Campbell proposes that the lack of consensus regarding a definition of cyberbullying hampers the development of appropriate measures, and this in turn negatively

affects the advancement of intervention efforts. Campbell comments on some of the key difficulties with regard to achieving a suitable definition and highlights the valuable work done by Australian researchers to further these efforts with much of the debate focusing on the elements of intent, repetition, and power imbalance. This chapter also discusses the examination of prevalence rates among not only school students, but also among college students and the workforce; an age group often neglected in the international literature. This chapter also reviews Australian research on the associated effects of involvement in cyberbullying, the motivations to perpetrate the behaviour, and the role of the bystanders; illustrating the importance of this knowledge to inform efforts to counter the problem.

Offering an interesting perspective on societal perceptions of cyberbullying, Campbell talks about the role of the media in terms of “agenda setting.” The ways in which the media frame cyberbullying can offer reassurance or can lead to moral panic. Campbell suggests that in Australia there is a tendency towards the latter. Such accounts of cyberbullying has had the result of calls for legislation to be developed to tackle the problem. Similar to the discussion proposed by Corcoran and Mc Guckin, Campbell advises caution in relation to criminalizing cyberbullying as it may not exactly have the desired impact. In 2015 actions were taken by the Federal government to provide cyber victimized Australian children with a complaints system. Valuable research has been conducted in Australia to assess the development and implementation of relevant school policy. Within policy development, debate regarding definitions rears its head again. Furthermore, it is evident that the differing characteristics of cyberbullying (e.g., always on nature of the Internet) pose challenges for schools. Campbell highlights the efforts by the Australian Federal government to combat cyberbullying; development of resources being one indication of this.

Although there have also been non-governmental resources allocated to tackle cyberbullying, the absence of evidence-based practice, led to the establishment of the Australian Universities’ Anti-bullying Research Alliance (AUARA) which received funding towards production of evidence-based outcomes to reduce negative effects of cyberbullying. These research projects include Cyber Friendly Schools, Beyond Bullying, research on legal interventions, and Safe and Well Project. Marilyn Campbell’s chapter goes a long way towards illustrating the layers and complexity of the cyberbullying issue. Furthermore, it reveals the divergent perspectives; the quick fix legislative approach desired by many is in stark contrast with the tailored, theory-based and evidence-based approach advocated by many such as Dehue, Völlink, and Gunther. It is heartening to see the collaborative and focused approach from the AUARA; a great example of putting (expert) heads together to advance knowledge and practice.

In the final chapter Caroline Wheeler examines teachers’ experiences of cyberbullying amongst students. Highlighting that aggression in school has long been a source of interest and concern, she highlights the more recent interest in cyberbullying specifically. Furthermore, the paucity of research on Irish teachers’ experiences with, and perceptions of, cyberbullying, has likely hampered efforts to intervene effectively. Wheeler acknowledges that efforts have been made to address bullying problems in a modern Irish context with formation of an Anti-Bullying Working Group and updating of guidelines. In her own study of Irish teachers, Wheeler found that cyberbullying is recognised as a problem at school, and that although only around half of teachers reported feeling confident in identifying and managing cyberbullying, the large majority said that they would do something if an incident came to their attention. Many teachers felt that their training had not prepared them for cyberbullying issues, but

expressed a desire for upskilling in this regard. Interestingly, the qualitative component of the research indicated that all teachers agreed that, compared with males, when female students cyberbully it is more malicious, intentional, and it is more frequent. This brings to mind the argument regarding gender stereotyping put forward by Navaro and colleagues earlier in the book. The qualitative data also raises the important issue of the parental role in cyberbullying; as some parents actually participate in or worsen the situation. There was also reference to the sharing of responsibility, so that teachers are not overburdened with cyberbullying problems. It is vital that teachers receive adequate training and support in addressing bullying problems among students.

CONCLUSION

As my colleague Conor Mc Guckin often warns, not only do we need to deal with the current cyber situation, we also need to be prepared for what is coming next. Something we should have learned by now is that technological advancement waits for no one. As soon as we have found our footing with the challenges of the most current technology, progress will knock us off balance. In this way, we need to be considerate of the knowledge we have garnered so far whilst keeping a vigilant eye on what is coming down the line. This book has provided food for thought and challenges us to consider the best way forward. A common theme among authors was the recommendation that we must begin to diversify our research methods as more longitudinal research and control trials can allow for conclusions to be drawn regarding cause and effect rather than correlation. Furthermore, the literature is weakened by the focus on quantitative methods; we need to hear the voice of youth when attempting to conceptualise cyberbullying, understand the lived experience, and intervene in a positive sense. Many of the authors have indicated the problematic nature of cyberbullying as a label and struggle to reach a consensus on the definition. Moreover, they have highlighted how this negatively impacts on measurement and development of instruments; an issue which in turn creates difficulty with assessing interventions. Whether researchers decide to forge ahead with the cyberbullying construct as an extension of traditional bullying, or view it as a distinct construct which requires a different label; this is a matter of fundamental importance if the field is to progress. Such a development would allow for comparable research to emerge through improved measurement techniques. Gender is a variable which has been referenced throughout the chapters; however, the chapter provided by Raúl Navarro and colleagues certainly challenges current thinking on this issue. We know that bias, be it cultural or gender-based, can cloud our perception of psychological and social issues, and so it is imperative that researchers and practitioners properly consider the possibility that we misjudge the role of gender in traditional bullying and cyberbullying. If nothing else, it is our duty to examine this further.

There is a need to consider also, the different theoretical and conceptual lenses that can be applied to cyberbullying. For instance, the argument for a positive psychological perspective creates opportunity to gain further insights into the nature of cyberbullying. Moreover, Stephen Minton makes a compelling argument for the consideration of the influence of physical and psychological distance as well as factors such as bystander apathy in relation to cyberbullying. Cross-national research not only offers international prevalence rates, it also provides insights regarding contextual and cultural factors which may influence cyberbullying and affect the

efficacy of interventions, and it highlights both the commonalities and uniqueness of human experience. Whilst South Korean research has many aspects of cyberbullying in common with other nations, Seung-Ha Lee also indicated unique forms of extortive behaviour which takes place online.

With respect to intervention it seems that we can best advance our efforts by tailoring the interventions to the individual, as a “one size fits all” approach does not often satisfy diverse personal characteristics and circumstances. Also, the message through these latter chapters is loud and clear; we need theory-informed, evidence-based practice in the future. Although legislation is an important consideration when examining the issue of cyberbullying, prosecuting cyberbullies may not be the best approach, particularly in light of the age group most vulnerable to involvement. Furthermore, change to legislation does not always keep pace with the developing technology and service providers tend to be global in nature as opposed to being confined to one specific territory. Education seems to be our best option currently, and it we are to successfully educate our young people to protect themselves and each other online, then we must support their teachers and parents to guide them. What is clear from the chapters reviewed here, is that there is a high level of agreement amongst the authors as to how we can best proceed. However, each chapter also offers a unique and thoughtful perspective.

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